

In Defence  
of the  
African Image and Heritage

**African National Congress of South Africa**  
(AFRICAN NATIONALISTS)

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REPLY TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT ENTITLED  
"THE ENEMY HIDDEN UNDER THE SAME COLOUR"

Issued in February, 1976

INTRODUCTION:

The White dominated South African Communist Party has issued a Statement that deliberately distorts what they call "facts" and attribute the distorted versions to us. The S.A.C.P. is unable to reply to any of the substantive issues that we have raised in criticism of both the Tambo group in the African National Congress of South Africa and also the S.A.C.P. domination of the Tambo group. We notice that the main line of argument in the S.A.C.P. Statement is to vilify and slander individuals in the vain hope that the fundamental questions of organisation, revolution and political philosophy concerning the national liberation struggle in South Africa will be forgotten. Clearly, the S.A.C.P. has no answer to the problems of revolution facing the African people, mainly because the White-controlled S.A.C.P. also believes in White domination of the Africans, even doing so in the name of Marxism-Leninism.

We are again raising the fundamental issues facing the national liberation struggle in S.A. We know that the S.A.C.P. has no reply because it is guilty on all counts. But we are interested in the full development of the African people - to unite as an oppressed and dispossessed people, to fight for their own liberation on the basis of national self-reliance principles, to develop their own strategy and tactics for uniting all Black oppressed people in the common struggle to overthrow the white minority regime and to establish a new system of government based on the universally accepted principle of Black majority.

1. In its Statement, the S.A.C.P. lumps together in a vulgar way and out of context disjointed phrases from three documents that have separate backgrounds because they arose under different circumstances. One document to which neither the Tambo group nor the S.A.C.P. has a reply is the Obituary on the death of Robert Resha. We simply wish to re-assert the fact that Resha was vilified too in his lifetime by the same enemies of African Freedom who continue their vituperation against Resha's colleagues today. Neither the Tambo group nor the S.A.C.P. published a tribute to Resha when he died; but today they pose as his "comrades" after having politically isolated him into the grave. The Obituary in honour of Resha hurts them because it puts before the S.A. revolution the basic issues that continue to plague African unity. The second document that they distort is a tribute that Mzimkulu A. Makiwane paid to Resha on the occasion of a memorial service to unveil a tombstone to Resha's memory. In it Makiwane clearly showed how the S.A.C.P. white leadership hijacked the A.N.C. This revelation also hurts the White-controlled S.A.C.P. The last document is a rejection of the bogus expulsions written by T. X. Makiwane. This document as well as the other two are separately published. We advise readers interested in S.A. liberation struggle to read the three original documents for themselves and not to rely on the S.A.C.P. jumbled extracts.

2. The S.A.C.P. has no right to reply on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the A.N.C. to issues specifically addressed to the A.N.C. as regards decisions taken by the N.E.C. of the A.N.C. concerning A.N.C. members. The S.A.C.P. must explain why it usurps the authority of the A.N.C. to respond to criticisms directed specifically to the A.N.C. leadership or is the A.N.C. no longer capable of speaking for itself? The A.N.C. of Tambo is now simply a front or cover organisation used as a tool to achieve the

objectives of the S.A.C.P. Those objectives of the S.A.C.P. reside in domination of Blacks by Whites in the name of Marxism-Leninism. This S.A.C.P. strategy of domination of the A.N.C. is clearly set out in the S.A.C.P. 1970 Report of the C.C. to the S.A.C.P. Plenary Session. In paragraph 36 it states:-

"The 1965 plenary session of the Central Committee recorded the need for those comrades directly involved in the strategic areas to keep the C.E.C. informed on the main outlines of A.N.C. activities both inside and outside the country in order "to enable the C.C. to provide adequate political leadership and guidance. But as time went on it became more and more clear that the absence of proper institutional links with the A.N.C. in the new conditions acted as an obstacle to the ability of the Party to exercise its vanguard role."

So the S.A.C.P. established the "proper institutional links with the A.N.C." by fighting for open membership to admit Whites into the A.N.C. as full members; by gaining positions of authority in A.N.C. organs such as the Revolutionary Council (R.C.) which is composed almost entirely of C.P. members. In the R.C. all decisions are instigated by three Party leaders - Joe Slovo, Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Reggie September. The 1969 Morogoro Conference was used to gain complete C.P. control of the A.N.C. The "links with the A.N.C." were needed by the Party to enable it "to exercise its vanguard role." So the Party, not the A.N.C., is in the vanguard role of directing the struggle for the national liberation of the African people. This accounts for the arrogance of such Whites as Slovo and Carneson in giving instructions to Africans on what the Africans have to do to liberate themselves. They have reduced the Tambo group of the A.N.C. to mere puppets dancing to the music of His Master's Voice. For how long are

White South Africans going to continue to exploit Africans economically, dominate them politically and humiliate them socially? We say this practice must be stopped immediately. The Slovos and Carnesons have no right even to attend meetings of Africans where plans to overthrow White domination are discussed.

3. We owe no allegiance to the white-controlled S.A.C.P. Those among us who hold socialist views will not abandon their views simply because those with whom they fundamentally disagree on vital issues in the South African revolutionary struggle now choose individual character assassination as a substitute for serious political discussion. The S.A.C.P. must stop playing the cheap and despicable role of informer to the liquidator under the Suppression of Communism Act who is always ready to add names to his list for purposes of political persecution. Too many members of the Central Committee (C.C.) of the S.A.C.P. have betrayed the Black People's struggle and yet the S.A.C.P. has never issued a single statement denouncing them. We have already mentioned the Central Committee member Arthur Goldreich as an enemy of the oppressed people - be they Arabs in Palestine or Africans in South Africa. He lives now in Israel; has fought on Israel's side; has not been denounced by the S.A.C.P. We now have to add Joe Matthews, Secretary of the Revolutionary Council (R.C.) to this list of traitors. His position is particularly informative because he and his friend Joe Slovo are architects of the disastrous policies adopted by the A.N.C. at its 1969 Morogoro Conference. Joe Matthews, a leading member of the C.C. of the S.A.C.P. procured for himself the post of Secretary to the Revolutionary Council formed at the 1969 Morogoro Conference. He soon afterwards deserted. He was not denounced by the S.A.C.P. He now denounces the Oliver Tambo leadership of the A.N.C.-in-exile as "buffoonery". According to the Sunday Times of 18th April, 1976 (Front page) Matthews stands for the following:

- (a) That the independence of the Transkei should be accepted as a hard reality and recognised.
- (b) That the A.N.C. should abandon armed struggle and adopt a new policy of peaceful reform.
- (c) That Nelson Mandela should be released and bans on A.N.C. and P.A.C. should be lifted. If political leaders are released, they will have to accept all laws in the South African Statute Book like the Suppression of Communism Act, or face re-arrest.
- (d) That Blacks should enter into Dialogue at all levels with the Boer government rather than with Liberals who have no power.
- (e) That the A.N.C. made a mistake in its policy of being so closely aligned with the Communist bloc.

Well, Joe Matthews is still a leading member of the Tambo group, the Secretary of the Revolutionary Council and a leading member of the Central Committee of the S.A.C.P.

4. The S.A.C.P. has associated statements made by Leballo of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa with those of the African revolutionaries in the A.N.C. This shows the bankruptcy of the C.C. of the S.A.C.P. They have not replied to any of the issues that we have raised but somehow invent "facts" to suit their own fancy. Leballo and the P.A.C. made their statements about A.N.C. policy inside South Africa at a different time (November 1st 1958 "Contact" as quoted by S.A.C.P. itself) and referred to problems different from those we have raised in the A.N.C.

Leballo and the P.A.C. had broken away from the A.N.C. and formed a separate organisation in 1958, We are not a separate or new organisation but we are the genuine upholders of A.N.C. policy in letter and in spirit. We are fighting to consolidate African unity in a broad United Front. Swear-words, slanders and all forms of vituperation will not deter us from this purpose.



5. Ghetto 'nationalism'.

The White leadership of the S.A.C.P. has devised an effective swear-word - racist - which it uses against all its African opponents. This has paid handsome dividends up to now in blackmailing the A.N.C. members into accepting self-seeking Whites as leaders of the African people. The White leadership of the S.A.C.P. has nothing but disdain for the African people whom they regard as inferior in the same way that the Vorster regime regards Africans as children who cannot be entrusted with determining their own future. The White controlled S.A.C.P. is also terribly afraid of African nationalism. They fear the African revolution against White minority rule. They have tried to give an interpretation of African nationalism that divides the African militants into 'reactionaries' and 'progressives'. We know that this division of the Africans flows from the inability of the S.A.C.P. to give a proper assessment of the national question in S.A. They try to ride two horses when they deal with the strategy and tactics, let alone, the theory of the South African revolution.

In the 1970 Statement of the C.C. of the S.A.C.P. the following policy was recommended to the non-African minority communities: (see paragraph 48 of the C.C. of S.A.C.P. Statement entitled "CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT ON ORGANISATION".)

- \*48. Does all this mean that there is no longer a role for bodies like the S.A.I.C. (South African Indian Congress) and C.P.C. (Coloured Peoples Congress) even in the ad hoc, uncertain and ill-defined form in which they exist today? We believe they do have a role. These organisations are still formally legal. It is a spurious type of legality and no doubt if an attempt is made inside the country to intensify activities even if they stop short of support for the armed struggle, they will at the very least attract

administrative and legal action. At the same time, in a number of restricted spheres this legality cannot be entirely disregarded and advantage should be taken of it to advance the liberation struggle. For example, not every appeal by the S.A.I.C. need involve a reference to violence. To mobilise the people on local and special issues by written propaganda may demand anonymity by the activists but the risk involved is relatively smaller. Thus scope still exists for the exploitation of semi-legal opportunities. Bodies like the S.A.I.C. and the C.P.C. can still initiate certain levels of activity amongst their communities. They can draw in elements both inside and outside the country who would at the moment not necessarily find a place in the spheres of revolutionary activity with which the A.N.C. and the Party are concerned. But these bodies need to activate their communities politically so as to draw them closer and closer to the struggle and to involve the best elements into the more demanding and closely-knit revolutionary structures".

After calling upon the non-African communities to "activate" themselves as organisations, the S.A.C.P. shows no shame in attacking us for "spreading racialism and a Savimbo kind of nationalism" (see p. 17 of the African Communist No. 65 Second Quarter, 1976). The S.A.C.P. speaks of Ghetto 'nationalism'. They say on page 18 of their Statement (in the African Communist op. cit.):-

"Like Vorster, they (i.e. the African nationalists in the A.N.C.) believe that the place of a Coloured and an Indian is to work only in his own ghetto amongst his own people."

The two positions of the S.A.C.P. on the role of the non-African communities shows clearly that the White leadership of the S.A.C.P. is determined to use the non-African minorities to confuse fundamental questions of our struggle. In 1970 they saw an independent role for the organisations of the non-African communities and called upon them to reactivate these bodies. It should be noted that this was the advice of the S.A.C.P. even though the Morogoro Conference had served their other objective of capturing the leadership of the A.N.C. In 1976 they attribute "ghetto nationalism" to all Africans who insist that the non-African communities have an important role to play as allies of the African people by revolutionising the minority communities into active struggle. The 1976 S.A.C.P. slogan of "Ghetto nationalism" and "Savimbe kind of nationalism" clearly shows how their own previous pronouncements are "ghetto nationalist" in spirit and letter. Marxist phrasemongering does not hide and never will succeed to hide the White racist superiority attitudes of the S.A.C.P. towards African nationalism. They hate and fear African nationalism to such an extent that they will do everything in their power to destroy it even if that means dividing the African national struggle for liberation from the yoke of foreign rule.

The S.A.C.P. go on in their Statement to say (p. 18)

"The rare character of their so-called nationalism is revealed further in their statement that it is the duty of non-Africans in the struggle to 'humble themselves'. This is clearly the language of racism not of comradeship or revolutionary nationalism".

In fact this "language of racism not of comradeship or revolutionary nationalism" is a verbatim report of the 'language' of Moses Kotane General Secretary of the S.A.C.P. and also Treasurer-General of the A.N.C. now ill in Moscow. He uttered these words at the 1966

joint Consultative meeting of the N.E.C. of the A.N.C. and leaders of the other sister organisations. To be exact, this was in reply to the late Michael Harmel, another prominent member of the C.C. of the S.A.C.P. who wanted to know what the role of Whites, and other minority communities was going to be. Moses Kotane thundered:

"YOU MUST HUMBLE YOURSELVES AND SUBORDINATE YOURSELVES TO THE CAUSE", etc.

He went on to call upon the non-African communities to accept African leadership without asking for membership of the A.N.C. or the formation of bogus 'Councils of War' when they had not even decided as organisations to wage war. As soon as Kotane fell ill in 1968, his White S.A.C.P. comrades engineered the disastrous Morogoro Conference in 1969 where they "gained" open membership of the A.N.C. and the

"one WHITE, one Indian, and one coloured" as the S.A.C.P. 1976 Statement itself(p.33) admits got themselves included on the Revolutionary Council (R.C.) The White is Joe Slovo, the Indian is Dr. Yusuf Dadoo - Deputy Chairman of the R.C. and the Coloured is Reggie September. All are members of the S.A.C.P. None of their national organisations has decided to wage war. Slovo belongs to no national organisation of his own people as the Whites who fought for A.N.C. membership dissolved their organisation, the Congress of Democrats (C.O.D.) in 1960 soon after Sharpeville when Vorster's fascist measures became draconian. But then what could we expect from the C.O.D. Whites who also dissolved the C.F.S.A. in 1950 in the face of the enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act. They are cowards who cannot stand up and fight for themselves. No. They must hide behind the Blacks; control and direct the struggles of the Africans; instigate 'expulsions' in the A.N.C.; secure good 'cushy' jobs in universities, colleges and international agencies using A.N.C. credentials; live with the White middle class in South

Africa, and abroad but make sure that they can live on the misery, poverty and socio-economic degradation of all the Black oppressed people in S.A. They are experts on African oppression; they speak for the African and use the ill-gotten gains of the bogus Morogoro Conference to legitimise their usurpation of power in the A.N.C. These White middle class liberals headed by the Slovos who masquerade as Marxists will stop at nothing to maintain their privileged position in the national liberation struggle of the African people. It is, of course, the Tambo clique that allows this appalling state of affairs. But the African people in Soweto; in Zululand, in the Orange Free State and in the Eastern Cape are beginning to give their complete rejection of this bogus White leadership of Blacks. The revolutionary Coloured youth in the Western Cape have joined hands with their African brothers to reject White domination. The White liberals in the A.N.C. must heed the signals. The time for White Baaskop is over - even in Tambo's A.N.C. O. R. Tambo must show a little more courage by removing the White liberals from all A.N.C. organs. African unity is more important than making the A.N.C. an appendage of the Sino-Soviet dispute used by the Moscow-supported White liberals such as the Slovos. We stand for African unity, <sup>we fight for African unity.</sup> This was the very first principle enunciated clearly as a primary objective in 1912 when the A.N.C. was founded.

6. WORKING-CLASS:

Throughout its document, the S.A.C.P. talks of the working-class without bothering to analyse it in the S.A. context. This is a persistent failing of the S.A.C.P. that reflects the fact that the S.A.C.P. grew out of White trade union bodies whose membership racially excluded Black workers. The White workers in S.A. are a privileged class and constitute an integral part of the State and political machinery for the subjugation of the Black people. They provide the social basis for the State machinery of repression in upholding the White supremacy that places them in a position of privilege and power. They are not just a 'labour aristocracy'

as defined in Marxist terms; they are the main force of the ruling-class providing both the manpower and leadership for the ARMY, NAVY, POLICE AND PRISONS. From the ranks of the White workers are forged the instruments of White domination - socially, politically, economically.

Why does the S.A.C.P. attack us for pointing out the very real need to consider the national struggle for liberation in a manner that does not confuse it with the class struggle? The class struggle in S.A. has this fundamental peculiarity of a White working class that is not only the social basis of White political domination but forms also a significant part of the expansionist character of the S.A. state as is evidenced by the role of S.A. White military forces in Namibia, Angola, and Zimbabwe. The inclusion of Blacks in these imperialist expansionist adventures does not change the hegemony of the Whites over the S.A. ARMED FORCES. Let us put the question differently: which is the main contradiction in S.A. - Is it the contradiction between the Black oppressed people and the White oppressors - or is it simply a struggle between capital and labour? Is it the contradiction posed by the presence of massive foreign imperialist investments in S.A. against the interests of the African people? Is it the imperialist role of S.A. as a policeman for Western, and her own interests in Southern Africa as evinced by S.A.'s. recent aggression against Angola and continued defiance of the U.N. over Namibia and Zimbabwe? Whilst we do not deny the close nature of the class and national struggle in S.A. we reject with contempt the S.A.C.P. loose interpretation of working class to include the very oppressors who constitute part of the main contradiction in our view - namely, the national oppression and complete dispossession of the Black people by the White ruling class. We are not going to confuse our people on this question - and no amount of talk about "revolutionary

nationalism" and "bourgeois nationalism" will make us abandon a position which alone makes possible the mapping out of strategy and tactics for a revolutionary alliance of anti-fascist forces. The question of fascism is different from the question of national oppression. Whites too who oppose the apartheid State and its fascist machinery suffer the penalties prescribed for such opposition. But that does not convert those Whites into victims of national oppression. It does create a basis for anti-fascist solidarity. The S.A.C.P. uses the "working class" label to give respectability to its White leadership whose origin is petit-bourgeois. Indeed in some instances their origin goes up to levels of big capitalist factory ownership (e.g. the Slovos). The class composition of the White leadership of the S.A.C.P. has led them to the grave errors of principle in evolving an appropriate theory of revolution for the S.A. situation. Now they try to use the glory of Frelimo and M.P.L.A. to disguise their own political bankruptcy.

In 1922 the White workers in S.A. went on a strike directed against Black workers whose wages and conditions were going to be improved. At one time the S.A.C.P. supported the White workers. At another time the same S.A.C.P. vacillated between support for Black peoples' struggles and support for the White workers whom they continued to see as a revolutionary force in the period 1922 to 1928. The 6th Congress of the Comintern put an end to this opportunism but as we have correctly pointed out on page 12 of our Statement, the slogan of the

"Independent Native (i.e. Black or African because in those days Native referred exclusively to AFRICANS) Republic as a stage towards a workers and peasants government, with full protection and equal rights for all minorities"

was "resisted" by the S.A.C.P.

The delegation which went to the 6th Congress of the Comintern in Moscow in 1928 was headed by S. P. Bunting and included Rebecca Bunting (his wife) and Eddie Roux. On page 37 of the C.P. document we read that

"Already by 1928, of the 1750 Party members, 1600 were Africans. It was also during the middle and late twenties that names famous in South Africa's working class and national movements, like J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane, Albert Nzula, were already leaders and activists of the Party. By 1929 Albert Nzula was the Assistant General Secretary of the Party and was acting as Editor of its official organ, The S.A. Worker." (A.C. No. 65 2nd Quarter 1976, p. 37)

Yet out of 1600 African C.P. members not one was seen fit to be in the delegation to an International Congress to discuss the fate of the Blacks. Out of 150 White C.P. members the three were chosen. Eddie Roux dismisses both the position the delegation took and the myth of African majority in leading C.P. organs.

Referring to our statement the S.A.C.P. writes that "every single line bristles with deliberate distortions and lies" (A.C. No. 65, 2nd Quarter 1976 p. 36) and on page 37 they ask: "Why then do the authors of the Makiwane document falsify so blatantly when they say that the Party "resisted the slogan?"

Eddie Roux, on page 61 of his book "Rebel Pity" puts it categorically clear that: "Bunting and indeed with him the majority of the South African Party were opposed to the slogan, which they realised would make it impossible for them to continue work among the white workers". Well, Messrs. Slovo & Co. who is falsifying what here?"

Further on, we read with curiosity the following revelation: "Actually the African majority was only a mechanical gesture, more a manner of speaking than a meaningful reality. The new Native



members, though continually and intensively coached in the theory and practice of the new line, the fight against the reformist danger, were in fact bewildered and always subservient. Their presence was unreal." (Rebel Pity by Eddie & Win Roux, p. 98). Eddie Roux was a member of the Political Bureau during this period. The S.A.C.P. should stop throwing mud at our faces! It becomes crystal clear that they have material interests in confusing the fundamental issues of our national struggle.

7. AFRICAN TRADE UNIONISM:

On page 38 of A.C. (op. cit.) the S.A.C.P. attacks our statement for stating that

"it (the S.A.C.P.) opposed all moves aimed at consolidating African trade unionism, insisting on a multi-racial set-up despite the fact that the White working class had shown its determination to carve for itself a position of privilege and was to support Industrial Colour Bar and Job Reservation."

Well, it is a fact of history that South African Marxism emerged at a time when the White working class totally accepted the predominant racial ideology of the White ruling class. The White working class became an integral part of the colonial settler White community and enjoyed all the rights and political power that the system denied to the "Natives". With the 1931 Statute of Westminster, and the Status of Union Act, Act No. 69 of 1934 the Whites acquired the basis for shedding their "colonial" image and proclaimed themselves as the "supreme and sovereign" rulers. We shall not go into the share of British imperialism in this spurious transformation of a White settler community into "legitimised indigenous" rulers. When the 1922 Strike of the White miners' against the Chamber of Mines came, the C.P.S.A. stood on the side of the White reactionary workers who resorted to

strike action to prevent the African miners from gaining meagre wage increases that constituted no threat to the living standards of the Whites. The S.A.C.P. then had no compunctions about supporting a reactionary tendency - and did so in the name of the international working class slogan "Workers of the World Unite". The S.A.C.P. chose the side of a corrupt White working class rather than relate<sup>to</sup> the emerging African Nationalism. The immigrant White workers coming from Europe feared competition with cheap black labour. Instead of allying itself with the Black workers in order to smash the racist industrial structures - they sought to keep the Black worker under. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.) founded in 1919 developed into the largest organisation of Black workers. Its leader, Clements Kadalie, excluded the Communists from holding office in his union in 1926. But the White racism of people like W. H. Andrews and Bennie Weinbren, both White trade unionists and leading C.P.S.A. figures, did not endear the C.P. and White workers to the Black workers when the two C.P. leaders played an instrumental role in seeing to it that Kadalie's I.C.U. was refused affiliation to the S.A. Trade Union Congress. Bennie Weinbren was quite open about the real motives of the C.P. leaders in this anti-working class activity - he said " ..... we were all afraid he (Clements Kadalie) would swamp us (the White workers)."

And that was the attitude of the C.P.S.A. in 1927 - one year before the 6th Congress of the Comintern adopted the historic "Independent Native Republic" resolution - not the lies on p. 23 of S.A.C.P. Statement.

The South African Trades and Labour Council (S.A.T.L.C.) also collapsed in 1953 in the face of the bulk of the White workers' acceptance of the racist ideology of the Industrial Conciliation Act which consolidated the privileged class position of White

workers as part of the economic and political system of apartheid. The answer was the formation of the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.) which was really a multi-racial set-up. Its value was that it did ally itself with the national liberation struggle but remained a federal body led by Whites in the most senior offices though there were scarcely any White Trade unions affiliated to it.

#### 8. CONTROL & GUIDE TACTICS OF THE S.A.C.P.

From 1928 to 1935 the C.P.S.A. entered the second phase of its life. During this period it unhappily put up with the 1928 Comintern directive on the "Independent Native Republic". In fact the Comintern had to send an envoy, Eugene Dennis, to see that the C.P.S.A. honoured both the spirit and letter of the 1928 Resolution. In 1929 Douglas Wolton, the head of the C.P.S.A. at the time, returned from the Comintern in Moscow - "armed with directives from the Comintern for the bolshevization of the Communist Party of South Africa" (Eddie & Win Roux, "Rebel Pity", p. 93). But the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany in the 1930's led to the Comintern adopting the slogan of "united fronts" against fascism.

#### MOSES KOTANE EXPELLED.

In 1935 Kotane put forward the slogan of a united front of Non-White organisations. The S.A.C.P. attacked him for bourgeois reformism because he stressed that these united fronts must be free of C.P.S.A. domination. This is how Eddie Roux records the events that followed and led to an abandonment of the 1928 Resolution on "Independent Native Republic":

"In particular he (Bach, a White C.P.S.A. leader) was presently able to accuse Moses Kotane of bourgeois reformism. This was because Kotane had put forward the suggestions of forming a united front of Non-European organisations, a sort of all-in association

in which the Party should not thrust itself too openly into the picture. Kotane maintained that the Party inevitably destroyed every united front mass organisation by blatantly taking control and dominating its policy. This he considered bad strategy ..... Kotane argued that a united front to be successful must be a real unity in which Africans could act and make decisions and feel that they had genuine power and control".

We fully endorse Kotane's views on this matter in so far as control of one organisation by another is destructive.

"Bach did not stop at rejecting and criticising Kotane's proposal but found in it evidence of a fundamental deviation. The trouble was, he said, that Kotane's interpretation of the slogan of the Native Republic was incorrect. So now once more the slogan controversy flared up but at a different level. It was no longer a question of being for or against the slogan which by now we all in theory accepted, but of being for or against a certain interpretation of the slogan. Kotane ..... held that the original formulation of the slogan was correct, namely that the Native Republic was a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government. But while the Comintern representative had been in South Africa a change had come about so that the Native Republic was now synonymous and synchronous with the workers' and peasants' government: the idea of stages had been jettisoned. It was this new version which Bach now insisted on. And he

now argued that Kotane's plan for a united front not blatantly dominated by communists was evidence of his lack of understanding of the Party's true role as guide and leader in all workers' organisations."

(Eddie & Win Roux,  
"Rebel Pity" pp. 142-143)

So Moses M. Kotane and 5 others were expelled from the C.P.S.A. in September 1935. This was the second group of expulsions - the first having been four years earlier when S.P. Bunting, W. H. Andrews, Solly Sachs, Bennie Weinbren, C. B. Tyler, F. Weinbren were "removed".

Old EVIL DESIGNS of the S.A.C.P.

But expulsions are an old evil design of the S.A.C.P. to which it resorts to silence its critics. In the A.N.C. these methods are alien. Duma Nokwe was 'expelled' by the A.N.C. Youth League branch of ORLANDO in 1954 soon after his return from a Youth Festival in Europe. At the annual A.N.C. Youth League conference in Uitenhage in 1954 it was Milner Ntsangani, the Conference Speaker, Alfred Kgokong Mqota, the late Lungile Kepe and the late Robert Resha who showed the "unconstitutional" nature of the 'expulsion'. The Conference restored Nokwe's membership. But he forgot that experience when he allowed himself to be used as the A.N.C. hatchet-man of the White-led S.A.C.P. Perhaps Nokwe's mind had already begun to be unbalanced when he undertook all these divisive activities on behalf of the S.A.C.P. It is his White bosses headed by the Slovos who are to blame for this shameful page in A.N.C. history. The 'expulsion' of Duma was deemed unconstitutional because he was not given an opportunity to defend himself; there were also no clear allegations against him that amounted to contravention of the A.N.C. Constitution and policy. He was expelled in his absence.

The decision to 'expel' the 8 was also unconstitutional although this time it is Duma Nokwe who is guilty of perpetrating an unconstitutional act. We have no knowledge of any clear allegations against each one of us separately. A clumsy attempt was made to call us a faction but there is no evidence of factional activity - only the slanderous diatribe of the White-led S.A.C.P. that does not even try to disguise its malice and venomous hatred of any African who subscribes to the policy of African self-reliance in political thought and action. Soweto proves that in order to overthrow the White oppressors, Africans must unite and rely on their own sacrifices and leadership. Whites must no longer be allowed to meddle in African affairs. The decision to 'expel' us from the A.N.C. was taken by Whites in the S.A.C.P. That is why the S.A.C.P. saw to it that they attacked us in their mouthpiece the "African Communist No. 65, 1976" - speaking on behalf of the A.N.C. openly this time and the Tambo clique could do nothing about that. They are used as tools of the S.A.C.P. The decision to 'expel' us is unconstitutional in the same manner that the 1954 Orlando A.N.C.Y.L. decision to expel Nokwe was unconstitutional. We have not been given any opportunity to refute the false and slanderous allegations. The decision itself was read to a multi-racial meeting in which the White-led S.A.C.P. acquiesced in Nokwe's treacherous act against both the letter and the spirit of the A.N.C. Constitution. What a mockery of the A.N.C.! What an insult to the spirit of Chief Lutuli - for Whites and Indians to have the effrontery to 'expel' Africans from their own national organisation! And then they use the S.A.C.P. journals to speak on behalf of the A.N.C. in a further attempt to destroy the African leadership of the A.N.C. History will reverse this betrayal with a vengeance. Surely a terrible Nemesis will overtake the White-led S.A.C.P. and its hangers-on.

9. OUR AFRICAN OUTLOOK:

We shall continue to subscribe to and uphold African nationalism as our liberatory outlook. Our entire ideological perspective is based on African nationalism - that political philosophy that rejects White domination and imperialist exploitation. A philosophy that is the mainspring of the African revolution against colonial rule and monopoly domination. It takes different forms in different historical conditions but it is a uniting force out of which new forms of social organisation grow. In Tanzania it is the mass-supported Ujamaa-line; in Guinea, Sekou Toure has developed unique forms of mass participation and investment in human capital; in Angola and Mozambique something new is being born. In South Africa the Black consciousness movement has revitalised African resistance to Apartheid as a political system. We uphold the banners of African nationalism which White racist rule so assiduously sought to destroy and which the S.A.C.P. too very violently attacks. They fear African oneness because it will re-unite South Africa with the rest of Africa in rebuilding our plundered continent.

10. TAMBO CATCHES A MALICIOUS S.A.C.P. DOCUMENT:

The S.A.C.P. has tried to thwart the African's liberatory outlook. One successful method which they use has been to malign African leaders. In 1971 they called upon S.A.C.P. members not to cooperate with Robert Resha, M. A. Makiwane, T. A. Makiwane, J. D. Mattou, Raymond Kunene, Thami Mhlambiso, Alfred Kgokong and Mzwai Pilliso. This was after a meeting of the A.N.C. National Executive in 1971 had decided to allocate different tasks to be handled by these African leaders. O. R. Tambo caught the S.A.C.P. document and objected to its circulation. The S.A.C.P. White leadership promised not to do it again. But what they did was to engineer the 'expulsions' of the 8 that brought the A.N.C. crisis

out into the open.

It has been alleged in the S.A.C.P. attack on us that some of the 8 leaders 'expelled' were present at the 1969 Morogoro Conference. This is true. If they accepted some of the resolutions of that Conference in good faith it is because they were not aware of the evil designs and machinations of the Slovo clique in the S.A.C.P. Now all the motives of the White-led S.A.C.P. are clear. Slovo is busy projecting himself as the MILITARY expert for the A.N.C. Dadoo is used as the voice for minority interests whilst effectively having taken over the A.N.C. leadership, Reggie September and Alex la Guma play the same roles. Those who believed in the good intentions of the White-led S.A.C.P.'s clamour for A.N.C membership can now see for themselves why the S.A.C.P. and its affairs are clandestine to the A.N.C. whilst every A.N.C. thought or deed or office is open to S.A.C.P. members who exercise this dual role effectively in the interests of the S.A.C.P. Those who were present at Morogoro in 1969 have now seen the grave mistake they made in accepting the Morogoro Resolutions. They have changed their minds and say so openly. There is nothing wrong or shameful about somebody correcting his own mistake. Indeed, there is an old Chinese saying which warns that -

"HE WHO COMMITS A MISTAKE AND DOES NOT  
CORRECT IT - IS COMMITTING ANOTHER MISTAKE."

## II. C.P.S.A. RESISTANCE TO THE NATIVE REPUBLIC:

Earlier we have already shown how dissention arose between the C.P.S.A. and the Comintern Leadership on the implementation of the 1928 Comintern resolution concerning the "Native Republic". The Comintern at different times sent its own representatives to ensure that the C.P.S.A. was honouring the "Native Republic" resolution. But historical evidence shows that some of these representatives fell under the duress and influence of the White-led C.P.S.A. who



always saw the racist White South African worker as the ally of the African worker and peasant in spite of the nakedly racist national oppression of all Africans.

The Comintern representative referred to earlier who aided and abetted the abandonment of the essence of the 1928 Independent Native Republic slogan in 1935 was George Hardy of the Communist Party of Great Britain who even advised the G.P.S.A. to ally itself to the S.A. Labour Party. To curry favour with the racist S.A. Labour Party in pursuing Comintern "Peoples Front" policies, the G.P.S.A. agreed to omit any mention of the "Native Republic" in "Peoples Front" manifesto. The aim was to attract appeal for and gain White support at the expense of the "Natives". In their book "Class and Colour in South Africa", H. J. and R. E. Simons record the Hardy episode in biting language:-

"Substituting reformist phrases for left slogans, Hardy guided the Party into making a great turn to the right." (p.477) "Under Hardy's guidance, the Party became less intensively militant and more broadly respectable. Its paper was re-named the S.A. Worker in June 1936 and made a severe cut in the space given to news and comment in Bantu languages." (p.479)

Our document does not "blatantly falsify" when it says the Party 'resisted the slogan' of 1928 on the Native Republic. The Party in 1935 adopted a reactionary position towards the Blacks that is far more heinous than the tame phrase "resisted the slogan". It is the upper middle-class leadership of the Whites who dominate the A.N.C. and S.A.C.P. that deliberately falsifies history. This racist attitude of the G.P.S.A. towards the Blacks is even evident in the writings of W. H. Harrison, "Memoirs of a Socialist" (Cape Town, 1947), who was a founder-member of the G.P.S.A. He wrote:-

"But alas! Native psychology is not capable of

visualising Utopian schemes that may in the dim future mean his emancipation. I would like to give them the opportunity of establishing a Native Republic, with 8 million Natives as members of the C.P. What would the Party do with them?" (p.121)

## 12. THE S.A.C.P. MIDDLE-CLASS LEADERSHIP:

The S.A.C.P. say we are a "middle-class clique". What a White racist fraud they are - and insulting to Black leaders to boot. We are the sons of Black workers and peasants - one and all. It is not ourselves but the Slovos who own factories in South Africa run on very cheap black labour. We shall not go into the social origins of the Indian leadership of the S.A.C.P. because they too are deeply embedded in the exploitative activities of the Indian merchant class whose supercilious behaviour towards the Africans led to the Durban Riots of 1949.

The third phase of the C.P.S.A. as a legal body covers the period 1935 to 1950 when the C.P.S.A. dissolved itself. This dissolution is a distinction which only the Party and the White Congress of Democrats enjoy. Other Parties elsewhere in the world under worse conditions of repression chose to fight. But the White-dominated C.P.S.A. chose to dissolve itself. When that epoch-making event took place, the Central Committee of the C.P.S.A. comprised 10 Whites, 3 Africans, 3 Indians and 1 Coloured. Even if the Blacks wanted to do so, they could not "resist" successfully whatever whims and fancies the 10 Whites had on matters of theory and practice. The "Independent Native Republic" was later replaced after 1950 when the C.P.S.A. became the S.A.C.P. by the theory of "internal colonialism" or "colonialism of a special type" - a figment of the Whites who refuse to see clearly the contradiction between White oppressors and exploiters on the one hand and the mass of the Black people on the other. The C.P. of the U.S.A.

has developed a clear theoretical attitude to the phenomenon of White racism against Blacks. Even though the Afro-Americans are a minority in the U.S.A. the C.P. of the U.S.A. has more clearly and honestly tried to grapple with the social dimension of White racism by providing that all matters affecting Blacks as a minority be resolved by Black members of the Party first and foremost. The S.A.C.P. is more concerned with depicting the African nationalists of S.A. as racists. To protect White interests, they have developed S.A.C.P. theory into becoming an instrument for the defence and championing of minority interests against the African majority.

13. S.A.C.P. MANIPULATION OF BLACK MINORITIES:

The Coloured and Indian people are deliberately used in this trick of the Whites to perpetuate their own dominant position over all Blacks. Those Blacks from the oppressed minorities who allow themselves to be used to protect the privileges of Whites do more harm than good to themselves. Some Whites claim that they are in positions of authority by virtue of the fact that they have special skills and expertise. We know that this is a thinly-veiled cover to justify White leadership of Blacks in the national struggle of the Blacks for their own liberation as a people. Ben Turok explains this situation as follows:-

"But there were Whites of a different stamp, Communists and democrats who were active within the liberation movement. Can the charge of diluting the struggle be made out about them? They were certainly influential through the C.P. and the C.O.D. (Congress of Democrats - organ of Whites until it dissolved itself in 1960) and their very direct involvement in the action. They could hardly be faulted on the grounds of their commitment. At most it may be said that they (together with

many Blacks) strove to play down African nationalism in the Alliance in order to develop a non-racial democratic programme.

There was also an implicit assumption in the Alliance that all racial groups could play a somewhat equal role and the necessity of always ensuring the leading role of Africans was sometimes forgotten. Perhaps the participation of Whites in the movement did inhibit the development of self-confidence and leadership qualities of Africans as some people suggest, since White South Africans, like intellectuals in any movement, tend to work with greater confidence, using their talents and expertise with effect. Perhaps, though the evidence is far from conclusive." (Ben Turok, "South Africa: The Search for a Strategy" in The Socialist Register, 1973, p. 351)

The idea of "internal colonialism" like that of White domination of Blacks in the Black liberation struggle have both occasioned some heart-searching among some S.A. Whites whose political integrity emerges as they ask the awkward questions relating to revolution in S.A. Harold Wolpe is no longer certain about the theoretical applicability of the idea of "internal colonialism" in the South African situation and has argued tentatively in that direction. He wrote:

"I leave open whether the notion of 'internal colonialism' has any proper application in conditions of racial discrimination where, however, the internal relations within the society are overwhelmingly capitalist in

nature, that is, where non-capitalist modes of production, if they exist at all, are marginal."

(Harold Wolpe in: "The Theory of Internal Colonialism - The South African Case", Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists, 9. AUTUMN 1974. p. 11)

**14. CONGRESS ALLIANCE:**

On page 16 of the C.C. of the S.A.C.P. booklet entitled "The Enemy Hidden under the Same Colour", they say that the open membership decision

"explicitly referred only to the external mission of the A.N.C. They conveniently omit to mention that the decision explicitly excluded non-Africans from serving on the N.E.C. of the A.N.C."

This is a silly way of defending oneself. You are a member of A.N.C. outside S.A. but you are not a member inside S.A. You are a member of the A.N.C. outside S.A. but you are not a member of the N.E.C. of the A.N.C. and never will be both inside and outside S.A. What hypocrisy causes the S.A.C.P. to devise this type of humbug? Of what use is membership of an organisation if you are not allowed to take part in the decision-making organs of that Organisation? It appears to us that this is a more brutal form of racist 'exclusiveness' in thought and organisation than our view that there should be no deception in our dealings with all sections of our national liberation struggle. The A.N.C. is the Sword and the Shield of the African people - those who pretend it is not, end in the abject treachery of people like Joe Matthews who now even argues for Boer nationalism as being on an equal footing with African nationalism. We know the White oppressor and will deny him the right to dominate and oppress the Black people whether they do so inside the liberation movement or from the enemy side of the

barricades as Joe Matthews now does.

It is interesting to see that the C.C. of the SACP has now forgotten their call to the non-African communities to reactivate themselves. We shall again refer to the C.C. 1970 Report. Dealing with the Congress Alliance in paragraphs 46 - 49 they wrote:

"46. For all practical purposes there was no functioning S.A.C.T.U. organisation inside the country. Neither the C.P.C. nor the S.A.I.C. existed either within or outside the country in the sense of a defined and functioning national leadership with the organised allegiance of a rank-and-file. In the case of S.A.I.C. there exists a group of scattered individuals who feel a personal loyalty to the organisation and some of its leaders outside. They have met together from time to time but do not regard themselves (nor are they regarded by others) as the formal successors to the S.A.I.C. leadership. In the case of C.P.C. the activities of the Desai faction encouraged a more formal response and some sort of London leadership grouping, however, falls short of a functioning and recognised national executive. - - - - -

48. Does all this mean that there is no longer a role for bodies like the S.A.I.C. and C.P.C. even in the ad hoc, uncertain and ill-defined form in which they exist today? We believe they do have a role. These organisations are still formally legal. It is a spurious type of legality and no doubt if an attempt is made inside the country to intensify activities even if they

stop short of support for the armed struggle,  
they will at the very least attract administra-  
tive and legal action. - - - - - Bodies  
like the S.A.I.C. and the C.P.C. can still initiate  
certain levels of activity amongst their communi-  
ties - - - - - But these bodies need to  
activate their communities politically so as to draw  
them closer and closer to the struggle and to  
involve the best elements into the more demanding  
and closely-knit revolutionary structures". (see  
under 5 "Ghetto 'nationalism'")

The 'Congress Alliance' is dead. The mockery of 'open A.N.C. membership' outside South Africa clouds an important issue - namely, what role the non-African communities must play in the fight to smash the apartheid system. To pretend that all Blacks are Africans is to create the basis for serious dissention on cultural, social and linguistic grounds among the Black people as a whole later on. The Indian people have a different historical background to that of the Africans. They have a different language and follow different cultural patterns of life from the African. Their religious beliefs and practices are different from those of the Africans.

The Coloured people too have a distinct historical and cultural background as an oppressed Black minority. For many years the Boers have tried to present the Coloured people as an appendage of the Boers. All this has failed. The policy of apartheid is shown as hollow and fraudulent more starkly than ever when the national position of the Coloured people is considered. We stand for full, equal and common citizenship for every person irrespective of race, colour, creed, or language or religion in a new South Africa. We believe that the cultural diversity, linguistic and

religious patterns will continue to reflect the varied nature of the peculiarities that are embodied in our national situation. We do not believe in forcible suppression of any of these social forms of diversity. We stand for a united, free and democratic South Africa, where all people regardless of colour, race, sex or creed shall live in harmony.

The significance of the 1969 Morogoro decision is that it was taken by a Consultative Conference of hand-picked delegates of Africans, Indians, Coloureds and Whites in exile. It was taken without a mandate from the A.N.C. membership both inside as well as outside South Africa. It contravened the A.N.C. Constitution and established confusing and political practices, by enabling non-Africans to assume positions of leadership in an otherwise purely African national organisation. The total effect of all this was to wrest control of the very political instrument through which Africans can retrieve their national birthright from the White racist regime of South Africa.

We want to build an African United Front that recognises the right of the non-African communities to fight shoulder to shoulder with the African people but 'bogus open membership of the A.N.C.' only delays a full discussion of the national question and the formulation of fundamental principles of a Black United Front of all revolutionary organisations of the oppressed people in South Africa. We believe that the main political force in South Africa is and has always been African Nationalism. The African people of South Africa are the main revolutionary content of the South African struggle for national liberation. Their unity is a prerequisite that should herald a unity of all democratic and anti-fascist forces in South Africa. Their liberation will mean the liberation of all oppressed minority groups in South Africa. We are presently engaged in a programme of forming an African United front of South Africa on an organisation to organisation basis and we consider it



proper that the oppressed minority groups of South Africa should "reactivate" their national organisations and rededicate themselves to the struggle that is being spearheaded by the African people inside South Africa.

The S.A.C.P. Statement, as reported in the African Communist No. 65, 1976 presents Dadoo as follows:-

"Indeed, reports indicated that the sudden disappearance at all public levels of the liberation front of leaders like Dadoo (whom the South African masses had always regarded as more than mere communal leaders) was being interpreted by many as reflecting a new policy of African exclusiveness."  
(p. 32 of the "African Communist")

This is a lie. Dadoo never disappeared from leadership levels outside South Africa. The A.N.C. included him as well as Reggie September, and M. P. Naicker, Mosie Moolia and Maulvi Cachalia in responsible positions long before the Morogoro Conference in 1969. What the A.N.C. did was to present them as leaders of the non-African minorities allied to the A.N.C. in struggle. They were not given a false membership. Dadoo, September and Naicker were in the A.N.C. delegation to the First Tricontinental Conference in Cuba in 1966. Dadoo was in the small A.N.C. group that met both the Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa and the Prime Minister - Fidel Castro. He was presented as a leader of the Indian people in South Africa. September too enjoyed our support as a leader of the Coloured people. In 1968 Dadoo, September and M. P. Naicker were again in the A.N.C. delegation to the Khartoum Solidarity Conference with the people struggling against Portuguese colonialism and White racist regimes in Southern Africa. In 1969 Dadoo, September and M. P. Naicker were in the A.N.C. delegation to the Cairo Conference in support of the struggle of the Arab people

against Zionist conquest of their lands. Dadoo and September were in Robert Resha's "A.N.C. collective" (which the S.A.C.P. 1976 Statement acknowledges, see p. 32 "African Communist" No. 65, 1976) set up to solve the complaints of non-Africans in London.

M. P. Naicker worked in Alfred Kgotong's Publicity Department as a Senior Editor, so also did Dr. A. S. Randeree. Why then did they need A.N.C. membership? They did not 'suddenly disappear at all public levels' as the S.A.C.P. Statement deliberately tries to deceive public opinion.

The Whites of South Africa have no revolutionary national organisation of their own and, therefore, cannot even pretend that there are social forces which they lead in South Africa. The White-led S.A.C.P. should stop deceiving the world on this issue.

It is to be regretted that the leadership of the South African Indian Congress and that of the Coloured People's Congress have become so subservient to the White-controlled S.A.C.P. as to abandon their organisational responsibilities to their respective communities. The leadership of these minority groups have at the behest of the White-controlled S.A.C.P. assumed direction of the Tambo-led African National Congress of S.A. and much against the will and in the face of determined resistance by the true A.N.C. members outside and inside S.A. In the process of this political treachery by minority groups leadership which have in the past presented themselves as genuine allies of the African people, the national organs of the Indians and the Coloureds of S.A. have been left to disintegrate.

We as African leaders will continue to work for revolutionary unity of the oppressed Black people but not under false banners. We are fighting for the national emancipation of the African people; for the release of the A.N.C. as an organisation from the clutches of White bureaucrats and non-African stooges of the Slovo clique.

We stand by the spirit of the address of one of the A.N.C.'s founding fathers Pixley Isaka ka Seme entitled "The Regeneration of Africa" which he delivered at Columbia University in 1906:

"Oh, for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward tide was often swelled with tears, but in whose heart bondage has not quenched the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days when Earth's noble ones are named, she has a role of honour too, of whom she is not ashamed. The giant is awakening! From the four corners of the earth Africa's sons, who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future's golden door bearing the records of deeds of valour done ..... The African already recognises his anomalous position and desires a change. The brighter day is rising upon Africa. Already I seem to see her chains dissolved, her desert plains red with harvest, her Abyssinia and her Zululand the seats of science and religion, reflecting the glory of the rising sun from the spires of their churches and universities. Her Congo and her Gambia whitened with commerce, her crowded cities sending forth the hum of business and all her sons employed in advancing the victories of peace - greater and more abiding than the spoils of war ..... Yes, the regeneration of Africa belongs to this new and powerful period! The African people, although not a strictly homogenous race, possess a common fundamental sentiment

which is everywhere manifest, crystallizing  
itself into one common controlling idea."

(see "TWO CENTURIES OF AFRICAN ENGLISH" (ed.)

LALAGE BOWEN, H.E.B. 1973 pp. 53, 55)

We reassert this view of Africa's oneness. South Africa is a part of Africa not an appendage of Europe. Her freedom shall reflect the re-unification of African society in the great comity of free and independent States of Africa in the 20th century. The African image, and the African heritage will not be allowed to be diluted and desecrated by those who look superciliously upon all that is African.

15. THE AFRICAN IMAGE OF THE A.N.C.

When Nelson R. Mandela returned from Africa in 1962 he stressed that the A.N.C. should promote its African image because the African leaders in different countries stood for PAN AFRICAN UNITY and the A.N.C. was duty bound to fall in line with the African revolution as it developed throughout the continent both in form or content. We followed that policy up to 1969 even though we scrupulously adhered to close ties with our non-African allies. Long before 1969 Jassat, Mosie Moolla, Dr. Y. Dadoo, Reg September and many others worked closely with the A.N.C. The demand for A.N.C. membership started in Joe Slovo's house in 1965 where O. R. Tambo, Robert Resha, Raymond Kurene, Alfred Kgekong met the Slovos, Dadoo, Harmel, Rosalynde Ainslie, Hilda Bernstein, Abdul Minty, Vella Pillay, and Ronnie Segal. Robert Resha and Alfred Kgekong opposed this demand and openly stated that these non-Africans wanted membership because they wanted power in the A.N.C. During the following year the S.A.C.P. led by the now discredited Joe Matthews advanced the demand for a Council of War in which Non-Africans would be included. Again the A.N.C. opposed and rejected this demand. From that time

the struggles in the S.A.C.P. and the A.N.C. took a different form. Whilst manoeuvring to gain A.N.C. membership, the S.A.C.P. got some A.N.C. leaders to be 'suspended', others to be deliberately isolated through campaigns of vilification. At the 1969 Morogoro Conference, only Robbie Resha and Thami Mhlambiso opposed the demand for "open A.N.C. membership."

In the meantime, it is the A.N.C. and the Black people who suffer, not the ambitious Whites who reaped all the fruits a White person automatically acquires under the S.A. racist system. They enjoy the best of all worlds. They are of the ruling class everywhere and remain so in personal life-style and political arrogance.

The C.C. document entitled "The Enemy hidden under the Same Colour" says at page 22:

"..... our Party has the distinction of being the first organisation in the history of our Continent to call unambiguously for black majority rule on the basis of universal suffrage."

The S.A.C.P. even in 1976 have no hesitation in displaying their political supremacy over Blacks in theory and practice. After having abandoned the "Independent Native Republic" slogan in 1935 and having substituted it with the spurious "internal colonialism" or "colonialism of a special type" slogan, they now boast about their reformist demands. The demand for voting rights can be found in the documents of various African organisations in the Cape before 1910. But the basis of African nationalism and that of full and equal citizenship by all the oppressed Black minorities derives from the blatant colonial dispossession of the African people by the White invaders. In other words - the Land question - the right to the land, the historical birthright of the African people was always and remains the potent force on which African nationalism developed. We have consciously linked African

nationalism with the objective of social liberation - namely, the struggle to abolish the exploitation of man by man.

The S.A.C.P. White leadership who oppose the political philosophy embodied in the concept of African nationalism and who oppose the African image of the A.N.C. reflect their social and class roots as petit-bourgeois White-roots firmly fixed in the historically-conditioned modes of thought that characterise White superior attitudes towards Blacks in South Africa. Many efforts have been made to reassert African revolutionary principles to guide the national liberation movement. But in exile the A.N.C. has been subjected to severe S.A.C.P. pressure to abandon these principles. This has led to internal squabbles in the A.N.C.

When seven MK (Mkhonto we Sizwe) cadres returned from the ill-fated suicidal Zimbabwe campaigns in 1968, they drew up a Memorandum to pin point certain basic weaknesses in the A.N.C. That was subsequently used to start a campaign of witch hunt amongst the A.N.C. leadership. Later Christ Nkosana (also known as Hani) one of the authors of the memorandum reasserted his belief in the correctness of the Memorandum they drew up in 1968. In the A.N.C. Report Commission of Enquiry of the 9th August, 1970 set up by O. R. Tambo and headed by the Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo - Chris Hani's evidence is summarised as follows:-

"Several witnesses expressed misgivings about the way the 'Memorandum of the Seven (1969)' was handled. Comrade Chris stated that after leaving prison in Botswana he found the Movement in a stalemate position. There was no longer any direction, there was general confusion or an unwillingness to discuss the issues of the revolution." (p. 17)

The "stalemate", the lack of "direction", the "confusion and

unwillingness to discuss issues of revolution" is still the order of the day in the Tambo A.N.C. It emanates from the attack on African nationalism and the African image by the White-led S.A.C.P. They are determined that they will define for the Africans what political theory is correct for solving problems of revolution and liberation struggles in S.A.

To conclude on this question of nationalism and the falsification that White-led S.A.C.P. tries to spread using the good name of our victorious comrades-in-arms in Frelimo and M.P.L.A. we ask A.N.C. members and all supporters of our struggle to read and study very carefully an official document of the A.N.C. presented by the late Anton Muziwake Lembede - one of the founders of the A.N.C. Youth League. O. R. Tambo should remember Document 53 of the A.N.C. Youth League because he was a Youth Leaguer then.

Document 53. "Policy of the Congress Youth League."

Article by A.M. Lembede, in Inkundla ya Bantu,  
May 1946.

"The history of modern times is the history of nationalism. Nationalism has been tested in the people's struggles and the fires of battle and found to be the only effective weapon, the only antidote against foreign rule and modern imperialism. It is for that reason that the great imperialistic powers feverishly endeavour with all their might to discourage and eradicate all nationalistic tendencies among their alien subjects: for that purpose huge and enormous sums of money are lavishly expended on propaganda against nationalism which is dubbed, designated or dismissed as 'narrow', 'barbarous', 'uncultured', 'devilish' etc. Some alien subjects become dupes of this sinister propaganda and consequently become

tools or instruments of imperialism for which great service they are highly praised, extolled and eulogised by the imperialistic power and showered with such epithets as 'cultured', 'liberal', 'progressive', 'broadminded', etc.

All over the world nationalism is rising in revolt against foreign domination, conquest and oppression in India, in Indonesia, in Egypt, in Persia and several other countries. Among Africans also clear signs of national awakening, national renaissance, or rebirth are noticeable on the far-off horizon.

A new spirit of African nationalism, or Africanism, is pervading through and stirring the African society. A young virile nation is in the process of birth and emergence. The national movement imbued with and animated by the national spirit is gaining strength and momentum. The African National Congress Youth League is called upon to aid and participate in this historical process. African nationalism is based on the following cardinal principles:

1. Africa is a blackman's country. Africans are the natives of Africa and they have inhabited Africa, their Motherland, from times immemorial; Africa belongs to them.

2. Africans are one. Out of the heterogenous tribes, there must emerge a homogeneous nation. The basis of national unity is the nationalistic feeling of the Africans, the feeling of being Africans irrespective of tribal connection, social status, educational attainment or economic class. This



nationalistic feeling can only be realised in and interpreted by (a) national movement of which all Africans must be members.

3. The Leader of the Africans will come out of their own loins. NO FOREIGNER CAN EVER BE A TRUE AND GENUINE LEADER OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE BECAUSE NO FOREIGNER CAN EVER TRULY AND GENUINELY INTERPRET THE AFRICAN SPIRIT WHICH IS UNIQUE AND PECULIAR TO AFRICANS ONLY. SOME FOREIGNERS, ASIATIC OR EUROPEAN, WHO POSE AS AFRICAN LEADERS, MUST BE CATEGORICALLY DENOUNCED AND REJECTED. AN AFRICAN MUST LEAD AFRICANS. AFRICANS MUST HONOUR, VENERATE AND FIND INSPIRATION FROM AFRICAN HEROES OF THE PAST: SHAKA, MOSHOESHOE, MAKANA, HINTSA, KHAMA, MZILIKAZI, SEKHUKHUNI, SOBHUZA AND MANY OTHERS.

4. Co-operation between Africans and other Non-Europeans on common problems and issues may be highly desirable. But this occasional co-operation CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE BETWEEN AFRICANS AS A SINGLE UNIT AND OTHER NON-EUROPEAN GROUPS AS SEPARATE UNITS. NON-EUROPEAN UNITY IS A FANTASTIC DREAM WHICH HAS NO FOUNDATION IN REALITY.

5. The divine destiny of the African people is National Freedom. Unless Africans achieve national freedom as early as possible they will be confronted with the impending doom and imminent catastrophe of extermination; they will not be able to survive the satanic forces, economic, social and political unleashed against them. Africans are being mowed down by such diseases as tuberculosis, typhus, venereal diseases etc. Infantile mortality is tremendously high. Moral and physical degeneration

is assuming alarming dimensions. MORAL AND SPIRITUAL DEGENERATION MANIFESTS ITSELF IN SUCH ABNORMAL AND PATHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA AS LOSS OF SELF CONFIDENCE, INFERIORITY COMPLEX, A FEELING OF FRUSTRATION, THE WORSHIP AND IDOLISATION OF WHITE MEN, FOREIGN LEADERS AND IDEOLOGIES. ALL THESE ARE SYMPTOMS OF A PATHOLOGICAL STATE OF MIND.

As a result of educational and industrial colour bars, young African men and women are converted into juvenile delinquents.

Now the panacea of all these ills is National Freedom, in as much as when Africans are free, they will be in a position to pilot their own ship and, unhampered, work toward their own destiny and, without external hindrance or restriction devise ways and means of saving or rescuing their perishing race.

Freedom is an indispensable condition for all progress and development. It will only be when Africans are free that they will be able to exploit fully and bring to fruition their divine talent and contribute something new towards the general welfare and prosperity of Mankind; and it will only be then that Africans will enter on a footing of equality with other nations of the world into the commonwealth of nations; and only then will Africans occupy their rightful and honourable place among the nations of the world.

6. Africans must aim at balanced progress or advancement.

We must guard against the temptation of lopsided or one-sided progress. Our forces as it were, must march forward in a co-ordinated manner and in all theatres of the war, socially, educationally, culturally, morally,

economically, and politically. Hence the Youth League must be all inclusive.

7. After national freedom, then socialism. Africans are naturally socialistic as illustrated in their social practices and customs. The achievement of national liberation will therefore herald or usher in a new era, the era of African socialism. Our immediate task, however, is not socialism, but national liberation. Our motto: FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME."

What Lambede (one of the leading founders of the A.N.C. Youth League) said in this statement in 1946 is what we as African Nationalists have said in the past, are still saying today, and will continue to say in our struggle for national liberation. This is our stand! The Statement is still an official document of the A.N.C. from which the Tambo wing deviated at the disastrous 1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference. It should be clear to our readers that by this deviation a new A.N.C. (multi-racial) was formed by Tambo at Morogoro. Lambede's statement is a clear enunciation of A.N.C. policy which many African leaders and members (in exile) have sought to defend against the overt and covert S.A.C.P. onslaughts and for which some of the A.N.C. leaders have paid the penalty of rumours, isolation, questionable suspensions and unconstitutional and bogus expulsions.

The White-led S.A.C.P. has no right to categorise African Nationalism into compartments of "narrow", "Bourgeois", "reactionary", "progressive" or "revolutionary". This is a reflection of their White supremacist arrogance whereby they arrogate unto themselves the role of being political "Messiahs" and pontificate to the African people of South Africa on matters pertaining to their own national destiny.

The A.N.C. is the political home of all the African people of South Africa - the S.A.C.P. is not. African Nationalism is the common bond which unites the African people of South Africa in their

struggle for national liberation. The A.N.C. has never sought to divide African Nationalism into any political streams nor has it ever attempted to exclude from membership any African on the basis of political ideology. Hence throughout its history in South Africa, African Communists and African Nationalists have always worked together harmoniously as members of the A.N.C. for the common objective of national emancipation.

16. SOLIDARITY WITH ANGOLA:

Basil Davidson in an article "Angola: a success that changes history" published in "RACE and CLASS" Vo. XVIII Summer 1976 No. 1 recalls the formation of Angolan nationalism in these words:

"The ideological springs of Angolan nationalism were no different in quality from those that surfaced elsewhere in colonial Africa. They flowed initially from protest against the discriminations and injustices of colonial rule, and joined 'the widening sea of nationalism' as soon as it became clear to the leaders of protest that no other strategy, save that of nationalism, could make any progress ..... But in Angola the development of nationalism took a form that was specific to conditions within the Portuguese empire." (p. 25)

When the S.A.C.P. White leadership tries to hide behind M.P.L.A. and Frelimo by calling us "Savimbis" they betray their hypocrisy on two grounds. The first is that the struggles of the African people in the former Portuguese colonies took place under 'specific conditions' not typical of the South African situation in every respect. Secondly, as the S.A.C.P. is replying to a Statement which we addressed to the A.N.C., they were in such a hurry to protect their vassal - the Tambo group of the A.N.C. - that they even forgot to read our Resolution on Angola which is a part of our Statement and one that we uphold whatever the criminal slanders directed against us. Let us

refer to that Resolution in full:-

"ON ANGOLA

Whereas we, as African nationalists unreservedly support the struggle of the people of Angola under the banner of the M.P.L.A., and the proclamation of the Peoples' Republic of Angola;

Whereas we note with alarm the machinations of the imperialist forces led by the C.I.A. and the racist South African regime, to instal their puppets into positions of power by the massive injection of money, logistic support and manpower, in an effort to maintain their neo-colonialist presence in Angola;

We resolve to:

1. give all support that we can muster to the heroic efforts of the people of Angola under the banner of the M.P.L.A;
2. Condemn imperialist presence, aggression and support for the puppet would-be governments of both F.L.N.A. and U.N.I.T.A;
3. Appeal to the O.A.U. and all African states to give recognition to the M.P.L.A. government."

(dated 27th December, 1975)

We stand by this Resolution on Angola and no degree of distortion is going to fool us though those members of the Tambo group who listen only to the S.A.C.P. will repeat whatever lies they have to utter in defence of the corrupt white-led Communist Party. Our Resolution on Angola clearly states where we stand as regards M.P.L.A. We have not tried to impose the methods and experience of the M.P.L.A., FRELIMO or P.A.I.G.C. on the S.A. situation

because there are some distinguishing local peculiarities between our situation in South Africa and the situation in the former Portuguese Colonies. It is therefore futile in discussing our national struggle and the organisational forms appropriate to it to behave as the S.A.C.P. now behaves and give the false impression that the policies and organisational structures of FRELIMO or M.P.L.A. or P.A.I.G.C. would be suitable to the South African situation. We are learning a great deal from the experience of these sister organisations, but a mechanical transfer of policies that applied to Mozambique and Angola, from those countries to South Africa, would create great difficulties. In the first place we need a thorough going social analysis of the nature and class content of all forces for revolutionary change in South Africa. These social forces have developed from a historical and political situation different from that which obtained in the former Portuguese colonies.

#### 17. POWER IN THE A.N.C.

Throughout this document we have thrown light on how the S.A.C.P. set out to capture power in the A.N.C. and to use the Revolutionary Council as an instrument of SACP domination over the entire national struggle for liberation in South Africa. We have warned that the Black oppressed minorities must beware of the S.A.C.P. stratagem of posing as the defender of minority interests because the interests the SACP protects are those of White privilege in the national liberation struggle to decide policy and direct revolutionary warfare. We finally assert that the A.N.C. at home will never accept this type of White domination and see no reason why it should do so outside. We hope that the Indian and the Coloured people both inside and outside South Africa will not allow themselves to be used against the Africans by the S.A.C.P. who are determined to dominate the

A.N.C. We are not the only ones to point out that power does not lie in the ANC. The Commission of Enquiry of the A.N.C. headed by Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the A.N.C., John Pule Motshabi, Jack Silunko, Modise Mampuru, James Stuart (Recording Secretary) and Dr. A. S. Randeree reported views and conclusions reached by them on 5th June, 1971 that vindicate our assertion that the S.A.C.P. has hijacked power from the A.N.C. At page 14 the Commission Report says:

"Comrade Nkobi stated that even as a member of the N.E.C., and the Revolutionary Council, these were things about which he was not informed. This may or may not be the result of factionalism but it certainly raises the question of where exactly does power lie in the A.N.C., what and who is the ultimate repository of power."

So not only does power not lie in the A.N.C., but there is factionalism in the National Executive Committee of the A.N.C., and in the so-called Revolutionary Council long after the S.A.C.P. saw to the "removal" of genuine A.N.C. leaders from all activities in the national struggle.

At p. 18 of the S.A.C.P. Statement (see African Communist No. 65, 1976) the following appears:-

"For example, the A.N.C.'s Revolutionary Council is overwhelmingly African in composition including in its ranks only one Indian, one Coloured and one White, and with 100% African membership at its Headquarters. According to this group, this is enough to put the Revolutionary Council 'under the hegemony' of the 'clique of non-Africans'."

Yes, we repeat that it is enough to put the R.C. under the hegemony

of a clique of non-Africans.

Eddie Roux showed how "mechanical" African majorities in S.A.C.P. organs had no meaning (see p. 98 of "Rebel Pity" by Eddie and Win Roux). Tom Nkobi in his evidence to the A.N.C. Commission reported above shows clearly that the Revolutionary Council was dominated by the S.A.C.P. Whites. Tom Nkobi is Treasurer of the A.N.C. whilst Kotane is ill; he is a member of the N.E.C. of the A.N.C.; he is a member of the Revolutionary Council; he is at Headquarters, he gave evidence in an A.N.C. Commission headed by Alfred Nzo, the A.N.C. Secretary-General which reported as stated above on page 44.

In Part Three of the Commission Report headed "Conclusions of the Commission of Enquiry into the incidents at Roma Township" at page 31 under the sub-heading "THE ANC OF SOUTH AFRICA" we find the following gem on the powerlessness of the A.N.C. -

"The COMMISSION is concerned that a member of both the N.E.C. and the R.C., the highest organs of the A.N.C. (S.A.) should complain that he is not informed of all aspects of A.N.C. (S.A.) work. The Commission is not aware of the reason for this but the obvious question is power and authority in the A.N.C. (S.A.). To the Commission it is self-evident that in the absence of a Conference power and authority must be vested in the N.E.C. To it must lead all information and work and from it must flow guidelines and directions. Or is there an unnamed source of power and authority?"

Our answer to this question "Where does power lie in the A.N.C.?" is simple. In the Tambo wing of the A.N.C. power lies with the White controlled South African Communist Party. The S.A.C.P.



uses that 'power' to dominate the A.N.C., to misguide the African revolutionary struggle and to drive wedges among the Black oppressed people. We re-state that the S.A.C.P. has hijacked the A.N.C. and leadership of the struggle of the African people in South Africa. The S.A.C.P. is mainly concerned with extracting guarantees from Africans that amount to giving the S.A.C.P. white leadership roles in a new South Africa even before African emancipation is attained. A Commission of the A.N.C. headed by the Secretary-General of the A.N.C. as its chairman with all the other members of the Commission being "trusted people" freely chosen by written order of O. R. Tambo as President of the A.N.C., has asked the question that we have sought to answer. Power and authority over the A.N.C. and the entire Congress Movement in South Africa have been usurped by the S.A.C.P. White leadership. We are struggling relentlessly to redeem it for the Africans in their organisation, the A.N.C., and for the other oppressed Black minorities in their own sovereign organisations.

18. THE LATEST TAMBO - S.A.C.P. BETRAYAL:

The political paralysis that has set in in the A.N.C. as a result of its being controlled and dominated by the S.A.C.P. white leadership, has been demonstrated more recently by the recent events of the June 16 Soweto Movement inside South Africa. Never before had the objective conditions been so ripe for the beginnings of armed struggle in S.A.

Credit for the June 16 Soweto Movement must go to the Black Consciousness Movement spearheaded by the South African Students' Association (S.A.S.O.), the South African Students' Movement (S.A.S.M.), and the Black People's Convention (B.P.C.). The weight of the revolutionary situation has now passed, except for a few remaining flashes. In all this political activity the

involvement of the exiled sections of the old liberation movements of S.A. viz. the African National Congress (A.N.C.), the Pan Africanist Congress (P.A.C.) and the Unity Movement of South Africa (U.M.S.A.) has been disappointingly N I L. These exiled organisations have been conspicuous by their absence from the scene of battle.

It is now more than 15 years since Oliver Reginald Tambo left South Africa and established the A.N.C. 'Mission Abroad' for purposes of preparing for guerrilla warfare inside South Africa. Yet Tambo has nothing to show for all the material support that the outside world has given him. Not a shot has been fired in defence of the defenceless Black people of South Africa. These are the direct results of surrendering the leadership of the A.N.C. to the Slovos of the S.A.C.P. The judgment of history will be that Tambo sold his soul to the S.A.C.P. white leadership and in the process betrayed the struggle of the African people of S.A.

19. A CALL TO AFRICAN UNITY:

In the light of this grave political situation, we call upon all the members of the ANC outside South Africa to close their ranks and rally behind the African Nationalist leadership of the ANC in order to disengage the organisation from the clutches of the white-led S.A.C.P. and stand up and fight for national independence. Some of the ANC members have been victimised through ostracism, suspensions and bogus expulsions. To all of them we say that the ANC is their political home.

We appeal to our Brothers and Sisters in the Pan Africanist Congress, in the Unity Movement and in all other African political organisations in S.A. to put away the petty quarrels and brother-against-brother feuds which have plagued us all over the years while our house continues to be on fire. These divisions are

a luxury which we can no longer afford as the oppressed indigenous people of S.A. We must learn from the unity-in-action which our people have so ably demonstrated inside S.A. during the June 16 Soweto Movement. We urge that all African liberation movements of S.A. come together in a genuine United Front (with armed struggle as its basis) for the prosecution and intensification of the struggle for national independence.

We of the African Nationalist leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa stand for African Unity. We stand for a United Front of all African Liberation movements of South Africa. In our view such unity of the African people provides the bedrock from which will spring all revolutionary struggle in S.A. and through which basic revolutionary change will be ushered in. South Africa is an African country!!

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