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DRAFT PROPOSALS FOR A NEW STRATEGY OF THE A N C OF S A April 1971 pp.22 (Typed)

1. Introduction

ANC formed 1912 to create a free, united African Nation. In nation-building ANC has always extended friendship to all non-Africans in SA; but has insisted that nation-building for a free SA must be under African leadership. Machinery for establishing broad United Liberation Movement created from time to time. Adoption of Freedom Charter in 1956 was climax of political idealism: a description of ideal aims. These should not be confused with political strategy to be adopted to realise ideal. Basis of strategy must be the real situation in SA.

No serious disagreement about nature of ideals. Room for debate, however, as to strategy. This document argues that the External Mission is not sufficiently informed of the real situation, & therefore has not of late been able to adopt a correct strategy.

Loose shouts of 'let us return home' can be understood, but the reasons are not excusable. All genuine ANC members want to return to fight with people for liberation; but we should look at the conditions at home before marching back. The journey home today will be suicidal. Resist pressures to take decisions until conditions at home are conducive to action. This is an appeal in humility for the whole of the External Mission.

1. The Real Political Situation in SA

(a) The Political situation

1. ANC in SA almost dead. People have spirit but no organisation to give effect to their feeling of going to war against oppressor. Hard fact ANC is banned; most leaders & activists are in prison or are abroad. All released political prisoners have been banned & are under constant efficient surveillance of police & their informers. They can do little to resume political activity. Yet there will always be those who approach released leaders for advice.

2. SACTU, SAIC, CPC though not banned have been made completely inactive by restrictions on leaders. In any event, nothing much can be expected of them while ANC is paralysed in SA. When leaders of these organisations are released from prison, they too suffer restrictions.

3. Multi-racial activity above board no longer possible. Prevention of Interference Act 1969 stripped Progressive party of non-white membership & forced Liberal party to disband.

4. White students in so-called liberal universities have shown much militancy, & were joined by some lecturers, in demonstrations against detention of Winnie Mandela & against Banning orders imposed on her & fellow accused.

5. Struggle Between Church & State, result of World Council of Churches' decision to assist organisations fighting racialism. Vorster demands that churches withdraw from W C C, but they have not succumbed. Simultaneously some leading African ministers demand independence from white churches.

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6. Reports of Black Power Movement initiated by African students who broke away from white controlled NUSAS, some of them members of UCM

7. Government as strong as ever. Dissension in white ranks only superficial. Army & police are big & more efficient. SA a police state & an army state. Whole might of oppressed, properly organised, needed to destroy pillars of white domination

(b) Implementation of Apartheid Schemes

1. Job Reservation.

Contradictions of apartheid shown in relaxation of reservation as in transport. Employers want profits; reservation deprives them of workers. Real artificial shortage of skilled workers. Reservation restricts production & causes inflation.

2. Influx Control - removals & resettlement, abolition of land & home ownership: implications are well known

3. Bantu Education. This achieves tremendous results in terms of numbers: no. of pupils, teachers, schools, teacher training institutes, trade schools, commercial training, technical training, universities: 1952 & 1968

4. Bantustans Now eight, all forced on tribal groups without proper consultation by way of referendum. Policy of balkanisation. Constitutions provide that majority of 'parliaments' are appointees of government

a) Northern Transvaal: Lebowa, Venda, Shangaan. Areas with great variety of minerals. L.A. Pepler in paper to SA Inst Race Relations Jan 1970 gives details. Border industries being established in Northern Tvl

b) Tswana homeland: mineral deposits

c) Natal homeland, with coal, gypsum, ilmenite. Border industries at Richard's Bay & Newcastle; Sitebe near Mandlani; Hlabisa near Hluhluwe; Hammersdale near PMB; Pongoli near Mkuzi

d) Transkei, poorly endowed with minerals

e) Ciskei, in same position as Transkei

f) South Sotho at Wizieshoek: most barren of minerals

Tertiary & secondary prospects: retail trade, wholesale trade, other services

White industrialists invited to invest in homelands on agency basis

Bantustans in Urban Areas Urban Bantu Councils Act 1961: ethnic representation on urban councils, these being advisory bodies. Such councils exist in all important townships, where Africans are settled in tribal groups

S.A. Indian Council Forerunner of Indian 'parliament'. Most members appointed directly by government. Some well known leaders of SAIC are members. SAIC consists mainly of merchants & big property owners who fight Group Areas Act because it affects business interests

Coloured Peoples' Representative Council Elections of 1970. 20 government nominees enable pro-government party to dominate

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Political, economic & social fragmentation. Africans are apart even along tribal lines. No social intercourse across colour line. Apartheid in sports, even as between non-whites

3 All Want to Share

Separate development presents attractive selfish economic advantages to each racial & tribal group

Whites: political power used to extend economic interests; businessmen are assured of cheap labour; border industries have large surplus labour; those in cities have labour under guard in townships; white worker is protected against competition. ANC convinced that whites will never agree to handing over political power & economic benefits willingly

Indian businessmen accept separate development. A minority group & largely merchant class, their leaders will naturally side with oppressor while liberation movement is not strong enough to protect their economic interests

Coloured who accept Separate Development want a 'place in the sun' on the same footing as Indians. Some want to enter white laager to share benefits of being 'white'

African petty bourgeoisie see opportunities opened through Bantu Development Corp & BIC. See possibility of monopoly of African market in rural & urban areas through elimination of non-African competition. Perhaps illusions, but these are seen as possibilities under pressure government propaganda

4. Fact of Life

Almost complete fragmentation with group interests oriented to breaking up: selfish motives. Idea of Separate Development is a reality, a fact of life. Govt has succeeded in dividing people; has fostered strong tribal feelings & regional nationalism. Left to itself this is disintegrative; properly guided by Liberation Movement it can be turned into strong weapon for freedom of all SA

Growing generation knows no other life, & have been indoctrinated with tribal education. Young people see elders participating in Bantu Education, Urban Bantu Councils, Bantu Authorities, SAIC, CPRC. Most of the young have never heard of ANC & its allies. Life begins & ends for them with apartheid. They know no freedom songs.

5. ANC's Idealism & Realism

Idealism is epitomised in Freedom Charter: blueprint for non-tribal, non-racial, integrated SA

Idealism not enough. Must be combined with realism. the ideal of free & united SA with existing fragmentation. New strategy must be adapted to situation. ANC is medium through which Liberation Movement should operate to achieve ideals

ANC6. Oppressed People look to ANC External Mission for Leadership in Crisis

A sickening vacuum to be filled. External Mission is called on to guide people in a much more realistic manner. Masses see implementation of Separate Development; crushing of Liberation Movement; rushing of articulate & educated to pluck economic benefits of Separate Development; informers who have destroyed Liberation Movement & betrayed the leaders, informers who travel about unharmed. New strategy needed. Either we ignore reality for the would-be world of Freedom Charter, or we become realists of the SA soil.

No easy choice. We have denounced Separate Development as a fraud & diabolical scheme for deceiving the world. This is political truth. Only new factor is effective implementation of the fraud. It has become a reality. Correct strategy is no longer to shout about the fraud, but to take over these institutions & make them new battlefields of freedom. Accelerate the fragmentation to breaking point in order to create favourable objective conditions for the success of our armed struggle. This will enable us to oppose balkanisation while making use of fragmentation to achieve our goal of Freedom Charter. We shall temper opposition to Separate Development with realism dictated by existing conditions.

Unrealistic to call people to oppose Separate Development when

- a) we are not able to give organisational machinery to fight it;
- b) government has largely succeeded in forcing it on people

More realistic to use policy of fragmentation to our ends. New strategy must be revolution by fragmentation. Let each group in separate area demand more & yet more until breaking point is reached.

Government created dummy councils in its mad pursuit of separate development. They contain seeds of their own destruction, latent possibilities of a revolutionary situation which can be combined with armed struggle. Continued boycott of these institutions is a negative attitude which does not provide revolutionary leadership.

Let each Bantustan demand more & better land; & press for immediate & complete independence. Matanzima makes such demands, & embarrasses the govt. Should be possible to influence Bantustans to adopt same flag, same anthem: Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika. Matanzima's idea of commonwealth of Bantustans is good; it prepares ground for ultimate unification.

Let Zulus demand return of traditional land stretching from Pongolo to Tugela. Gatsha has already demanded more land to accommodate Zulu removed from one area or another. Demand for more land is consistent with struggle against mass removals. Why not kidnap a Commissioner concerned with these removals? Demand that Eshowe be made the seat of the Royal Kraal - Emakhosini.

Let each of the 8 Bantustans make similar demands.

Let each tribal group in towns demand more & better rights under Urban Councils - eg right to live & own land in towns; independent city councils of their own.

Let Indians & Coloured demand better & bigger slices under their councils.

Demands must be made to the government which will refuse to meet them in full and which must be forced to take charge of its Frankenstein.

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'Our considered view is that it is only in a situation such as this, caused by the refusal to meet these legitimate & logical demands for full independence that our Army of Liberation - our Umkhonto WeSizwe, will have any real meaning & relevance to our oppressed people of S A. The objective conditions favourable to guerilla fighting shall have been enhanced'

7. Limitations & Dangers

This approach may be misunderstood as a retreat to tribalism of before 1912. Fragmented SA may be prey to imperialism. Or to inter-tribal wars - fatal to Liberation Movement. Therefore

a) we must demand return of land stolen from us. Indians & Coloured must not demand land, for Africans will never allow them to share spoils with conquerer. This approach will avoid clashes between Africans & Coloured-Indians

b) ANC must influence or control separate development institutions, particularly Bantustan governments

c) our own people must be made to understand us at all times. No need to announce change of tactics publicly. We should approach certain influential people in each Bantustan government & explain that Anc supports their fight within the Bantustan for complete freedom, but that separate freedoms are meaningless. Aim is united free S A for all her peoples. ANC cells should be formed in each Bantustan; the cells, working underground, would organise people to put pressure on local leaders to make demands. Important that people would agitate within legal organisation of Bantustans. Legal work combined with illegality. No doubt but that world would misunderstand our approach; yet possible to make world see that tactic is adopted in light of prevailing circumstances. Better to be misunderstood by world than by our people

8. Meaningful & positive approach

Peasants will die for their land, not for ideals: freedom, liberation, democracy, solidarity. These have little meaning for common man

While clinging to ideal situation portrayed in Freedom Charter, we should change our language, & tell people in their idiom that

The Anc calls on them to fight & shed blood to regain land taken by force through 'blood & iron' - in language used in ANC leaflet reproduced in March 1971 issue of Sechaba - a good beginning

ANC calls on them to take up arms to fight their enemy - the whites

ANC calls on non-Africans, including democratic whites, to join Umkhonto & fight for free SA

ANC accepts all non-Africans as fellow men, free to struggle, to live in free, united SA on condition they accept & abide by Freedom Charter

9. Conclusion

ANC can never reach people by working underground only.

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Restricted illegal work must be combined with above-board work. This was agreed at time of banning of ANC in 1960, but only lip-service paid to decision. Legal & illegal work are inter-dependent. Legal work not based on ANC cells can escape control. Illegal work not directed at people through their legal organisations is futile. We went underground to protect ANC from government, not to hide away from masses.

Boycott can succeed only if ANC is strong. It is too weak to maintain tactic of non-cooperation. Not likely to become strong in foreseeable future. Only alternative is to take over or influence from within these dummy institutions & use them to accelerate dismembering of SA until breaking point is reached. This point will be reached when stalemate is reached between demand for real independence in separate Bantu Homelands & govt's refusal to grant real independence based on land regained from whites. Umkhonto will then operate with less difficulty.

Not exhaustive document. Does not deal with all problems emanating from change of tactic or strategy. Document does not deal with type of organisation needed to further aims of supposed strategy. Purpose of document is to invite Mission Abroad to re-examine policy towards Bantustans & other separate institutions & to make a change of tactics.

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