

POLICIES OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS ORGANISATIONS

We will set out briefly certain important traits of policy of some of the organisations with whom some of the accused are associated as well as of certain other organisations. This is necessary for the correct interpretation of the documents, statements and speeches. It is also necessary back-ground when the probabilities of an agreement of co-operation between the UDF and AZAPO are gauged.

Broadly speaking (radical) black political thought can be categorised into two streams. On the one hand there is the Black Consciousness group and on the other the non-racial group. Most important amongst the latter are the Freedom Charter adherents. AZAPO (Azanian Peoples Organisation) falls within the first group and the UDF is in the second category. The most important of the UDF's affiliates were adherents to the Freedom Charter, but not all. The Freedom Charter is ANC and SACP policy.

In the documentation and speeches of both streams there is to be found a tendency towards Marxism of a varying degree, depending on speaker and organisation. Sometimes it is blatant.

We deal with the BC Stream.

The Black Consciousness Movement started in 1968. Its aim was to remove the inferiority complex of Blacks and make them proud of

their heritage. It was anti-White and for Black exclusivity. It was fiercely anti-government. Its spiritual sustenance comes from black theology.

The Black Consciousness Movement found its organisational expression in SASO (South African Students Organisation) which was formed around 1968. It was an off-shoot of Blacks led by Steve Biko that split from NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) in 1967. In 1972 a further BC organisation the BPC (Black Peoples Convention) was formed for non-students.

Both BPC and SASO were declared illegal in 1977 and thereupon AZAPO (Azanian Peoples Organisation) was formed in 1978 to continue the Black Consciousness tradition.

AZAPO does not allow Whites to its membership and regards ethnicity as anathema. On both these points it differs from the UDF as the latter is non-racial and does admit ethnic organisations like TIC (Transvaal Indian Congress) and NIC (Natal Indian Congress) as affiliates.

Initially the students/scholars organisation of AZAPO was AZASO (Azanian Students Organisation). After AZASO broke its connection with Black Consciousness and became a Freedom Charter organisation AZAPO started a new junior movement AZASM (Azanian Students Movement).

The policy of AZASM is revolutionary. See exh AP.9. It does not figure prominently in this case and does not merit further reference.

Just prior to the formation of the UDF Black Consciousness quarters launched a movement aimed at unity of the anti-government Black activists. It was called National Forum. The main organisation therein was AZAPO. It seems that because of its Black Consciousness' outlook it could not succeed to attract the Freedom Charter group.

#### AZAPO's POLICY

The policy of AZAPO is set out in its constitution and policy document. Exh B.1. Some relevant points are as follows:

Its aims and objectives are inter alia:

1. "To conscientize, to politicise and mobilise Black workers through the philosophy of Black Consciousness in order to strive for legitimate rights."

3. "To promote an interpretation of religion as a liberatory philosophy relevant to our struggle."
5. "To expose the oppressive and exploitative system in which our people are denied basic human rights."
6. "To work towards the unity of the oppressed, for the just distribution of wealth and power to all people of Azania."

Its membership is open to Blacks only. Blacks are "those who are by law or tradition, economically, socially and politically discriminated against as a group in the Azanian society, and identify themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realisation of their aspiration".

Worker "is a Black labourer who even though he/she forms the backbone of the country's economy is forced under degrading conditions to sell his/her labour without sharing in the wealth of the producers".

The policy of AZAPO is to disseminate ideas which will liberate people from bondage and give them rightful liberty and freedom based on the philosophy of Black Consciousness which is inter alia:

- " (d) A philosophy that relatively translates itself into an active opposition to government policies bent on estranging the Black people from themselves: an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out to the Black people.
- (f) A philosophy that grasps Black solidarity as an imperative element that militates against any form of sectionalism and ensures a united effort towards changing the status quo.
- (g) A philosophy that understands the position of the Black people who are de facto a race of workers therefore an inevitable agent of change within the present political system. "

According to AZAPO "the entire country of Azania belongs to the Black people".

According to AZAPO there is a class and race struggle in South Africa which "gives rise to the ever increasing conflict between the White and the Black races".

AZAPO describes itself as "a black national political organisation working to bring about complete and democratic political, economic and social change in the whole of Azania".

The proceedings of the second annual general congress of AZAPO held in March 1982 at Hammanskraal are before court as exh B.17.

The presidential address of which the theme was "Forward with the peoples struggle" started off as follows: "Revolutionary greetings to all comrades!!!"

" The struggle for the total overhauling of the socio political economical system in this country, Azania, has reached intensification processes with the illegal and bulldozing ruling class being supported by their allies all over the world. This poses a challenge to all committed revolutionaries and lovers of freedom to strive and work diligently towards our goal of a free and united Azania".

The president praised "committed and principled revolutionaries" and stated:

" I salute all these principled sons and daughters of the soil who amidst all attacks and attractions refuse to succumb and sacrifice the noble cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, the landless against the lords, the exploited against the exploiter and the real workers against the capitalists."

The president concluded his address by saying:

" In conclusion I still commit our organisation to a progressive and dynamic liberation philosophy of Black Consciousness. Black Consciousness needs to be dynamic in order to meet the demands of the day. It need to be progressive in order to guide the masses in identifying the enemy, thus not sparing their energies in destroying their enemy and all its tentacles. AZAPO has adopted as its theme this congress this year 'forward with the peoples struggle.' I again encourage all Black Consciousness components and mobilise our people in all facets of our lives. Remember we (have) nothing to loose (but) our chains. "

In a paper by Zithulele Cindi "the vocabulary of imperialism" which forms part of the documentation of this congress the audience is "saluted in the name of the peoples revolution to liberate Azania from all forms of racism, imperialism and new colonialism". The government is described as a "self-imposed foreign settlement regime" and as "the enemy" and the author emphasises the need "to have an overt peoples movement that will regulate and channelize their aspirations as an open resistance to oppression and exploitation". It is further stated "the need for a vibrant revolutionary vanguard that will unequivocally express and make the people's resistance felt to the enemy can never be over-emphasised".

The proceedings of the third annual congress of AZAPO held at Edendale in February 1983 are also before the court in the form of exh B.2.

The theme of the congress and for the year 1983 was "mobilise and consolidate the liberatory efforts of the oppressed masses".

The president Khehla Mthembu called on those at the congress to emerge as one unitary and determined force in opposing all forces of evil and bring to an end this Draconian system of rule. He stated that in South Africa "the oppressor exploiter is gradually accepting the fact that his days are numbered". He further stated "Alliances with other genuine progressive Black organisations must be sought, AZAPO is duty bound to lead the campaign to oppose the president's council as it is the only overt national liberation movement".

And further "any leadership that has vested interests in the present capitalist system tend to be reactionary and counter-revolutionary". He called on those present to go out to all areas and mobilise the people and referred to the call of AZAPO to isolate "this racist regime".

Muntu Myeza who delivered the keynote address and was the general secretary of AZAPO stated: "Since the advent of the White man on our shores the history of our land is littered with innumerable incidents of viciousness perpetrated against our people in the name

of White supremacy. We refuse to be associated with the acts of naked terrorism such as slavery, the massacre of Sharpeville and the slaughter of our people during 1976 and afterwards."

"The Europeans dispossessed us of our land but its ownership has never been in doubt despite the futile attempts by their naive and dishonest propagandists and historians."

"The Azanian Peoples Organisation restricts its membership to Black people only. ... this is the class of people capable of bringing about fundamental change in our country. This is the class that is oppressed by the White class."

"Ours is a strong and vicious enemy and any thoughts to the contrary are a mere delusion. Any consideration which involves revolutionary change in South African must take into cognisance the absolute disregard for human feeling and morality by the racist regime."

"Our opponents are in the habit of asking whether the means we seek to employ in our quest for freedom are violent or peaceful means. Rightfully such questions belong to the place like John Vorster Square, Compol Building, and other such dens of human suffering. If this question of "peaceful means" has to be answered at all, then one can rely on the answer given by one of the well-known revolutionaries who when answering a similar question said 'where the forces of oppression

come to maintain themselves in a given situation, peace is considered already broken.' "

"The Black Consciousness movement has its greatest strength that is its ability to analyse accurately, galvanise and mobilise the people for the final decisive victory we all aspire to."

"AZAPO must organise, mobilise and consolidate the whole Black population in its various formations and locations under her banner. Our organisation must not only be heard but must be seen and felt by the people wherever they may be. Our presence must be experienced in the places of work, in schools, at universities, in sport, in religion, in the buses, in the streets, in the farms and all other places where Black people are to be found. We are fighting for complete and total liberation hence our efforts must be complete, total and unsparing."

"It is only through selfless commitment that we shall be able to consolidate the forces we mobilise. Persistent and consistent hard work is the stuff of which true revolutionary movements are made of. We must not fall short of this task. The blood and tears of the Azanians who have suffered the anguish of the living and the dead Black men and women must be a source of inspiration to spur us to further heights. We must bear in mind constantly that men and women have died and multitudes are suffering and carry the scars of sad encounters with the vicious White racist regime. The pain and misery we see about us, which we ourselves experience must be enough to put

fire in our blood and ice in our minds; to give us courage and fortitude to carry our struggle forward.

Our struggle is a true and just one. We have suffered endless trials and tribulations and yet liberation has always eluded us. It is our task to make the freedom of our people from White bondage a living reality. Not only do we of the Black Consciousness movement desire and hope for liberation but we are also willing and able to work for its achievement. We know we can overcome oppression and we shall vanquish the enemy. Azania shall be free because the time and truth are on our side."

The address by Saths Cooper the vice-president of AZAPO contained inter alia the following:

"AZAPO has no peer in the struggle to regain our land from foreign settler hands and restore power to people."

Referring to the "1976 uprising" the speaker stated that "the situation was explosive with the revolutionary BC organs at the helm" and he refers to AZAPO as the revolutionary organisation of the Black people.

He stated that the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement has led to the "revolutionary consciousness and activity unknown in the entire history of the struggle for repossession of Mother Azania".

"The stark reality of White racism can only be confronted and destroyed by the revolutionary working class and peasantry, not by Whites themselves."

"Post 76 has indicated to the oppressed on the one hand the depths of anger never previously experienced in the history of liberation of Azania, the oppressed having experienced the power of mass action - the potential for instant mass reaction will more and more frequently be demonstrated in future years."

"We are the mass movement of the oppressed Black marching to a socialist Azania free from any form of racism or exploitation of any sort."

His speech ended with: "We must be prepared for a long difficult struggle for freedom in our beloved country and realise that our liberation can only come through our own hands - nothing can stop us achieving it."

Ishmael Mkhabela, chairman of the Soweto branch of AZAPO reminded the congress of its previous decision on the question of the national convention. He stated:

" Our organisation is still uncompromising on its precondition for such a convention. These are:

1. It (National Convention) should be about means of transferring complete power and the land to the indigenous owners.
2. All political prisoners should be freed, the banned unbanned, the banished unbanished, and amnesty granted to the exiles, which act would be a de facto recognition of the authentic leaders of Azania.
3. .... "

The resolutions passed by the congress inter alia praised a number of comrades who refused to testify in court and were found guilty of contempt of court and imprisoned. The congress further took notice of "the gallant resistance of the Namibian people to racist foreign domination in their country" and expressed solidarity with them "in their struggle for the repossession of their land and the establishment of a socialist order in their motherland". The congress further resolved to intensify the isolation campaign against South Africa and resolved that individuals and organisations that participate in government bodies "so has to aid and abet this regime are knowingly selling their birthright and have to be exposed as traitors to the Black cause". There is also a resolution against the "illegal Israel regime and in support of the "longdrawn struggle for the repossession of Palestine from the Zionist invaders".

The papers end with a list of former Robben Island prisoners who were all given an ovation and a hero's welcome by the congress. They include Saths Cooper, Zitholele Cindi and Munto Myeza to whom we have referred.

In a paper prepared by Lybon Mabasa in collaboration with accused No 16 and Lebamang Sibidi and read at the National Forum conference in June 1983 headed "In search of national unity", (exh B.6), the author deals with "our Revolutionary struggle" and "the Azanian revolution". It is stated that racial oppression exists side by side with capitalist exploitation with all its imperialistic implications and the two are directly responsible for the dispossession of the indigenous people of their land which was the source of their livelihood and ultimately reducing them to the Black working class which to-day is the vanguard of the Azanian revolutionary struggle. The paper ends with an exhortation "forward to a socialist democratic anti-racial Azania".

In its publication "On the March" (exh B.21) AZAPO sets out its policy for the future:

" AZAPO is striving for a anti-racist, anti-sectional socialist Azania where the land with all its resources like mines, factories, farms, etc. shall be collectively owned and managed by the Azanian people. "

In the AZAPO publication "On the March" (exh B.26) found in possession of accused No 2 the 1984 New Year's message of AZAPO is set out. Inter alia the following is stated:

" We want the world to know that there will be no grievances redressed until such time that our land has been regained. "

" We will stop at nothing in our fight for the repossession of our land and the transference of power to the rightful owners: Black people. "

The participants in the Coloured and Indian chambers of parliament are called political scoundrels, collaborators, stooges and traitors.

" Capitalist systems the world over are by their nature oppressive and have not yet developed the mechanisms whereby they can abdicate positions of power through petitions, deputations and even negotiation. "

" The repressive arm of the law in this country has unleashed such institutionalised violence that we cannot help but believe that an open warfare has been declared on the oppressed and exploited people in this country - who happen to be the majority. "

" In spite of all repressions and oppression Black people are more determined than ever to deliver the fatal blow to this racist and fascist regime. AZAPO, the only overt national political organisation will spare no effort at mobilising and consolidating the liberatory efforts of the oppressed masses. We believe all genuine attempts by the oppressed to rid themselves of the yoke of oppression are worthwhile efforts which should be commended. For us to assure our own victory we should be willing to fight the enemy at all fronts wherever it is. Our destiny is in our hands. We are our own liberators and we dare not shun our responsibilities in the process of ushering in an anti-racist socialist workers republic in Azania. "

The papers of the fourth congress of AZAPO held in January 1984 are before court as exh B.18. B C Jones vice-president of AZAPO Western Cape in a paper stated:

" We therefore find that the settler colonialists objectively behaved as a bourgeoisie in relation to Blacks who objectively behave as a revolutionary working class. "

" Black Consciousness states unequivocally that the primary issue in Azania is the reconquest of the land and its restoration to its rightful owners, the Nguni, Sotho and so-called coloured nationalities. "

The author called for a workers united front or popular front in "the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie."

N M Phosa in a paper stated that he believed that the "oppressors must be fought pound for pound" and that "this country belongs to us and that we therefore qualify to fight for it".

A distorted version is given of the Whites dispossessing the Blacks of their land. He states that little comfort can be obtained from the courts of law against resettlement and "the only alternative is to resist to the finish and let hell be hell".

In a reference to the killing at Ngoya university the author states "the murderers who relished to commit murder at the universities during the year 1983 shall one day have to face the Peoples Court where they shall stand accused of crimes against the people".

The paper ends with prophetic words in the light of the fact that it was delivered in January 1984:

" Whereas there is still a little flicker of belief in some of us in the strategy of non-violence I think that strategy is about to outlive its usefulness. Black people, as the oppressed and the discriminated against by law, our patience have actually run out and the White minority in this country should all pause to take notice of those fuses which are burning shorter and shorter by the day. If that is not done the Whites should not in the future turn around and say that they have not been forewarned. There is absolutely no way in which the Black masses are just going to fold their arms and just let go. Never, never. A definite point of extremely serious conflict is fast approaching and if the White minority pursue their present oppressive system then I am afraid a violent conflagration shall be inevitable. I want you to recognise the painful reality that the laws made by our oppressors can never serve our struggle for liberation, on the contrary those laws serve to frustrate and divert our final and total victory over the policy of apartheid. Finally I wish to point out that there is no need for us as the oppressed people to indulge in the time-wasting liberal cry for our country, we should rather fight for our country, for, it is only if we fight for our country that victory shall be certain. Victory is imminent, the enemy is committing one error after another. Victory is certain. Let us prosecute the struggle to finality. Amandla. "

The presidential address by Lybon Mabasa extended revolutionary greetings to those present and referred to them as leaders and cadres of the AZAPO movement. He stated that they should bear in mind that they were fighting the system, its functionaries and all its supporters.

" Black people can no longer tolerate the so-called radical elements in that community who are the main participants in the processes of the containment of the revolutionary struggle in this country. If our victory has to be assured then we must start marshalling our lines. We must begin identifying who are the colonisers and who are the colonised; who are the oppressors and who are the oppressed. We must identify those who support and bolster the system. It is OUR REVOLUTIONARY TASK. We must know our enemy, his strength and his weaknesses and only then can we say that half the battle is won. "

Referring to the South African government the president stated:

" To justify their continued illegal occupation of Namibia the regime is making unrealistic demands on the peoples government of Angola. They do not hide the fact that they support reactionary revisionists and capitalist forces fighting against popularly elected peoples governments in Angola Mozambique and Zimbabwe."

" The progressive forces of the people in this country are poised for certain victory. Workers are standing up to challenge exploitation and degradation. They have already dealt the entire capitalist system very severe blows."

The speaker stressed that the unions have all "exposed the viciousness of the racist, capitalist system that thrives by sucking the blood of over twenty-four million Black workers".

" We in AZAPO believe that there will be no end to our suffering until that day when we will usher in the new order of a socialist worker republic of Azania."

" The philosophy of Black Consciousness has strengthened our belief in the saying that 'revolutions can neither be exported nor imported.' It is an imperative duty of any nation or country to work its own way and fight its own liberation, relying on its own people. In our country, Black people are faced with the task of having to defeat an enemy armed to the teeth with destructive weapons of modern technology. We know that the outcome of our battle will not be decided by technology but by the will of our people. The final outcome will not be decided by the massive accumulation of weapons, however genocidal, but by the local and historical consciousness of the masses, the peoples involved and determined to resist the violence with whatever means available to defend

" themselves in an implacable contest. In such a struggle, therefore, a politically conscious educated people led by a dedicated revolutionary movement will, by winning at the end, prove the old saying that 'ideas and men are stronger than weapons.' "

" AZAPO is in essence an organisation of the workers and I need not emphasise what is contained in the manifesto of the Azanian people. That 'the Black working class inspired by revolutionary consciousness is the driving force of our struggle.' "

" We will not rest until such time that we have ushered a new order of a socialist worker republic of Azania. "

To the above can be added exh AP.9 the policy document of AZASM found in possession of accused No 2 which, according to accused No 2, conforms to AZAPO policy. It states that the movement adopts "the vibrant revolutionary ideology of Black consciousness" which is understood inter alia as "a firm expression of the will of the Black working class to assume full control of the power structures of a democratic anti-racist non-exploitative government" and "a philosophy that understands that Black workers, who constitute the most oppressed and exploited class in this society, are the vanguard of the liberation struggle". Azania is stated to be the sole property of the Black people who will demand back with all the power at their command any alienated portion of the Azanian soil. It is recognised that "educa-

tion should be geared towards total liberation" and they "pledge to work towards a progressive national culture which is socialist in content and geared towards the need of the Black working class".

The above is also reflected in exh AP.5, programme of the funeral of Jabu Tshabalala.

Reference can also be made to the meeting in Alexandra on 19 June 1983 which according to the witness ic.16 was an AZAPO meeting and of which a video (exh 29) and transcript (exh V 23) are available.

In conclusion it can be stated that it is clear from the above documents that AZAPO is an organisation which is committed to a revolutionary overthrow of the South African government and the existing social order in South Africa, with a view to create a totally new socialist order where the land and all the means of production, distribution and exchange shall be collectively owned and managed by the Black workers. This new order is to be a socialist worker republic. Even theology is hijacked. Catholic and protestant theology is regarded as capitalist and is replaced with Black theology which is to supply the religious base for the liberation struggle. Convicted terrorists are regarded as heroes and violence and chaos are regarded as inevitable and necessary.

The policies of the ANC, UDF, COSAS and AZASO are dealt with later.

POLICY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

It is common cause that the African National Congress (ANC) has the object of overthrowing the government of the Republic of South Africa by violence.

A useful starting-point when dealing with the policies, aims and methods of the ANC is the document Forward to Freedom - Strategy, Tactics and Programme of the African National Congress (exh AAM) which is generally known as Strategy and Tactics and was adopted at the Morogoro conference in 1969. It is prescribed study material for all ANC recruits and one finds its phraseology recurring in subsequent ANC publications. It is necessary to refer extensively to this document.

The ANC stands for revolutionary change. It envisages a guerrilla warfare which can be developed into an all-out war leading to a conquest of power. The ANC knows that this armed revolutionary struggle can only succeed if it attracts the active support of the mass of the people. The involvement of the masses has to be won in all-round political mobilisation. This includes educational and agitational work throughout the country. The masses of the peasants, workers and youth have to be activated in a multitude of ways, not only to ensure a growing stream of recruits for the fighting units but to harass the enemy politically so that his forces are dispersed and therefore weakened. This calls for the exercise of all-round political leadership.

The struggle demands in the first place the maximum mobilisation of the African people as a dispossessed and racially oppressed nation.

Properly channelled and led the qualities of national confidence, national pride and national assertiveness "do not stand in conflict with the principles of internationalism". The political organs and trade unions of the working class "are very much part of the liberation front".

"In the last resort it is only the success of the national democratic revolution which - by destroying the existing social and economic relationships - will bring with it a correction of the historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous majority and thus lay the basis for a new - and deeper internationalist approach. Until then, the national sense of grievance is the most potent revolutionary force which must be harnessed. To blunt it in the interests of abstract concepts of internationalism is, in the long run, doing neither a service to revolution nor to internationalism."

"We are revolutionaries, not narrow nationalists".

"... it is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the land to the people as a whole".

"Our drive to its national emancipation is therefore in a very real way bound up with economic emancipation".

The ANC stands for a "speedy progression from formal liberation to genuine and lasting emancipation" through socialism.

"... the working class constitutes a distinct and reinforcing layer of our liberation and socialism".

"What then is the broad purpose of our military struggle? Simply put, in the first place, it is the complete political and economic emancipation of all our people and the constitution of a society which accords with the basic provisions of our programme - the Freedom Charter."

"An ANC government shall restore the wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans to the people as a whole."

"Mines, the banks, monopoly industry will be in the ownership of the people as a whole. All other industry and trade which is not monopolistic shall be allowed with controls to assist the well-being of the people."

"The ANC slogan 'Mayibuye - i Afrika' was and is precisely a demand for the return of the land of Africa to its indigenous inhabitants."

"The land must be taken away from exclusively European control and from these groupings (land-barons, absentee landlords, big companies and state capitalist enterprises) and divided among the small farmers, peasants and landless of all races who do not exploit the labour of others. Farmers will be prevented from holding land in excess of a given area, fixed in accordance with the concrete situation in each locality."

"In the wake of the victorious revolution a Democratic People's Republic shall be proclaimed in South Africa."

"Our country will actively support national liberation movements of the peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism and new colonialism."

"The Freedom Charter is ANC policy."

The ANC is an external organisation which cannot operate lawfully in the Republic of South Africa. It was declared illegal in 1960. Its executive organs are based on foreign soil (namely in Lusaka) and from there it operates clandestinely in South Africa.

In order to bring about the desired revolution it regards it as imperative that it should have a mass power base of popular support within the country. This can only be brought about by a broad organisation acting openly, and, to avoid suppression by the state, as far as possible acting within the law. This approach, which already is part of the strategy set out in the above document, crystallised in subsequent ANC literature.

In its policy statement on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of its founding, issued on 8 January 1982 by its president [and published in its official publication *Sechaba* of February 1982, (exh AAE.2 at p.8)] the ANC stated inter alia:

"After seventy years of unrelenting struggle and building on the historic and irreversible gains recorded during these decades, we have reached a stage when the process of consolidating a basis of popular power among the people has begun. To promote this process, we have decided to mobilise our people for the oncoming period under the watchwords 'Unity in Action.' Our strength lies in unity, and our future advances, in action."

The statement contains a call on the people of South Africa to make 1982 a year of Unity in Action with the intensification of assault on all fronts. It calls upon the working people called "the backbone of our liberation movement" to mobilise and build a powerful trade union movement "for the advancement of the interests of the workers and for their activation into the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution." The statement further contains a call upon inhabitants of the homelands called Bantustans to mobilise, upon the youth and students of South Africa, to maintain and heighten their spirit of resistance, upon the women-folk to "raise the cry for vengeance" and contains the following:

"We call upon the millions of the oppressed to stand shoulder to shoulder at this crucial hour in our history."

It inter alia ends with the slogans "Maatla kea rona!", "Amandla Ngawethu!" and "All power to the people!".

In the July issue of Sechaba 1982 (exh AAE.7) a statement by Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the ANC, is published in the form of an editorial call to the youth. It inter alia contains the following:

"The broad democratic front of the working class within a single democratic federation is no longer a mirage but a realistic goal."

"The African National Congress, the trusted vanguard of the national liberation struggle of our people, calls on our youth to take their place in the progressive civic organisations that have been created by our people to fight the daily afflictions suffered by them in their localities."

"The young people must join their parents, in building popular mass democratic civic organisations that must lead the struggle against apartheid in all its manifestations."

"We call upon you young countrymen, to campaign vigorously for the rejection of the recommendations of the President's Council."

The ANC in its publications repeatedly calls on the workers and other sections of the population to organise and unite against the government. Examples are: Sechaba April 1982 p.19 (exh AAE.4);

Sechaba May 1982 p.16 (exh AAE.5); Sechaba July 1982 p.13, (exh AAE.7); Mayibuye No 10 of 1982 p.1 (exh AAF.3); Mayibuye No 9 of 1983 p.3, (exh AAF.6).

A clear call for a united front was issued in the policy statement of the ANC president on 8 January 1983. Exhs AAH.1, AAH.2, ABA.33, AAE.13 p.5.

As in ANC documents generally the South African government is referred to as "the enemy" and "the Pretoria regime". The Freedom Charter is stated to be the ANC policy document. The so-called criminal activities of Zionist Israel are attacked and the Reagan Administration is accused of having placed itself "firmly and unequivocally among the bandit forces that are conducting a reign of terror throughout Southern Africa".

"The apartheid regime acting in its own right and in furtherance of the global strategy of the United States, constitutes a strike force for the accomplishment of the counter-revolutionary objectives of defeating the progressive forces of Southern Africa, including SWAPO and the ANC, and transforming our region into an exclusive economic, political and military preserve of the imperialist world."

Then follows an important call:

"In the face of this determined enemy counter-offensive we must hit back with all our strength, ensuring that the millions of our people are engaged in struggle. To increase our offensive power:

- we must organise the people into strong mass democratic organisation;
- we must organise all revolutionaries into underground units of the ANC;
- we must organise all combatants into units of Umkhonto we Sizwe;
- we must organise all democratic forces into one front for national liberation.

Large sections of our people remain unorganised. We should not allow this situation to continue any longer. For us to achieve victory it is essential that the masses of our people engage in struggle as a conscious and united force. That requires that these masses must have their own democratic organisations to mobilise and guide them and through which they can themselves make their own point of view heard."

The statement also contains an appeal to the democratic trade union movement to come together and adopt a plan for united action and a statement that the masses in the country-side need also to be organised and mobilised into action where they are and wherever they are:

"They must be mobilised to confront the oppressor and the exploiter now, hence the need for mass democratic organisations that will lead them.

Similarly, all patriots and revolutionaries must work tirelessly to strengthen and expand the mass democratic organisations among the youth and students, among the women, among the cultural and sports workers, the religious community and at the civic level.

While the task of building the mass democratic movement must fall on the shoulders of the patriotic forces of our country and in their entirety, a special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests with the membership of the African National Congress."

The statement continues:

"The African National Congress is a movement of patriots. It leads the masses in struggle for the destruction of the fascist regime, the transfer of power to the people and the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter. It upholds a strategy which combines a revolutionary mass political action with revolutionary armed struggle."

The statement ends with the usual slogans mentioned above, after stating that "this will be our year of united action".

As has been seen this is a very clear, strong and urgent call for united mass organisation in South Africa by the ANC which calls itself the vanguard of the liberation struggle.

In Mayibuye No. 3 of 1983 (March), (exh AAF.4 p.1) the "formidable unity forged by the democratic anti-President's Council forces throughout the country" is proudly referred to.

"When the democratic forces decided to form a united democratic front they started at grass-root level."

"The campaign we are launching must be a great organiser of the people. We must be united around the struggle for the defeat of the enemy's imposition of the P C schemes on us, and, in this struggle, build up a mass offensive for a democratic South Africa.

The campaign must not be viewed merely as defensive against the enemy onslaught but an offensive one which will focus not just on single issues but the fundamental question of transferring power to the people in a democratic South Africa."

Voice of Women, journal of the ANC's women section, No 1 of 1983 (exh AAJ p.5) stated:

"Women's organisations have an important role to play in the united front against the proposals of the President's Council - educating, mobilising and organising women all over the country."

"Our mass revolt against the enemy's schemes will gain greater effectiveness as we take up the call made at the anti-SAIC conference in Transvaal to launch a United Democratic Front to mobilise resistance on a national scale against the P C proposals."

The call at the anti-SAIC conference to which reference is made was the call by Dr A Boesak for the formation of a United Democratic Front made on 23 January 1983.

In the editorial of Dawn, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, No 8 of 1983 (exh AAG.1 p.2), the birth of the United Democratic Front (UDF) on August 20 to 21 at Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town is hailed as "a milestone in the struggle of our people against apartheid and tyranny". The editorial states:

"It is therefore the duty of all genuine patriots and revolutionaries to throw all their weight behind the UDF, an invaluable weapon to frustrate the enemy's offensive."

"Our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is conscious of this powerful campaign that is building up against the President's Council and Koornhoff genocidal Bills and the duty that its fighting ranks are charged with. We are called upon to sharpen our spears and intensify the war against the racist regime. Only by so doing shall we create a favourable climate for the flourishing of the UDF and the overall advance to the seizure of power."

An article in the same publication entitled Unity is Built in Struggle contained the following:

"Today the United Democratic Front is of crucial importance to all democratic forces in South Africa. This importance lies in the urgency of revolutionary change and the absolute necessity of involving the greatest number of our people in the liberation struggle."

"The labour party's decision to participate in the bogus Presidential Council sparked off an intense battle in our country which gave an immediate impetus to the formation of a United Democratic Front. It crystallised the fact that only through united action shall we stop the designs of racist Pretoria. A call made by reverend Alan Boesak in the Transvaal anti-SAIC meeting to form a United Democratic Front to oppose the racist fraudulent constitutional proposals was welcomed with overwhelming enthusiasm."

"The UDF emerged in struggle as a response of the people to the deepening apartheid crisis which the enemy tries to put on their shoulders. It is an offshoot of grass-root revolutionary mass mobilisation."

"The African National Congress and its allies believe that a determined and relentless struggle by our people opens up possibilities to advance our struggle further. At all times the ANC has stressed the strategic value of unity of all the

"oppressed and democratic forces in our country. In 1978 the ANC advocated a political programme which elaborated on the forms of struggle to raise our offensive. On the basis of this programme the masses form their own mass political organisations. This initiative culminated in the historic anti-republic campaign of 1981.

On January 8th our President, comrade Oliver Tambo, called on the people to form a United Democratic Front for national liberation to engage the enemy at all times in united action. Our role as an advanced contingent of this offensive (referring to Umkhonto we Sizwe) should be to strengthen all the forces for change. The UDF is a powerful weapon in the national liberation struggle. In reality in the UDF one can see the political and social edifice which also determines our forward drive to victory, hence the ANC is obliged to support its (UDF's) actions politically and organisationally."

"Also we are not the vanguard because of what we say of ourselves, but because of what we actually do in the day-to-day life and death struggle and which the people see. The national liberation alliance headed by the ANC shall be able to guide the UDF only if we have our own underground structures within the UDF. These structures must be skilful, give the correct guide to the UDF and above all raise the tasks of the front."

The policy statement issued on 8 January 1984 by the ANC (exhs ABA.35, AAF.10(ii), AAE.31 p.3) claimed credit for the formation of the UDF and laid down explicit guide-lines for the so-called liberation struggle in the year ahead. We quote rather extensively:

"Our revolutionary struggle rests on four pillars. These are first, the all-round vanguard activity of the underground structures of the ANC, second, the united mass action of the peoples, third, our armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe and fourth, the international drive to isolate the apartheid regime and win world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle."

"As we fight the apartheid system today, we should all speak with one voice in declaring that the present regime ... has no legitimate authority to rule our country. Indeed its central purpose is to perpetuate the illegal rule of the White usurpers of power in our country."

"All the revolutions are about state power. Ours is no exception. The slogan, - 'Power to the People', means one thing and one thing only. It means we seek to destroy

"the power of apartheid tyranny and replace it with popular power, with a government whose authority derives from the will of all our people, both Black and White."

"We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime ... We should direct our collective might to rendering the enemy's instruments of authority unworkable. To march forward must mean that we advance against the regime's organs of state power, creating conditions in which the country becomes increasingly ungovernable."

"You are aware that the apartheid regime maintains an extensive administrative system through which it directs our lives. This system includes organs of central and provincial government, the army and the police, the judiciary, the Bantustan's administration, the community councils, the local management and local affairs committees. It is these institutions of apartheid power that we must attack and demolish ... Needless to say, as strategists, we must select for attack those parts of the enemy

"administrative system which we have the power to destroy as a result of our united and determined offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest."

"... towards the end of 1983 we united in a massive rejection of the local management committees and community councils."

"Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards take over their functions, then these must be destroyed too."

"In the Ciskei ... our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began in Mdantsane as a resistance to bus fare increases into a nationwide offensive against the Pretoria regime's Bantustan system."

"This year Botha and Malan will be busy implementing the provisions of their apartheid constitution. In this regard our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the Black population refuse to be recruited to play the role of partners in apartheid tyranny ..... Those who elect to serve in these apartheid institutions must expect to face the wrath of the people."

"At this junction allow me to single out the creation of the UDF as a historic achievement in our people's efforts to unite in the broadest possible front for the struggle against the inhuman apartheid system. The formation of the United Democratic Front was a product of our people's determination to be their own liberators."

"A special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the ANC and the most advanced members of our broad democratic movement to act as revolutionaries, - as such, to wage revolutionary struggles; and, basing ourselves on the conscious and organised involvement of the masses of the people, to build a strong and disciplined revolutionary movement. In this context, the further mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our country assumes special importance.

Quite clearly we have made great strides in these areas of work. This is evident in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow. It is evident also from the struggles we have conducted, in some areas for months on end. We can see it in the organisational growth of the trade union movement. There have been commendable advances in the development of the youth and students as well as civic and women's movements. We have built an organised mass democratic movement sufficiently strong to give us the

"possibility to tackle other uncompleted organisational tasks. We refer here in particular to the organisation of the working class into a revolutionary trade union movement; the organisation of the rural masses, inside and outside the Bantustans; the organisation of the women-folk of our country and the religious community into struggle."

"We have to make determined efforts to reach these unorganised workers, bearing in mind that it is the historic responsibility of the working class to take the lead in our struggle for people's power."

"Our immediate task therefore is to mobilise the rural masses around the question of land. It is only when the country-side is organised that the rural masses will be able to respond resolutely to the call: 'Seize the land!'"

"In the past period we have seen the increased involvement of the religious community in our struggle for liberation."

"It will be our special task this year to organise and mobilise our women-folk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change."

"We address a special message to the White youth ...

Refuse to join the army ... It goes without saying that Black youth - African, Indian and so-called Coloured, must under no circumstances serve in Pretoria's army of violent repression and criminal aggression. The democratic movement should immediately take up this issue with our youth throughout the country."

The statement further contains references to fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, calls the west imperialist and furthering "counter-revolutionary goals". It refers to the warmongers within NATO and exclaims against the United States of America's "criminal invasion of GRANADA, the undeclared war against Nigaragua and the direct intervention of the United States in Elsalvador in support of a gang of murderers". It refers to a "reign of terror against the people of Palestine and their organisation the P.L.O." and mentions "the heroic struggle of the people of Angola to ... wipe out the puppet UNITA bandits." It salutes "the internationalist Cuban forces". The statement mentions that the socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to the national liberation struggle and it pays tribute to the "progressive forces in the U.S.A. for their valiant efforts to achieve wide scale U.S. disinvestment in South Africa".

It continues "we dip our revolutionary banner in tribute to the heroic competence of Umkhonto we Sizwe including comrades Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Thabo Motaung".

"We have just brought to its close a year that we observed as one of United Action. During this year, we built the unity of our democratic forces as never before."

The statement ends with a call to make 1984 the year of the women and with the slogans "Mobilise and march forward to people's power." "Amandla Ngawethu!" "Maatla kea rona!" "Power to the people!"

In June 1984 in a message published in Dawn No 4 of 1984 (exh AAG.2 p.8) the president of the ANC and Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, O.R. Tambo, inter alia stated:

"Compatriots: In saluting you this month of June on the eve of June 26, the anniversary of our national day of struggle, our call to you all is: organise, mobilise and step-up the mass offensive around immediate issues of the day and the fundamental question of people's power. We are confident that in that offensive the death defying soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our heroic youth, our militant workers and fighting

"women will play their historic role and contribute massively to the build-up towards a determined united and nationwide assault on the enemy's constitution and for the conquest of popular power in our country."

In the issue of Mayibuye, which appeared just before the Vaal unrest, No 8 of 1984 (August 1984), (exh AAF.15), there is a call by the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable. The following is relevant:

"... let us ensure that the participation of our workers in the mass battles that lie ahead is strengthened, that the militancy of our students, youth and women is sharpened and that our communities in the towns and the country-side stand fast together, to confront the enemy on all fronts."

"The way forward to victory is the ever increasing combination of united action by our masses and organised revolutionary violence under the leadership of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. People's war is the way to victory."

(Our underlining).

"In essence our victory (in the Tri-cameral elections) therefore consists in the fact that we have managed further to strengthen the mass army of liberation. We have succeeded to mobilise and unite millions of people to reject the legitimacy of the apartheid regime, to unite behind the organised democratic forces of our country ..."

"The arrest of the leaders of the UDF on the eve of the 'Coloured' elections was intended to deny us the possibility to use the then impending victories as a stepping-stone to new successes."

"The forces to carry out our offensive are daily demonstrating in action their readiness to march ever forward. They demonstrated this resolve on August 22nd and 28th. They have been displaying this resolve in the African townships."

"We must destroy the enemy organs of government.  
We must render them ineffective and inoperative."

"It makes no sense that we co-operate with Bantustan and community council apartheid structures."

"There is no reason why we should allow these puppets to control our daily lives, be it in the Bantustans or the Black urban townships.

We have accumulated enough organised strength to achieve this objective of making our country ungovernable. We have raised the level of political consciousness among ourselves to the point where we can and must in practice refuse to submit to the dictates of the Pretoria regime.

In every locality and in all parts of our country we must fight to ensure that we remove the enemy's organs of government, using all means available to us."

"In our continuing assault on the enemy's organs of government, we must use the organised and conscious revolutionary masses to take this next step of intensifying our drive to make our country ungovernable."

"... our offensive against the enemy's organs of self-government has to be carried out by the people in their entirety. This is not a task that should be left to the youth alone or to the workers alone. It requires the involvement of the people as a whole."

In a different article in the same journal we find phrases like:

"In our anti-election campaign we unambiguously demonstrated ..."

"We strengthened our mass organisations and united millions in various forms of action against the illegal regime."

"The popular initiative must be harnessed and canalised; it must be transformed into a conscious and organised offensive - an element of people's war. Fundamentally in this direction is the understanding that - violent struggle being a sharp expression of political struggle - the execution of such actions should and must be done by a highly conscious force among the people, a force that should act under the active guidance of the revolutionary underground. Spontaneous violence and their revolution dovetail only to the extent that the former is brought in time into the fold of conscious struggle."

"The primary task of the entire democratic movement in the most immediate period is to render the tri-racial parliament, the township council and other apartheid institutions non-functional, to make the country ungovernable! This demands that the people combine in action all elements of people's war."

From the above quotations it is clear that just prior to the unrest in the Vaal Triangle the ANC issued a call to make South Africa ungovernable, to render governmental institutions non-functional and to set about this by popular mass action (which would include protest demonstrations) accompanied by well directed public violence actively guided by the revolutionary underground of the ANC.

The next issue of Mayibuye No 9 of 1984 (September) (exh AAF.16) which was issued just after the riots in the Vaal started, triumphantly stated that in the Vaal Triangle and the Reef, in Warmbaths, Tumahole in Parys, Cradock and other places the community had risen in mass actions against the town and community councils which the publication called dummy institutions. It is called a march forward to people's power and a leader of the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Youth Organisation is quoted: "We must make ourselves ungovernable". The editorial states "Let us put into effective use our accumulative power and spread the revolt to every corner of the country!".

We heard evidence from various witnesses that ANC recruits are taught the principles of Marxism and told that that is the correct political philosophy. They are also taught about the freedom struggles in other countries like Zimbabwe and Nigaragua which are socialist.

The ANC teaches that after the overthrow of the South African government the Freedom Charter is to be the policy which is to be applied. This is the first stage of the National Democratic Revolution. The people are then free. But this is not the end. The main objective for a free society is the total abolition of private means of production. That is socialism, whereby the ANC means Marxism. The attainment of the Freedom Charter is the first step to the attainment of the main objective of the ANC - a Marxist state. The political revolution must not end with the attainment of the goals of the Freedom Charter as that retains private ownership with its corollaries, monopoly and capitalism with the result that the people will still be exploited as they do not own the means of production and are therefore not truly free.

After the national democratic revolution, that is the successful overthrow of the South African government - will follow the next stage. This is called national reconstruction. This is the restructuring of society in the mould of socialism. The end is to be the programme of the South African communist party.

As no government in power will peacefully abdicate, the revolution will always be bloody. The revolution is to come in phases:

First it is the aim to politicise the people. This is done by making them aware of their grievances, capitalise on their grievances, make them aware the ANC is their organisation, teach the youth freedom

songs (of their leaders Tambo and Mandela) and teach the people that when the ANC makes a call for a 16 June or May Day stay-away the people should realise it is their organisation leading to liberation. The aim is to make people ungovernable. This lays the right basis for revolution.

The second phase is to organise the people so that they are on the side of the ANC and the ANC has a safe haven amongst them. They must feel part and parcel of the struggle. Mobilisation is part of organisation. Political mobilisation of the masses means to instruct them for example in the Freedom Charter. Mobilisation means to incite the masses to do what you are involved in.

The third phase is guerrilla war and sabotage.

The fourth phase is to take over the government and the installation of a people's government. A people's government is led by the ANC.

The ANC also teaches its cadres about the relationship between and the nature of the South African communist party and the African National Congress. The ANC is a mass organisation of schoolchildren, intellectuals, bourgeois, peasants and workers. The communist party is a party of the workers. There is no contradiction between the ANC and SACP. The SACP knows that the first step is a national democratic

revolution on the basis of the Freedom Charter led by the ANC. Therefore there is an alliance between the ANC, the SACP and SACTU (South African Council of Trade Unions).

The second step to a socialist state is to be led by the SACP.

It is part of the mobilisation of the people to shout slogans about the ANC and its leaders and to write slogans in the form of the names of leaders of the ANC on walls.

As far as the role of progressive organisations in the revolution is concerned it is ANC policy that civics and youth organisations are to be politicised and mobilised. Progressive organisations are all those who preach non-racialism and go along with the aims of the ANC.

In the documents the ANC does not refer openly to the second phase as described above. It only deals with the first stage of the national democratic revolution. There is however sometimes an indication of more. In its publication Dawn No 8 of 1983 p.7 (exh AAG.1) we find:

"To defend the Freedom Charter is to defend the broad class and national interests of the main social forces in the South African revolution during the democratic stage. The Freedom Charter is the touchstone of patriotism. Today in South Africa there can be no patriotism outside the Freedom Charter."

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