

d). Thus a series of crucial divide had overtake SA white politics - African movement divided into 'byal' and 'diehard' factions, paving rise of Hertzog & 'purified Natsion'.  
 Reasons of many black & white radicals to 'suspend the struggle' divided left from right, - paved the way for emergence of a consistent socialist left - and thus a direct confrontation of socialist theory with national question.  
 The ISL ~~decided~~ <sup>could</sup> enter the electoral field on revolutionary anti-war platform & failed. As wide the learning would reject elections. In 1917, finally decided not to contest - thus forced finally to consider the workers as a base for the challenge to society - & thus to bring to forefront the concept of a shared, non-racial society.

SIMONS. 191/192. 1917.

4. PHASE 4. 1917 TO 1922.

a) League's 1st annual conference define its attitude to the New question - based on Bunting's 'politics of rights' - no advance yet in discussions of 1912 - but prepared the way for attention to black aspirations. - & first occasional joint meetings with Congress et al. But white labour struggles still appeared to occupy foreground. Theory put class above all, & industrial combination as the key. Natsion was a false consciousness - heightened by fact that most prominent black leaders supported the war - & Union, even when against the colour bar constitution, made no effort to actually organize blacks.

SIMONS. 192/3 1916.

SIMONS. 193/4 1916.

SIMONS 196.

SIMONS 197.

(Turning Africanism from appendages to proletarianism.) 1917

b) 1917 Native Admin Act reaffirmed formal segregation and relegation of Africans to rule by NAO. Congress in Bloemfontein led denunciation of Act while v. affirming loyalty to King. But for 1st time ever, ISL held public protest against a law not directly affecting white - ANC's Maseko appeared on platform & hailed socialist fraternization with blacks. The rift between ISL & white working class widened - & ISL candidates vs. labour party votes declined. See SIMONS 199.

SIMONS 198. 1917.

See SIMONS 199.

c) Russian Revolution - reaffirmed the dawn of age of revolution & strengthened concept of nationalism being an issue for the post-rev. future. Despite rise of racism, white working class was developing a 'war induced leftism'. (See Jones on Russian Rev. Simon 201.)

SIMONS. 201. 1917.

Proposed Race Conference in Stockholm - Socialists from all over meet to send Andrews - and speakers include Sigamang, of Indian W.U, Selape Thuma, Secretary of ANC & others. Andrews left August 1917(?)

SIMONS. 201/02

representing various organizations including blacks. (See P203) Simon  
 By 1918 Jan. the League annual conference had a smattering of black delegates, mainly from working class bodies. (See Bunting over optimism. Simon P205)

SIMONS. 202/3 1917.

d) Despite optimism etc. League became increasingly isolated from white working class, - & only fraternizing with black. Membership

SIMONS 210 1918.

New radical socialist - influenced by Russian revolution - may with E. European ~~attitude~~ origins - took over ISL - no Coloured or African members. Made various concessions to white preference while struggling with itself towards an ideology. Anderson addressed Congress in Dec 1918, but came away convinced of their reality - loyalty to union. Although basic cleavage between ISL class ideology - ANC nationalism, it was Congress which protested transfer of SWA to SA - not ISL.

SIMONS 210

1918.

Simons 212.

Radicals had eyes fixed on prospect of revolution - both in ISL & Cape Socialist League. In 1919, ISL Conference decided to end their 'splendid isolation' - co-operate with other socialist bodies - & adopted James statement of principle: 'that Labour could not emancipate itself until it had conquered all race & colour preference'. The beginnings were happening of for a birth of Communist organisation

Simons 216

Mar 1918.

1919.

2). Under twin stress of post-war industrial boom & crisis conditions & post-1917 revolution in Soviet countries flourished, & seeds of all sorts began to form. In Tol. trans. drives urged by Anderson to form 'Soviet' - but refused. SAIF passed its latest resolution of protest against arrest of African strikers in Bloemfontein. ANC on Rand mounted a passive resistance campaign against pass laws - & white municipal workers in Gbq. joined a 'Soviet' - a board of control, but also promised assistance to quell the passive resistance - 'an anarchist revolution' according to Buntz - see Simons P222 for context. Radicalism on rise - see Conference of workers & employers calls on government to nationalise industries in peoples interest.

Simons 221.

Feb 1919.

January 1919. ICU joined, Abduvaluar forms APO Federation of Labour etc. Contrast - white & black radicalism in theory, with colour bar reaction of white wage class in practice. See Simons 230.

Simons 222

1919

(See also Durban soviet 1920-1 Simons 230.)

Simons 225.

Dec 1917.

Feb. 1919. Mine strike of African workers - (8,600 white men out of work receive full pay) 71,000 on strike - ISL leaflet 'Don't Sell' to white workers. (Simons P231) - marked the final racial cleavage of the wage class (Simons 233) and African class coming of age. (Simons 232). These factors set the stage for the formation of the CP. 1921.

Feb. 1919.

Simons. 231/2/3

Feb 1919.

ANC. Formation & history:  
 1880: 1st meetings. church especially.  
 Af. ideas in Cape from 1854. 4.7% at end of century.  
 1901. Boer war. peace gives Boers equality.  
 1894. Gandhi. NIC. formed followed by  
 A.P.O.

INSET  
 PAR  
 F

1906. Ekurhuleni to Durban: and Bambata rebels / Passive resistance at borders.  
 1909. National convention - handed blacks over to white rule -  
 deputations to Britain rebuffed. / Act of Union 1910.  
 SA Native Convention - Bloemfontein March 1909. concentrated on  
 'color bar in Act of Union.'

M  
 ↓

1911. Some proposed formation of a SA Native Congress "as a forum to let  
 the people make their grievances known to government, & SA at large."  
 1912 James: 100 delegates in Bloemfontein for ANC inaugural conference.  
 Reference to traditional rulers - Letsie II of Basotho elected Hon.  
 Benson P25' President, together with 8 other rulers of Zulu, Tswana, Pondo etc.

Ei

Constitution for house of chiefs: Nkosi sikh'ele. sung for 1st time.  
 Congress failed to develop a consistent liberationist strategy, or struggle. It  
 did develop a national consciousness, & joint-action on road to unity.

↓

1913. Land Act. Interim & deputations to Minister of Nat. Affairs, & mission  
 to Britain - given birth off.

Di

While men campaigned, women acted. Bloemfontein in July, 600 women  
 returned their passes to the Mayor.

1914. War: 'grievances' suspended for the duration - offer of black recruits  
 refused.

Bi

1st war: Women's section formed by Charlotte Masheke.

Session 2. - Between 1913 -

1. 1913. Great miners strike - water also for Union recognition - 18,000 strikers, SIMONS 186. Settlement left anger, illusion of revolutionary capacity of white workers - threats of a general strike etc.

2. Simultaneously: on black front - nonwhites prosecuted for strike, but Africans on some mines did on their own - prosecuted. Both APO & ANC picketed. Note: no vote for sympathy with white mines at ANC Cape Town SIMONS 160.

Indians - (140,000) opened struggle on taxes provincial banners, - strikes on plantations - satyagraha - agreement Smuts/Gandhi - showed weakness of Gandhi approach.

3. Thus - air of upheaval at outbreak of war. Socialist movement had begun - SA Socialist Fed e.g. 1909. SIMONS 144. 1913 strike gave rise to syndicalist/WWP ideas - But in/elections of 1913. LP main force was with schizophrenia - SIMONS 163. - to 1914. general strike, War - war on war & deportation of leaders

4. War. Labour votes 82/30 for war - Andrews out, Ends all entry of coloured workers to party. (LP 16,000 members. TUs, 12,000). War on war league - elevates all socialist sects - carried on in illusion of white workers revolutionary drive! But illusion

Theory of Socialist Fed. 1909. SIMONS 144. Revolt of Boer generals (6,000 men) & who had put down 1913 strike! polarization on war. Growth of Afrikaner nationalism, & labour independence - left socialism as minority current - divorced from masses. But reality of white class struggle!

5. Theory of socialists: race a side issue which would be blotted out by class struggle! - Still saw Afrikaner nationalism as anti-imperialist & revolutionary - confusion on nationalism of oppressed, & oppressor.

6. Theory of blacks - derived from Cape liberalism, & Parliamentarianism - ANC suspended campaigns. BENSON 34. APO slightly behind Smuts faction. called for opposition (1913) to all Labour candidates: SIMONS 176/7.

7. Period of decline for socialists, ANC etc. & rise of Afrikaner nationalism / chauvinism. Seme - Duke in dispute. 89,000 Africans in army. - at war's end, able of congratulations from Matigallo to King, claiming African pride for participating in victory. (91) League failures - (Vote in Troupville 1917 polls 32 votes). forced re-examination of revolutionary perspectives. clear only voteless respond to call for radical change - discussion opens on mass base of blacks as an alternative strategy!

8. Slow advance of thinking - cannot free whites without freeing blacks - but no concept of blacks freeing themselves. Held back by view of Nationalism as "bourgeois." - & primacy of class over colour.

SESSION 2 CONTD.

9. 1917 Native Admin Bill - socialists first campaign on law not affecting whites directly! ANC speaker in campaign at Soc. meetg in Trades Hall.

H. 1918 - at ISL Conference - Sigamony represents Durban Indian Workers Ind. Union. IWW joined in TSL, supported by ANC

10. Post-war economic problems - rise of working class, prices etc. - African led strikes & boycotts - Gwembe to Britain. Peace conf. Budget strike - & subsequent threat of general strike - Matgathe & League reaction.

SIMONS 207/208

Inflation, price rises, strikes of white workers 'Soviets' in Jhbq. Pretoria - influence of Russian rev. on atmosphere - radicalism, even on matters affecting Africans.

ANC continued on way. Passive resistance against passes etc. and commencement of organizing

Af. workers for increased pay. (S. Msumang) 1919. Formation of ICU - among Cape doctors APO & Abdurahman organized Coloured workers & entrains! - and some mixed unions where Col. were majority.

11. 1919. election pending. High cost of living precipitates rise of ICU

ISL demand for organization of black workers & to demand equal pay! Mureis strike. (Summ 231)

Msumang moved ANC conference in 1920 to organize one union, ICU. Af. Col. Indian South of Zululani.

12. 1919/20: Socialists argued about delectation vs. industrial action - workers learn socialist movement & European radical conj in 1920 League (ISL) Conference endorsed political action & delectation, accepted affiliation to CI.

Andrews, Kuty etc. in gen election 1920 put forward slogan of 'all power to Soviets.' - Call lost deposits - Andrews top with 78 votes.

Labour alienated Africans & support Britain, & blamed by upholding white supremacy. APO threw full weight against Labour! - & went into Sunts camp - against Heibergs vote.

In 1921 election, white workers turned to SAP/Unionist coalition against Labour - which fought on patriotic ticket. ??

1921: CPSA formed, disputes in sects, mainly out of SDF. - disputes over CI statutes - On support for national revolutionary liberation organisations -

but regarded both African & African nationalism as 'bourgeois', non revolutionary, a competition.

SIMONS 259. 60. All white Party.

My text. P3.

Thus to 1922! ANC has numbers - no theory. CP theory - no numbers! Note: division between appearance & underlying reality of black nationalism not perceived by CP!

SESSION 1:

1. Introduction.

2. What is history? a rope.

3. From rope, select one thread. = patterned, imprinted/classification.

4. School history ended 1896. Why?

Will start at that point. Why?

Ideas as concrete force. - good.

A State divisions: provinces at outbreak of Boer war - All history is class struggle.

More important - imperial considerations - the class basis. <sup>Hobson</sup> (1) = GB. Britain & Germany.

7. Hence. British labour. pro-Boer sympathy.

Li. (ILP). African/Coloured views. pro-Brit.

Background. Cape liberalism. franchise.

successively, loaded against Africans. But

compare with Boer republics.

8. Treaty of Vereeniging, & black betrayed -

F. Deportations to Britain / Lib. black co-op.

9. The Convention, & Act of Union - 1910.

Marked end of Afrikaner anti-imperialism, except for flicker in 1914. Boer revolt.

Marked end also of era of black armed resistance - except Bambata 1906.

Marked foundation of NIC - <sup>1899</sup> passive resistance - 1908/9. <sup>Johannesburg</sup> (2) ink convention

D. Foundation of APO. 1902.

Native Congresses - Natal, Tvl, <sup>Cape</sup> 1909 (3) -

Beginning of end of reliance on Britain! (4)

10. From convention to construction of white cap.

state: - 2 pillars: white whites with rulers - ; to change blacks to prolet.

1911. Mines works act.

1913. Land Act - contradictory aims & consequences. P131.

11. ANK formed Jan 1912 - its (5) / (6)

E. <sup>P113/A</sup> constitution, aims, character. - alliance of liberal elite. tribal rulers under threat

2. Milner administration - pass laws - sex color laws, hut tax, segregated locations, liquor laws.

A. convict hiring - all white electric in Tvl etc.

anti-Indian laws - labor shortage. Chinese labour

13. Towards war - the white working class - to organization, radicalism, socialism &

the 1913 general strike - CoM dominant in

all fields - clear class v class conflict -

rise of de Klerkism.

Afrikaners kept masses working -

'white rule' & settlement. Illusions & threat of general strike!

14. War! All campaigns suspended by

B. labour's national movements.

SESSION 1:

- 1. Introduction: who am I. & you?  
what have you learnt of history.  
what is history - how far back?
- 2. Selection of themes - mine not taught at school - 'development of popular political consciousness & action.'  
My history stopped at Boer war -

3. The Anglo-Boer war: origins  
Previous arrangements: Republics & Colonies.  
Native policies - Natal reserves, Cape vote.  
Discovery of diamonds 1870. gold 1876.  
Imperialism as source of war (including German). - Mine owners of rand views.  
ALL HITHERTO EXISTING HISTORY IS HISTORY OF CLASS STRUGGLES

4. The Boer war: outcomes. 1899-1902.  
Boers defeated - Boer split. Smuts vs hard.  
Blacks on both sides - but unarmed.  
Gandhi's ambulance corps. 1100.  
British reaction to black rights -  
• Simons P62. quotes Hobson.  
Milton administration for 'master - servants' style. Hut tax. poll tax. segregation in towns.  
all-white municipal franchise. Indian restrictions in Tul.

5. The political consequences:  
Protests - claims for independence from blacks -  
Coloureds = Africans in OFS & TNV petition Britain  
APO/Abdullahman. founded 1902. - open to all races, but remained significantly Coloured.  
Other organisations. Gandhi's NIC, Lohwli  
= Natal Native Congress, Tul. Native Congress.  
all roused to activity by war consequences -  
1906. Petition • Benson P19.  
1906 - 1908. 2 APO missions to Britain.  
Bot - Bambata rebellion 1906 (Simons 70).  
Also - Afrikaner nationalism renewed on Bulw. & Anti. Brit/Anti. imperialist ideology.  
And Gandhi. Provincial Passive Resistance 1908/9 across borders.

6. The new Union.  
1909. National Convention - all white - no Labour representation - Labour - joining opposition to Afrikaner domination - Note 1 Labour opposition in Natal to exclusion of black delegates.  
TU opposition proposed separate black advisory council in lieu of senate.  
Cape Liberalism, & its influence on black leaders - Jabavu et al. (Simons P109). 1909 deputations from Africans & Coloured to Britain.  
Constitution approved -  
In eye up to Convention. Jabavu favourable SAPO campaign for franchise.

7. The ANC founded.  
1911. Some conveners inaugural SA Native Congress - on basis of provincial bodies  
SIMONS. 133. BENSON 25.  
Influence of Brit. liberalism on constitution adopted Jan 1912, 3 evening mandates on sec. Congress (5 APO) aims see Af. as joint partners of whites. SIMONS 136. in traditional leadership structures. & note Botkhu: Simons 134.

8. To 1914:  
1911. Mines & works act.  
White mine traditions -  
Note: post Boer war labour shortage - Mine's mine for profits - demands for exportation of Indian. Chinese labour (Indian opst. demands Indian rights!) factors labour racism!  
small radical faction, & mass to. racism to keep up rates & standards.  
1913 Land Act - reserved 7.8%, outlawed tenancy agreements - note Cape exclusion Simons 131. - evictor ± 1 million people.  
Labourism & land act. SIMONS 130.  
Congress establishes itself in campaign on land Act - collecting funds for deputations - challenging Jabavu directly - & last black elected rep.  
Deputations to Britain. Robusana -

War. - Struggle called off by Lab & national movement.

SESSION 2.  
1914 to 1922.

1. War: main mass movement - Labour -  
divided on war into 3 factions - pro-war,  
anti-war Afrikaners - war on war socialist.

2. War on war gathered socialist factions -  
including Soc. Fed 1909 - but war  
produced also: 'Labour imperialism' &  
Afrikaner nationalism (boer generals).  
Socialism maintained illusion of white revolutionary  
capacity.

3. 'Labour' leads to decline of labour =  
rise of chauvinism -  
Influence of Russian Rev. & theories of  
nationalism - of Afrikaners & blacks -

4. 1917. Natie Admin Bell - first time socialist  
fight on non-white issue - ANC speaks  
at Soc. meet in Trades Hall.

5. Post-war rise of black workers organisation -  
IWW in TB, sponsor of ANC.  
Seymour = Indian workers in Natal.  
Budget strike in Tvl - NB. learned  
TU struggle - no Luddism! Discipline.  
Threat of general strike, rebuffed by  
ANC. (Makgatho) & League.

Radicalism of white workers - 'Sovets'  
in Jhbq. Pickonia, Durban.  
ANC also radicalized - Women's organisations  
Tvl's, Poorie resisters on passers.  
APO organises coloured workers -  
Note: differing reactions of whites to coloured TUs.  
KU (decision of 1920 ANC conf.) causes

6. Socialist movement, mainly now Europ. radicals -  
struggles & splits over industrial vs political  
action - echoes of today.

Formation of CI, CI principles accepted  
& application for affiliation (1920). Andrews  
Bunting election campaign on 'All power to Soviets' -  
(Andrews top 78 votes.)

7. Confusion everywhere - 1921 elections  
APO fully committed against Labour - with Soviets.  
Labour lose to progressivism of SAP. Unionist coalition.

8. 1921. Formation of CP - all white! -  
disagreements over CI regulations, especially  
over 'national revolution' vs. bourgeois national.

ANC. makes no theory.  
CP. theory. no numbers.  
Distinction: apparent national character with  
reality of class struggle.

9. 1922:

Ji

Ji

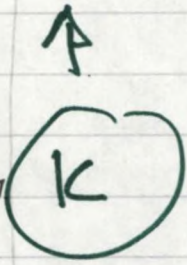
Jiii



SESSION 3.

MINERS STRIKE. 1922.

1. Price of gold fell 130/- in 1919, 105/- 1921.  
 95/- in 1922. CoM decision to cut the  
 ratio - agreed between CoM. white men in 1917  
 and add 1 hour to African shift:  
 'International' claim. SIMONS. 275. of 201.



Abdullahman took another view - a petitioned  
 Parliament for removal of the colour bar

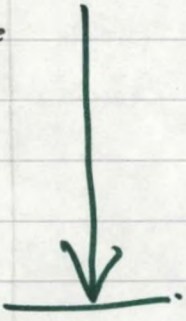
● Blacks worked - in coal 600 strikers, 20,000  
 producers. - Andrews claim all who work are  
 scabs. colour bar on mines had gone.



Ki

CoM started repatriating Africans. Some  
 men - Benari - called on govt to nationalise  
 mines to prevent bosses doing them.

Labour - Nat. began to co-operate vs.  
 Smuts - CoM. - calls for nationalisation  
 & a republic!



Add: Sources & nationalism - the development of a theory.  
Theme: CP view of Africanisation - static - not dialectic!

(K)

Lectures. USSR.

i) Introduction: who am I. History.

What is history? Facts, interpretations, analysis.

The foundation of ANC. Social - political background.

1912  
? AAC / hand Act /  
1913. 1936.

ii) The Postwar period:

CP. ditto. 1921.

Where the movements came from:

3 things: ANC, CP. Ind Congress et al. including TVs.

The post-war emergence from 'own affairs' to community affairs.  
and thus the 'modern' - post-war lib. movement.

Vote Cases '44

Described: organisations; programmes; followers:

3) Some special episodes for consideration:

a) The immediate - end-of-war/post war - ~~was African axis~~,  
the Xuma <sup>1943</sup> constitution, Ind Congress radicalisation,  
Spryford League, Nationalist election victory, Xuma/Wadood  
part, ~~Miners strike~~ <sup>1946</sup>, ~~boycott - participation in ANC /~~  
~~Advisory Board Elections~~ ~~Squatters movement~~.

1957?  
Africanist  
Luhulu 1952.

4.) ① ~~Defiance Campaign: 1952: origins - end of - the Western Areas  
campaign, Passive resistance.  
Engine of the 'Whuteer Corps' signals new era.~~

Stay. at. home.

5.) ② ~~COPE - Freedom Charter.  
1955. 3 areas of purposes, - achievement.  
Women's march to Pretoria.  
Treason trial / Alex bus boycott & Evaton! - Gangsterism!  
1957 55/56.~~

Matthews s.3 suggest  
54. joint exec.

6.) ③ ~~Suppression Act! The growth of the Alliance:  
Women's Protests: 1954. Clente - Union bldg demo 1955.~~

7.) ④ Sabotage, Umkhonto, esile.

Exp. school basis

8) Schools Protests. (5)

NB: Trade unions participate - weaknesses.  
CP, & drive towards a programme! for wide mass  
tactical appeals. Bus boycott / strike / stay at home /  
CP night schools? - Bantu education boycott.

PAC. 1959.

See: ~~1953 Programme of Action!~~ -> M.P. Plan ->

# On 1922 Strike only

↑  
Kii **WHOLE PAGE!**  
↓

FINAL ~~81~~  
M

1922.

## ILLUSIONS / SOVIETS IN SA!

1. Selby: falling price of gold. 130/- in 1919  
→ 95/- in 1922. CoM to cut rates  
from 1:8.5 to 1:10.5. add 1 hour  
to African shift. / white wages up 50%  
from 1913. black by 9%!
2. White labour reaction: starts as defence  
of 'rates for jobs' - but in strike  
becomes defence of color bar!
3. Start in coal mines - ~~20,000~~<sup>600</sup> on strike.  
Africans, 20,000, remain at work.
- Anders claim that 'color bar has gone.'
4. White establishment: fear of black revolt -  
CoM starts negotiating; blacks - TU agrees  
to maintain black order.
5. Calls from whites for 'naturalisation' to  
keep mines open: from APO for removal  
of color bar; from ANC for protection  
of blacks right to work;  
from labour - nats for republic - as  
basis of alliance.
6. The strike: bitter ~~and~~ fight; 1st generation  
● of Afrikaner workers with links to countryside -  
call for commandos (abetted by police?)  
echoes 1913 state call for anti-black patrols!  
Division in ranks of miners -  
right for cooperative settlement, left  
for strike to the end, general strike.  
Council of Action formed, (left illusions)  
co-operating with commandos & being  
surpassed by them - outflanking  
Union leadership.  
Smuts moves from quasi-nationalist to  
voice of CoM.  
Marital law, armed struggle, defeat.

## 7. Issues in the strike:

- a) slogan 'for white SA'.
  - b) CP defence of 'white wage standards'.
  - c) revolutionary potential of workers.
  - d) passivity of blacks - recipients, not  
actors in rev.
  - e) fundamental unity (CP) or antagonism  
(APO/ANC) of black + white workers.
  - f) What sort of class battle was this?
  - g) 'Prolet united front' of CI - is this same as  
white unity against Smuts?
  - h) Kadavie follows Hetzogg.
  - i) ANC Marchade confusion (see Swan 319)
8. The aftermath:
- a) white revolutionary work class capacity  
ended. Industrial Conciliation Act  
marks its end.
  - b). Political white issue of imperialism vs.  
republicanism dissolved into messy  
class/national division of Smuts & CoM, vs.  
labour - Afri-nationalism. - Pact, marked  
high point & begin of end of labour!  
SOCIALISM DEPOSED BY LP!
  - c) Whom are the vanguard! But  
white miners had sold their own future for  
a place at rulers table.
  - d) Failure to organize black workers  
had been a fatal compromise.  
Move African to front stage!
  - e) Congress - defeated by deputations  
to Peace Conf. effort - failure declined,  
ICU prospered!

WHOLE PAGE

1922 - 2nd World War.

1. Sum up: White labour ended its radical phase. - soon whilwind of white racism unwittingly. - share boom

As a result - oppressive laws pass without much white opposition: Apprenticeship 1922.

Urban Areas 1923.

Civilised labour party. 1923. Post government accelerated process.

ICA Act, 1924. White Works 1926, Native

Admin. Masters. Servants. Riders Ass. 1927.

all marked steady decline - eclipse of white labour politics - conscription of white workers to Afrikaner/COM volun. class.

2. The conditions which created white radicalism also affected blacks - marked esp. by commencement of ANC attention to TVs - Msimang - gen. workers union, and - rise of ICU. SIMONS. 297.

Note: disciplined unionism of blacks as eq. in bucket strike.

3. The ICU followed Herzig in 1923 elections. disputes over style with CP - expulsion of CP members who went on to organise own TVs - late with Balthazar etc - British TV ideas 1929.

4. Syndicalism. direct action issue raised in CP. forced to consider own tactics after 1922 debacle. - dismay - loss of white worker following open lab/CP split - hostility.

5. ANC in decline. deputation to Peace Conference, looking to electoral success in capso. (See P 207.) white local decline into passivity. New 1919 constitution SIMONS 387. in 1923, denounced

Urban Areas Act. sent deputation! to Smuts.

SIMONS 315. 1st ever declaration of no confidence in SA governat.

6. APO in decline. split against CP candidates in 1923. SIMONS 317.

7. 1927. / Sun of ANC to left under influence of Gonde to League against Imperialism / Khale 1927 - d of CC of CP became general secretary. / Tom of CP - 1925/7 toward Blacks. night schools, TU organizj etc. Fed of NETU's formed 1928 & affiliated 1929 to red international. - aim equal pay - not equality!

8. Progress being made by ANC / CP when <sup>1926 Convention vs. Herzig Bills. (343)</sup> bills CP had league to reach out to Africans. After 1926 campaigns against Herzig bills

SIMONS 388. - elected 1st African to CC. - influence of 1927 anti-imperialist conference - LaGuma / ANC has 1/7d. CP resolve to go it alone.

Despite good prospects for U.F. - disputes in ANC Gonde vs. Mhabane etc. - organisational weakness

Theoretical problem of 'self-determination' - whites! as against 'native republic' - Issue: working class power as against Af nationalist power. - white workers more revolutionary than black bourgeoisie! 397/8.

9. Thus 1927. 28 CP making decisive turn to blacks - night schools, 1929. Buntj - Walton stand in elections - 1929 Party conference confusion. 352. HERZOG ELECTIONS.

10. ANC which had moved forward under Gonde & TV organizj (Msimang) - convened 1st NE Convention against Herzig Bills 1928 calls for NE co-operation. But night terms against Gonde, change of leadership in ANC / SEME. - falls back. - retreat from action at time CP moved forward!

11. CP leads anti-pass demos 1930 - see SEME: oppositi in 1931. SIMONS 436.

CP accused of 'fascism' ECC1 30. -

1928. CI proposes 2 stage SA revolution P439.

Factious - expulsion  
Depression - & wretched labour policy

1939. Elections - coalition govt. Labour virtually wiped out  
but see Sumner P464 for pre-Verwoerd policy

See P466 for mutual recruitment of CP-ANC. = 468

Merges - formation of UP 1934. - alliance of mine owners  
& land owners.

With 2/3rds majority, prepared to remove Africans from common roll.  
White TV's, in secondary intent, spread by Govt, & include anti-fascist  
political ed.

Invasion of Ethiopia, = CP 'hands off' campaign 1935

Struggle over United Front - left sectarianism See 475./476.

ANC. 1923. Same to cabinet P990!

On national bourgeoisie 490!. 491 on 2 stages of revolution

1935 Convention - confusion of delegations, compromise on Helgogo  
Bell, & final removal of Africans from voters roll, & NRC constitutional

Parallel developments:

White workers turn against ~~the~~ communists + radicalism. ICU drive  
expulsion 1926. + decline.  
CP turn to masses, Youth League in lead -

1927: League against Imperialism - La Juma + CP.

Gonede + ANC + Msunway: workers congress.

2 again in 1928.

Left-right struggles - in CP on Black Republic.

in ANC -

~~split~~ 1929. Haysgo govt. - reaction.

growth of Unity - League of African Rights. - Unity in work.  
unemployment

Combination of sectarianism + repression during lapses of United Front

## References & Quots.

1884 - in first issue of Imvo:  
 "The time is ripe for a journal... to give  
 untrammelled expression to the feelings of the  
 Native population before the Government and  
 the European public? His politics would  
 be to support moderate men. Row. P. 64.

## PHASE I CONTD:

Natal: 1893. the white settlers were given 1893  
 representative govern. Their first act was  
 to bar Indians, & in next year, to exclude 1894  
 them from franchise - for African vote  
 see Row 109/110.  
 Zul: excluded Indians. Row 110. 1885.

## Factual.

### PHASE I only.

British conquest of Cape. 1806.  
 Natal. a British colony from 1813.  
 "strict equality before the law of all in  
 Natal, irrespective of colour". Simons P. 18.  
 But Africans disfranchised in? 1865.  
 (not entirely. See esp. Row P. 56.)  
 Cape: Constitution of 1853, represent. 1853  
 above government. - "color blind in  
 form" - with property qualifications:  
 Simons. 28. Row 65.  
 No colored ever elected. do.  
 'Responsible' government came in 1872.  
 After Transvaal annexation, 1879-94  
 strengthened anti-African voting basis by  
 exclusion of land held under customary  
 rights from franchise & rental value  
 of voting property from £ 25 to £ 75. - thus 1887  
 only 30,000 Africans of vote. Simons 31. 1892.  
 Row 72.  
 This stimulated African political movement.  
 Passing of leadership from tribal military  
 'chiefs' to educated politicians - see  
 SIMONS 48. NB!  
 and Native Electoral Assoc. founded  
 by Jabavu. (J.B. Tengo). 1884.  
 Natal Native Congress formed. 1900.  
 Melli P. 22.  
 Bambata rebellion - a poll tax. Row 96. 1906.  
 Zul: Boer Republic. 'Grandest' writ  
 against color bar. See Row 60.  
 Cape: Note that 'color blind' orig. was  
 imposed from Britain. Undoubtedly SA would  
 have allowed African rights if given the  
 opportunity to draft the constitution. Row 65.  
 Hofmeyr Bell removed 'aboriginal natives  
 registered or qualified to be registered  
 at Parliamentary election' to be exempted  
 from special laws - especially, Pass, 1887?  
 Location - liquor laws. Row 67.

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