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APO. 1915.

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1914 War. & responses: - Clowds./ANC.
Bar revolt. & APO.
Labour loyalty - & war on war.

S176. - Bar 34./35./36.
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Afrikaner - L.P.

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ANC: 1917. - ~~Native Admin Act.~~

S198.

~~ANC = Socialists share platform~~

~~S198.~~

Wardy dress actn. 1918. .

~~S207.~~ & 1919/S225. Bar 37/38

~~The Russian Rev~~

~~S201/202~~

~~& rise of colonial revolt. / Soviets'~~

~~S220. Sonnet S222 & S.230.~~

~~Segregation~~

~~S.209/~~

ISL: & black-white unity. 1918.

S206/7. S212.

& ANC / black workers / South West Africa.
& towards direct action on blacks.

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ANC: Gonaede to Peace Conference.

S217. Gonaede S219. / S 539/43.

Anti-pass campaign 1919. Koux 126/7

S221. / Conference Ann S387 Bar 38

Organise APO/Abdusalam. after the strike

S297. - Bar 41 on women's org. Koux 125

ICU.

S226. S241. / S266. / S268 Bar 45/46

ANC / & African work dress matters. & curbed labour

S307 - & CO. S340. / See also Koux 120!

ISL & Communist.

S258/6

CI & national redistribution -

S258/9/60.

CP. Formation of CP. 1921

S261. / ~~conf~~ affiliation to L.P. 1923. S309/310

& Youth League 1923/4 / Conference 1929.

S324/5. S352 / equal pay 1928 S376/7.

Non white unity. 1924.

S344 1926-27. S388

ANC development - Gwede 1927.

League of African Rights - 9 black white units

ECCI. 1930.) Trambler 1929. -

(1 Western Cape. 1929. on

1922 Strik - African. / Movements

S 35325375 / 1255 & 428/29. Ben 50/51.

S. 417/419. 42/23. 425. Ben 49.

S 438/9. } Kay 226/7. Kay 290/41. E

~~257~~. Kay 259.

Kay 158/9.

See: Law in Natal 1865 re African voters.

Kay 56.

Campaign against Hays' laws.

Kay 296.

ANC - World War II

Kay 312/3.

Addenda:

Napier - Natal colonial laws. 1843.

Summ. 18.

On ANC/CP policy developments

CHRONOLOGY
P. REFS. 5

1929. Rise of reaction & militarism -

1928 - 39

League of African Rights. ANC. ICU. CP.

- Comintern intervention for dissolution overstates rev. sit.
started with. hunt, - decline of United Front.

1930. Gamelle ousted, conservatism regains ANC. - return to belief in
power of reason - sectarian m. fight, right vs left. 1930. ANC

opposes pass campaign launch of CP with others. - campaign destroyed 488/35

Congress splits - Same vs Thema unions

CP splits. CI complaints of 'tailism' 'lagging behind'.

May 30 - CI document (published Dec.) called for a 2 stage revolution

- 1st bourgeois democratic - then socialist. In absence of a
revolutionary national bourgeoisie, only class capable of uniting the
rev. fighting front is the native proletariat, supported by the
exploited masses of the white proletariat.

P439

plus programme of action. - left sectarian. - see 1932 - P 459.

Note: No glasnost. democracy!

ANC also declines - 1933. 39.

P453./468!

For depression statistics - see P 454 = 462./508.

Process regression. rise of fascism, 'WAR'.

But not all negative. - CI 1935 advice on united front P.475-

Decide ANC till 1938/9.

ANC: 1936. Rep. of Native Act. - CP return to United Front. 497.

1937. Marikwa = Mdutsoanyana ~~was~~ form co-ordinating office to
revive TOL ANC. P630.

10. The 'black republic' debate - its essence
 an understanding of colonial situation generally - and SA in particular.
 national question - without a bourgeoisie? - and write an allegedly
 'revolutionary' white working class - corrupted by IC Act.
 axis of national revolution - an independent republic, of workers & peasants.
 but: what of the 'bourgeois democrats' rev, 2 stages etc.
 Debate clarifies party, but users in age of unresistance strike -
 expulsions, splits, deterioration & decline.

Jii
 ↓

But opens up new work amongst Blacks - building of TU's, radicalization
 of ANC, etc. Anti-pass campaigns - confrontation.

11. Heygg destroy black parliamentary vote - thus creating conditions for
 new vigor of nat. lib organizations - Xuma constitution,
 membership etc, and decline of chiefs' influence.

2nd World War

12. War - repeat of arguments about republicanism, loyalty etc. But now
 predominantly advanced by mainly black CP - & linked with national
 demands against passes, for wages, arms etc.

Slow recovery of ANC, growth. CP growth - & gradual
 clarity on axis - 'freedom' and its relations to socialism. Note
 CP fear of polemics & theory - pragmatism is order of the day.

United front develops in action - in anti-pass campaigns, Alex Bus
 boycott etc. - (Gangsterism!).

Atlantic charter inspires Africans to formulate axis again - Matthews Bell
 of Rights - inspiration to students. & formation of Youth League & rise of early Africanism.

Direct action pioneered by Mpanza etc. - Party line, & need to learn from masses!

Pan-African Conferences and growth of militancy for independence & democracy - in

line with these aims - 'African claims'. (Benson 90/91.)

INDIAN
 PASSIVE
 RESISTANCE

13. African mass strike. - follow line of pamphlet.

14. On boycotts: NRC - General elections - CP line waver..

PROGRAMME OF ACTION! 1949 Lodge Advisory Boards - ? when did boycott start?

15. Suppression Act. 1950 - growth of Unity - and non-cooperation pioneered
 by 'listees'. Strike actions - & lessons. 1950/51.

16. 1952 - Defiance Campaign: Axis as much organizational as ideological. - but
 progress exposes limitations of long term strategy & of tactics for carrying on.

WESTERN
 AREAS: 53

17. 1953/55. COP. & Freedom Charter.
 & 1955. Women take their place - in part only. dawn of male consciousness.

1956: Treason trial: issues of line of defence - crisis of government - with result - ideology unified.

1955: Schools. Bantu ed. -

1960: Sharpeville & emergency: rise of PAC.

1960.. SA Republic - rising population, was the vote a mass issue? &

→ way to
1961. MKhonto = redemption. the exile factor.

CP Programme.

Simon + Passive resistance: -

TVL 1907. Becha took office in Tol. - Asiatic Law Amendment Act

(1881 - Pretoria Convention ~~was~~ allowed 'any person other than a native' to reside. Hence when OFS barred Indians in 1885 - but denied them the right to own land outside segregated locations.)

1100 Indians served with Gandhi's ~~own~~ Ambulance Corps vs Boer.

1907. Asiatic Law - laid basis of a pass system as for Africans - register - unregistered could be deported without appeal.

Immigration laws used to bar them from TVL - prohibited from trade on goldfields -

Passive resistance - refusal to register - went to jail.

Suits - Gandhi deal if majority registered voluntarily.

Suits renewed. Indians began domestic, 1908 - began crossing border illegally.

APC - urged Tol. colonial to passive resistance against segregated townships - people did not follow.

1913: after mines strike.

140,000 Natal Indians - against restricted migration, provincial barriers, licensing discrimination, £3 tax on non-renewal of indenture.

Gandhi called for strike - police clashed with armed Indians & killed 25 injured

STRIKE CALLED OFF. 3 groups of workers across border - pressure from

Indian govt - 1914 Indian Relief Act abolished tax, recognized as valid customary marriages.

1936: Tol. Asiatic Land Tenure Act, & 1939 Asiatic Land & Trade Act. Dadoo started campaign - 6000 pledge resistance - Gandhi intervened, war approaching, India. Britain would intervene to produce an honorable settlement. - Dadoo called off campaign.

1946. Asiatic Land Tenure Act. prohibited land transfers except in 'exempted areas' - Passive resistance council setup in Natal + Tol.

2000 resistors / 300 women - went to jail for occupying white land. Dadoo - Maudar jailed twice. - By July 48, campaign called off. Next govt in power. - African leaders supported campaign especially Xuma (post mines strike period) - 1947 Xuma Dadoo pact to work together for full franchise rights - equality with whites

To defiance

(in passing mass boycott campaigns Alex 1940/45. Squatters 1944/7. ANC. conference Dec 47 - Kibane & Lumbeko - mixed struggle for full citizen rights - boycott of elections to NRC & Parliament! CP Conference followed - but note clash of views - need for an active campaign - 'should class party trail behind national organisations?' - (white liberals prospered as a result.) need for single minded activists in boycott. - not passive! Dec 48 ANC Conf. - Youth League alleged 'sabotage' by some NRC councillors & leaders. - wavering, agreed to reaffirm boycott by 'work for election of anti-collaboration candidates on a boycott ticket. CP conference - Samson, end of P 582!

● 1950 Suppression Act. - May Day strike - disidence (1st actual political strike!) - led to joint call for protest vs. Suppression Act - June 26th. - on technicality not a strike basis. ~~was removed!~~

Programme of Action adopted - Lodge P 27.

1951 - Planning Council proposed campaign of resistance to unjust laws - Defiance Campaign! - June 26 1952 start! - more than 8000 jailed - end = 'riots'.

Dissolution of CP! - Fear of ideology = 'practicalism'.

Western Areas Removal Campaign - = slogans! = class analysis lacking!

1943 on ideology of ANC. - African ^{Claims} ~~Rights~~. Lodge 23. ~~Rs~~

Note ANC Bill of Rights declaration 1945. Sumons 622 top. = see P 621 & top of 623

Programme of Action 1949. Lodge 26

Vers of socialism ICU LACP. ~~387/8~~

La Gomas - 389

or nature republic

1927 League deum ~~388~~

CHECK!

1932 CP revolutionary ~~program~~

ANC development

~~392/1927~~

1931 Conference P436

1933 Sec. P453

League of African Rights 1929/417

2 stage theory. ~~P438/439~~

SECI Sectarianism ~~439/441-2~~
right wing days

White Labour policy ~~454/5~~

On CP & ANC policy deductions. up to 1928 (R)

CP. 1929 Com. demanded 'complete equality of races' - workers - peasants to continue for rev. overthrow of cap - imp - and a republic 'wholly independent of British empire' and for Africans "complete liberation" and the right of self determination. Power vested in workers class. P352

ANC. 1919. aim to "advocate the removal of colour bar by joint means". P387
1933: "equal rights for all civilized men". - still not universal vote! do.
ICU: "socialist society based on franchise.... etc.. do
LP: - common overthrows (1930) "due regard.... etc. 388

CP 1926. - limited to rejection of segregation bills - pass laws, abolition of racial legislation, & the extension of Cape franchise to Natives 388

1927 Conference League against imperialism. La Guma - Gumedé. - adopted SA delegates' res on "the right of self determination through the complete overthrow of capitalism - imperial domination - 389.
(Right of Africans to govern Africa)

- NB. Issues: meaning of self. det. Secession? & who were 'natives'?

Brussels Resolution!

At CI - struggle clearly anti-imp. . . . main task to overthrow Boer & British imperialists, set up an independent Native republic (with many rights) as a stage towards the final overthrow of capitalism 390
Gumedé urges co-operation with Coms. - at 1927 conference.

1927 ANC Conference. moves to left under Gumedé - Khadija CP - elected secretary, overhauled Congress machinery to mass campaigns, branches, individual workers. & TU dept. 392/3

By 1928 ^(6th) Comintern conference, the CP "turn to the masses" had succeeded - but not yet enough to change theory. - mass membership etc. 406

Opponents of policy denied "no native bourgeoisie". "CP actual a potential leader of native rev." "class struggle is national struggle."

1929. Nzoza is [←] secretary. ? or proposes 2 stage revolution. — 439.

1930. ECCI accuses CP of Tailism? 439.

Lecture Series: History of our ideology. 1988.

QUOTE DIRECTLY.

REFER IF NECESSARY.

1. ~~Scope: Not attempting history of events in our growth. Only dealing with how our ideas developed, & why.~~

~~Purpose: to allow past to explain the present. But~~

~~also to show ideology as DEVELOPING. NOT FIXED!~~

~~Sometimes ideology can only be demonstrated in organised activity - not in declarations.~~

2. ~~Beginnings: Today it seems that national liberation ideology has always been with us. - ANC always the leading force, alliance with CP in actions & ideas constant.~~

~~Where in fact to begin? Cold, as e.g. F.W. de Klerk, start with early churches, or revolts as in 'Kaffir wars', rebellions etc. But am concerned not with resistance perse, but with citizen rights - hence with SA state!~~

~~Will start with direct political ideology & organisation leading up to and evidenced in period of 20th century~~

~~Boer war etc. as prelude to Union.~~

3. The Republics / Colonies: describe citizenship positions prior to Union: especially, as only direct black participation in state:

a) Cape Colony: Constitution of 1853 (British) gave first representative government. totally colour blind. - property qualification only - but colour blind in form, not content - passed Masters & Servants Act. Black vote grew slowly to 4.7% max.

'Pop. govt' gave way to 'responsible govt.' 1872. - e harsher laws - discovery of diamonds (1867/71), annexation of Transkei tripped potential African vote: franchise loaded in 1887 & again in '92 - still colour blind - but note new voters exemption of 1887.

and 1892.

b. ~~Transvaal~~: The growth of Cape black politics followed:

Simons P22

Roux 61
Benson 18.

do P23.

~~WAR~~

SIMONS. 30

SIMONS. 31.

details.
Roux. 66.

ROUX 67.

ROUX 72.

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