

**NATIONALIST STRUCTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA: A CASE
STUDY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) IN
SOUTH AFRICA.**

BY

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(ADM.NO.0811202091)

**BEING PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF
POLITICAL SCIENCE, USMAN DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY,
SOKOTO; IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE AWARD OF BACHELOR OF SCIENCE (B. SC) IN
POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

DECEMBER, 2012

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that this project has been read and approve as meeting the requirement for the award of a bachelor of science (B.Sc) in political science of the Usman Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to first and foremost to God Almighty and My
Mother Mrs. Ngozi Ibisi-Ikeobi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Praise be to God Almighty, who by his Grace and mercy have seen me through to the successful completion of my studies.

My deepest respect and gratitude goes to my parent Mr. and Mrs. Ibisi and My Bishop David Oyedepo for all their support, both financially, morally and otherwise. These really helped me to scale through my studies successfully.

Many thanks also to my supervisor and my mentor Dr. S.S. Muhammed who has spared his time to make sure that this research is a success despite his tight schedule and commitment.

I will like to acknowledge the effort of my lecturers especially, Dr. Sule-kano, Mallam Kura, Professor Nuhu yaqub and all other staff of the political science department in particular and the University as a whole. It has been a great honour and privilege for me being one of their student.

I will also like to thank my brother and sister Malvin and Ndidi for all their support, care and concern. Also many thanks and gratitude to my friends especially Sanusi, Aminu, Babangida, Austin, Shagari's and all other friends, Colleagues and well-wishers. I must apologise for any offence I might have made for omitting some names.

Finally, I would like to once again thank God almighty who by his Grace and infinite mercy, made everything possible for the successful completion of my studies.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Nationalism in modern history is the movement through which the realisation of a nation- state is regarded as paramount for the attainment of social, economic and cultural aspiration of the people. Nationalism is characterised principally by the feeling of communality among a people, based on common descent, language and religion. Before the 18th century when nationalism emerged as a distinct movement, states usually were based on religion or dynastic ties, citizens owed loyalty to their churches or ruling families. People rarely extend their interest across national frontiers.

Historically, the tendency towards nationalism was fostered by various technological, cultural, political and economic advances. Improvement in communication extended the knowledge of people beyond their villages or provinces. The spread of education in vernacular tongues of the lower income group gave them the feeling of participation in a common cultural heritage. Through education, people learned of their common background and tradition and began to identify themselves with the historical continuity of the nation. The introduction of national constitution and the struggle for political rights gave people the sense of

belonging to determine their fate as a nation and of sharing responsibility for the future well-being of that nation. At the same time the growth of trade and industry laid the basis for economic units larger than the traditional cities or provinces.

Nationalist struggle like other terms in political science is not subjected to a single approach, not even a single conceptualisation, because it means different things to different people and different countries. Nationalist struggle can be defined as the sentiment and reaction of the indigenes (natives) against foreign rule and domination. Nationalist struggle was said to be an instrument for organised escape from the tyranny of the oppressive monarchs in Europe. However, to the Africans generally, nationalist struggle means opposition to European rule except in the case of South Africa which was also colonised by Africans. There are many reasons for the development of nationalist struggle in Africa. Some of the reasons are partly social, partly political and partly economic in nature. First and foremost, the racial differences which exonerate racial discrimination paved the way for the whites in all aspects of life, which eventually erodes the opportunities for Africans in their own countries.

Similarly, there was monopoly of foreign and major firms in trade and commerce, and this was disliked by the nationalists. African business

class was dissatisfied with the rising prices and rising cost of production especially in town and cities. Moreover, the economics of African countries were completely dominated by British and French firms and their financial institutions. Fair opportunities were given to Africans to take part in commerce of their countries. This was another factor that contributed to the cause of nationalist activities in anticipation of their economic rights.

At the very crucial stage of colonialism, the two world wars, that is the first and the second world wars exposed the weakness of the British. For instance, Britain was the first to withdraw her troops from the continents. She was heavily defeated by the Germans, a non-European power. This event had some psychological effect on the colonial subject and their determination to fight for freedom. In addition, the growth of urbanization greatly contributes to the growth of nationalist activities. Most towns grew four times their sizes, most evident in the rate of population growth. These urban centres became the rallying centres for fostering of the spirit of nationalism.

However, despite the general feeling of the nationalist towards their course of activities, there are different approaches to and kinds of struggle. And the reason was located within peculiar settings in which the nationalist operated. There were different kinds of colonial existence. Therefore, there are different kinds of nationalist struggle. To a varying

degree, the struggle is political, economic and social (racial). This is reflected in Kwame Nkrumah's statement:

Seek ye political kingdom first.....

Moreover, the kind of setting which the nationalist operated shaped the kind of nationalist activities embarked upon. For instance, the settler's factor in south African confirmed the need for a violent struggle. Algeria for example had to embark upon a violent struggle to wade off the French and the non-European colonisers. But to the contrary, liberal British colonies were not violent but underwent a lot negotiation and compromise in the course of their struggle. The approach to the nationalist struggle in these British- European colonized countries are obviously reflected in the result of the struggle in terms of the quality of the independence.

The liberal British colonies consequently ended the nationalist struggle with the perpetuation and perpetration of the colonial structures, except for Tanzania. They opted for capitalism as their ideology. Where's, the violent nationalist of some African independent countries advocated for socialism in a bid to complete the remnants of colonialism. South Africa, a land of diversity and division in its geography, people and political history; physically tall mountain ranges separate fertile coastal plan from high interior plateaus. The grassland and desert of the plateaus

include pockets of amazing mineral wealth particularly in gold and diamonds.

Black African comprises more than three quarter of South Africa. While whites coloured people (people of mixed race) and Asians mainly Indians) make up the remainder. Among the black population there are numerous ethnic groups and 11 official languages. Until the 1990s, white dominated the non-white majority population under the political system of racial segregation known as Apartheid. Apartheid ended in the 1990s, but South Africa is still recovering from the racial inequalities in political power, opportunity and lifestyle. The end of apartheid led to a total reorganisation of the government, which since 1994 has been a anon-racial democracy based on majority rule.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research project tries to examine the role of the African National Congress in the nationalist struggle in South Africa. There is the need to know the objectives, strategies, organisation and the political activities of the African national congress. The formation of the congress which embraces its historical background shall be discussed. In addition, the attracts the two major period of the nationalist activities of the African

National congress, that is the period of non-violence which signifies like peaceful demonstrations, protests and strikes and the period of the armed struggle which portrays the latest tactics of the African national congress in achieving its objectives. We will also evaluate the general effects of the African national Congress as a nationalist organisation in South Africa.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPT

Various concepts have been used in the course of this study. However, it is deemed necessary to operationalize some of these concepts for proper comprehension. The major and important concepts used in this context include, “Nationalist struggle”, “white and black”, ”coloured”, White Minority”, Black majority”, “Apartheid”, Armed struggle”, Guerrilla warfare” and “squatters”.

Nationalist struggle as used here refers to the general sentiment and reaction of the indigenes as reflected or portrayed in their opposition foreign rule and domination.

Black and White are used here to reflect what has become conventional South Africa terminology for describing the different people inhabiting this country, that is, White for Europeans settlers and their descendants, African for members of the bantu-Speaking groups,

‘coloured’ for those who are legally categorised as being of mixed descent and ‘Indian’ for the descendant of the Asians. When referring collectively however to the Africans, coloured and Indian section of the population, we have the term ‘Black’.

White minority is used here nevertheless to mean a small population of white settlers and their descendant which claim racial authority over the black majority, while black majority as used here refers to the large population of about 28 million blacks whose political or human rights are denied by the white minority. The black majority are denied the right to vote, the right to move in their own country, etc.

Although, ‘Apartheid’ has been defined as South Africa policy of social segregation, separate development of Europeans and non-Europeans. The term apartheid originated as a political slogan coined by Dr. D.F. Malan, leader of the South African National Party in 1944, and derived from the Afrikaans word denoting ‘Apartness’ or ‘segregation’. It featured prominently in the party’s successful election campaign in 1948, cementing a coalition of desperate Afrikaner group and classes and would serve for the next four decades as the rationale for the regimes racial programme.

Armed struggle here means the adoption of violent physical reaction (attack) as a means of attaining total liberation by some

nationalist organisation and movement from the abject foreign domination and oppression as evident in South Africa. These violent programmes involve the employment of arms and ammunition and guerrilla war tactics.

Guerrilla warfare here is used to refer to the sporadic fighting which is illegally embarked by some nationalist in order to frustrate the South African authorities' measures. Violence in this context is a tool for the liberation of the natives. It is a creative force, that is, it brings about unity between the different forces participating in the liberation struggles. It is also a corrective force which projects towards genuine process of decolonisation through complete and total disorder of the South African apartheid regime.

RESEARCH QUESTION

To be an African in South Africa means that one is politicised from the moment of one's birth, whether one acknowledge it or not. An African child was born in an African hospital, taken home in Africans only bus, lived in an Africans only area and attend African only schools, if he attends school at all. When he grew up, he can hold African only jobs, rent a house in Africans only township, ride Africans only trains and be stopped at any time of the day or night and be ordered to produce a

pass, without which he can be arrested and thrown in jail. His life is circumscribed by racist laws and regulation that crippled his growth, dim his potential and stunt his life. This was the reality and one could deal with it in a myriad of ways. In view of this, some fundamental question would help us understand what lead to this kind of segregation and the positive/possible action taken to bring equality in the country. Questions such as (i) what gave birth to freedom fighters? (ii) What are the roles of African National Congress in liberation of Africa? (iii) Why the use of armed struggle? are meant to be discussed answered/probed into in this study.

Walter Sisulu believed that the African National Congress (ANC) was the means to effect change in South Africa, the repository of black hopes and aspirations. Sometimes, one can judge an organisation by the people who belong to it. The ANC was the organisation that welcomes everyone, it saw itself as a focal umbrella under which all African could find shelter.

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study is about the African National Congress as a political organisation, it does not aim to describe and document the totality of the nationalist struggle in South Africa. The use of ‘Struggle’ as a concept

limits the study to look at forms of action and activities which fall outside the legally sanctioned outlet of political expression for the nationalist. For one reason or the other, the study has concentrated on the explicit type of resistance embarked upon by the African National Congress, which have directly confronted the authorities. Changing phases of the nationalist struggle in South Africa is discussed in the study. For instance, the early existing political organisation (African National Congress, Unity Movement and Pan African Congress etc) resulted to the formation of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The latter concentrated not so much on political defiance and protest as a mobilising and strengthen the inner resources of the black majority.

However, the course of national struggle among organisation in South Africa is not easy to understand without the knowledge of some local situation and the condition arising from them. One of our pre-occupation therefore has been to set the events we describe firmly in their particular local context.

The overt signs of race as the mechanism of domination of the white minority over the black majority has been perpetrated by economic exploitation since the race discrimination is the mechanism of this exploitation and function to it, it is the modus operandi of South Africa

capitalism, the struggle to destroy ‘white supremacy’ is ultimately bound up with the very destruction of capitalism itself.

The main objective of this study therefore, is to portray the event and activities of the organisation of African National Congress in South Africa in respect of national struggle.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The work will be of great importance to policy makers. This is because it is only through a comparison of diverse opinion that one can verify whether political organisation is useful or not. The research intends to offer vital suggestion to relevant government agencies and to the general public on the ways and means by which the political hazard might be controlled as well as possible adjustment strategies that need to be adopted.

Hence, it is also hope that the study will contribute significantly towards improving the quality of political organisation against injustice, racial segregation and economic exploitation etc. of the third world countries. The researcher also hope that the research would stimulate further researches on the impact of political organisation not only in South Africa but also in other African countries.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many of the material reviewed draw a lot from works of Tom Lodge, Joe Slovo, Peter Welsh, Edward Feit, Archie Mafeje and T.R.H. Davenport. We consider them to be the most comprehensive of all the selected works during the course of this study, judging from their varied references and wide discussion on the general workability and effect of nationalist movement and their struggle in South Africa. The number of the related studies concentrated on certain area when the struggle against imperialist colonialism and intensification led to the point of open conflict between the black and South African authorities.

However, a feature of this section of the study is the diversity of views express by those analysing Black Nationalist Movements' condition and activities within South Africa itself.

Similarly, on the exposition of the nature and the problem of the nationalist struggle in South Africa, Tom lodge (1983) advance the view that the historical literature of nationalist struggle within the black population in South Africa begins from the end of the Second World War. And he further demarcates this into four phases. These phases in essence signifying the series of conflict and crises that have erupted between the South Africa state and the society it was designated to preserve. He also maintains that there are inconsistencies and variations

in the black response to political repression and social injustice. He therefore argues that the more significant response are those from the blacks, resisting the South Africa measures which are repressively imposed on the black majority. Lodge however, critically review the specific crises and their local situation in South Africa.

Peter Welsh (1970) analyse various factors that brought up African Nationalism in South Africa with a close study of the African National Congress from 1912 to 1952. Welsh apparently discuss the historical background and the passive non-violent period of the African Congress within these limitations, his work does not reflect the activities of the African Congress after their period.

Similarly, the book 'Southern African after Soweto' written by Alex Cellinicos and John Roger (1977) is not a book about Soweto but an attempt on analysis of South Africa. They first discuss the nature of capitalist production in South Africa and then proceed with the development of the liberation movement in the Southern Africa in the 1970s. They discuss the 1973 war as well as the revolt to 1979. In essence, the book provides an analysis of the total society and finds a meaning for the various manoeuvres around 'guerrilla warfare'. Moreover, the book provides a setting for the most important clashes in recent times especially in the black township in 1976, the revolt in 1976

in Soweto according to Cellinicos and Rogers emerged from the local student discontent, the financial crisis that had started in 1973 but deepened in 1975 and the strike wave of the black workers of 1973-1974, all these had to be described and the author do show that these many factors affected the black population and were very crucial in the development of African resistance and African militancy in South Africa.

Furthermore, Joe Slovo (1976) argues on the unconcerned attitude towards the ethical and moral qualities of apartheid as experienced by the black South Africans. He also adds that armed struggle is a means to an end in which case, the armed struggle can only be used as a base that the white monolith can be shifted and a just society won.

Slovo further his argument by theorising the concept of 'revolution' within the context of South Africa. He quite directly draws attention to the fact that 'capitalist production' relations are the foundation of nation repression in South Africa. This is reflected in the attention drawn to the racial segregation in the population of South Africa whereby the minority white own and control the country's basic means of productions.

Thabo Goran Mbeki (1964) also argues that South Africa is a capitalist country of a special kind in that the state does not cloth it's nakedly repressive function. And as a result, the state relates to the black

not as individual but as a reposition of the commodity labour power. He further argues that the only historically justifiable inevitable alternative is that wedging very firmly to our position as producers that the bourgeoisie is hoist with its own petard. The struggle wage along this line according to Mbeki will be a free South Africa in which the position of the black producers will be for the benefit of the producers themselves. This redefinition according to him is implied in the theoretical bases of the freedom charter which is the political programme adopted by the African National Congress.

In the book 'Soweto and its Aftermath' Archie Mafeje (1981) bases his argument not only on the student struggle in South Africa but also on some question which are critical for an evaluation of the task of revolutionist in that country. Whether directly or by implication these question includes the analysis of the character of student movement to the national and working class organisation and by extension, the role of classes and class leadership of the revolution, the relationship of the armed struggle and the notion of two revolutions. In essence, Mafeje analysis on social upheavals that began in Soweto in 1976, is an attempt on assessment of their implication for the liberation movement and black struggle in South Africa,

Obviously, the related works of this study carried a lot of materials dealing with various aspect of the past and present socio-economic and political situation on South Africa. While showing some differences of approach and emphasis, the materials as a whole adds up-to a certain interpretation of what is happening in that part of Africa, particularly as regards the evolving strategy of imperialism and the tactics of the anti-imperialist struggle.

However, this study is different from the related studies in the scope of emphasis. And this portray in the stress on the study of the African National Congress as a political organisation in the struggle of South Africa. To a great extent the study discusses and examines the formation, historical background and the role of the African National Congress against apartheid regime. In addition, the study examines the different approaches to strategies employed in quelling the white racist regime from the inception of the African Nation Congress in 1912. Also the impact of the African National Congress on the black majority, the South African government, and the frontline states and in the international sphere is looked into.

Hence, where the related books review refuse to do justice to the problem of study were necessary, this study intend to be non-prejudice and unbiased, more explicable and comprehensive for the use of whereas

come across this research study as part of information of socio-economic and political change in South Africa. To a certain degree the study attempts to portray the current practical realities in South Africa.

THEORITCAL FRAMWORK

Following several years in which scholarly interest in political parties appear to have waned, there has recently been a notable revitalisation of the sub-field of party's studies. The appearance in 1995 of the journal party politics – which is devoted explicit to the systematic examination of parties and party system from a variety of perspective, has been so considerable as to make the temporary decline of this sub-field following its 'gold age' appear as a puzzling aberration. As Peter Mair (1997; vii) has point out 'little more than a decade ago, student of party politics were often accused of being in a somewhat passé branch of the discipline, today it is a field which is brimming with health and promise'. Far from declining in importance, we believe that a re-examination of both the prevailing theories of political parties and their actual behaviour in a variety of political system should continue to occupy a prominent place on the research agenda of political science.

Paradoxically, this revitalization of scholarly interest in parties has coincided with frequent assertion that parties have entered into an

irreversible process of decline. Indeed, if the decline of party hypothesis were found to be substantiated in many contemporary democratic systems, one might conclude that new studies of political parties would be increasingly irrelevant. We believe that the exact opposite is true. Rather than assuming that an alleged decline of parties should imply a decline in the literature on parties, we think that the confrontation of new challenges suggests a reassessment of parties and the contemporary relevance of some aspects of the traditional party literature. As many chapters include in the most recently published books on parties demonstrate (e.g. Montero and Linz 2000, Diamond and Gunther 2001). These renewable organisations have been forced to confront a wide variety of new challenges. What is not at all clear is the extent to which parties have failed to meet these challenges and have therefore begun to decline in importance as institutionalised actors in democratic politics. As Strom and Srsand have noted, 'doom and gloom treatises on political parties have become a growth industry over the past two decades. But this gloomy picture of contemporary parties is far from self-evident'. Thus, one set of research questions arising out of this line of speculation concern the extent to which parties have indeed declined organisationally as objects of citizen loyalty, as mobilisers of votes and as key actors in democratic

politics. All of these are empirical questions, answers to which should not be assumed or generalised excessively.

Accordingly, a second line of potential fruitful research that emerge from speculation about party decline concerns the nature of the challenges facing temporary parties, as well as their reaction of those challenges. Some of these challenges have their origins in the changing nature of society. In many countries, level of affiliation with parties and with allied mass membership organisation upon which mass based parties have depended for support have declined significantly. Thereby calling into question the viability of mass based institutional structures that had their origins in earlier times. Trends towards secularisation have supported the strength of denomination parties, at the same time that increasing affluence and expanding middle class have shrunk the potential electoral base of working-class parties. The greater participation of women in the labour force has both placed new demand on the policy agenda of parties and create a transformed constituency in need of party representation. Massive international migration has introduced many individual into societies who had not been represented by previously established parties and in some quarters has given rise to xenophobic reactions feeding the growth of new kinds of right-wing parties.

Other challenges to parties have emerged as consequences of higher level of personal resources possessed by citizens. Better educated individual who had never experience economic deprivation have tended to adopt post-materialist values that both conflicted with the traditional ideologies of many parties and have given rise to participatory expectations better suited to new social movement, single-issue interest groups and unconventional forms of political involvement. Better informed citizens are also able to enhance their participatory capabilities, expand the range of their access to independent channels of information and develop their own attitudinal orientation towards politics and parties independent of guidance from secondary association or opinion leaders. Some of these trends have weakened the structural and psychological linkage between citizens in feeling of political dissatisfaction, cynicism and even alienation.

The cumulative effect of these challenges have risen in some western democracies to a literature characterised by its somewhat fatalistic analysis of the organisation, electoral, cultural and institutional symptoms of party decline (e.g. Berger 1979, Offe 1984, Lawson and Mbeki 1988). Some scholars regard these challenges as so serious as to threaten the very survival of parties. As Lawson and Mbeki (1986b:3) have noted, it may be that the institution of party is gradually

disappearing, slowly being replaced by new political structure more suitable for the economic and technological realities of twenty-first century politics.

Despite all these, we regard some of these criticisms as excessive, and we do not share their pessimism about the future evolution of this literature. First, it must be noted that the literature on political parties has, from the very beginning, sought to rise above the level of mere description (Dalder 1983). Over the past half-century, in particular, many students of parties have attempted to generate broad, theoretical proposition regarding the behaviour of parties, have proposed a number of typologies in an effort to make sense of the extra-ordinary variety of parties in existence, and/or have sought to establish concept that might serve as the cornerstone of middle-range theoretical propositions.

Given the prominent role played by parties in democratic politics, the continuing impact of the classic contribution to this literature cited earlier and the considerable volume of publication that have appeared in recent decades, one would have expected that by now there should have been some scholarly convergence on a systematic theoretical frame-work. Despite the potentials presented by this rich and complex aspect of democratic politics, however, no such consensus has emerged. Much of the theorising concerning parties has been unpersuasive, so inconsistent

as not to have served as a basis for systematic hypothesis-testing or cumulative theory-building, or so divided among diverging research tradition as to have impeded cumulative theory-building.

This theoretical weakness was first noted by Duvenger (1954: xii). In the very first paragraph of his classic book, he called for a breaking of the vicious circle that afflicted the parties literature, on the one hand, a general theory of parties must be upon empirical studies, on the other hand empirical studies should be guided by hypotheses derived from some putative body of theory or at least a commonly accepted set of theoretical propositions. In actuality, neither of these conditions was tied to the detriment of the development of this field of research.

Over the past several decades, there have been some noteworthy attempted to build theory based upon approaches that were sometimes complementary and sometimes competing even incompatible. These various approaches have been categorised by many authors as historical, structural, behavioural, ideological and functional system (for instance, Lawson ch. 1, Ware 1996 chp.6). Others overviews more centred on party system than parties per se, classified them as genetic, morphological, competitive and institutional (Bartolini 1986). It is clear from this brief enumeration that such effort have been both numerous and diverse.

One of the most significant of these efforts towards theory-building occurred in the midst of the great outpouring of the party studies in the 1960s. Since at the same time structural functionalism was the most attractive paradigm in comparative politics. It is not surprising that many such studies were closely tied to its core promises. This approach had a substantial impact on the study of party in part because this was a critical period for the definitive institutionalisation of parties in western democracies, and it coincided with the appearance of many new parties in the short-lived democracies that emerged from decolonisation in Africa and Asia (Kies 1968). Under these circumstances, characterised by the proliferation of greatly divergent types of political institutions in societies at greatly different stages of socio-economic development, adoption of a common structural functional framework offered an ambitious promise of serving as the basis for the scientific and comparative study of politics. It was claimed that theorising about parties and other important political phenomena would be advanced by the identification of common attributes and functions played by parties in all political systems irrespective of their institutional, social and cultural diversity.

To facilitate comparison, or at least to try to drive common themes widely diverging developmental trajectories. It was posited that parties are the principal performers of the function of interest articulation and

aggregation and to lesser extent, political socialisation, recruitment and communication. It was thought that this common ground could serve as the basis for the elaboration of concepts, deductive reasoning and ambitious theoretical propositions.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research work will employ the use of text books on related fields, newspapers, journals, government gazettes, and especially the electronic media in sourcing for data. These data will be based mainly on political organisation of African National Congress in South Africa. This research therefore is going to adopt qualitative method of data analysis.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The scope of this study reflects the degree of South Africa population in the nationalist struggle and this is actually evident in the people actions that are actually involved in the political and economic activism against apartheid measures.

CHAPTERIZATION

Chapter One: consist of Background of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Definition of Concepts, Research Question, Objective of the

Study, Significance of the Study, Literature Review, Theoretical Frame Work, Methodology and Scope.

Chapter Two: discusses Historical background of the ANC, The role it played in the Nationalist Struggle in South Africa.

Chapter Three: Deals with the period of non-violence, the path of Armed Struggle, The general effect of the Africa National Congress as a liberation organisation.

Chapter Four: Concludes with summary, Suggestion, Conclusion and Recommendation.

ENDNOTES

1. Tom Ledge Black politics in South Africa since 1945, Longman
1983, pix.
2. Horny (1982) Oxford Advance Learners Dictionary Current English,
Third edition.
3. Joe slovo The Answer to Minority Rule-South Africa The New
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4. Nelson Mandela Long Walk To Freedom.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) IN THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The struggle for freedom has a long history, it goes back to the days when the African people fought spears in hand against the British and Boer colonisers. The ANC has kept this spirit of resistance alive! Over the last 80 years the ANC has brought together millions in the struggle to liberation.

White settlers from Holland first came to South Africa in 1652, many bitter struggle were fought over land and cattle. Although the Africans lost land and cattle they were still independent some 200 years later but in the 1860s Britain brought large armies with horses, modern riffles and canons to take control of South Africa. The Xhosa who had fought nine wars of resistance against the colonisers were finally defeated in 1878 after more than 100 years of warfare.

Led by Cetshawayo, the Zulu brought a crushing defeat on the British army at Isandhlwana in 1878, but were finally defeated at Ulundi by British reinforcement. Leaders like Sukhukhune Sandile and Cetshwayowere captured and imprisoned or killed. By 1900 Britain had broken the power of the African Kingdom and they then fell under the

control of the colonial government. In 1910, Britain handed over this control to the Boer and British settlers themselves, when it gave them independence. The union of South Africa was formed with a government that recognise only the right of white people and denied right to blacks.

The wars of resistance ended with the defeat of bambata rebellion. Africa had to find new ways to fight for their land and their freedom. In 1911, Pixley ka Isaka Seme called on Africans to forget the differences of the past and unite together in one national organisation. He said: 'we are one people, these divisions and these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes today'.

On January 8th 1912, chiefs, representative of peoples and church organisation and other prominent individuals gathered in Bloemfontein and formed the African National Congress. The ANC declared its aim to bring all Africans together as one people to defend their rights and freedoms. The ANC was formed at a time when South Africa was changing very fast. Diamond had been discovered in 1867 and gold in 1886. Mine bosses wanted large number of people to work for them in the mines. Laws and taxes were designed to force people to leave their land. The most severe law was the 1913 land Act, which prevented Africans from buying, renting or using land except in the reserves. Many communities and families lost their land because of the land Act, for

millions of black people it became very difficult to live off the land. The land Act and other laws and taxes forced people to seek work on the mine and on the white farm. While some black people settled in the cities like Johannesburg, most workers were migrants. They travelled to the mines to work and returned home to the rural areas with part of their wages, usually once a year. But Africans were not free to move as they pleased. Passes controlled their movement and made sure they worked either on the mines or on the farm. The pass laws also stopped Africans from leaving their jobs or striking. In 1919 the ANC in Transvaal led a campaign against passes. The ANC also supported the militant strike by African mine-workers in 1920. However, some ANC leaders disagreed with militant actions such as strike and protest. They argued that the ANC should achieve its aim by persuasion, for example, by appealing to Britain, but the appeals of delegation who visited Britain in 1914 to protest the land Act and again in 1919 to ask Britain to recognise African rights were ignored.

This careful approach meant that the ANC was not very active in the 1920s, the Industrial Commercial Workers (ICU) a general union formed in 1919 was the most active and popular organisation in rural and urban areas. The union won some major victories for its workers through militant actions. However, the ICU could not sustain itself and in the late

1920 it collapsed. The ANC was boosted with new life and energy in the 1940s, which changed it from the careful organisation to mass movement it was to become in 1950s.

Increased attacks on the right of black people and the rise of extreme Afrikaner nationalism created the need for a more militant response from the ANC. Harsher racism also brought greater cooperation between the organisation of Africans, coloured and Indians. In 1947, the ANC and the Indian congress signed a pact stating full support for one another's campaigns. In 1944 the ANC youth league was formed. The young leader of the youth league among them Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo based their ideas on African Nationalism. They believed Africans would be freed only by their own efforts. The youth league aimed to involve the masses of people in militant struggles.

Many more people moved to the cities in the 1940s to work in new factories and industries. They began to form their own community organisation such as the squatter's movement and trade unions. The militant ideas of the youth league quickly found support among the need population of the cities. The youth league drew up a programme of action calling for strikes, boycotts and defiance. It was adopted by the ANC in 1949; the year after the National Party came to power. The programme of action led to the defiance campaign of the 1950s. The defiance campaign

was the beginning of mass movement in resistance to apartheid. Apartheid aimed to separate the different race groups completely through, such laws as the Population Registration Act, Group Area Act and Bantu Education Act. Non-Europeans walked through Europeans only entrance and demanded service at 'white' only counters of post offices. Africans broke the pass laws and Indian coloured and white volunteers entered African township without permission. The success of the defiance campaign encouraged further campaign against apartheid laws, like the Group Area Act and The Bantu Education Act.

The government tried to stop, the defiance campaign by banning its leaders and passing new laws to prevent public disobedience, but the campaign had already made huge gain. It brought closer cooperation between the ANC and the South African Indian Congress, swelled their membership and also led to the formation of new organisation, the South African Coloured People Organisation (SACPO) and the Congress of Democrats (COD) an organisation of white democrats. In 1955, the government announced that women must carry passes. A huge campaign was mounted by women; countrywide women also led a militant campaign against municipal beer-halls. According to the laws it was illegal for women to brew traditional beer. Police raided homes and destroyed home brewed liquor so that men would use municipal beer-halls.

In response, women attacked the beer-halls and destroyed equipment and building. There were many other community struggle in the 1950s. Resistance in the rural areas reached new heights. In many areas campaign were led by the ANC against passes for women, forced removal and the Bantu Authorities Act. The Bantu Authority Act gave the white government the power to remove chiefs they considered troublesome and replace them with those who would collaborate with the racist system.

The struggle of the 1950s brought blacks and whites together on a much greater scale in the fight for justice and democracy. The Congress Alliance was an expression of the ANC's policy of non-racialism. This was expressed in the Freedom Charter which declared that South Africa belong to all who live in it. But not everyone in the ANC agreed with the policy of non-racialism. A small minority of member who called themselves Africanist opposed the Freedom Charter. They objected the ANC's growing cooperation with the white and Indian who they described as foreigners. They were also suspicious of community who they felt, brought a foreign ideology into the struggle. The difference between the Africanists and those in the ANC who supported non-racialism could not be overcome. In 1959 the Africanists broke away and

formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The Anti-pass campaign were taken up by both the ANC and the PAC in 1960.

The PAC campaign began on the 21st March, people were asked to leave their passé at home and gather at police station to be arrested. People gathered in large numbers at Sharpsville in the veal and at Nyanga and Langa near Cape Town. At Sharpsville the police opened fire on the unarmed and peaceful crowd, killing 69 and wounding 186. The massacre of peaceful protester at Sharpsville brought a decade of peaceful protest to an end. On 30th March 1960 ten days after the Sharpsville massacre, the government banned the ANC and PAC. They declared a state of emergency and arrested thousands of congress and PAC activists. The Atlantic Charter of 1941 signed by Roosevelt and Churchill, reaffirmed faith in the dignity of each human being and propagated a host of democratic principles, but not those in Africa. Inspired by the Atlantic Charter and the fight of the allies against tyranny and oppression, the ANC created its own Charter called African Claims, which called for full citizenship for all Africans, the right to buy land and the repeal of all discriminating legislators. Hoping that the government and ordinary South African would see that the principle they were fighting for in Europe were the same they were advocating at home.

African Nationalism was a battle cry and the creed was the creation of one nation out of many tribes, the overthrow of white supremacy and the establishment of a truly democratic form of government. ANC manifesto stated: We believe that the National Liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves. The Congress Youth League must be the brain-trust and power station of the spirit of African Nationalism. The manifesto utterly rejected the notion of trusteeship, the idea that the white government somehow had African interest at heart. In view of this, they cited the crippling anti-African legislation of the past forty years, beginning with the 1913 Land Act, which ultimately deprived blacks of 87% of the territory in the land of their birth, the urban areas Act of 1923, which created teeming African slums, polite called “Native location” in order to supply cheap labour to white industry, the Colour Bar Act of 1923, which banned Africans from practising skilled trades, the Native Administrative Act of 1927, which made the British crown, rather than the paramount chiefs and finally in 1936, the Representative of Native Act, which remove Africans from the common voters roll in the cape, thereby shattering any illusion that white would allow Africans to have control over their own destiny.

In the wake of the Indian passive resistance campaign Dr. Xuma, Dr. Dado and Dr. Naicker, presidents respectively of the ANC’s, the

Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress signed the Doctor's pact agreeing to join forces against a common enemy. This was a significant step towards the unity of African and Indian movements. Rather than creating a central political body to direct all the various movement, they agreed to cooperate on matters of common interest. Later they were joined by the African Peoples Organisation (APO) a coloured organisation. But such an agreement was at best tentative, for each national group faced problem peculiar to itself. The pass system, for example, barely affected Indian coloureds. The Ghetto Act, which had prompted the Indian protest, barely affected Africans. Coloured groups at the time were more concerned about the race classification and job reservation, issues that did not affect Africans and Indian to the same degree.

The Doctors' Pact laid a foundation for the future cooperation of Africans, Indians and coloureds, since it respect the independence of each individual group, but acknowledge the achievement that could be realised from acting in concert. The Doctors' Pact precipitated a series of non-racial, anti- government campaign around the country, which sought to bring together Africans and Indians in the freedom struggle.

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CHAPTER THREE

HOW THE ANC RECREATED SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID TO DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM

In order to understand a political organisation within a political system, it is important to understand the direct sense that explain the social structure and the institutional frame-work within which the system operates and the indirect sense that the view people have of their past affect their present political attitude and conduct. This is particularly true of people whose survival seems threatened; such is the oppressed Africans in South Africa. For proper understanding on how ANC recreated South Africa from the system of apartheid to democratic system two periods of democratic/political demonstration has to be put into consideration. This is the period of non-violence and the period of armed struggle.

THE PERIOD OF NON-VIOLENCE

The period 1910-1936 is often interpreted as a period in which African political action was halted by trust in the benevolent intention of

white men and the belief that acquisition of western culture would be rewarded by the extension of political rights. However, the South Africa act was not only deliberately retained the effective disenfranchisement Africans in three of the territories, but rendered the cape franchise vulnerable by providing procedure for its abrogation.

Since the African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act and threatened by the Native Land Act; for 37 years it adhere strictly to a peaceful constitutional struggle. The means for the attainment of their ends included resolution, peaceful protests, propaganda, deputations, passive action, united action and the time was ripe, the election of candidates to all legislative and administrative bodies, but white government remained adamant and the right of Africans become less instead of becoming greater.

The deputation in 1914 and 1919 were financed by contribution from Africans with the mobilisation by the African National Congress, in hope of relief from the hardship of the Native Land Act and after the war with the expectation that African loyalty would be recognised. But there was a disappointment, the failure of the 1919 deputation caused colossal frustration manifested by upheavals throughout the country.

Passive action in the form of passive resistance tends from Mahatman Ghandi whose philosophy of struggle was based on non-violence and rendered it a mode of political action and Africans used the same techniques in Ghandi's campaign against registration certificate under repressive condition. Even after 1949 the African National Congress remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, there was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest which had been employed in the past. The change was embodied in a decision which was taken to protest against certain laws. Pursuant to this policy, the African National Congress launched the defiance campaign. This campaign was based on principle of passive resistance. In its first practice, more than 8,500 people defied apartheid laws and went to jail. Eventually, the volunteers section of the African National Congress was established and the volunteers were asked to take pledge to uphold certain principles. They are called volunteers because they volunteer to face the penalties of imprisonment and whipping which were prescribed by legislature in organising and actualising campaigns initiated by the African National Congress to distribute leaflets, to organise strikes or do whatever the particular campaign required.

During the defiant campaign several repressive acts were imposed. Such acts as the public safety act and the criminal law amendment act

provided for harsher penalties from offences committed by way of protest against laws. Despite this, the protest continued and the African National Congress adhered to its policy of non-violence.

The Sharpsville massacre of 1960 reflects the degree of the African National Congress non-violence policy. The Africans were armless while protesting against pass laws; the multitude was attacked by the South African forces killing hundreds of innocent Africans despite their peaceful demonstration. As a result of the protest, there was the proclamation of a state of emergency and the declaration of the ANC as an unlawful organisation. After full consideration the ANC members refused to obey this degree.

Despite the ban, the ANC refuse to dissolve, but instead went underground. The members believed there was necessity to preserve the organisation which had been built up with almost 50 years of unremitting foil. In addition, the government held a referendum which led to the establishment of the republic in 1960. Africans who constituted approximately 70% of the population of South Africa were not entitled to role and were not even consulted about the proposed constitutional change. Africans became apprehensive of the future under the proposed white republic. A resolution was taken if the government with ANC policy was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were

given to organisers and members to avoid any recourse to violence. The government's response was to introduce harsher laws, to mobilise its armed forces and to send armed vehicle and soldiers to intimidate the people. This was an indication that the government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto.

THE PATH OF ARMED STRUGGLE

This was climax in the history of South Africa. Measured by the yardstick of immediate achievement, each of these campaigns against specific measure failed. The laws selected as the target of defiance campaign remained on the statute book. The attempt by the congress to provide alternative education for African children through cultural clubs eventually collapse and Bantu Education Act was fully implemented. Anti-pass action did not, in the end prevent the more intense application of the pass laws, passive resistance was to be crushed by emerging legislation and military action. And the strike did not loosen the hold of white supremacy.

Consequently, the ANC followers began to lose confidence in the non-violence policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism even among the Africans. It must not be forgotten that by this time violence had in fact, become a feature of the South African political

scene. For instance, there had been violence in 1957 when the women of Zeernst were ordered to carry passes. Similarly, there was violence in 1959 when the people of catomanor protested against pass raids, there was violence in 1960 when the government attempted to impose Bantu authorities in pondoland. Over 39 Africans died in these disturbances. Each disturbance pointed to the inevitable growth among Africans of the belief that violence was the way out. It showed that a government which uses force to maintain its rule teaches the oppressed to use force to oppose it. Already, small groups had risen in the urban areas and were spontaneously making plans for violent form of political struggle. There arose a danger that these groups would adopt terrorism against Africans as well as whites, if not properly directed.

It was increasing taking the form, not of struggle against the government, though this is what prompted it but of civil strife amongst themselves conducted in such a way that it could not hope to achieve anything other than a loss of life and bitterness. Unfortunately, this had magnified the degree of the ANC failure in achieving its objectives with the employment of non-violence policy. But failure measures in such narrow terms has been the universal experience of those so called failure that the masses began to understand the need for conquering state power revolution. And when the moment of revolution arrives, it is believed that

only a political organisation which has been with the people through all their experiences can hope to command that allegiance and such is the ANC in the liberation struggle of South Africa. Having understand this practical reality in South Africa, Nelson Mandela and a handful of African leaders came together in June 1961 to decide what form their counter violence should take. They joined with several white and Indian to form 'Congress Of the People', whereby a resolution was pass to establish 'Umkhonto we sizwe' (Spear the Nation) with the prime aim to 'sabotage' government installation with an express object of not harming people.

In effect, four forms of violence were tendered for recommendation. There is sabotage, there is guerrilla warfare, terrorism and open revolution. The first method was chosen to be adopted and to exhaust it before taking any other decision. This obviously reflects the ANC heritage of non-violence policy and racial harmony. Umkhonto we sizwe (MR) declared itself on 16th December 1961 when the government building in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban were attacked. In the Umkhonto plan, the congress was building what is called the people war, that is, the people are organises to actually involve themselves in their liberation.

The ANC belief that rebellion would offer government limitless opportunities for the indiscriminate slaughter of the Africans. But it was precisely because South Africa is already drench with this blood of innocent Africans, that the African National Congress felt it a duty to make preparation as a long term undertaking to use force to defend themselves against force. If war were inevitable, there was the plan to involve in guerrilla warfare.

Consequently, it was considered essential to build up a nucleus of trained men who would be required if guerrilla warfare started. Since all white undergo compulsory military training but no such training was given to Africans. It was also considered necessary to mobilise the masses politically. For example, in 1977-80, most of the military operation was called propaganda operation to show that blacks could possibly disarm and kill the whites. This tactics includes burning down of a major petrol company. These efforts effectively inspired the general masses and boost their spirit for the revolution strategy, as planned by the ANC.

In addition, there was a local military training and recruitment within South Africa for the Africans. And having gone this far, there was the introduction of a policy for confrontation of the soldiers. The local recruits are taught how to manufacture and use home-made bombs,

grenades, bullets and this has helped to contain the police. And as a result, the army are used by the government where the police are found handicapped. Moreover, for effective military operations, some Africans were trained outside the country, especially in Tanzania and they work together with the masses to fight the joint effort of the police and the army.

The above military undertaking were considered as a result of Mandela's tour in 1961 of the African states with a view to obtaining facilities for the training of African soldiers. He also studied war and revolution while in Algeria; in addition he underwent a course in military training for personal reasons. And on this note, it was realised that Umkhonto met sympathy for its cause and promise for help. All Africans were united against the stand for South Africa and even in London; it received great sympathy by political leaders.

It is also important to mention the Rivonia Trial because it reflects the ultimate underling of the change from non-violence to violence, the state by outlawing non-resident African Nationalist, organisation had forced them to turn to secret violence in trail, which open at the end of October, the state after initially alleging 222 Acts of sabotage against Umkhonto reduced the number to 99. Only to have its indictment quashed at the request of the defence. Under the final indictment, the accused were

alleged to have recruited for training with the object of causing a violent revolution and of assisting units of foreign countries, should they involve the republic, the judge pronounced sentence on 12 June 1964.

He found all the accused guilty essentially of high treason, but as the state had not seen fit so to charge them he would not impose the death sentence. He sentenced the accused to life imprisonment. Among the accused are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Goran Mbeki, who were found at Lilies Farm to be planning a coup. Also there were 250 documents many relating to manufacture of explosive, amongst others a draft memorandum with the title 'operation mayibuye' in general, the accused represented a microcosm of the country 6 African, 3 white, and an Indian.

Consequently, the military wing of the African National Congress and Umkhonto was in trouble because the leadership has been dismantled. However, the leadership of the ANC sent Oliver Tambo on exile to mobilise people at this crucial period. At this crucial period, the frontline countries became hostile to the African National Congress in exile because they were still under colonial rule. While the ANC members underwent military training in Tanzania, it was difficult for the trained recruit to go through these frontline countries; they had to stay for the latter independence.

Towards, the end of the 60s particularly 1968, the youth (student) decided that an organisation must be formed. And there the black consciousness movement had not been strange in South Africa. BCM sees African consciousness as part and parcel of humanity in the world. The BCM grew in size, but towards 1974/1975 there was a division in the movement. The plan African Nationalist moved towards the ANC and the bigoted black member aggravated towards the Pan African Congress.

The ANC underground have manage to enlarge with the BCM coming underground. In 1976, the shock of the Sharpsville massacre was continued. The cadre sent out of South Africa were trained and transformed into 3 section; political activism, trade unionism and military. There was the ability to organise a united front and military attack. The African National Congress embarked upon a course that was unity in action – a course to organise people into actual action. In 1983, the United Democratic Front (these are trade union, student, professionals, church organisation and women organisation). They have also adopted the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress as the programme of action. Similarly, in 1985, the Congress of African Trade Union was formed with the prime objective to unite all the South African trade unions. They have accepted the Freedom Charter too.

Eventually, the ANC has declared apartheid ‘unworkable’ and ‘ungovernable’ (Freedom charter) to the masses. In effect, by the end of 1985 there has been effective destruction of the apartheid infrastructure by revolutionary violence. On the 10th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots, there has been what one considers civil war in South Africa. Blacks embark on violence, in spite of the Botha’s police force. Looking at the situation in South Africa, a commonwealth group warned that South Africa could face ‘the worst bloodshed since the second world war’ (Newsweek vol.11 No.254, New York, June 1986) because of the unyielding repressive attitude of South Africa’s president P.W. Botha. Botha slammed down a state of emergency and mobilising security forces all over South Africa in order to quell any kind of demonstration as regards the Soweto day. The police were conferred with excessive powers to achieve their objectives. Before the state of emergency was announced several Black Consciousness Movement active members were arrested. Their arrest has heightened the potential for what South Africans refer to as ‘tots’ residence (Newsweek, June 1986). This is in another word considered for thuggery and hooliganism.

Consequently, the ANC is better placed to capitalise on the unrest. In the wake of the turbulence in South Africa many youth have gone underground to enlarge the growth of the African National Congress and

this has resulted to its declaration of apartheid regime as ‘ungovernable’ to the masses. The African National Congress has over 25 years displayed decency in its pursuit of tactics like ‘limited sabotage’ and ‘diplomatic effort’ to realise its ends. There is now the possibility for the manipulation of the strategy of violence. In view of this, a bomb exploded along a seaside street in Durban, killing at least two white women. The incident was a display of a run of sabotage attributed to the African National Congress. In addition, there have been series of bomb shells on government installation and strategic government places. Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader in exile confirmed the inter-connectedness of the ANC and the offensive in South Africa. He proclaimed in a radio from Zambia ‘the second half of the 1986 must see an even greater escalation of the offensive fronts’. He further says the offensive would include ‘mass resistance.....an intensified armed struggle and....growing refusal to obey racist authority’,(Newsweek, June 1986).

THE GENERAL EFFECT OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AS A LIBERATION ORGANISATION

In this context, the general effect is used to examine the achievement of the Africa National Congress as a liberation organisation. This achievement shall be examining both internally and externally. The

ANC has over 50 years record of generosity of foolhardy decency. Seme's founding of the congress was an act of unification rare in South Africa history. And in the 1950s the ANC and its allies became something rarer in the world, symbolising all its conflicting forces, Black, White, Brown, Christians, Hindus, Moslems, Pagan, Communist, conservatives and liberals. Although it was the negative force of apartheid that brought them together, nevertheless they came together and as such made a creative contribution to humanity.

In the face of this, nationalist apart appeared dangerous in turn, at once pathetic and terrifying in its self-chosen isolation from international society and civilised standard. Moreover, because of its military strategy in South Africa, the ANC has destabilised the problem of racial war in South Africa, but racial ideas are still invigorating. Few white have decided to join the liberation struggle while some blacks are for the ruling whites. It has been realised that race is used for certain ideological positions.

Eventually, there were a lot of divisions from the ruling Nationalist Party. Such is the formation of two functions that broke away from the ruling party. They are *verligte* (Liberia) and *Vakramp* (bigoted) groupings. Similarly, the Afrikaners seek a return to the 'Boer Republican' of the 19th century under the emblem of Afrikaner Resistance

Movement (ARM). In addition, the right reconstituted Nationalist Party that broke away from the ruling Nationalist Party abjectly reject reform of President P.W. Botha. On a similar note, the liberal are against the Nationalist Party for the latter adamant attitude against the black representation and participation in the government of South Africa. Despite most liberal opposition to the imposition of international sanction and one man one vote system.

From the angle, is the conflict of racial ideas between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People Organisation (AZAPO), the AZAPO rejects the white allies in the fight against apartheid, arguing that whites do not belong in Africa with the UDF, an affiliate of the ANC readily accept the recognition of the white South Africa as equals. Apparently, since the inception of the ANC certain cosmetics changes have been placed on the apartheid laws. These changes may have no positive effect on the black majority. And more importantly, the ANC has presently declared apartheid policy 'unworkable' to the masses. Today blacks have formed strict committees and area committees to run the affairs of these particular places with representatives to make way for governing in South Africa by the blacks.

However, the effects of the ANC non-violence policy from its beginning have claimed the lives of innocent black persons. More evident

is the increasing repressive laws of the draconian regime of P.W. Botha. For instance, the Sharpsville massacre convincingly portrayed the negative impact of the ANC non-violence policy. It is also worthy of note at this juncture the Rivonia trial whereby the ANC leadership, was dismantled and the morale of the black people jettisoned. This pervasive injustice won the echoes of the international concern. This was the call to end the trial and abolish imprisonment without trial at the United Nation Security Council in 1962; at this period there was a move to impose economic sanction against South Africa. In all these activities, the unceasing dedication of Oliver Tambo, the African National Congress leader and exile of other races played a major role, submitting memoranda, testifying to the organisation of African Unity and to United Nation Committee. By this time ANC mission existed in Darussalam, London, Cairo, Accra, Algeria, Lusaka and Cuba.

Nevertheless, internationally the ANC started as a weak organisation; since South Africa was a founding member of the League of Nation and more so, it was recognise as an independent state by the OAU, it was almost impossible to listen to the ANC agitation. Even with these difficulties, there were sympathisers and friends but most impossible among the developed nations are the Western Nation and United States of America. Following the development, there was much

concern in the international sphere, as regards to the atrocities of the white minority over the black majority. The ANC in person of its leader Oliver Tambo and other members in exile have succeeded in convincing more than half nations of the world about the draconian laws of the South Africa. The state of emergency as imposed in South Africa by its government consolidate the nationalist tendencies in the ANC. The ANC at that period is chanced to capitalise in negotiating with friends and sympathisers. As a result there have different degree of response from different nations and continents. The eminent person group were 'moved' to intervene in the on-going bloodshed in South Africa but nevertheless it was charged with trying to get the government to lift the ban on the ANC, to free imprisoned Mandela to open talks with him and other credible black leaders. In effect, ANC has displayed its power in achieving its objectives especially with its recognition by the Commonwealth of Nations. In addition, with the effective, persuasive machinery of the ANC, there is the call for the imposition of international economic sanction against South Africa. This has been fruitful so far, except for the stand Britain, the United States and Germany are taking against the call for their selfish economic interests. Embargo on arms for South Africa were highly initiated by the ANC so that there would be a peaceful atmosphere in South Africa. Similarly, most of the members of the

Commonwealth of Nation have confirmed their plans to boycott the Commonwealth Game at Edinburg in 1986, because of the unwavering position of Britain against the economic sanction.

It is also important to mention the effectiveness of the military unit of the ANC. The military exposure has intensified the political consciousness and awareness of the oppressed masses. Most of the strategies used in South Africa by the youth are inherited from the ANC. And as a matter of fact, the ANC spearheaded the first shots in Namibia in 1967. The Umkhonto We Sizwe campaign of sabotage with its intention that human being should not harm, was a real sense of development from the ANC non-violence, so consistently maintained despite every provocation. The campaign of bringing South Africa to the conference table utterly failed but in the outside world and especially in the United Nation, the African National Congress brought home African desperation, determination and discipline.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Evidently, nationalist struggle in South Africa has a distinctive form which is based on the opposition of foreign domination and exploitation of the natives by the white minority. The exploitation is being perpetuated by norms of capitalism and on racial differences. In the process of liberation, many organisations have been formed and their main objectives are centred on the emancipation of the black majority from the draconian bondage of the white minority. Although the emphasis on the nature of the nationalist struggle differ from one racial and tribal approaches to another. The Africans response to the obnoxious apartheid system has been effectively influential over the recent years through different forms and approaches. These approaches could be clamped down into three major categories. First, war and battle fought by various African Nationalist against the invading European settlers; Secondly, non-violent campaign of the fifties and the sixties, these are evident in the various programme of the African National Congress and the Militant activism of the Workers, Students and Women.

The focus in this study strays the African National Congress on its dynamic progression in Africa Nationalist Struggle in South Africa. At its

inception, the ANC was a very moderate organisation as indicated by its aims to bring about and encourage mutual understanding and unity in the country; to bring all the people of the country together, to defend the liberty. Rights and privilege of the people, since that time it added demand from full citizenship right, the ballot and equality before the law. The peak of the ANC power was achieved during the 1953 passive resistance campaign against apartheid laws. This campaign publicised the plight of Africans and other non-Europeans to the world, even through its domestic effect was to make the government intensify its repressive efforts and to curb the ANC.

For years the suppression of communist act was used to put out circulation of various nationalist leaders. Nearly every important figure in African National Congress has been banned by this act from attending or speaking at political meetings. Most of them charge with treason. The younger generation among the Africans and coloured have begun to abandon hope for parliamentary constitutional change. They ridicule cooperation with European reformers with the non-violence policy. As a result they formed the ANC youth league. The leading members include Nelson Mandel, Oliver Tambo etc. They have made preparation for guerrilla warfare according to the resolution of Umkhonto We Sizwe, in this case the situation in South Africa worsens off. Though there is still

the practice of controlled sabotage as advocated by the African National Congress.

So far, there have been abject 'failure' and 'little' successes in the activities of the ANC. Most of the tactics and strategies have been met with harsher repressive laws. And this has cost the ANC loss of lives and bitterness. The ANC nevertheless was stronger. Despite these disappointments with the ANC incessant effort, the South Africa crisis has become of international concern. And at home the ANC has succeeded in inculcating political consciousness into the oppressed blacks. It is remarkable however that the ANC has never raised the demand that the government be turned over to the majority of its citizens without ballot, or that the European return to their ancestral lands, despite their bitter failure to make progress especially since the raise to power of the Afrikaners

Although, this study has reveal that the majority Africans in South Africa are effective in influencing the political change of the existing apartheid system in South Africa. There are lots of other question to be answered and other equally potent areas that can follow this finding. For example, what will the political failure of South Africa be under the leadership and control of the majority (Blacks)? What will be the correlation between politics of development and political change in Africa? And more

importantly, does South Africa actually constitute one nation or many. These and other questions are highly controversial and significant in such struggle for national liberation in South Africa.

Finally, it is hoped that this study has provided as much as little information to the pool of knowledge on this and other related issues, international organisation, nationalists, administrations, revolutionaries and reformist alike. Whoever comes across these research findings could use it as part of the information for political change in South Africa. But it remains to be seen how and when the battle be won totally without external influence.

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