

THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME

PREAMBLE VOL 1 NO 2
AUG-SEPT 1987.

South Africa is an industrial capitalist society in which a minority of persons classified 'white' enjoys full citizenship rights.

The oppressed majority are denied all citizenship rights. Having been made landless, millions of the oppressed are contained in rural reserves or bantustans, now called 'homelands'. By means of despotic laws and practices based upon 'race' and colour, the oppressed majority is exploited as a source of cheap labour.

The oppressed people are forced to live in locations and 'homelands' labour ghettos under inhuman conditions of poverty, squalor and autocratic control.

The tricameral parliament, 'homelands' dummy councils and all laws which oppress 'African' people in the locations of the 'white homelands', are totally unacceptable to the oppressed people of South Africa. These measures condemn the entire 'African' oppressed to perpetual exile from South Africa, deepen divisions between the South African people, intensify the system of 'racial' and colour labour-exploitation and oppression and seek to co-opt politically corrupt 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'African' collaborator groups in an unholy alliance against the mass of the oppressed in South Africa.

South Africa is dominated by a world imperialism which drains the resources of the country, leaving a burden of poverty and misery among the oppressed masses.

We declare that the conflict between those who have political rights and those who do not is an extension of the conflict between labour and capital.

The material and cultural resources of the country shall be available to all citizens on the basis of complete equality, regardless of 'race', colour, sex or creed.

It is our historic duty, therefore, to provide the basis for the continuous development of a democratic South Africa to secure for the oppressed their liberation from oppression, exploitation and want.

We declare that the immediate aim of our struggle is:

To build a single, undivided, independent, non-racial and democratic South Africa in which the interests of the workers and the rural poor shall be paramount.

To build the unity of the workers and the rural poor under the leadership of the working class in the struggle for national liberation and for freedom from exploitation.

The dismantling of the 'homelands' system and of apartheid in all its forms: political, economic, social, educational and cultural.

To establish a single democratic parliament. All over the age of eighteen shall have the right to elect and be elected to that parliament without regard to colour, class, sex, religion, 'tribe' or 'race'.

To end foreign domination - political and economic - and to wage a relentless battle against all local agents who serve the cause of foreign domination and exploitation.

TO ACHIEVE THESE AIMS we say to the oppressed masses of South Africa and their allies:

the building of the unity of the oppressed is the historic and urgent duty of the liberation workers in South Africa;

NEW UNITY MOVEMENT BULLETIN

the building of the liberatory movement upon the TEN-POINT PROGRAMME of MINIMUM DEMANDS and a policy of NON-COLLABORATION is an imperative duty of the masses and their leadership;

Our struggle is both against an oppressive capitalist system of exploitation AND against the system of world imperialism.

THESE RIGHTS ARE MINIMUM DEMANDS, they are the VERY LEAST that we shall accept to guarantee full and equal citizenship rights and freedom for all in South Africa from poverty, oppression and exploitation.

THESE DEMANDS ARE NON-NEGOTIABLE. They are not for bargaining with the oppressors. We demand now nothing less than the FULL TEN-POINT PROGRAMME of rights. These demands are contained in the following Ten Points :

1. THE FRANCHISE: THAT IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY MAN AND WOMAN OVER THE AGE OF 18 TO ELECT, AND BE ELECTED TO A NEW DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENT AND TO ALL OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, BOTH REGIONAL AND LOCAL.
2. THE RIGHT TO WORK: FREEDOM OF OCCUPATION; LIVING WAGES; AND JUST BENEFITS FOR ALL WORKERS.
3. COMPULSORY, FREE AND UNIFORM EDUCATION FOR ALL CHILDREN UP TO MATRICULATION, WITH FREE MEALS, FREE BOOKS AND SCHOOL EQUIPMENT.
4. ADEQUATE HOUSING AND THE PROVISION OF FREE, COMPREHENSIVE MEDICAL CARE FOR ALL.
5. INVIOABILITY OF PERSON, OF ONE'S HOME AND PRIVACY; FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.
6. FULL EQUALITY OF RIGHTS FOR ALL CITIZENS WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF 'RACE', COLOUR OR SEX.
7. REVISION OF THE LAND QUESTION FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL.
8. FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS, MEETINGS AND ASSOCIATION.
9. NON-DISCRIMINATORY CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CODES OF LAWS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED ABOVE.
10. A JUST, PROGRESSIVE SYSTEM OF TAXATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED ABOVE.

NON - COLLABORATION

The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed in South Africa has reached a higher pitch than ever before. Barricades are being erected with the oppressed on the one side and the oppressors on the other. But some are trying to straddle the barricades, to be on both sides; to appear to serve the masses while in fact serving the rulers. They are attempting to blur the line which divides the oppressed and exploited from the oppressors and exploiters. This is why it is so important to teach each new generation of political fighters the role of the policy of non-collaboration in the struggle for our freedom.

WHAT IS THE POLITICAL BASIS FOR NON-COLLABORATION?

The major functions of the rulers in South Africa are to

control and subdue the oppressed masses thereby making us helpless to defend ourselves against the ruthless exploitation of our labour and the resources of our country. To make this possible the rulers have designed an intricate system of controls and institutions to subdue us and deny us our rights. Some institutions like the tricameral parliament and regional services councils are designed for the blatant entrenchment of racism and apartheid, while others are far more subtle in influencing and corrupting the oppressed. The liberal elements who claim to be on our side are an example of the latter. But all these institutions seek to control, oppress and exploit us.

However, to make these institutions work effectively, the rulers need the co-operation and collaboration of the masses. They must make these institutions which tie us down acceptable to the people. There is no bigger slave than the slave who accepts his slavery! Who has helped to chain the oppressed in South Africa? The homelands governments are obvious examples. So are the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates. Management committees and Urban Councils are also groups of collaborators who help the rulers to carry out apartheid - to make it easier to exploit us. The rulers have recruited collaborators from the ranks of the oppressed themselves to operate this machinery of our oppression! Without these collaborators and the collaboration machinery the rulers would never have been able to rule for so long.

NON-COLLABORATION breaks these chains created by the rulers to keep us in bondage. It rejects these oppressive institutions. It cuts the link between the oppressor and the oppressed. It puts collaborators and the dummy institutions beyond the pale of the people. Non-collaboration is a powerful means of thwarting the rulers, weakening them. More importantly, it strengthens the relative position of the struggling masses. So, for example, rejecting dummy councils and refusing to help them in their work, destroys the ability of the rulers to exercise control over the oppressed other than by the use of naked force.

AGAINST TUTELAGE, CORRUPTION AND SELL-OUTS

Undermining the institutions of the rulers and blocking the entry of their agents into the ranks of the oppressed, non-collaboration achieves a complete break for the organisations of the people from the political tutelage of the ruling classes. Very importantly, it denies the liberal wing of the ruling class access to our organisations. This means the exclusion of the PFP, NUSAS, IDASA, the BLACK SASH, the Van Zyl Slabberts, Boraines and the other liberals. This prevents corruption of the liberatory movement by external influences. And, taken together with the **MINIMUM DEMANDS** of the **TEN POINT PROGRAMME**, non-collaboration prevents a sell-out of the oppressed by those petit-bourgeois bargaining elements which may try to capture the political leadership of our organisations.

ORGANISATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Non-collaboration therefore nourishes the development of independent people's organisations. It forms the basis for an independent strategy based upon an independent liberation ideology. In our day-to-day struggles and campaigns to secure the boycott of elections we counterpose the ideas of liberation to those of the ruling class. We are made aware of our own ability to engage in

the struggle to win our freedom and ultimately, to transform our society into one in which poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and homelessness are eradicated.

Non-collaboration means the rejection of the organisational controls of oppression. It is an active process of impeding, obstructing and undermining such organisations AND a process of rejecting the social philosophy that underlies these institutions. But, in addition, non-collaboration is aimed at the forces of exploitation, both local and foreign, and the bourgeois ideology which underpins this. It therefore lays the basis for both anti-state and anti-imperialist ideology and action. Non-collaboration is a vital weapon for the working classes against their oppressors. An unarmed people like the masses in South Africa can strike at their oppressors with the weapon of non-collaboration. The rulers cannot hit back at us when we use this weapon properly; it leaves the rulers weaker.

NON-COLLABORATION OR NEGOTIATION: FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?

History teaches us that the strategies, programme and policies employed by the liberatory movement undoubtedly determine the outcome of that struggle. The multitude of poverty-stricken, neo-colonial states set up in Africa and elsewhere after the nationalist movements won 'independence' bears testimony to this fact. The working classes in these countries remain poor, oppressed and exploited; the result of a sell-out by corrupt leaders. India, Mexico, Brazil, Egypt, Ghana, Zambia are all well-known examples.

THE DANGER IN SOUTH AFRICA

There is a very real danger that this may happen in South Africa. The forces of imperialism are at this very moment seeking to corrupt sections of the political leadership, so that they may betray the oppressed. The foundation is being laid for 'negotiations' with the rulers at which this sell-out will occur. It is in their interests to maintain a system of super-exploitation and poverty in South Africa, that is, a system of **NEO-COLONIALISM**. That is what a 'negotiated settlement' will lead to.

The consistent application of the policy of non-collaboration combined with the **MINIMUM, TEN POINT PROGRAMME** are the only weapons that the oppressed have against a sell-out. The greatest victory of 1985 was the destruction of the collaborator network of the state. This driving out of collaborators from the ranks of the oppressed is an essential part of the policy of non-collaboration. During the Second World War the French Resistance Movement provided dramatic evidence of the necessity of such a strategy. The system of collaboration has broken down. The collaborators (quislings) are mainly useless to the rulers. That is one reason why, more and more, the rulers have now to rely on the army, riot squads, detentions, armed uniformed police, heavy prison sentences and continuous 'emergencies' to keep their grip on the country. The old tricks don't work anymore. Non-collaboration has destroyed them.

The **UNITY MOVEMENT** alone of all the national organisations has consistently propagated, practised and adhered to a policy of non-collaboration as a principle underlining struggle. **Non-collaboration with all sections of the ruling class is a basic prerequisite to our political and economic freedom in South Africa.**

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of the collection records and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.