

Beyond Apartheid

Labour and Liberation in South Africa

Robert Fine with Dennis Davis

Pluto  Press
London • Concord, Mass

Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	ix
Abbreviations	xii
Part I: Labour and Politics in the 1940s	1
Chapter 1: Industry and Black Labour	3
Introduction	3
Black Trade Unions	7
The Social Weight of the Black Working Class	12
The State Response	18
Trade Union Strategy	26
Legalism in the Unions	33
Chapter 2: Labour and Politics: The People's Front	36
The Communist Party of South Africa	36
The African National Congress	46
Decline and Fall of the People's Front	50
Chapter 3: Labour and Politics: The Left Opposition	58
The Trotskyist Movement	58
The Non-European Unity Movement	68
The ANC Youth League	73
The Limits of the Left Opposition	78
Chapter 4: Black Workers and the White Labour Movement	80
The White Labour Left	80
Town and Country	94
The Meaning of Defeat	99
Part II: Labour and Politics in the 1950s	103
Chapter 5: The Turn to Mass Struggle	105
Popular Protest	106
The Radicalisation of the ANC	109
The Communist Party Turns Left	111
May Day 1950	115

The Communist Party 'Dissolves'	116
The Defiance Campaign	118
Chapter 6: Restructuring the Liberation Movement	127
The Communist Party Re-forms	127
The Congress Alliance	130
The Freedom Charter	137
'South Africa Belongs to All'	147
Chapter 7: The Revival of the Working Class Movement	153
A Class for Itself?	153
Trade Union Organisation	158
Political Unionism	164
The Election Strike	168
The Anti-pass Campaign	176
The Bus Boycotts	182
Chapter 8: The Crisis of Political Leadership	188
The United Front Policy	188
The Africanists	192
The Non-European Unity Movement	196
Socialism and Non-racialism	203
The Communist Party Resurfaces	208
Chapter 9: The Mass Strike	212
Trade Unions and Nationalism	212
Women Fight Back	216
A Note on Rural Resistance	219
The Sharpeville Crisis	220
Chapter 10: The Turn to Armed Struggle	230
Umkonto We Sizwe	231
Official Historiography and its Critics	239
Poqo	246
The African Resistance Movement	247
The Turn to Arms	251
Part III: Political Theory	257
Chapter 11: Nationalism, Socialism and Democracy in the South African Revolution	259
The Unhappy Marriage of Nationalism and Socialism	259
The Antinomies of Nationalism	266
The Antinomies of Socialism	275
The Theorisation of Strategy	285
The Reification of the State	289
Afterword: The Reintegration of Socialism and Democracy	294
Notes and References	297
Bibliography	320
Index	333