

Presidential Address - - - - - Dr. J.S. Moroka.

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As you are all aware, this year's conference of the African National Congress had been arranged to take place in Kimberley. But your head executive has had to follow closely the events of our days, to study most carefully the rather fluid political situation in South Africa, guided by these events, and what they have from time to time have had to make of the unstable political situation, these men to whom you have entrusted the destiny of the African National Congress and who, during three eventful years have been at the helm of the ship of Congress have decided that we should meet here. I am extremely gratified to see so many of you here today because I wish you to understand that the executive is alive to the fact that while Bloemfontein and possibly Kimberley would have been more central and therefore more accessible for the four provinces it is something to gladden my heart and to fire us all with a rousing emotion of inspiration to know that the possible inconvenience of this venue has neither deterred the provincial branches from sending delegates nor dampened their zeal. It is therefore with an abiding sense of my appreciation of this evidence of your consciousness of your duty that I extend to you all - members of the executive, delegates, members and the audience - my heartiest welcome.

The times through which the world is passing are turbulent and pregnant with the most far-reaching consequences. We are spectators at a globular game of inter-national and national adjustments and re-adjustments. We are sometimes active participants in some or all of these games. The shadow of these events trails across the face of the earth and we can avoid this shadow no less than we can avoid the gloom of a solar eclipse. Such landmarks in the story of the world today are the Korean war, the elections in the United States of America, the hardy Anglo-Persian oil controversy, the international debates at the United Nations Organisation, the conference of the Commonwealth primiers and the elaborate preparations now afoot for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

bloody platform from which the nations of the world are trying to iron out differences in their ways of life. For better or for worse the elections in America are inescapably bound to affect world trade and international security. The Anglo-Persian oil controversy is neither a local nor a private disagreement. The outcome of it is a world-wide concern of the greatest economic consequence. At the United Nations Organisation sessions leaders of nations are making decisions and are putting forth suggestions of great moment for the future of world peace and international harmony. Whether or not we take an intelligent interest in these debates; or whether or not we attach any significance to those decisions and suggestions the nemesis of the fate that is being forged in the anvil of that blacksmith of nations will dog the footsteps of the nations of the world. No man, no nations can flee from it. The assembly of the prime ministers of the Commonwealth of Nations is a conference of men of that association of nations whose way of life has impressed itself indelibly upon world politics and political philosophy. The world has never ignored and cannot ignore the common thoughts and combined actions of those men. Around the crown of the British Commonwealth of Nations centre the hopes and aspirations of masses of many colours and tongues. The preparations for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth next year, therefore, excite those hopes and aspirations.

These international and national agencies to which I have made not more than but a passing reference are the channels through which those forces which mould the destinies of men assume concrete forms and find realistic expression.

On the continent of Africa there is abundant evidence of the restless operation of the forces of destiny. From the Mediterranean coasts of Northern Africa to the southernmost shores of the coast of the Cape; from the eastern-board to the shores that are washed by the Atlantic ocean, the vast and mighty continent of Africa quivers ominously. These rumblings and rumours of restlessness are clear and unmistakable signs of the shape of things to come. They are signs for me and you and everybody else to read 'wholly, and with diligence and

I have referred to these facts because I fear that there is an unfortunate tendency amongst some people here and perhaps in some other parts of the world to see themselves as the only descendants of Adam and Eve, or to look upon themselves as the only heirs of those ancestors of the human race.

South Africa - the land of our birth, - should also be the land of our happiness. That happiness will be our priceless heritage if only we could establish proper and satisfactory relations with those with whom we live in this country. We appeal to the Europeans in this country to look upon us as an integral part of the population of South Africa and that we are entitled to the abundant fruit which this country can give. Education is the birthright of all mankind; and it is the bounden duty of the state to make possible the best education for all its citizens. That is perhaps by far the most important service which the state can render to its citizens. At the present time the educational systems which serve the educational needs of the Africans and the kind and extent of the education which is given to the Africans do not meet the aspirations and ambitions of the Africans. Only about 40 % of the school-going African children can find accommodation in the schools; and of that number 50 % are in the sub-standards, and only 3½ % of these children ever get to standard VI. Out of about 200 children only one child ever gets a chance attempt the Junior Certificate.

Education is one of the greatest material and moral investments which any state can make. There is much drunkenness. The scourge of disease ravages the population of South Africa both the white and Non-White. Juvenile delinquency is rampant. These social evils which sap the life-blood of South African nationhood can be combated with great efficiency by the provision of sound education for all the people of South Africa. Compulsory education, especially in the more thickly populated industrial and commercial centres such as Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Durban, East London, Kimberley and Bloemfontein should be introduced in order to fight the evils I have here enumerated. Money cannot be spent better, and the Government cannot say there is no money for this purpose.

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Investigation into the state of education amongst the Africans in South Africa. There are many good recommendations which appear in the report. But I wish to underline some suggestions which the Report makes. I plead for more schools. Fort Hare cannot cope with the number of young African men and women who wish to find entrance there. The establishment of another university or university college to relieve the congestion there is an urgent need. The scope of courses to be offered both at Fort Hare and at any other university institution which may be established in the future should be considerably widened to enable African youth to prepare themselves for a variety of professions and fields of study. Out of about 800 African children only one is receiving industrial training. There are not enough schools offering industrial and technical tuition to the Africans. Those who offer themselves for training in agriculture should be given a more intensive training than is offered at many of the agricultural institutions opened to Africans.

I submit that the Native Affairs Department is not a suitable department under which to place the control of the education of the Africans. It is not a department of educational experts. While the men in that department may have been given special training in Native administration, they will certainly not be necessarily equal to the demands of technical and scientific knowledge in matters of education. The education of the Africans should be placed under the Union Department of Education, Arts and Science for the conditions under which the education of the Africans is administered are the same as apply to all other citizens in South Africa. The circumstances are the same, the degree of efficiency required is the same and the tests of efficiency should be the same.

There is one other line of thought in the report which I consider ill advised. There seems to be a pet idea amongst some people in South Africa. They fondly imagine that the Africans are a loose unrelated collection of tribes. We are not! I wish to repeat most emphatically that we are an African nation. Any artificial cutting us up into isolated tribes is not only out of touch with reality but it is unwise and dangerous in the extreme.

We are reminded again and again, I wish to repeat that reminder that the population of South Africa is not 2½ million, nor is it 10 million. But the population of South Africa is 12½ million. This country must develop to find food, shelter and employment for 12½ million. It is immoral and uneconomic that the 2½ million should provide these essentials for the 10 million. Nor can it be justified by any means that the 10 million should find food, shelter and employment for the 2½ million. One of the obvious objectives of the trade union movement is that these essentials should be supplied adequately with the danger of exploitation reduced to the barest minimum. The economic prosperity and the social standard of that country in which the workers are dissatisfied and disgruntled under a sense of frustration is endangered. Unless <sup>the African</sup> artisans and labourers band themselves into trade unions and unless these trade unions are given statutory recognition by the Union Government these men and women will always be exposed to the inconveniences, handicaps and hardships of a cut-throat system of bargaining. That system is bound to lower morals in the process of bargaining amongst the labourers and artisans, and that in turn is bound to affect <sup>the</sup> quality and volume of trade adversely; and therefore not only do the labourers lose in the transaction but the whole country is also the poorer for it. No country can ever hope to raise the general level of civilization and culture to an appreciable standard unless the evils which the trade unions aim at removing are removed. The African, for their own sake and for the sake of the country as a whole should go in for trade and other kindred activities. They should be allowed to trade wherever they are, and their traders' licences should not be restricted licences. Africans should be allowed to build and own their traders' premises. And in this regard the municipalities could be asked to co-operate by earmarking areas for this purpose.

The people at Mchiatown are opposed to their removal by the Government. The government will do well to consider the matter afresh. These are not offered title deeds for the new places to which they are to be removed. It is permanence of tenure which will develop a sense of responsibility to their property and give a sense

appeal which is not only my personal approach to the Europeans which also has permeated the official life of this organisation - the African National Congress - of which I am the head. I wish to appeal to the Europeans of South Africa to extend to the Non-Europeans the hand of co-operation. South Africa will never be what we would like it to be unless the Europeans in this country do actively co-operate with us, and we help one another so that the poisonous and hateful spirit of hatred and animosity should be liquidated. We should try hard to bury those episodes of the past which were conceived in ignorance, fear and loathsome hatred. I appeal to the Europeans to behave rightly towards the Africans, and I appeal to the Africans to behave rightly to the Europeans. My belief is unshaken that we can approach our differences in the spirit of live and let live. In that spirit South Africa can become a happy home, a beloved fatherland for the sons and daughters of the Non-Europeans and for sons and daughters of the Europeans.

I wish to thank the South African Indians, the Coloureds and those Europeans who have tried to help in the progress of the Africans. To that extent to which they further the material, social and political well-being of the Africans, they succeed in laying granite foundations of peace, prosperity and sound national health in this our fair land. There can be no greater patriots and statesmen than those men and women.

These people - the majority of the Indians in South Africa, the Coloureds and the Europeans of South Africa - are citizens of South Africa. All people in South Africa should try to work with them for the good of us all in this land.

What has happened recently at Port Elizabeth and Kimberley is an unfortunate and foreign note out of harmony with the the cherished objectives of the African National Congress. I wish to emphasise here what I have already said through the press to South Africa that those tragic explosions are not in any shape or form connected with the African National Congress. We certainly sympathise with those who have been bereaved in those riots, but I wish to call upon you all not to associate yourselves in any way with violence. In a multi-racial

understandings there may be they can be dissolved in other and more acceptable ways.

It is the aim of the African National Congress to eliminate all causes and circumstances which tend to engender friction between the Africans and the Europeans.

Another ill star that has recently blighted our sky were the tornado disasters which have struck a heavy blow upon our people on the Reef. None of us, perhaps, can give a satisfactory explanation of why and the wherefore of it all. We stand stunned by the phenomenon. On my own behalf and on behalf of the African National Congress I extend our deepest sympathy to the victims - those who have lost property, the wounded, the killed and the relatives of those who have thus suffered. I wish to thank those who are sacrificing in time, money, convenience and in other ways to help these afflicted people. I would like to single out the municipalities and persons who are organising and contributing to funds to help these people. I call upon you to give in money and kind towards the relief funds.

I want to make one more appeal to you. Our people are the greatest sufferers from the scourge of tuberculosis. The incidence of that disease amongst the Africans is one of the highest in the world. The South African National Tuberculosis Association (SANTA) is a worthy association for a worthy cause. In its service it knows neither colour nor creed. But even barring the fact that our people are the greatest sufferers, it behoves us to learn not only to help to do things for ourselves upon instructions, but we must learn to take the initiative - to do things ourselves.

At the end of my term of office, I look back upon a period of three historic and eventful years. But it is as I survey the events of the past three years that I feel grateful and proud. I wish to thank first of all my executive, and then the provincial executives, and then the masses of the African National Congress for the wonderful support you have all given to me. You have all of you always rallied to every call that I have sounded to you. You have all of you always risen to the greatest demands of the most exacting situations. That has made me feel proud to be your leader, and it has sustained me. It is so easy

In conclusion I wish to send to you, to the local and provincial branches you represent, and to the people of South Africa, my message of peace and goodwill and hope that you will all enjoy a merry Christmas and a prosperous New Year.

MORENA - - - -BOLOKA - - - - SEHLEBA.

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