

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CONFERENCE  
OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION HELD AT QUEENSTOWN  
from 15th to 17th Dec. 1955.**

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All of us must breathe a sigh of relief that we are able to meet in Conference today. In South Africa the oppressed have no right to meet at will. The time-honoured democratic right of assembly has for us become a privilege, even a favour, bestowed by a magistrate or a City Council after due consultation with the Police. In the twilight of democracy and on the eve of fascism we may well be grateful that this conference has come to pass and anxious lest it be our last. For that reason alone it behoves us to use this opportunity to the best advantage. But there is for us another reason why we should not fritter our time away at this Conference. It is the crying need of the masses of the oppressed people for a courageous and informed leadership. They look to this assembly of their Parliament, the A.A.C., to supply this need and we dare not fail them. In this address I shall do no more than indicate the general approach to our tasks and leave it to Conference to fill in the details.

It has been said that the one great issue that overshadows all others in the distracted world today is the issue between constitutionalism and arbitrary government. In fact this is a misstatement of the position. The conflict between constitutionalism and arbitrary government is merely the outward manifestation, the symptom, of a deeper conflict which is to be found in the history of all hitherto existing society. This conflict has from time to time shown itself in various forms. In ancient Rome it took the form of a struggle between the Plebs and the Patricians. In feudal times it was a conflict between autocracy and serfdom. In the post-war period of the 20th century it has assumed the form of a struggle between foreign domination and indigenous nationalism in the colonial countries, while in the semi-colonial and metropolitan countries it has taken the guise of a conflict between parliamentary democracy and fascism.

Whatever form it may take, the conflict is basically a struggle between the exploited and oppressed peoples on the one hand and the oppressors on the other. It is a struggle for supremacy between minority which has assumed the state power and is using it to feather its own economic and political nest, and the majority which is struggling to assert its right to a full and free life. In the heyday of the industrial expansion in the Western countries, the rulers had an abundance of new markets to conquer and vast colonial dominions to exploit, and could afford to show a large measure of indulgence to the working classes and to extend to them so called civic or human rights, without jeopardising their monopoly of political and economic power. The metropolitan working classes could be lulled into a false sense of security because their lot was made easy by the exploitation of the black colonial slaves who were worked to the bone in order to enrich the "mother country". Nowadays, however, with the shrinking of markets, industrial unrest and strikes, the growth in self-consciousness and political awareness of the working classes with the emergence of workers' states and the development of indigenous nationalisms opposed to colonial exploitation, the whole western system is on the decline and is fighting for survival with its back to the wall. It is no longer willing to countenance constitutionalism or the rule of law since by this very means the workers are demanding an effective say in the control of the state machinery. The rulers now see in parliamentary democracy an instrument for their own destruction. For its preservation their state has assumed or is rapidly assuming dictatorial powers. This state can no longer guarantee the individual fundamental human rights - the right to freedom of speech, freedom of thought and worship, freedom of movement, freedom of assembly and organisation.

In no country in the world today is the denial of democracy and the growth of fascism more obvious than in South Africa where the

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Executive by legislation has been invested with arbitrary powers which it can exercise without recourse to the ordinary law Courts. I wish to refer briefly to some recent legislation which reveals clearly that the ruling class of South Africa will stop at nothing to ensure its continued political supremacy.

The Native Administration Act of 1927 as amended in 1952 not only empowers the Minister of Native Affairs to pass and amend laws against Africans without reference to Parliament, but also entitles the Minister to remove individual Africans or even tribe from one area to another whenever he thinks it expedient "in the public interest". You will recall that a little less than 3 months ago the Transvaal Supreme Court in the Kuenta and Saliwa cases held that a person affected by a removal order issued under the Native Administration Act is not entitled to a hearing by the Law Courts although he might be wholly blameless.

Scandalous as the provisions of the Native Administration Act are, they are only a little worse than those of the Riotous Assembly's Act of 1914 as amended in 1930 whereby whenever the Minister of Justice is of opinion that a person is promoting feelings of hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans he may serve a notice upon that person prohibiting him from being within any defined area for any period. Furthermore, in terms of this Act the Minister may prohibit any public gathering or attendance of any person at such a gathering and may prohibit the publication or dissemination of any document which in his opinion is calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the various races.

Although the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act are very drastic they nevertheless entitle the victim to demand and obtain from the Minister written reasons for his exclusion from any particular area. Not so with the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 which specifically prevents the Minister from giving reasons for his actions. In terms of this Act the Minister may banish any person whom he considers "likely in any area to advise or encourage the achievement of any of the objects of Communism as defined in the Act." And this definition is so wide as to embrace any one of us in the liberatory movement.

Then there is the Criminal Laws Amendment Act which even the Government paper "Die Burger" described as "an ugly child of an agitated time". This Act provides for savage penalties for offences committed by way of protest against a law or in support of a campaign for the repeal or modification of a law. This law was and is aimed not only against "defiers" of the laws but also against "inciters" to such defiance. The definition of the latter class of persons is so vague that it can ensnare even the unsuspecting. An inciter is defined as "any person who uses any language or does any act or thing calculated to cause any person or persons in general to commit an offence by way of protest against any law". It is this Provision of the Act which has frightened the daily press into servile connivance at the fascistic moves of the ruling clique.

The Public Safety Act of 1953 entitles the Cabinet and even the Minister of Justice to dispense altogether with the law Courts if or his sole unfettered discretion he should think it "urgently necessary" to do so. This Act empowers the Governor-General (read "the Minister of Justice") by Proclamation in the Gazette (1) to declare a state of emergency and (2) to make such regulations as may appear to him to be necessary or expedient to provide for the safety of the Public and for the maintenance of public order. This law may be termed the "last ditch stand" of the Herrenvolk to be taken when all the other laws which the ruling class has passed to suppress the political views of its slaves and the wide interpretation of these laws by a complacent judiciary consisting of carefully screened, properly orientated Herrenvolk judges have proved ineffectual in stemming the rising tide of the liberatory movement.

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In a previous address I have referred to these laws and to some others like them as well to show to what extent the liberty of the subject is being assailed by the ruling class. I make no apology for referring to them again in this address for the same reason because they are the Herrenvolk's reply to our Ten Point Programme. For that reason alone they deserve to be thoroughly known by our leadership. They constitute the obstacles with which we have to contend in our daily struggle to achieve our programme. It is therefore not only proper, but also essential that we should take due cognisance of them in choosing not only our battleground but also our weapons of struggle.

Arising from the analysis of the above laws it is well for us to note and understand the significance of our movement of the following factors:-

1. That most of the tyrannical laws have been passed within the last five years, though some of them date back more than twenty years. While 20 years ago the state of emergency, or "agitated time" to use Die Burger's phrase, was episodic, it has of late become chronic and extraordinary measures have assumed a permanent character.
2. That the general effect of these laws is to place autocratic powers in the hands of Cabinet Ministers and to exclude any appeal to the Law Courts by those victimised.
3. That the autocratic powers conferred on the Ministers are directed towards the suppression not only of revolts but also of adverse criticism of government policies.
4. That they virtually close all constitutional channels whereby the liberatory movement can propagate its views and policies and eventually bring its programme to fruition.
5. That these laws are aimed not only against non-Europeans as a people, but against all progressives irrespective of colour.

The tasks of organising a liberatory movement in face of such laws are difficult and dangerous. Their performance requires an informed and courageous leadership, for they must be performed at all costs. It is one of the chief tasks of this conference to determine the manner of their performance. If we view the immensity of the task as it presents itself to us at this particular moment we shall certainly be overawed and shall shrink from it. But if we view the task, as we ought, from a historical perspective, not only shall we feel equal to it, but we shall see our way clear to overcoming the obstacles in the way of its achievement.

First of all we must see the growth of bureaucracy in the so-called Western democracies as a world-wide phenomenon which has been brought about by the sharpening of the struggle between the exploited and oppressed peoples on the one hand, and the oppressors on the other. This realisation alone will make it clear to us that we are on the winning side and will give us morale in the difficult period immediately ahead of us. We will begin to see that we ourselves have, in a real way, helped to create the conditions whereby the Herrenvolk are compelled to abandon the sham of parliamentary democracy and to convert the state into an obvious instrument of oppression. The ruling class is fighting fiercely, with its back to the wall, like a beast at bay, because it wants to preserve its life for as long as possible before it is overtaken by the inevitable doom which by all historical precedents it cannot avoid.

I am of opinion that this view of the historical necessity of the state bureaucracy is amply justified by the facts in the South African situation. I am of opinion also that this fact has not generally been appreciated even by some of those who are in the leadership of the movement. Yet its appreciation is of tremendous importance to the future of our movement. I propose therefore to discuss the matter  
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in some detail.

Briefly stated, my thesis is as follows:- That the objective situation in South Africa is such that the Herrenvolk can and will maintain itself in power only by establishing a shortlived Police state; that no Herrenvolk political party with a liberal or even an anti-fascist programme will ever get into power; that the next political development of any significance will be the ending of Herrenvolk rule and the taking over of the government by a party which will extend equal democratic rights to all, irrespective of race, colour or creed; that the Non-Europeans will participate in that government. Judging from the speed of events in the world today, it is not too much to say that all the political events envisaged above can be expected within the next years.

This thesis is not entirely born of wishful thinking but is based on political facts which are common cause, but to which I can do no more than make a passing reference in an address of this nature.

When the Nationalists came into power in the winter of 1948 they were the most surprised of all. To say that they rose to power because of superior organisation is inadequate. Nor can their success be accounted for by the magic which the U.P. seems to attribute to the word "apartheid". The Nats won the elections because of their advocacy of a more thorough going and unscrupulous application of the traditional Herrenvolk policy of segregation as a panacea for the ever growing labour shortage coupled with the growing restiveness of the Non-European oppressed. It is a measure of the desperation to which this objective situation had driven the Herrenvolk that they were prepared to jettison the United party, a party which was even then led by Smuts, one of the foremost statesmen of the Western world at that time, a party moreover which had led South Africa into a successful war against fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and was even then riding on the crest of the wave of a glorious victory. It is significant, I say, that this party should have been thrown overboard evernight, as it were, and instead the party of the opposition, a party which had been driven into the wilderness ten years earlier and which had not only opposed but had actually sabotaged the war effort, should have been elected into office. The unexpected results of the 1948 elections cannot be satisfactorily explained without reference to the economic and political situation which was fast developing in South Africa ten years ago - and indeed throughout the world.

The industrial expansion caused by the war and the opening of the Free State gold mines led to an acute shortage of labour. The temper of the ruling class could be gauged from the insistent demands of the farmers, industrialists and mine-owners for more and more labour during the early forties. It was at this time that the Mine Wages Commission was appointed. Giving evidence before this Commission on behalf of the Chamber of Mines, Mr. Gemmil is reported to have stated: "If you pay the Native more wages, or if you give him land, he is going to stay at home. He is not going to work on the mines." In order to allay the anxiety of the Herrenvolk, Smuts promised to solve the labour problem by means of a more thorough and methodical regimentation of cheap black labour via the rehabilitation scheme and an intensification of the pass system. The Smuts government was, however, unable to solve the labour problem and its Non-European policy was blamed for the failure.

It will be remembered that, with the threat of Japanese invasion Smuts had promised to arm every able-bodied Non-European male, a revolutionary proposition by South African standards. There had also been much official talk about giving more land to the Africans and abolishing the pass laws. When the promised labour was not forthcoming the Herrenvolk recalled to mind these liberal utterances and began to wonder if Smuts was not in fact a Kaffir-boetie as alleged by the Nats. The growth of liberatory ideas among the Non-Whites did not improve the position for Smuts. It was during this period that...../

That the Anti-CAD was born and the A.A.C. regenerated. These two federal organisations formed the N.E.U.M. which based itself on a total rejection of inferiority and a demand for full equality; adopted a rigid programme of principles to be implemented by means of Non-collaboration with the government and the use of the boycott weapon. For that whole decade the N.E.U.M. set the fashion in liberatory ideas and established a high standard of political leadership. Its searching political analyses revealed the fact that there are in existence in this country two diametrically opposed forces between which there can be no compromise - Herrenvolkism and the National Liberatory Movement. It called upon the Non-European intellectuals in particular to choose where they would hitch their wagon - either with the people or with the rulers. Applying the policy of non-collaboration, it called upon the N.R.C. to resign en bloc.

The impact of these ideas can be seen in the determined resistance of the peasants against the rehabilitation scheme, in the mine workers' strike of 1946 which the ruling class viciously suppressed, in the adjournment and final collapse of the N.R.C. and in many other events.

I repeat that in my view it was basically because of the labour shortage and the political awakening and militancy of the Non-Whites that the Malanazis were returned to power. Apartheid is merely the intensification of segregation necessitated by this chronic labour shortage and the growing political consciousness of the Non-Europeans. It is evidence of the fierce determination of the Herrenvolk to use the mailed fist, if necessary, to preserve its wealth and political supremacy. The Nationalist party was returned to power because of its promise to deal adequately with this developing economic and political situation.

It now remains to show that after 7 years of the labour shortage is still acute and the political determination of the Non-Whites to free themselves shows no signs of diminishing despite the fascistic measures of the ruling class.

During the last two years it has become increasingly clear that apartheid is unable to deliver the goods, namely to supply the requisite quantity of cheap black labour and to stem the rising tide of political consciousness. The report of the N.A.D. for the years 1950/51 makes the position clear. There is plenty of other evidence. This failure has created a state of nervousness among the Herrenvolk which was revealed not only by the very fact of enacting such a monstrosity as the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act 1953, but also by the statements made in Parliament in the debates accompanying the passing of the Act.

In August 1953 the Minister of Labour is reported to have stated "...again bearing in mind that there are almost 1,000,000 Native workers in industry and commerce today - they can use their trade unions as a political weapon and they can create chaos in South Africa at any given time. I think that we would probably be committing race suicide if we give them that incentive".

Of the 1,000,000 African industrial workers about half are in the mining industry. According to a statement made last year by Mr Openheimer, the mine magnate, the mining industry urgently requires 80,000 more African labourers. The U.P. has blamed this shortfall on the apartheid policies of the Nationalist Party and has come out with the slogan "Integration or poor Whiteism." Recently Prof. Horwood of C.T. University described apartheid as "a threat to industry". Colin Steyn the then leader of the U.P. in the Free State advocated the resurrection and enlargement of the N.R.C. which, according to the Party-leader Strauss would learn the "demands and responsibilities" of democracy.

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During the course of this year the clamour for more and more cheap labour has not abated. Forced by the stark reality of the labour shortage the Nationalist Party has had to soft pedal some of its roseate and Utopian schemes like Bantustan and shifting industries to the "Native Territories", as such phantasies are not calculated to improve the labour position and will only lead to defeat at the polls. The Nationalist Party is now playing up the schemes which are more dynamically connected with the provision of cheap labour, such as the disfranchisement of the Coloured males and making them replace the Africans in all categories of labour in the Western Cape by implementation of the so-called "Eiselen line" policy. It has leaked out recently that the Government intends to remove about 5000 Africans from the Western Cape in March of next year and the official denials of this statement are not convincing.

The Government is, of course, staking everything on the successful implementation of the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act by which it hopes to divert every African male and female, adult and child, into the labour market.

For the same reason the Herrenvolk is forging ahead with the tightening of the pass system, and the inhuman application of the Population Registration Act to the Coloured people is calculated not only to create a pogrom atmosphere but also to help directly in the solution of the labour problem. The Smutsian rehabilitation scheme is also being intensified and provision has been made for the establishment shortly of 35 more rural villages of the Zwelitsha type. It is clear that the Government is determined to comp every nook and cranny of this land for Non-White labourers and to regiment all Non-Europeans for this purpose.

The labour position is so desperate, however, that the Herrenvolk is not trusting that it will be able to solve it in spite of all its drastic measures. Of late Cabinet Ministers have even been calling upon the Whites to be prepared to work for themselves and to dispense with Black labour. It is interesting to note that although the vast majority of African workers are wastefully employed on the White farms, the Government shows no intention of diverting this labour supply towards industry. Such a move would naturally antagonise the White farmers, who are themselves clamouring for more and more slaves, and would endanger the Nationalist Party's chances of success at the next General elections. For this reason the Government has embarked on the disastrous policy of denuding the towns and industry of its manpower and diverting it to the farms whose contribution to the wealth of the country is negligible.

The new call upon the Whites to work for themselves and not to be dependent on Black labour is supposed to be the Nationalist's reply to the opposition's criticism that Apartheid is a threat to the cheap labour supply. It is significant, however, that it has coincided with official admissions and denials that a depression is in the offing. No matter how Mr. Louw may try to hide it, there are definite signs of a coming economic depression in the Western world including South Africa. The "threat" of peace has become a greater source of embarrassment to the Western world than the threat of war, because of the certainty of a depression should industrial production revert to a normal peace basis. Speaking recently in Johannesburg, Mr van Ryn, Minister of Economic Affairs, expressed this Western fear when he said, "Our industrialists will be exposed to stronger competition if the prospects of lengthy peace improve and the production of overseas industrialists are again devoted in a larger measure to civilian needs". The cost of living in South Africa is growing daily and has more than doubled itself since 1938. If this state of affairs continues then we are in for a depression. The rulers are already preparing the minds of the people and of the White workers particularly for it as well as setting up the legal machinery via the Industrial Conciliation Bill for dealing with the industrial...../

industrial unrest which will inevitably result from such a depression. If a depression does come, the White workers will be hit hardest and they will have to be prepared to join the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled labourers in order to survive. This is one of the "problems of re-adjustment" which the Minister of Finance, Mr Eric Louw, referred to when he spoke recently in Pretoria on the consequences to South Africa of a world depression. Mr Eric Louw is reported to have said, "The Union would not escape the consequences of developments and we would be faced with the problems of re-adjustment". The intensification of apartheid in the trade union movement will prevent the creation of a common code for all workers and thus forestall any possibility of a united front between Black and White workers in the event of a depression. This is what Mr Schoeman really meant when he said in Parliament during the debates on the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act: "Official recognition of Native trade unions will be detrimental to the interests of South Africa....It is obvious that the stronger the Native trade union movement should become, the more dangerous it would be to the Europeans in South Africa".

Enough has been said in support of my view that the Nationalists are unable to solve the twin problems of Government which face them, namely, shortage of labour and the political demands of the Non-Whites and that in their attempt to grapple with these problems they are being relentlessly driven towards a police state....

I say "relentlessly driven" because in the view I take, the United Party or any other party which bases itself on white supremacy would find itself exactly in the same position. Totalitarianism is the inevitable result of segregation in the present day industrial development in South Africa. That is why the Nationalist Party, despite its admittedly "wicked" Acts (e.g. the passing of the Senate Act) is gaining more and more support. That is also the reason why the United Party dare not give in advance an undertaking that if it is returned to power it will repeal the Nationalist-inspired laws although the United Party has severely attacked these laws during their passage through Parliament. That is the lesson of the Hillbrow by-election in which Dr Friedman and his ilk were told in no uncertain terms that there is no room for liberalism in South Africa. That is why no serious voice of protest was raised by the daily press when the C.A.T.A. officials were dismissed from their jobs just because of their political views, and when the Police carried out their Union-wide raids ostensibly to prevent "treason and sedition." That is why the Nats can afford to tear up the South African Constitution and pave the way for a totalitarian state, just as Hitler did in Germany, without encountering serious opposition. The United Party organ, "The Friend", in an editorial dated 25th Nov. 1955, after stating that "the basic reason why all who respect the Constitution and cherish the fundamental freedoms of democracy are totally and irrevocably opposed to the changes made, is that these changes, altering Parliament out of all recognition, are a means to an end - and that end is a fundamental change in the Constitution", goes on to say: "This is the sincerely and passionately held belief of thousands of South Africans today. But it should not blind them to the fact that the formation of a new Senate, however much they may dislike it and deplore the motives which led to its creation, is to become, for the time being at any rate, a duly constituted part of the Parliamentary machine, essential to the democratic government of the country, and that it must be accepted as such until such time as the validity of the legislation creating it is successfully contested in a Court of Law". This is the typical Herrenvolk attitude to the whittling away of the people's rights by the ruling clique. It was this attitude on the part of the German Herrenvolk which made it easy for Hitler to rise to power, and thereafter "scorning the base decrees by which he did ascend", to impose a ruthless regime on the German people which did not end until millions of people had been murdered or mutilated. Herrenvolk autocracy has a logic of its own...../

own and we have no reason to believe that it will deviate from its bloody course in South Africa unless it is challenged and defeated before it takes firm root.

From the above remarks it should be easy to deduce why the United Party and the other Herrenvolk Parties to the left of the U.P. will never get into power in South Africa as presently constituted. All these parties will soon be forced by objective conditions to take definite sides instead of sitting on the fence, in the inevitable conflict between Herrenvolkism as represented by Strydom's governing clique and real democracy as represented by the N.E.U.M. There are a few - all too few Europeans who are beginning to be attracted to our ideas and who accept our leadership. But there is a larger number, the liberals and neo-liberals, illegitimate issue of conflict between equality and white supremacy, who are permanently tied to the umbilical cord of their mother, Herrenvolkism. To sever this tie would lead to instantaneous death of the liberal offspring. It is this fact which makes liberalism and the Liberal party so dangerous to our movement. Liberalism as a political trend in South Africa represents a confession by the Herrenvolk of its sin against the Non-European oppressed, but a refusal to abandon its wicked ways and a plea for a compromise whereby the oppressed will acquiesce in their oppression. Its method is to ingratiate itself with the oppressed by shedding copious tears of sympathy with the underdog and then to lead it, with the rope securely tied round its neck, to the camp of the Herrenvolk, for the purpose of exploitation. The African people had bitter experience of this type of leadership in 1935/36 when the liberals led them to an acceptance of the Hertzog Acts on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread.

We of the N.E.U.M. are through with Liberal leadership. The liberals know it and have long given up any attempt to seduce us. The same cannot, unfortunately, be said of the A.N.C. This African organisation has not only handed over its leadership to the liberals and neo-liberals, but it has permitted these gentry to form a so-called Unity movement as a rival of the N.E.U.M. No greater harm could have been done than this at this stage of our struggle. Recent tragi-comic evidence of the existence of this sorry state of affairs is to be found in the fact that the leadership of the A.N.C. can be associated with the leadership of the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, the South African Congress of Democrats, the Federation of South African women, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the South African Institute of Race Relations, even City Councillors of Johannesburg in an appeal for the recall of Father Huddleston because "There is, in this country today, no European who has so successfully and boldly bridged the yawning gap of hostility and fear between White men (Herrenvolkism) and Black (equality for all), and developed on both sides of the Colour line, a spirit of tolerance (of oppression), respect (for authority) and brother-hood between men (collaboration)...But a great gap will be left in our Community by his departure. To non-Europeans especially, it will seem as if they are abandoned and left desolate when the doughtiest of their champions, in all so few, is called away". (emphasis and parenthesis mine). Little wonder this appeal has received so much publicity in the Herrenvolk press. It will take our movement a long time to undo the work that the A.N.C. is doing of enabling the liberals to handcuff the oppressed and to deliver them to the Herrenvolk for exploitation.

I have said that more and more democratically-minded Whites are turning to the N.E.U.M. for political leadership. We open our arms wide to receive them not as strangers but as brothers and comrades-in-arms against a vicious system of Herrenvolk rule. We call upon the thousands of other European men and women, intellectuals and workers, who know that the salvation of our beloved country lies in our movement, to come out boldly and swell our ranks before the forces of darkness overwhelm us and them.

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It is not enough that you should be a democrat at heart. It is much more important that you should actively engage in the struggle for the preservation of true democracy in a rapidly changing society. The N.E.U.M. is the only organisation in the country which has bound itself irrevocably and uncompromisingly for extension of full democratic rights to all irrespective of race, colour or creed. It constitutes the only real opposition to the ruling clique. To the N.E.U.M. has fallen the historical task of putting an end to Herrenvolkism and instituting a new era of democracy for all.

It is my firm conviction that this fundamental political development will take place within the next ten years. This bold prediction is based upon developments in South Africa as well as abroad. It is common cause that the trial of strength between East and West cannot be put off much longer and in the outcome of this struggle we are deeply interested, for the real issue will be between Herrenvolkism and true democracy. It is significant that Mr Erasmus, Minister of Defence, on his return from his recent visit abroad mentioned the looming danger of war and stressed the urgent necessity for the Herrenvolk to be prepared for internal strife.

These facts place a heavy and urgent burden of responsibility on our leadership. It is imperative that we should realise the urgency of the situation and not leave this Conference without making the necessary preparations to cope with it.

As far as the masses of the Non-European people are concerned, the most urgent problem is not one of political education but one of political organisation and leadership. The indications are that the masses of our people are fully aware of the facts that apartheid means enslavement for them and the resistance which even the most backward are putting up to the implementation of the Bantu Education and Bantu Authorities Acts has been an eye opener. It is encouraging to note that both in the Northern Transvaal and in Zululand where the most conservative elements of the African population reside, even the Government-appointed chiefs have had to reckon with popular opposition and have refused to commit themselves to an acceptance of the Bantu Authorities Act despite the personal representations of Dr. Verwoerd. It is true that in the Cape where the most progressive elements are to be found, both the Transkei and the Ciskei Bungas have voted themselves out of existence in favour of the Bantu Authorities. But this is an Act of desperation on the part of the Quislings motivated by the promise of a new lease of life for them in the Bantu Authorities. It is not generally recognised that largely through their shameless betrayals and also through our propaganda the Bunga Quislings stand exposed and are leaning very heavily on their Herrenvolk masters to save them from the wrath of the people. It has now become a regular theme of Dr. Verwoerd and his under-lings to accuse the Bunga puppets of being mere puppets lacking in initiative and isolated from the people. But this is a fate from which the Quislings can never escape, whether they are called Bunga Councillors or Bantu Authorities.

The Government is not finding the task of establishing the Bantu Authorities an easy one, even apart from the fact of popular opposition. Conference will recall how earlier in the year Mr Strydom hailed the acceptance of the Bantu Authorities scheme by the Transkei Bunga as a triumph for apartheid. The attempt to implement this decision has not raised anything like the same amount of enthusiasm, largely because it has been suddenly discovered by the powers that be that the Bantu tribes are so numerous and intermingled that it is a veritable jigsaw puzzle to recognise and extricate them. Only a few weeks back at a session of the Transkei Bunga specially convened at Umtata for the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act the Chief Native Commissioner unburdened himself in despair. "When the Bantu Authorities Act was formed...../

formed", he said "it did not specifically mention these (Transkeian) territories. The Act was originally applied to those areas where large tribes live in locations. There the tribal authority was a considerable entity, owing allegiance to a paramount chief. In all the deliberations up to the present the edifice of the Bantu Authority scheme has been applied on the basis of each location being a tribal or community authority. Personally, I am afraid that idea presents too many difficulties to be effective. There are 917 locations in the Transkei - some with only 50 tax-payers." If you add these practical difficulties to the determined resistance of the people you will have some idea of the chances of success of the Bantu Authorities scheme.

I repeat that the greatest problem facing our movement is not the political education of the masses, important though that is. Our greatest difficulty at the present moment is organisational, namely the provision and orientation of alternative local leadership to that of the Quislings in the Bungas and Bantu Authorities, etc and the canalisation, coordination and centralisation of this leadership in the N.E.U.M.

I have said earlier on that we have set a high standard of political leadership. Only fifteen years ago every layer of Non-European leadership was adept in the art of facing towards the Herrenvolk and towards the people at one and same time. The result was political opportunism and adventurism. While it is true that there are still relics of this past among Non-White organisations, it is equally true that such misleadership is not to be found in the ranks of the N.E.U.M. This results from the fact that we have adopted a programme of principles which guides and directs our every-day political activities. The outcome is that our movement has attracted the very best elements not only among the workers and peasants but also among the intellectuals. The progressive Non-European teachers in the T.L.S.A. and the C.A.T.A. are with us in the struggle for full equality. This is an achievement for which our movement is justly proud. By reason of their championship of the people's rights, our teachers are being persecuted by the Herrenvolk. Practically the whole Executive of the C.A.T.A., which has been affiliated to the A.A.C. since 1948 has been dismissed from its posts, and prominent officials of the T.L.S.A. are being prosecuted. The rulers have made no secret of the fact that these teachers are being attacked by reason of their membership of our movement. But our teachers have stood firm. The C.A.T.A. Executive writes: "In a statement to our members early this year we dissuaded from resigning their posts those of them who felt they could not be reconciled to the idea of serving under this system of Bantu Education. We said then that the onus must be placed on the authorities to prove to the world that men and women imbued with a love of the universally accepted standards of education had no place within the system of Bantu Education. We repeat this enjoinder and further urge our members to redouble their efforts in the struggle for a democratic system of education within a democratic society in the full knowledge of the consequences". The A.A.C. is proud to have amongst its members men and women of such calibre.

Any political movement is in duty bound, in the interests of its own survival and advancement, to protect its leaders from victimisation and thuggery. It is my duty to remind you that some of the teachers victimised are, or were until recently officials of the A.A.C., and to urge you to do everything possible to ensure that their services will not be lost to our movement by reason of economic difficulties. We must refrain from adopting a modest or fatalistic attitude in this matter. At the same time we have to be careful not to convert our organisation into an insurance society for victimised leaders. We must be guided in this matter by the ability and readiness of the leaders in question to devote their  
time...../

time wholly or in part to the task to which I have previously referred of setting up, educating, coordinating, canalising and centralising the local leadership of our movement. The appointment of paid full time or part time organisers is long overdue. I am convinced that such a step would a long way to remove the fig-leaf of political leadership from the Quislings and expose their role of government puppets and sell outs.

In the past we have had to reckon with Quislings who were obviously Quislings because they were working the machinery of oppression like the N.R.C.'s, Bureaus and Advisory Boards. This class of Quislings is still with us today, and its ranks are being augmented by the creation of Bantu Authorities, Bantu School Boards and Committees. There is, however, a new class of traitor who is not so obviously a creature of the rulers and whom we have to recognise and expose. He is to be found in a government-inspired so-called peoples' organisations like the C.A.T.O. and two organisations which I believe are now in process of formation, a Parents' Union and the Bantu National Congress. The Coloured people have for some time now, plagued with similar organisations which e.g. the T.E.P.A. and C.P.N.U. all these organisations, although apparently born of the people, are illegitimate issues and have been or are being sponsored by the Herrenvolk. In short they are yellow organisations which base themselves on acceptance of apartheid and collaboration with the government in every way. They have been specially set up to offset the influence of their existing and legitimate counter-parts which have accepted and are propagating liberatory ideas. For instance C.A.T.U. is the yellow rival of C.A.T.A. just as T.E.A.A. is the yellow rival of T.L.S.A.

It must not surprise or discourage us if several of these who were wont to be with us are now or in future found in the ranks of these yellow organisations. That is inevitable as the tempo of political events heightens. So far from being dismayed, we must redouble our efforts to expose and isolate the Quislings wherever they are to be found and to win over the people to our side. If we fail to perform this task our movement will be imperilled. At all costs our voice must be heard wherever the people are to be found. The need for a national press which can be read by the people in their respective languages to facilitate the spread of National liberatory ideas is daily becoming more and more acute.

The object of our struggle is the liquidation of the National oppression of the Non-Europeans in South Africa and the acquisition by the Non-Europeans of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by Europeans only. It is generally admitted that our cause is a just one, but but because of their selfish economic interests, because they profit by our enslavement, the Herrenvolk are so determined to keep us in perpetual servitude that they do not scruple to make a mockery of democracy and the rule of law in order to achieve their end. The rulers have unleashed the monster of fear which is stalking the land and stifling the voice of freedom. A great responsibility rests upon us who are in the leadership of the oppressed to raise aloft the banner of freedom, notwithstanding the consequences. The times call for self discipline, self-sacrifice and energy. The path of liberation is sodden with blood and tears. Many of us will fall by the wayside, casualties in the fight for freedom. But to all those who love freedom better than mere existence the struggle is its own reward. For them to live is to be free. "Death where is thy sting? grave where is thy victory?"

This is the path of struggle to which our movement has called us. It is a thorny path which may not be trod by the irresolute and weak-kneed. The path of freedom, is the path of glory which, as the poet says, leads but to the grave. The present victimisation are only the beginning of our travail and are nothing compared to..../

to the sacrifices which are still going to be demanded of us. "Does the road wind uphill all the way? Yes to the very end". But that end is human freedom and happiness and no sacrifice is too great for its achievement. If it is our destiny to go under in this struggle, then let us bear our fate as befits men and women who have been called to the highest of Vocations, in the full assurance that freedom will triumph in the end. That is the lesson of history, and well may those shiver in their boots who have squeezed their wealth and splendour out of the blood and bones of the oppressed, and have made a travesty of human life and robbed it of all its worth. It is in this spirit of self-sacrifice and determination that I now call on you to settle down to the serious business of this Conference.