

NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D
COMMITTEE

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

2nd National
Anti-C.A.D. Conference

HELD ON

4th & 5th January, 1944

AT

Banqueting Hall, City Hall
Cape Town

CHAIRMAN: DR. G. H. GOOL

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T H E A N T I - C . A . D . M O V E M E N T

Report of the proceedings of the Second National Anti-C.A.D. Conference held at Cape Town, January 4th and 5th, 1944.

TUESDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1944

Morning Session, 10 a.m.

I. Registration of Delegates.

II. Chairman's Opening Remarks: The Chairman (Dr. G.H. Gool) opened the Conference. He said that the First National Anti-C.A.D. Conference had set us many tasks, and these had been set about with energy and enthusiasm. Much had been done, and we could look back upon the past year with a great deal of satisfaction. One of the most urgent tasks was the extension of the movement throughout the Union - to deepen and consolidate the movement among the people. The Anti-C.A.D. was rapidly becoming completely representative of the people. This fact gave added emphasis to the wise step of deferring the elections of the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee until the second Conference.

At no time did we lose sight of the fact that the C.A.C. could not be treated in isolation and divorced from the rest of the repressive legislation affecting the Non-European people as a whole. It was necessary always to link up this latest move of the Government against the Coloured people with the whole past policy, and show how it had a direct and vital bearing on the ultimate aim of the Government - that of complete segregation of the Coloured people, politically, socially and economically.

We drew attention to another aspect that has not been stressed sufficiently, namely, that although the C.A.C. and C.A.D. may be regarded by many as not constituting the most important of the various segregation measures, in actual fact it takes precedence over all others. The C.A.C. is the measure that crowns all other efforts of the Government - it is the channel through which the Government would like to tow all the repressive laws against the Coloured people. The C.A.C. is the rubber stamp of the Government; the C.A.C. automatically endorses all Government segregation schemes whether political, economic or social. That is why there must be no relaxation in the building of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement.

III. Notices of Motion: No notices of motion were received.

IV. The Secretary's Report was then read. (Addendum I).

V. Mr. E. Ramsdale reported on behalf of the Credentials Committee that there were 94 delegates present, representing 59 organisations.

VI. The Chairman read the report of the delegation to the All-African Convention and Unity Conference, Bloemfontein, 1943 (Addendum II). The report was then discussed. Mr. S. Rahim asked for the actual reason why the Indians had not attended. The Chairman said that he understood that Councillor A. Ismail had been ill and he assumed that the Natal Indian Congress was busy with matters in connection with the Pegging Act. Mr. Rahim replied that the All-African Convention had issued the invitation to the South African Indian Congress and not to the Natal Indian Congress or Councillor Ismail. As no

official reply had been received, he could not understand why the Unity Movement should be delayed by them. We should get down to the Indian masses for the purpose of unity and not worry about the so-called leaders. The Anti-C.A.D., he pointed out, had started on that basis.

Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool replied that the leaders of the South African Indian Congress had spoken very warmly of the Anti-C.A.D. and, whilst direct advances had been made to the S.A.I.C. leaders, the federated organisations were not being forgotten.

The adoption of the report was proposed by Mr. Basson (Kimberley) and seconded by Mr. Hansby (Bellville Ratepayers Association). The Report was unanimously accepted.

VII. Mr. A.J.B. Desmore introduced Article VIIa on the Agenda, headed "Unity of All Non-Europeans", and on behalf of the National Committee, formally moved resolution VIIa (i): "That this Conference thanks the Delegation to the A.A.C. and the Unity Conference for the work accomplished at Bloemfontein, adopts the Report and accepts the recommendations of the Unity Conference with regard to the Unity Campaign upon the basis of the 10-Point Programme".
Seconder: Mr. Hansby (Bellville Ratepayers Association). The Rev. Abrahamse (Diep River Welfare Association) said that the Coloured people had taken a great step forward in attending the Unity Conference and consolidating with the Africans. The Coloured people and Africans could really say now that they were beginning to understand one another. Mr. F. Grammer (Livingstone Past Students Union) said that the Anti-C.A.C. was definitely showing which way they were moving and although their policy may have appeared nebulous in the past, we could now see how the Anti-C.A.C. was blossoming out. He stressed the urgent necessity for unity of the oppressed and exploited. Mr. A. Fataar said that much of the praise for the Unity Conference must go to the Africans. This was supported by Mr. H. Jaffe (4th International Club, Johannesburg) who declared that the African had always been the one section of all the South African peoples to come out for unity. The Africans constituted 6½ million allies ready to spring into the struggle of all the oppressed. He quoted several instances of African support for Coloured and White workers. Mrs. Z. Gool said that Mr. Jaffe was not quite right in his contentions and was guilty of a certain measure of wishful thinking. Thousands of Africans were slavishly following their chiefs. There was much understandable suspicion amongst them. We were glad, however, to have the support of Professor D. Jabavu, who had come out openly for unity. Mr. E. Martinus (Kimberley Anti-C.A.D.) said that the African people were to be thanked for their part in the Unity Conference, and moved an unopposed motion that we thank the A.A.C. for their invitation and the work accomplished at Bloemfontein. Mr. I. Amra (Communist Party) spoke at length on the Unity of the masses through their trade-union and other organisations. He declared that no Unity would ever come from the top. The rank and file should be harnessed. Mr. B.M. Kies said that a more sober view of the subject should be taken. There was no need to join in the dizzy elation of Mr. Jaffe or the gloom of Mr. Amra. We should not sit down to bewail the fact that there were differences and cross-currents among the people. Life was life and we had to get on top of it. He maintained that the Unity Campaign, upon the basis of the 10-Point Programme, had been set afoot and it was now for us to carry out the principles we had adopted and ensure greater unity before the next Unity Conference. The First Unity Conference, he concluded, had given us something to work on, to build upon, and we should make up our minds to set to work seriously.

Rev. E. Jason (Goodwood Ratepayers Association) supported Mr. Kies. He said it was essential to maintain contact with the people and at all times convince them that we are 100% sincere. He reminded the delegates of the Government's determination to carry out its segregation scheme.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Upon a resolution by Mr. Marthinus (Kimberley) seconded by Mr. Basson (N. Cape Anti-C.A.D.) it was agreed that resolutions (a) ii (National Liberation League, Windermere and Kensington Branch) and (a) iii and (a) iv (Northern Cape Anti-C.A.D.) should be considered as covered by (a) i, already accepted by Conference.

Mrs. Z. Gool on behalf of the National Committee, introduced motion (b) i, dealing with the inauguration of the Unity Campaign: "That the Anti-C.A.D. Movement shall inaugurate its Unity Campaign on the day of the opening of Parliament, by holding Joint Mass Meetings with African and Indian organisations throughout the Union, and that this Campaign shall be continued up to the time of the Second Unity Conference". The mover felt that it was right and proper that the Unity Campaign should be inaugurated in Cape Town. This should begin with a mass meeting coinciding with the next Parliamentary session as the Emergency Regulations made it difficult to hold demonstrations. Other groups should be urged to do likewise. Mr. E. C. Roberts seconded the motion. Mr. E. Ernstzen (Fourth International Club) differed with Mrs. Gool that the Emergency Regulations should act as a brake on the use of demonstrations as a weapon of protest. Mr. B.M. Kies urged that the inauguration should be worthy of the campaign which was to follow, and he urged the delegations to realise that they were embarking upon a serious struggle; they should not merely bask in the reflected glory of any huge demonstration in Cape Town, but should organise similar demonstrations together with the Africans and Indians. This, he maintained, was the implication of the resolution. Mr. Z. Gamiet (Anti-C.A.D. Johannesburg) felt that time should be spent in organising demonstrations and mass meetings again and again, and not necessarily at the opening of Parliament as if that were a great occasion. More repressive legislation could be anticipated and the question of demonstrations should not be shelved. Mr. A. Abdurahman (A.P.O.) felt that Mr. Z. Gamiet was wrong in feeling that the question of demonstrations was being shelved. Mr. S. Rahim stressed the fact that we intended gaining unity not merely demonstrating to Parliament. Mr. Amra felt that the localised nature of Anti-C.A.D. strength would result in a demonstration in Cape Town and its environs and would not affect the rest of the country. Mr. Fataar reminded the delegates that the proposed demonstration would be the fore-runner of many like demonstrations by all Non-European groups throughout the country. It was then pointed out by the Chairman that the programme necessitated many such demonstrations. The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

PROGRAMMATIC BASIS OF ANTI-C.A.D.

On behalf of the National Committee, MR. B.M. Kies inaugurated the discussion on the Programmatic Basis of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, and moved the resolution (c) i "That the Anti-C.A.D. Movement shall adopt the 10-Point Programme as the basis of its fight against the C.A.C. and C.A.D. and for full democratic rights for all".

Mr. Kies then outlined the development of the Movement from the time of its first publication "Against the C.A.D. - for full democratic rights", up to the Unity Conference at Bloemfontein. He then dealt separately with each of the ten Points of the proposed programme, showing how these affect the various Non-European groups. But as the C.A.C. was the very hub of the Government's plan for the political emasculation of the Coloured man, just as the N.R.C. represented the axis of African oppression, the corner stone of our fight would still be the fight against the C.A.C. and C.A.D. For this was synonymous with the fight for full political rights. However, the acceptance of the programme did not mean the frittering away of our energies in fighting for minor reforms, but it meant canalising our effort for the main fight, the fight for political rights. It was the lack of political rights which resulted in the innumerable secondary problems. To settle the basic political problem was to settle

the dozens of problems which flowed from it. Mr. Basson seconded the resolution. Messrs. W. Parry, Rev. E. Jason and Mr. E. Marthinus spoke in support of the resolution. It was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

The resolution c(ii) "That this Conference upholds the policy of the Anti-C.A.D. Committee in its endeavours to obtain equal rights for our people". (Diep River and District Coloured Welfare Association) was formally accepted as being covered by the preceding one, c(i).

Mr. Rex Close (Cape District Committee, Communist Party) moved c(iii): "This Conference resolves: (i) That the name of the organisation be changed to "League of Struggle for Coloured Peoples' Rights"; (ii) Membership of the League shall be open to all organisations that accept the Programme of aims, which shall be as follows: (a) To co-ordinate all activities of Coloured social, political and industrial organisations; (b) To formulate a common policy of struggle; (c) To promote unity of action amongst the Coloured people and all other Non-European oppressed; (d) To conduct the fight for (1) The extension of democratic rights; (2) The removal of Colour Bars; (3) To combat all forms of segregation; (4) To fight against the C.A.C. and other similar bodies which divide the people and prevent the attainment of full democratic rights; (5) The improvement of the conditions of the Coloured people". (Cape District Committee, Communist Party.)

The mover pointed out that this omnibus resolution had been drafted before they were in possession of the other Conference resolutions and this would account for some measure of repetition. He congratulated the Anti-C.A.D. on the success of the struggle and the broadening out of its basis. He felt that the organisations of each group, while aiming at unity, should attempt to co-ordinate the social, political and industrial organisations of their own group.

Mr. I. Tabata (All African Convention, Western Province) declared that the political side of the omnibus-resolution had already been more than covered by the 10-Point Programme, and, if Mr. Close would agree, the rest of his resolution could be referred to the discussion on "Organisation". Mr. Amra objected to this proposed change to the Agenda, but Mr. Close agreed to defer the question until later in the Agenda.

Mr. E. Ernstzen introduced resolution c(v): "That this Conference considers our fight for full democratic rights inseparable from the fight against imperialist domination, and, in opposition to the imperialist aims of Smuts' Pan-Africanism, supports the fight for self-determination for all oppressed colonial peoples" (4th International Club, Cape Town). He felt that the full implication of accepting the 10-Point Programme was not understood by all. The nature of our struggle and the economic struggle of our country meant that our fight was a fight against Imperialism, since South Africa was, in spite of its dominion status, a semi-colonial country like India. A nationally independent South Africa alone would be a South Africa without colour bars.

Mr. H. Jaffe in seconding the motion, maintained that in accordance with Article IV of the Draft Declaration on Unity issued at Bloemfontein, the fact of imperialist domination must be recognised. Our political oppression was but an expression of the economic exploitation of the African. Smuts with his Pan-African policy is the mouth-piece of British Imperialist policy to exclude American competition and for the more thorough exploitation of Africa. Mr. H. van Gelderen (Council for the Advancement of Non-European Education) felt that we should be ready to support the struggle of colonial peoples throughout the world. Mr. Jacobs (League of Friends of the Blind) felt that we should not make the mistake of flying before we

could walk. We should confine our programme to what the masses can understand and avoid the error of putting forth high-sounding phrases which no one could make out. Mr. W. van Schoor in replying to Mr. Jacobs pointed out that the acceptance of the resolution moved by Mr. Ernstzen was basic for a real understanding of the 10-Point Programme. Conference had accepted the Programme and so it should logically accept Mr. Ernstzen's resolution. To reject the motion meant rejecting the Programme.

Mr. A. Fataar pointed out that neither the mover nor the seconder nor yet their supporters had made the issue very clear. They should guard against the danger of mistaking aggressive wording for real progressiveness. The fight against the C.A.C. was definitely a stage in the fight against imperialism. One step of the real struggle was worth a dozen programmes and a score of high-sounding resolutions. In theory no one could disagree with the principle embodied in the resolution. In practice it was unnecessary as it was already implicit. Mr. S. Rahim congratulated the mover and seconder of the motion and felt that it was in keeping with the 10-Point Programme. Mr. F. Grammer associated himself with the remarks of Mr. Fataar and declared that the movers were crossing bridges before they had properly set out on the journey. Mr. Z. Gamiet declared that the motion implemented the 10-Point Programme with realism. Mr. van Noie (Stellenbosch Anti-C.A.D.) supported Messrs. Grammer and Fataar and asked Conference to bear in mind the backwardness of the Platteland and the effect that the brandishing of Anti-Imperialist slogans had upon the mind of the average farm labourer. Mr. E. Marthinus (Kimberley) asked for the acceptance of the motion. Rev. E. Jason asked Conference to keep close to the masses; leadership implied leading but not racing ahead of the people or confusing them. Mrs. Z. Gool felt that while most people would be in sympathy with the resolution, which was brought forward in all good faith, they should be guided by the country speakers and their emphasis upon the political backwardness and slow orientation of many country people. The Anti-C.A.D. was not a revolutionary party but yet the Conference could safely accept the motion since it was not really in conflict with the 10-Point Programme and in practice would not affect the steps Conference had already decided to take. Mr. B. M. Kies said that Conference need not be frightened by the aggressive wording of the resolution or the tone of its supporters. Mr. van Schoor's posing of the question to the effect that because we had passed the 10-Point Programme we must of necessity pass the resolution, implied a threat and should be ignored as irrelevant. He did not question the good intentions of the movers but he certainly was not impressed by their political understanding. They should try to find out the real stage that the movement had reached, instead of substituting wishful thinking whenever confronted by a new turn in the movement. The 10-Point Programme was a very sober step forward and they should not allow themselves to be intoxicated by it. People should always find out whether they were attending a birth or a wedding.

The vote was taken. The motion was accepted with one dissident, Mr. Jacobs.

The Chairman now read a telegram of congratulation from Mr. Philander. In reply to a written question handed in by a member of the Froces, the Chairman stated that the 10-Point Programme most certainly covers the needs of all Non-European soldiers. He further added that many soldiers had come straight out of the army into the Anti-C.A.D. movement. Mr. Basson (Kimberley) drew attention to the fact that the Anti-C.A.D. in Kimberley had interested itself in the Link Committee to see that discharged soldiers received a square deal.

BOYCOTT.

Mr. E. Viljoen, on behalf of the National Committee, led the discussion on the Boycott by moving the following resolutions:

- (i) "That while the Conference is of opinion that the Boycott of the C.A.C. as an organisation is working satisfactorily, it urges all local committees and other organisations to intensify their vigilance in this respect, as the C.A.C. adopts many cunning and fascist methods of deceiving the people into working through the C.A.C.
- (ii) That this Conference instructs all organisations to make a special drive to perfect the boycott of the C.A.C.-men and their accomplices, and urges all organisations to impress upon their members that the personal boycott is not a matter of individual preference, but of whether they are prepared to fraternise with the enemies or not."

The mover stressed the importance of isolating the C.A.C. so as to make it useless to its creators, the Government. The Boycott is an integral part of the Anti-C.A.D. movement, it is a weapon of struggle and no man had the right to elevate his personal or sentimental feelings above the interests of the people. The Boycott had to be intensified in all its aspects. Mr. F. Grammer in seconding the resolution urged for a tightening up of the Boycott. Some people had declared that the Boycott was unchristian, but he had yet to learn that being a Quisling and betraying one's people was a form of Christian behaviour. Mr. Amra felt that the motion was too optimistically worded. There was a tendency to relax our efforts after the first wave of enthusiasm - the Dollie-Willeburg election showed this. The Anti-C.A.D. should go to the masses, the peasants and workers. The boycott must be applied but it required a strong organisation that would discipline the people. He felt that the fact that the Anti-C.A.D. was formed on a federal basis largely prevented it from enforcing such discipline. Mrs. Z. Gool outlined, in reply to Mr. Amra, the work of the members of the National Committee who had travelled all over the country and had combed the South Western Cape in order to organise and enlighten the people - workers and peasants. They did not talk vaguely about the masses, but went to them and spoke to them and brought them into the movement. Mr. Wilson (Lansdowne Ratepayers Association) also spoke of the work which had been accomplished especially amongst the illiterates and semi-literates. Before criticising so airily, people should compare the present, advanced political level with that which existed prior to the Anti-C.A.D. movement. Miss Ruth Pienaar urged a boycott of the accomplices of the C.A.C. men - those who consciously did the work of the C.A.C. where the C.A.C.-men could not gain entry. Mr. E. Ramsdale told how C.A.C.-men No. 1 had gone on a vain mission to find a new C.A.C.-man in Bloemfontein and had been afraid to address a public meeting. Mr. E.C. Roberts suggested that those who were not fully aware of the success of the boycott should inquire from the nearest pro-C.A.C. Even if all the people had not realised it, the Government already knew that its dummy was useless. Miss J. Gool (T.L.S.A., Cape Town Branch) corrected Mr. Amra's statement that the Anti-C.A.D., because it was a federal organisation, was therefore too loose to exercise the boycott. Not a single organisation that had affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D. had approached the C.A.C. on any issue, in spite of the overtures made to many organisations. The level of the struggle had been raised and we could look forward expectantly to 100% boycott in future if we but applied ourselves diligently to the task. Mr. I. Tabata showed how the success of the boycott was relative to the political education of the people. The two things were inter-dependent and the success of the boycott was largely dependant upon the success of the local Committees. Mrs. R.E. Viljoen said that she had found from personal experience that the boycott came very easily if people sincerely faced up to the question of whether the welfare of the people was more important than their personal friendships. Mr. Fataar moved that the words "and all Anti-C.A.D. Committees" should be inserted in Resolution (ii) after the words "instructs all organisations". Mr. A. Abdurahman seconded. The amended motion was then put and unanimously accepted.

Close of Session, Tuesday, 4th January, 1944.

WEDNESDAY, 5th JANUARY, 1944

Morning Session.

TRADE UNIONS

Mr. E. Ernstzen led the discussion on Trade Unions, on behalf of the National Committee. He held that it was an unhealthy state of affairs that only one trade-union was represented at the Conference. It was imperative that local committees should be instructed to get trade unions to join the Anti-C.A.D. movement. In the Non-European trade unions there was an economic as well as a colour-bar fight. The political organisations should, therefore, lend aid to trade unions and actively participate in their everyday struggle. The unorganised workers should be organised, and in this the Anti-C.A.D. should help the trade unions. It was not necessary for the Anti-C.A.D. to interest itself in the domestic affairs of the trade unions.

The C.A.C. would attempt to be the spokesman of the Coloured workers and advise the Government on "Coloured trade union" problems. If the trade unions allowed that to happen they would lose their right to bargain and even the whole position with regard to the White workers would be jeopardised. The C.A.C. was also trying to drive a wedge between African and Coloured workers. The C.A.C. was a direct threat to workers' unity. He then moved: (i) "That this Conference instructs all local Committees and individual organisations to make every endeavour to enrol the organised workers, the trade unions, into the Anti-C.A.D. movement, and calls upon all trade unionists to assist in this task. (ii) That this Conference urges the organised trade union movement as represented by the Cape Federation of Labour Unions, the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, the Western Province Council of Trade Unions, and the Non-European Councils of Trade Unions (Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Pretoria) to call a special conference to consider the disastrous effect of a C.A.C. and C.A.D. upon the status of Coloured workers in trade unions and thus upon the trade union movement as a whole".

In seconding the motion, Mr. Jaffe made mention of the wedge that the C.A.C. was driving between Coloured and African workers. At the two conferences of "The Rights and Justice" many trade unions attended and were duped by the Liberals and the heads of the Churches who engineered the Conferences. Many problems affecting the Non-Europeans were discussed, and many resolutions were accepted by the trade unions. The fact that the Conference passed a resolution calling for a minimum wage of £2. per week for African workers, showed the segregationist line of the Conference. This was not a just demand, and only aimed at driving a wedge between Coloured, White and African workers. He contended that the demand should be "Equal pay for equal work". Mr. M. Arendse (General Workers Union) agreed with the views of Mr. Ernstzen and urged that the Anti-C.A.D. should worry itself less about political problems and pay more attention to "bread and butter" problems. At this stage the Chairman reminded the delegates that, from its side, the Anti-C.A.D. had made every effort to get the trade unions to link up with the Anti-C.A.D. but had not received very much help from those who had control over the trade unions. Mr. E. Viljoen said that there were people standing between the organised workers and the Anti-C.A.D.

Mr. R. Close held that the Anti-C.A.D. offered no practical and concrete leadership in the day to day problems of the workers. There was nothing practical and material that the workers could follow. This was the reason for their apathy. He disagreed with Mr. Jaffe that in demanding £2. as a minimum wage for African workers, he was supporting a segregationist move. It was wrong to attack Liberal Churchmen of the type of Bishop Lavis who were really interested in the lot of the poor. The Rev. D. Wessels said that he was amazed to hear Mr. Close commend Bishop Lavis to the Coloured People, as he and many other so-called Liberals, Churchmen and otherwise, had either given tacit support in the open or active support behind the

scenes to the Government's C.A.C. and other segregationist moves. Mr. I. Tabata said that Mr. Close belonged to an organisation which had a controlling interest in many trade unions and he might be able to offer an explanation of the fact that the workers were strongly Anti-C.A.D. and found that the Anti-C.A.D. provided practical and concrete leadership. But suddenly when they were banded together in trade unions they were alleged to find the Anti-C.A.D. movement lacking in "practical and concrete" leadership. There was something there which required careful consideration. Mrs. Z. Gool, Mr. Fataar, Mr. Basson, Mr. van Gelderen and Mr. Grammer all spoke against Mr. Close's defence of the Liberals and the "Rights and Justice" Conference. Mr. J. Phillips (Johannesburg) supported the resolutions, but disagreed that in accepting £2. they were forwarding a segregationist demand. After Mr. van Noie (Std. lenbosch) had reminded Conference of the fact that the chief fight at present was still the fight against the C.A.C., the resolutions were unanimously carried.

ORGANISATION

Mr. E.C. Roberts, on behalf of the National Committee, led the discussion on Organisation, and formally proposed "That this Conference urges the formation of more Local Anti-C.A.D. Committees and impresses upon all existing Local Committees the necessity for detailed house-to-house combing of their areas in order to make the masses fully conscious of the struggle".

The mover traced the history of the Anti-C.A.D. movement since 13th February, 1943, and stressed the necessity of establishing Anti-C.A.D. Committees in areas or districts that are more densely populated. Mr. E. Marthinus seconded the motion and requested the issue of a children's bulletin for the education of younger students, especially in matters affecting the true history of the country. Rev. Abrahamse asked the Chairman whether the motion meant the organisation of Coloured people exclusively. He was assured that the ranks are open to all. The motion was carried.

Mr. R. Close then moved Resolution c (iii) (see text above). It was seconded by Mr. E. Railoun (Somerset Strand). Rev. D. Wessles strongly opposed any attempt to tamper with the name. He said that the term "Anti-C.A.D." now meant so much to the people that it stood for an idea, a new conception of struggle and a new aim in life. Mr. Ernstzen pointed out that the Communist Party was pleading for a segregationist organisation for Coloureds only. Mrs. Z. Gool maintained that the Communist Party was rather behind the times because while we were emphasising "Non-European" their resolution returned the emphasis to "Coloured". Mr. Fataar declared that this was the raising of the old skeleton - the formation of a single organisation to liquidate all others. Mr. Amra contended that the resolution was an attempt to give the Anti-C.A.D. a national organisational basis. Hitherto the Anti-C.A.D. could not claim to be a national organisation. The motion was lost by 5 votes to 42.

Afternoon Session.

Mr. van Schoor introduced Motion VIII (ii) a and b: (a) "That this Conference give formal recognition to the new status of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement as a general anti-segregationist movement, by empowering each local Anti-C.A.D. Committee henceforth to function as an anti-segregationist committee in its area, with provisions for individual membership, thus creating the basis for a National Organisation fighting for full democratic rights for all Non-Europeans. (b) That this Conference empowers its delegates to the forthcoming Unity Conference to change the local Anti-C.A.D. Committees into local committees of the proposed Federal Unity Organisation should this latter be decided upon at the Unity Conference". (Fourth International Club, Cape Town). (The mover claimed that the Anti-C.A.D. had now broadened its activities and policy - witness the 10-Point Programme. The aim of the first part of his resolution was to give formal recognition to

the fact that the Anti-C.A.D. was assuming a new role. This new role was also being played by the various committees. The purpose of (b) was merely to change the Anti-C.A.D. committees in name when once they had become anti-segregationist committees with provision for individual membership, and these would now link up with other organisations in the area concerned, and these larger committees would become affiliated to the still larger Federal Unity organisation.)

He was seconded by Mr. J. Marais who stressed the point that it was essential to the progress of the oppressed that a National Organisation should be formed.

Mr. E.C. Roberts held that the motion meant a formal strangulation not strengthening. The remarks of the mover were familiar as they harked back to the early days of the Anti-C.A.D. movement when the Fourth International Club felt that one couldn't be Anti-C.A.C. without a National Organisation, which later boiled down to a National Organisation in the Cape, which later reduced itself to mere idle talk and no work. Their proposals were as invalid now as they were 12 months ago. Mr. A.J.B. Desmore felt that the Anti-C.A.D. had not suddenly altered its status in the sense that it had made any sharp turn. What we had done in the past, namely, to oppose the C.A.C. and to fight for democratic rights, was now being more fully formulated and more clearly defined.

Mr. Z. Gamiet differed from Mr. Desmore. He maintained that Anti-C.A.C. representation at the All African Convention was definitely a precedent, and failure to form an organisation was a negation of that policy and spirit.

Mr. E. Ramsdale said that the first part of the resolution was contradicted by the second. Part (a) proposed to change the local committees into anti-segregationist committees to form the basis of a National Organisation for all. Part (b) wanted to change those same local committees into something else - into local committees of a federal organisation. How could one and the same committee serve in (a) as the mouthpiece of all Non-Europeans and in (b) as a part of a Federal organisation which claimed to be the mouthpiece. Mrs. Z. Gool and Mr. Fataar spoke in support of Mr. Ramsdale. Mrs. Gool suggested that the whole matter of organisational form be left over until after the Unity Conference. Mr. Parry maintained that the Anti-C.A.C. had been changed entirely and that to deny this was false. The motion was put to the vote and defeated.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

On behalf of the National Committee, Mr. Roberts moved:

(i) "That the officials of the National Committee shall consist of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be elected by the National Conference and shall hold office for one year. (ii) That the Working Committee of the National Committee shall consist of the officials of the National Committee and the members of the National Committee within immediate reach of Headquarters. (iii) That this Conference agrees upon the principle of appointing a National Organiser and the establishment of a National Office. (iv) That the Headquarters of the Anti-C.A.D. movement shall be in Cape Town and that the venue of each National Committee shall be decided by the National Committee". Seconded by Mr. E. Ramsdale.

Mr. Roberts pointed out that (ii) was necessary to carry out the practical tasks for the year. He maintained that it was desirable to retain the headquarters at Cape Town as it was from that centre the Anti-C.A.D. movement had received its origin and drive.

Dr. G.H. Gool added that we had tried to give the country areas greater representation on the National Committee and had limited

representation of larger urban areas like Cape Town, just so that the Cape should not flood the Committee.

The resolution was put and carried.

Mrs. Z. Gool moved that two Trustees be included in the Committee. Seconded by Mr. L. Maurice. Carried.

Mr. A.J.B. Desmore moved that there should also be a Publicity Director. Seconded by Mr. A.E. Abdurahman. Carried.

Mr. L. Maurice moved the adoption of the regulations governing the representation upon National Committee. (Addendum III). Seconded by Mr. E. Viljoen. Carried.

REGIONAL COMMITTEES

Mr. Smith (Kimberley) moved the resolution: "That this Conference decides upon the principle of the formation of Regional Anti-C.A.D. Committees consisting of Local Anti-C.A.D. Committees and other Anti-segregationist organisations in specific regions. Such regional organisations to form themselves into an Association with representatives from each magisterial area. This Association to be granted representation on the National Committee as follows:

| | | | |
|-------------|---------|---|-----------------|
| 1 - 10 | Regions | 2 | Representatives |
| 11 - 20 | " | 3 | " |
| 21 - 30 | " | 4 | " |
| 31 and over | " | 5 | " |

Such representation shall be in addition to the representation of local Anti-C.A.D. Committees".

Mr. Smith urged that the motion was felt to be very necessary by the Kimberley Anti-C.A.D. Committees would form themselves into Associations and such Associations should have representation. Associations would therefore be federal bodies. He was seconded by Mr. Basson.

Mr. Ramsdale suggested Kimberley Anti-C.A.D. could organise their whole area effectively within the existing organisational framework. The motion if it were passed, would place the Conference in the ambiguous position of sanctioning in a particular area what it did not consider correct for the rest of the country. Mr. Marthinus moved that the matter be referred to the National Committee. The mover and seconder agreed.

ELECTION OF OFFICIALS TO NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Rev. D.M. Wessels and Mr. Basson were nominated and elected scrutineers.

On a resolution by Mrs. Z. Gool, seconded by Rev. Abrahamse, Dr. G.H. Gool was nominated Chairman. There were no other nominees. On further resolutions the following were elected unopposed: Miss H. Ahmed, Secretary; Mr. S. Edross, Assistant Secretary; Messrs. S. Rahim and E. Viljoen, Trustees; Mr. A. Fataar, Treasurer; Mr. B.M. Kies, Director of Publicity.

The nominees for the position of Vice-President were Mr. E.W. Ernstzen and Mr. E.C. Roberts. A ballot was taken (ballot papers were issued) and Mr. E.C. Roberts was duly elected.

FINANCE

The Treasurer, Mr. A. Fataar, then formally presented his Financial Report and Recommendations. (Addendum IV). He reported that

except for money collected in Johannesburg, all the contributions to the Anti-C.A.D. funds were received in small amounts donated by the people themselves. The fact that almost £800. had been collected and spent was an indication of the virility of the movement.

Miss J. Gool moved the acceptance of the report. Mrs. Z. Gool seconded. It was accepted unanimously.

GENERAL

Mr. Basson (Kimberley) moved the motion: "That this Conference recommends the sending of delegates to Russia, America and China to enlighten these countries about the 90,000 Coloured, 200,000 Indians and 8,000,000 Africans; to enlist their sympathy, to invoke these countries to press Great Britain and South Africa to extend the provisions of the Atlantic Charter to free the Non-European from the oppressive laws". (Kimberley Anti-C.A.D.)

After brief discussion it was agreed that the matter be shelved until a later date.

Mr. R. Close then moved: "That this Conference pledges its fullest support to the National Anti-Pass Campaign of the African National Congress". Mr. Holmes seconded. Mr. L. Phillips supported the resolution. Mr. I. Tabata said that the resolution was in order except for the fact that its tail attempted to claim that the struggle against the Pass Laws was the monopoly of a particular, sectarian organisation. He moved the amendment: "That this Conference pledges its fullest support to the National Anti-Pass Campaign or any campaign against the restrictive measures concerning the Africans". Rev. Abrahamse seconded. Mr. A.J.B. Desmore moved the further amendment: "That this Conference re-iterates that the Anti-C.A.D. movement is in principle against the Pass-Laws and in practice will support any effort to have them abolished". Mr. Tabata withdrew his amendment in favour of Mr. Desmore's. This latter, seconded by Mr. Kies, was accepted by an overwhelming majority.

It was moved by Rev. D. Wessels and seconded by Mr. Tabata that the National Committee should meet at 10 o'clock, Thursday, 6th, to elect the Working Committee. Agreed.

Mr. E. Ramsdale moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Secretary, helpers, Matrons of Stakesby-Lewis Hostel and International Club, the Press and recording secretaries, Messrs. G. Maurice, W. Layne and I. Bavasah.

Conference then closed.

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ADDENDUM 'I'

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Presented to 2nd National Anti-C.A.D. Conference, January 4th - 5th, 1944.

Mr. Chairman and members of Conference,

There is much to report on, for a great deal of progress has been made since the First National Anti-C.A.D. Conference, 29th-30th May, 1942, and the Anti-C.A.D. Movement is more firmly rooted today than it was at that time.

The major decisions of that Conference concerned:

- (a) The General Elections; (b) The Boycott; (c) Formation of local Anti-C.A.D. Committees as the basis for a National Committee; (d) Tours;
- (e) Recognition of the C.A.C. and the C.A.D. as an inseparable part of the whole Colour Bar System which oppresses all Non-Europeans.

With regard to the General Elections, it is well known that the United Party section of the ruling class were victorious and that their leader, General Smuts, immediately called for a European United Front to settle "The Non-European Problem finally". This was additional confirmation of the Conference opinion that, for the Non-Europeans, there is no fundamental difference between the Nationalists and the United Party, and must have done much to carry further the Non-Europeans' growing disillusionment about the supposed differences between the "Liberal" and "Reactionary" sections of the oppressors. When General Smuts further announced that Segregation is the fundamental policy of South Africa and that he has set aside £20,000,000 for compulsory segregation, the disillusionment of those who still had some faith in pre-election reassurances was completed.

No one would claim that the Boycott is 100%, but we certainly can and do claim that on the whole it has been successful. The C.A.C. has been in existence for almost a year and no one can claim that it is functioning. Organisationally, we have driven the wedge between the C.A.C., C.A.D. and the organisations of the people. No one knows better than the C.A.C.-men and their government that they have received neither support nor representations from bona fide organisations of the people. Except for their cronies, the C.A.C.-men still have only purely business relationships with the people. We shall have to take more active steps, however, towards the perfection of the Boycott of the cronies of the Quislings. While very much has been done to explode certain alleged "moral" and "ethical" objections to the Boycott, we shall have to take a firm attitude towards those who profess to be Anti-C.A.D. and still labour under the illusion that they can change the traitors and their satellites by having personal arguments with them.

Very good progress has to be reported in connection with the formation and work of local Committees. To date, there are local Committees in Stellenbosch, Somerset West, Somerset Strand, Elsies River, Eerste River, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, De Aar, Oudtshoorn, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Paarl, Wellington, Malmesbury. Many of these Committees have done outstanding work in organising the people locally and in covering the neighbouring districts. Several of the Committees have joined forces with various African organisations and are unifying the different Non-European groups in their areas. As a result of the growth of local Committees, the Provisional National Committee was able to progress with the formation of the National Committee, which held its first meeting yesterday. A further result of this growth has been that the local Committees now carry on the work of education and organisation. This means that it is no longer necessary for the Cape Town Committee to dash all over the countryside holding meetings, as this is done by the local Committees. Consequently, there has been a more thorough combing of the different areas and the Anti-C.A.D. Movement today stands upon a firmer organisational base than it did at the time of the First Conference. Because this work has been carried out quietly by the local Committees, without much Press or other advertisement, certain unstable, noisy and flamboyant elements have become panic stricken in their fear that the "Anti-C.A.D. Movement is dying out". It is to be hoped that these people will recognise that the phase, since the first Conference, has been one of digging in and will realise that the lack of advertisement does not necessarily imply lack of work.

In June and July, the Provisional Committee sent three members on tour - Mr. J. Kruger, Mr. Jacobs and Dr. G. Gool. They covered the South-Eastern Cape as far North as East London, and visited such places as Robertson, Heidelberg, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Port Elizabeth, East London and De Aar. Other members of the Committee took advantage of the holiday and covered other areas in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal. Some of the most solid work, moreover, has been effected by the tours into the surrounding districts by the various local committees. An outstanding result of such labours is the Circle Conference, held on December 18th - 19th by the Kimberley or Northern Cape Anti-C.A.D. Committee, which was attended by delegates from the surrounding areas.

During the Municipal Election in Ward 7, where S. Dollie, vice-chairman of the C.A.C., was one of the contestants, the Provisional National Anti-C.A.D. Committee took up the position that, while it could not turn the Anti-C.A.D. Movement into an electioneering machine, nor yet elevate a Municipal Election in Ward 7 to the position of National Issue to serve as a test case for the C.A.C., nevertheless it desired to see the defeat of S. Dollie as part of the Boycott. Consequently, meetings were held and leaflets issued explaining to the people why they could not vote for a C.A.C.-man. This was done from the platform of the Anti-C.A.D. Committee, NOT from that of S. Dollie's opponent, and played an important part in combating the splitting of the voters on religious grounds and in defeating the C.A.C.-man.

As a defence against General Smuts' European United Front, for which he called after the General Election, we have laid greater emphasis upon the need for the Unity of all the Non-European groups, and we have striven to remove some of the many hinderances to Non-European Unity. When we received an invitation from the All African Convention to send a guest delegation to their meeting in Bloemfontein and to attend a preliminary Conference for Unity, it was with no small amount of pride and pleasure that we accepted. We felt that this provided a very fitting climax to our work for the year and it was decided to send an Official Delegation from the Provisional National Committee and to ask the Local Committees to send at least one guest delegate. Four Local Committees did actually send delegates and it will be seen from the report later that our visit to Bloemfontein has been of great educational value to our members and practical value to our Movement towards Unity. We did not go to Bloemfontein to obtain assistance to defeat the C.A.C. as such but to seek out the ways and means whereby Unity may be obtained. Without anticipating the report of the Delegation, we may safely say that the occasion was an important and historic event in our struggle and should certainly mark a turning point.

When we look back, then, upon the work which has been accomplished since the 1st National Conference, we have some reason for feeling that we have not laboured fruitlessly. We have made the C.A.C. unacceptable to the people; the C.A.C.-men have been repudiated and largely isolated; Local Committees have been formed; very much political education has been effected particularly through the medium of the Bulletins. 29 Bulletins have been issued to date and, although translations are no longer issued by the Committee, translations into Afrikaans have been made by Local Committees wherever necessary. By these means many illusions and prejudices have been broken and many political lessons learnt. We have done much to unite the Coloured People as never before; our campaigning has inspired new struggle and hope into all sections of the oppressed and there has been a general rise in the political morale of the Non-Europeans. Moreover, we have taken an important step towards Unity and have every reason for thinking that this Conference will build upon this work so that 1944 will see us much further advanced in the struggle for full democratic rights.

Councillor Mrs. Z. Gool pointed out that mention should be made of the fact that she had attended the Conference of the South African Indian Congress in order to further the cause of Unity of all oppressed. Thus amended, the Report was adopted on a resolution by Mr. Z. Gamiet, seconded by Rev. D.M. Wessels.

ADDENDUM II

REPORT OF DELEGATION TO ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION AND UNITY CONFERENCE
DECEMBER 16th - 17th, 1943.

Presented to 2nd National Anti-C.A.D.-Conference, January 4th - 5th, 1944.

Members of the Conference,

Your delegation has much pleasure in presenting this Report of their visit to the All African Convention and their participation in the preliminary Unity Conference held in Bloemfontein on December 17th, 1943.

We consider that the Anti-C.A.D. has taken a wise and momentous step in sending a delegation to these Conferences, and that thereby we have moved nearer towards the Unity of all Non-Europeans.

The meeting of the A.A.C. was the most important one since 1935, which was the peak point in the resistance of the Africans to the three Native Acts (the Representation of Natives Act; the Land and Trust Act and the Amendment to the Urban Areas Act). It might be explained at this stage that the A.A.C. is a federal organisation which came into being in 1935 by rallying around it all the different African organisations and churches opposed to the three Acts. In 1936, it was decided to make it a permanent body to act as the mouthpiece of the African people. It met triennially so that the various affiliated organisations could lay down the general lines of policy for the ensuing period. Although the A.A.C. has always defined the term African as meaning all Non-Whites, and has affiliated members of the Coloured and Indian minority groups, no special effort was ever made to embrace all sections of the Non-Europeans.

The meeting on this occasion was made important because it marked the striking out on a new road after eight years of bitter experience of the three Acts. This new outlook of the A.A.C. might be summarised as follows: (i) The A.A.C. reaffirmed its rejection of the three Acts and of the principle of Trusteeship and declared that it has never been a party to the acceptance or working of these Acts; (ii) It determined to renew its resistance to these Acts and the principle of trusteeship and to fight for full democratic rights; (iii) It welcomed the expressions of Unity which had come from the Coloureds and the Indians during the year, and endorsed the Executive's decision to invite these two groups to a preliminary Unity Conference; (iv) It decided to meet annually instead of triennially, and to form branches particularly in rural areas where people are unorganised or do not desire to join any existing organisation.

After 10 months of vigorous campaigning against the C.A.C. and for full democratic rights, and after the active political education which we have received during this period, we may be prone to underestimate the really great step forward which has been made by the A.A.C. We should avoid falling into this error, and we would do well to remember our own general political level before the Anti-C.A.D. Movement commenced, and realise that the Africans are rallying to their present position after a regression of eight years.

The significant features to notice are the rejection of advisory or representative councils and allied forms of segregation, and the emphasis on the struggle for full democratic rights. This, together with the active realisation of the need for the Unity of all Non-Europeans points to a basic similarity between the aims of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement and the policy now adopted by the A.A.C. It is of very great importance for us to recognise this basic identity of needs and aims between the emancipatory movement of the Africans and that of the Coloureds. It is of still greater importance for us to give further effect to this in practice.

Before reporting upon the Unity Conference, we must give prominence to the decision of the A.A.C. to reaffirm its previous opposition to the inclusion of the Protectorates in the Union. The reasons are that as long as the Africans in the Union are denied their full citizenship rights and the policy of the Government remains Segregationist, the incorporation of the Protectorates into the Union will bring a still greater enslavement of the Non-Europeans, both in the Protectorates and in the Union, and must, therefore, be sternly opposed by our people in the Union and firmly rejected by the people in the Protectorates. Only in a country based on full democracy for all the people, do we wish to be united with the people of the Protectorates and, until then, we wish to be united with them only in our mutual struggle for full democratic rights.

This matter is just as important for Coloureds and Indians as for
cans, and we must give it due attention for it is going to loom very
during the coming months. If the Union Government succeeds in get-
the Protectorates as part of its spoils of war, then the Africans in
Reserves, the so-called "black-spots" in white South Africa, will be
to the Protectorates which will then become the Reserves - the re-
voirs of black labour and the dumping ground for "redundant" labour.
over, the shifting of Africans from the present Reserves will then give
Union Government sufficient land for the removal of the remaining
k-spots, the Coloureds and Indians, into segregated areas. It is nec-
ry, therefore, that all Non-Europeans should stand firm in opposing
inclusion of the Protectorates into the Union until such time as every-
enjoys full democratic rights.

The Unity Conference took place on the evening of the 17th, immediat
fter the Convention had ended. We had anticipated that it would only
on the 18th, but this was deemed inadvisable as many of the African
gates had to leave by that time. However, the sessions of the A.A.C.
in very large measure prepared the ground, so that we were able to as-
the necessity for Unity and thus proceed to the practical task of
ing a working basis.

The Convention had chosen a delegation which included their President,
-President, Secretary and Treasurer. Our delegation consisted of the
cial delegation of 7 from the Provisional National Committee and repre-
atives from the Kimberley, De Aar, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg lo-
Committees. Councillor A. Ismail was prevented by ill-health from at-
ing on behalf of the Cape Indian Congress. Messrs. Kajee and Pather
signified their intention of attending from the Natal Indian Congress
sent word to say that they were unable to attend as they were busy as
time with certain matters affecting the extension of the Pegging Act.
was a disappointment to the delegations, but it was felt that there
o present justification for thinking that the Indian Congress is inten-
ally keeping itself aloof from the other two sections of the Non-Euro-
s, or that the Indians of Natal have been taken in by Senator Clarkson's
of a sham Municipal vote on a communal basis. Therefore, arrangements
made whereby the chairman of the Conference, Professor D.D.T. Jabavu,
the secretaries were to give the Indian Congress a full report of the
eedings, keep them acquainted with subsequent decisions and make cer-
suggestions as to their full participation in our further work.

A 10-Point Programme for full democratic rights was provisionally
ted as a basis for Unity. It was considered that this provides a mini-
programme to which all three sections of the Non-Europeans can subscribe
which should be the programme around which propaganda for Unity should
be made. It was considered that all three sections should, wherever
ible, hold joint-meetings, throughout the Union in order to make the
le acquainted with the programme upon which Unity of struggle may be
eved and in order to fight together upon matters fundamentally affect-
the needs and aspirations of all three sections. It was decided that
her Unity Conference shall be held within six months and it was urged
all three sections should start a Unity campaign to prepare the ground
this Conference by explaining to the people what is meant by unity, how
ay be achieved and demonstrating this unity by practical defence of the
ts of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, commencing with the coming Par-
entary session when further attacks will certainly be made upon all
e sections. It was considered that such active campaigning for unity,
emonstrating how unity of action may be achieved upon the basis of the
oint Programme, would be the best possible preparation for the next
y Conference when the furtherance of the Unity Movement may be decided
in the light of our further experiences.

A provisional Unity Executive Committee was appointed in order to co-
ate the work as far as possible. This consists of a Chairman, Professo-
abavu and 2 Vice Chairmen; Dr. G.H. Gool of the Anti-C.A.D. is one, and
as decided to invite Mr. A.I. Kajee to be the other; a joint-secretariat
appointed consisting of Mr. S. Jayiya, Mr. E. Ramsdale, and one to be in-
l from the S.A. Indian Congress. It was decided to invite Councillor A.
il to be treasurer. The rest of the Committee is to consist of 8 members
e A.A.C. and 4 each from the Anti-C.A.D. and the S.A. Indian Congress.
4 provisionally appointed from the Anti-CAD are Mrs. Z. Gool, Mr. E. C. Rob-
, Mr. E. Marthinus, Mr. B. M. Kies. Those from the A.A.C. are Messrs. T. Sin-
, Sesedi, Koza, Tabata, Sondlo, Dr. Moroka, Tsotsea, Morani, and the In-
Congress is to be asked to appoint 4. This provisional Executive should
by Easter in order to decide upon the venue and other matter affecting
2nd Unity Conference. A copy of the 10-Point Programme is attached and
eel sure that it will play an important part in our movement for libera-

DRAFT DECLARATION ON UNITY PROVISIONALLY ADOPTED
AT UNITY CONFERENCE, BLOEMFONTEIN, DECEMBER 17th, 1943.

These organisations of the Non-European, which in themselves are not political parties but federal bodies embracing various political, economic and social organisations and parties of all shades of opinion from every walk of life, have met together in Conference upon 17th December at Bloemfontein.

After frank and friendly deliberations on questions affecting all Non-Europeans in South Africa, the Conference has come to the following conclusions:-

1. That the rulers of South Africa, who wield the economic and political power in this country, are deliberately keeping the non-European people in political and economic oppression for the sake of their own selfish interests.
2. That the entire constitutional and economic structure, the legislative, educational, fiscal, judicial and administrative policy, is designed to serve the interests of the European ruling-class (the minority) and not the interests of the people of the country as a whole.
3. That despite protestations to the contrary, it is the firm determination of this ruling-class to prevent the economic advance and upliftment of the Non-Europeans.
4. That during the 33 years since the formation of the Union, the promises of the rulers (who have assumed the self-appointed role of "trustees") that they would use the economic resources of the Union for the benefit of the underprivileged (those in "trust") have been flagrantly broken. Instead of a process of civilisation, of reforms leading to a greater share in self-government and government, to a greater share in the national income, to a greater share in the material and cultural wealth of South Africa, to a more equitable distribution of the land - these 33 years have been marked by a process of cumulative oppression, of more brutal dispossession of the Non-European, of more crippling restrictions in every sphere.
5. That not only the future welfare of the Non-Europeans in South Africa, but their very existence as a people demands the immediate abolition of "trusteeship", of all constitutional privileges based on skin-colour, privileges which are incompatible with the principles of democracy and justice.
6. That the continuation of the present system in South Africa, so similar to the Nazi system of Herrenvolk, although it may lead to temporary prosperity for the ruling class and race, must inevitably be at the expense of the Non-Europeans and lead to their ruination.
7. That the economic prosperity and all-round advancement of South Africa, as of other countries, can only be achieved by the collaboration of free people: such collaboration can only be possible and fruitful as between people who enjoy the status of citizenship, which is based on equality of civil and political rights.
8. The recognition that Segregation is an artificial device of the rulers, and an instrument for the domination of the Non-European, is at the same time a recognition that the division, strife and suspicion amongst the Non-European groups themselves is also artificially fostered by the ruling-class. From this it follows:-
 - (a) That no effective fight against Segregation is possible by people who tacitly accept segregation amongst themselves.
 - (b) That the acceptance of Segregation, in whatsoever form, serves only the interests of the oppressors.
 - (c) That our fight against Segregation must be directed against the segregationists within as well as without.
 - (d) That the Unity of all the Non-Europeans is a necessary pre-condition for this total fight against Segregation.
9. As representatives of the Non-European people, we have come together in the full recognition of the above, in order to lay the foundation for real unity amongst the Non-Europeans. As the purpose of this Unity is to fight against Segregation, discrimination and oppression of every kind and

to fight for equality and freedom for all, such a Unity movement cannot and must not for one moment be considered as directed against the Europeans (an anti-European front). It is an anti-Segregation front and, therefore, all those European Organisations and Societies which are genuinely willing to fight Segregation (as distinct from those who profess to be against Segregation but in reality are only instruments of the Ruling Class) are welcome to this anti-Segregation Unity movement.

10. In view of the heavy legacy of the past still in the ranks of the Non-Europeans, the task of this movement will be the breaking down of the artificial walls erected by the rulers, walls of distrust and suspicion between the Non-Europeans. This breaking down must start from the top and come down right to the bottom. This is the organisational task of Unity. Provincial Committees must follow, then Regional Committees and finally local Committees, where this Unity will become a living reality.

11. Indeed, all Non-Europeans suffer under the same fundamental disabilities - the lack of political rights. This lack of political rights is the main cause of the poverty of the Non-Europeans, the main impediment to their progress and future. It is through lack of political rights that laws were passed, Land Acts were passed, depriving the Non-European of his land, prohibiting him from buying land and forcing him to stay on the land as a semi-labourer and semi-serf. It is through lack of political rights that laws were passed making it virtually impossible for a Non-European to become a skilled worker (the white labour policy Apprenticeship Acts, etc.) and keeping unskilled and semi-skilled labour on the very lowest plane and even below the minimum subsistence level. It is through lack of political rights -

- (a) that his education is deliberately starved;
- (b) that he is starved of medical facilities, hospitals, maternity homes and clinics;
- (c) that he is forced to live in locations, bazaars, hovels and sheds;
- (d) that he is forced to carry passes and cannot move freely;
- (e) that the system of taxation is unjustly applied against him;
- (f) that he is not allowed to form Trade Unions.

12. In view of the fact that all the above disabilities, economic, educational, social and cultural all flow from the lack of political rights, the struggle for full democratic rights must become the pivotal point of our struggle for freedom. But while recognising that our struggle is chiefly a political struggle, we must not neglect any other form of struggle so long as it serves the cause of liberation. Thus it is the duty of every organisation attached to this Unity movement to unfold to the people the meaning of the following programme, a programme not for bargaining but representing the minimum demand and fundamental needs of all sections of the people.

P R O G R A M M E

The aim of the Non-European Unity Movement is the liquidation of the National Oppression of the Non-European in South Africa, that is, the removal of all the disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and colour, and the acquisition by the Non-European of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population.

Unlike other forms of past society based on slavery and serfdom, Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. But as long as a section of the people are enslaved, there can be no democracy, and without democracy there can be no justice. We Non-Europeans are demanding only those rights for which the Europeans were fighting more than 100 years ago.

These Democratic demands are contained in the following 10 Points:-

1. The Franchise, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
2. Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
3. Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.

4. Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.
5. Freedom of movement and occupation.
6. Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.
7. Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
8. Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.
9. Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
10. Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.

EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE PROGRAMME

1. This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representation, and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same, universal, equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively.
2. This means the extension of all the educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children, with the same access to higher education on equal terms.
3. This is the elementary Habeas corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of democracy. No man should be molested by the police, nor should his house be entered without a writ from the magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the European should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished.
4. This point hardly needs explanation. It is the abolition of the Riotous Assemblies Act, directed specifically against the Non-European. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as the Europeans.
5. This means the abolition of all Pass Laws and restriction of movement and travel within the Union, the right to live, to look for work, wherever one pleases. It means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by Europeans.
6. This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar Laws.
7. The relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the Land Acts, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.
8. This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice - police, magistrates, law-courts and prisons - whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin-colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law, and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.
9. This means the abolition of the Poll-Tax, or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discriminating between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single, progressive tax, and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily upon the poorer classes should be abolished.
10. This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between a European worker and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to Apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory Legislation to the mines and on the land. It means the abolition of the Masters and Servants Act and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race or colour.

ADDENDUM III

NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D. COMMITTEE

Presented to 2nd National Anti-C.A.D. Conference, January 4th - 5th, 1944.

Regulations governing appointment; adopted at meeting of National Anti-C.A.D. Committee (Provisional), on 3rd October, 1943.

The National Anti-C.A.D. Committee shall be constituted as follows:-

1. Representatives shall be elected by the local Anti-C.A.D. Committees throughout the Union.
2. Representation upon the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee shall be dependant upon the organisational strength of each local Committee and shall be computed as follows:-

| | | | |
|-----|----------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (a) | 1 to 10 | affiliated organisations: | One representative ; |
| (b) | 11 to 20 | " " | : Two representatives; |
| (c) | 21 to 30 | " " | : Three " ; |
| (d) | Over 30 | " " | : Four " ; |
3. The Officials of the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee shall be elected by the National Conference.
4. The National Committee shall meet at least once in six months at a place arranged by the members at the first meeting.
5. In the interval between Conferences the National Committee shall decide upon all matters of National Policy. In view of the fact that the members of the National Committee are necessarily dispersed, the National Committee shall delegate to a Working Committee the work of carrying out the practical tasks, and the Second National Conference to be held in Cape Town on the 4th and 5th January, 1944, shall decide upon the appointment and scope of such Working Committee.

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ADDENDUM IV

TREASURER'S REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Presented to 2nd National Anti-C.A.D. Conference, January 4th - 5th, 1944.

To date, since the 27th February, 1943, the Anti-C.A.D. Committee (Cape Peninsula) and the Provisional National Anti-C.A.D. Committee has received £774. 6. 0. and paid out £751. 19. 6. leaving a cash balance of £22. 6. 6. At Conference we have received, so far, £27. 3. 5½., so that our total cash balance is £49. 9. 11½., but there is an unpaid amount of about £83. 15. 0. so that we have a debit balance of £34. 0. 0. at this date.

The books have been audited and found correct on the 4th December, 1943.

We therefore hand over to the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee the amount of £49. 9. 11½. of which £34. 13. 11. is in Barclays Bank, Claremont, and the rest in cash, and accounts to be paid also accompany this statement.

We recommend that the books, accounts and balances be taken over by the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee as at this date, and that the local Anti-C.A.D. Committee which had provisionally functioned for the National Committee now start its own funds and keep its records separately. This local Anti-C.A.D. Committee will therefore be free of any financial obligations incurred by the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee up to this date and the Conference expenses that may still have to be paid.

We suggest the following financial relationship between the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee and the local Anti-C.A.D. Committees:

1. Local Anti-C.A.D. Committees shall pay an affiliation fee of at least 5/- to the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, and pay over to the National Committee all the annual affiliation fees of its own affiliated organisations as from this date.
2. Each local Anti-C.A.D. Committee and each affiliated organisation shall pay the usual Conference fee direct to the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee.
3. The National Anti-C.A.D. Committee shall take the initiative in and the responsibility of organising the collection of funds through collecting lists, functions and collections.
4. Each local Anti-C.A.D. Committee shall pay its own way through its own money-raising. The local Anti-C.A.D. Committees and organisations affiliated shall also be expected to support the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee financially from time to time.

| | | |
|----------------|--|--------------------|
| Amounts Owing: | Stewart Printing Co. (to end of November, 1943) | £42. 12. 6. |
| | F.D. Viljoen - Printing (approx.) | 3. 0. 0. |
| | Loan | <u>38. 2. 6.</u> |
| | | <u>£83. 15. 0.</u> |

(Signed) A. Fataar.

5th January, 1944.