

# Non-European Unity Movement

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## Proceedings of 5th Unity Conference

held on

20th & 21st December, 1946

at

City Hall, Kimberley

Chairman: Rev. Z. R. Mahabare

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Issued by Non-European Unity Movement

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***“Unite for Freedom”***

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INTERNATIONAL

form a fifth Province of the Union. She strongly claimed that this was at the behest of the European and Native population of the Territory; this request met with no success at the hands of the General Assembly of U.N.O. The majority of the delegations of the fifty-four nations of the world were not convinced that the African people of South-West Africa had been properly consulted. In the light of the policy of the Union of discrimination on grounds of colour, a policy which is an absolute negation of the principles enunciated in the famous Atlantic Charter as well as in the "famous" preamble to the United Nations Charter of San Francisco, U.N.O. decided that the Territory shall continue as a Mandate under the Trusteeship Council of U.N.O. and instructed the Union Government to submit at the meeting of the Council to be held in March 1947, a Trusteeship Agreement.

#### Mine Workers' Strike.

(3) As a protest against the persistent refusal of the Chamber of Mines to give favourable consideration to their many representations for increase of their wages the Rand African Mine Workers decided to go on strike, in which about 50,000 mine workers were involved. Although this demonstration was crushed by the Union Government by resorting to brutal methods yet it has served as an eye-opener for those who have eyes to see that this was a "sign of the times" of coming events. Coming events always cast their shadows ahead.

#### Native Representative Council.

(4) Another event of great significance was the action of members of the Native Representative Council in refusing to collaborate with the Government in its preparatory work for the legislative programme of the forthcoming Parliamentary Session. The Council decided to adjourn its sessions held in August last as a protest against the deteriorating Native policy of the Union as well as the refusal of the Government to grant the request of the Council made in August for the abolition of all the discriminatory legislation of the Union. Members were called to a Session held on the 20th November 1946, and again, as a protest against the unsatisfactory character of the reply of the Government; members decided to adjourn the Session and to report to their constituencies. This dramatic action of the M.R.C.'s has set the country thinking seriously. It is asking itself questions. Does this action of the M.R.C.'s constitute wise strategy in political warfare? Is it sound tactics in statesmanship? It has been suggested in some white circles that the N.R.C. should be abolished; in others that the Government should declare the seats of the present "revolting" members vacant and forthwith arrange for an Election of a new Council.

At any rate White South Africa has never anticipated that such a drastic step could be taken by representatives of a race whose behaviour towards the ruling race has always been characterised by a spirit of docility and servility of an extreme kind.

Ladies and Gentlemen, these staggering events constitute a

#### MESSAGE FOR 1947

The premises upon which the Non-European policy of the Union of South Africa has been built have been wrong right from the very genesis of the Advent of the European into the Sub-Continent. The political Ideology represented by what has been described as the oldest section of the European population of the country has prevailed over that represented by the Liberalism of the Cape. The ideology of the Northern Provinces of the Union, of "No equality between White and Black, either in State or Church" has triumphed over the dictum of Cecil John Rhodes of "Equal rights for all civilised men South of the Zambesi."

As a consequential result of the adoption of this principle of Inequality between White and Black the obnoxious Colour Bar has been introduced not only in the political system of the country but also in all

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walks of life in the land, and upon this policy of segregation recommended by the representation of the so-called Union and approved of in 1909 by Great Britain through its Parliament that has its seat at Westminster, London, hang all the law and political prophets of South African statecraft. It is the fountain source from which flows all South African Legislation in its relation to Non-Europeans. This Colour Bar forms the basis of discriminatory legislation and general administrative policy. Hence we have unequal distribution of land as between White and Black, unequal economic adjustments, unequal wage levels, unequal dispensation of Justice; from this policy flow all the disabilities from which the Non-Europeans suffer. In the fixation of scales of pay, the principle of "Equal pay for equal work" is disregarded; scales of pay for the Non-European are determined not upon merit but on the grounds of pigment of colour of the individual concerned.

#### Need for Operation.

The problem of Race Relations in South Africa has assumed the character of such a Chronic Disease that can only be cured by the performance of a major operation in order to eradicate that parasite on the body politic that is the cause of this dread malady - Colour Prejudice with all the complications that have developed, race prejudice, race animosity, race antipathy, race hatred, fear complex, superiority complex, self-protective mentality, segregationist mentality, and all their kind.

The whole foundation upon which the superstructure of Government in South Africa rests is fundamentally unsound. It has been the case of the strong taking advantage of the weak, the intelligentsia exploiting the ignoramus, the tutored overriding the untutored.

The so-called National Convention of 1909, presided over by the late Lord de Villiers, then Chief Justice of the Cape, which decided upon the unification of the then four British States of Southern Africa under the Government with one Parliament, was composed exclusively of Members of the European race. This one-sided body drafted the Bill which provided for the Constitution of the Union that was to be born. This Draft Bill framed by the Representatives of the European people of the four States was presented to the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland by a strong deputation consisting of representatives of the White races. This constitutional machinery severely and deliberately excluded the Non-European groups of the body politic of the country, viz.: Africans, Coloureds and Indians. This constitution introduced these Colour Bar Clauses that had the effect of excluding the Non-White races from the full Citizenship of the land of their birth or adoption.

The Non-European people sent to Great Britain a strong deputation to protest against this flagrant violation of the principle of "Government by consent of the governed". The delegation consisted of some of the ablest sons of the soil, in the persons of the late J. Tengo Jabavu, the first African Journalist in South Africa, the late Dr. A. Abdurahman and the late Rev. Dr. W. B. Rubusana; the late Mrs. Mapikala, the late Saul Msaru, the late M. J. Fredericks, the late M. Lenders.

The protestations of this Non-European deputation were treated by the Imperial Parliament as "the whimperings of babes who cried but knew not what they wanted."

Since World War I, General Smuts has been proclaiming to the world the doctrine of "Government by consent of the Governed." In his own country he has so utterly failed to practice what he has so eloquently been preaching. He governs the Non-European groups of South Africa by coercion, by Fascist methods, by means of "power politics." All Native legislation that has been introduced and passed through the Union Parliament since 1910, has found its way into the Statutes of the Union despite strong opposition from the African people. The Natives Land Act of 1913, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, the Native Administration Act, 1927, the notorious Native Acts of 1936, all Asiatic Legislation, all Administrative Acts affecting the Coloured community, hence the whole Non-European Legislation of the Union can rightly be described as "Ghetto Legislation."

I take up the position therefore that the whole Non-European Legislation of the so-called Union of South Africa is 'ultra vires' the statutes of civilised society. And as a natural corollary of this the Non-European races of the sub-continent would be fully justified if they contended that the whole Non-European legislation, having been passed without consultation with them, and without seeking their consent, is NOT binding on them.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the World has become one, a new world has been born; as in the physical organism the suffering of one part of the body affects the whole body, so in the political organism, the suffering of one part of the world affects the whole world.

Discussion followed.

Mr. I.B.Tabata (All African Convention.W.P.) said that the President's address set a high tone which the Conference would follow. It expressed the new spirit and that new sense of the world as a unit. He pointed out that representations to the authorities here and overseas always ended in dismal failure. It was therefore essential for the Non-Europeans of S.Africa to question the validity of the S.African constitution and to work towards a new constitution framed according to the wishes of all the people of S.Africa. The speaker pictured General Smuts as a dual character with two voices; abroad, he spoke about high ideals, the four freedoms and the heritage of man, but at home he was head of the State which enacted discriminatory laws that were the very negation of his high-sounding ideals.

For 40 years the Non-Europeans had accepted the constitution of the country as right and natural, but today they are beginning to question the very constitution of the country. The Union of S.Africa can only be a Union if all the inhabitants have participated in the drawing up of the constitution.

Mr. Mdatyulwa (Johannesburg) in proposing a vote of thanks commented on the fact that not one word was spoken on behalf of the Non-Europeans by General Smuts or the rest of the S.African delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris or at U.N.O. But the plight of the Non-Europeans had been brought home to the nations of the world in the "Declaration" issued by the Non-European Unity Movement. It was these facts that weighed against the Union in her case for the incorporation of S.W.Africa and on the Indian question.

It was the duty of every delegate to prepare the Non-European groups so as to provide an effective counter to any act of fascism. The struggle of the Non-European groups was indivisible. Now more than ever should we drop our sectional efforts and concentrate on united action. White S.Africa had shown that they are united; even European ecclesiastical leaders had joined hands to deny that Non-Europeans are the victims of discrimination.

Miss J.Gool (Cape Town) seconded the vote of thanks.

After the unanimous adoption of the Presidential address, the president asked permission to vacate the chair to move the following Resolution, which was unanimously accepted.

Mr. R.A.Sello seconded.

RESOLUTION: "This Conference places on record the fact that The Act Constituting the Union of South Africa was passed by the Parliament of Great Britain in 1909 at the instance of the European section of the population of the Union of South Africa, without consultation with the largest section of the country, the Non-European section of the population.

In the considered opinion of the Conference, therefore, the constitution of the Union, as well as Acts passed by the Parliament founded upon this constitutional instrument cannot be binding upon those sections of the population that were not consulted and whose consent was neither sought nor obtained."

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The Conference then rose to mark its expression of condolence with the bereaved family of the great leader and pioneer of the Unity Movement in Kimberley, the late Mr. Basson.

The Joint Secretaries read the roll-call. 49 organisations (so far) were represented at the Conference, and the Chairman congratulated Conference for its wide representation.

Notices of Motions were then called.

Mr. S.A. Jayiya read the JOINT SECRETARIES' REPORT.

This year, he said, had witnessed the brutal crushing of the Strike of African Mine Workers by the rulers of this country because they dared to demand a living wage and better conditions. There had been the revolt of youth in the various missionary institutions, and in one case the boys were arrested, given lashes and even sentenced to a term of imprisonment. There had been also the adjournment of the sham Native Representative Council. For the Coloured they had seen the continuation of Expropriation and Housing Schemes, while an attack had been levelled at the Indians in the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. There was also the proposal to incorporate South West Africa into the Union.

The Non-European Unity Movement approached all these problems from the principled stand of the 10-Point Programme. It based its struggle for liberation on the fact that all our disabilities flow from the lack of political rights.

#### Asiatic Land Tenure Act.

In February, members of the Central Executive of the Non-European Unity Movement had attended as visitors the Conference of the S. African Indian Congress held in Cape Town to consider the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill. Not at any time was the question facing the Indians linked up with the other Colour bar legislation passed against the other oppressed sections. The debates did not touch on what to us forms the most vital part of the Act, namely, the matter of representation. To place the Indians on a separate communal roll is to perpetuate the policy of segregation.

The Unity Working Committee issued in April 1946 a Statement expressing the standpoint of the Unity Movement on the Indian Act, and this was approved by the Head Executive in October. Copies of the Statement were sent to the Indian organisations and others, and to the Press.

The document states: "The Non-European Unity Movement regards the dastardly attack upon the Indian people by the oppressors as a blow directed against the entire Non-European population. .... It is immaterial whether the attack is specifically aimed at the African or Coloured or Indian section. For us, it is directed against the NON-EUROPEANS.....It is only just to remind the Indian people that for the last two years the Unity Movement has been trying to bring them to think of themselves as Non-Europeans. .... The Non-European Unity Movement, true to its principles, is determined to throw its full weight into a defence (against this onslaught on the part of the ruling-class), and to support any form of struggle, wherever it originates, as long as it does not mislead the people, as long as it does not do injury to any other section of the Non-Europeans and as long as it does not compromise on the basic principles of freedom of occupation and full, equal, adult franchise."

The S.A.I.C. has chosen to conduct an isolated struggle despite the fact that the Unity Movement was launched in order to bring the three groups together so as to enable us to present a single front wherever any one of the groups was attacked.

#### NATIVE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL.

Two and a half years ago the African people through their federal organisation/.....

tion, the All African Convention, called the members of the Native Representative Council to resign en bloc from the sham Council, which had been set up under the notorious Hertzog Bills of 1935 to perpetuate the policy of segregation and oppression. It is only now, after more than 10 years, that they have decided to adjourn as a "supposed" protest against the Government.

A disturbing factor is that these misleaders were accorded the opportunity to attend a Conference called by the President of the African National Congress to address the Conference. A resolution was passed instructing them to go back to a meeting called by the Government in November, and to any other meeting called for the same purpose. But the same resolution calls the 1936 Acts a fraud and a means of perpetuating the policy of segregation. Here is a contradiction that does not make sense, for it means to continue operating a fraud. It is a serious matter when organisations still tolerate the presence of such men in their midst, men who continued to work the acts even after being asked to resign in 1944.

The Central Unity Executive Committee passed the following resolution: "In view of the fact that the Non-European Unity Movement has consistently opposed segregation in all its forms, (political, social, economic, educational, fiscal) has rejected the principle of trusteeship (i.e. sham representation, the Native Representative Council, Coloured Advisory Council and Asiatic Advisory Board) and condemned the political tutelage of the Non-European people, which experience has shown has been maintained to deny the Non-European his fundamental rights, this meeting of the Executive Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement:

- (a) Rejects the Native Representative Council (N.R.C.) as one of the sham councils which perpetuate the political (helotry) slavery of Non-Europeans, (as does the C.A.C. and the A.A.B.)
- (b) Calls for the abolition of such councils or Boards.
- (c) This meeting is therefore of the considered opinion that the mere adjournment of the N.R.C. session is not sufficient, but that the members of the N.R.C. would have served the best interests of the community if they had resigned en bloc and declared the N.R.C. an institution which should be completely abolished."

#### SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

The Non-European Central Executive Committee passed a resolution as a protest against the incorporation of South West Africa into the Union. It is necessary to remind this Conference that in the Declaration to the Peoples of the World, which was widely circulated both in this country and overseas, we clearly expressed our attitude towards the handing over of the Protectorates. We adopt the same attitude in the case of S.W.A. The Resolution stated:

"In view of the proposals to incorporate S.West Africa as a fifth province of the Union, the Non-European Unity Movement wishes to declare its emphatic opposition to the proposal.

We are opposed to the inclusion on the principle and on the grounds that it will be detrimental to the people in the Protectorates and to the Non-Europeans in the Union.

For, however intolerable the conditions under which the people of S-West Africa live, there can be no worse fate than their falling under the domination of the S.African Herrenvolk. As long as the Non-European population of S.Africa is deprived of citizenship rights, the inclusion of any other provinces or protectorates cannot but be a retrogressive step. Therefore we dissociate ourselves from all such territorial claims on the part of the rulers."

#### EXPROPRIATION.

With reference to the expropriation and housing schemes, a Conference was called by the Retreat Action Committee in the Cape, where people are

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faced with expropriation. As representatives of local organisations, members of the Unity Executive attended the Conference. The implications of expropriation were fully explained and the people resolved to stand firm and fight it as a segregatory measure. The Retreat Action Committee is now affiliated to the Co-ordinating Unity Committee of the Western Province.

AFRICAN MINERS' STRIKE.

The Central Executive passed the following Resolution:

"Realising that the industrial legislation of this country forbids the establishment of any channel for the settlement of the industrial disputes of the African workers and denies them the right of collective bargaining, (i.e. trade union rights under the Industrial Conciliation Act) and realising the deplorable conditions existing in the Reserves, such as famine, land-hunger, innumerable taxes and the general oppressive nature of numerous anti-African laws; and further realising that these deplorable conditions are deliberately maintained in order to provide a constant supply of cheap labour for the mines, this meeting:

- (a) Congratulating the African Mine Workers on their heroic struggle in the strike.
- (b) Supports their demand for a living wage and better conditions.
- (c) Strongly condemns the brutal methods adopted by the Government in breaking the strike by attacking defenceless workers.

This meeting reaffirms the Resolution adopted by the United Conference in Dec. 1945, that: "In view of the fact that the interests of all workers, European and Non-European, are inseparable from the struggle of the Non-European oppressed for full citizenship rights, this Conference:

- (1) Calls upon the TRADE UNION MOVEMENT for the support of the Non-European Unity Movement.
- (2) Calls upon all trade unionists to work within their own unions in order to win the support of the Trade Union Movement towards this end and to make provision for the federal representation of the Trade Union Movement upon the Unity Executive."

In our last Conference the question of African Trade Unions was discussed. The illegal status of the African Trade Unions at once exposes the African worker's lack of political status. He is deprived of the most elementary right, the right to sell his labour power in the highest market.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Soon after the last Conference we wrote to the National Secretary of the A.N.C. We received no reply to this letter. We again invited them to the Executive meeting, which was held on the 4th & 5th Oct. 1946, and also to this Conference. These communications were made by registered post.

In the middle of 1946 Mr. E. Ramsdale, Joint Secretary, took up residence in Johannesburg.

In conclusion we may say that in the three years since it was launched the Unity Movement has reached out to the people, but there still remains a vast field to be tapped. This will be possible only when EVERY DELEGATE MAKES IT HIS OR HER DUTY TO CARRY THE MESSAGE OF UNITY not only to his immediate area but beyond it to other areas.

E. Ramsdale.  
S.A. Jayiya  
Joint Secretaries.

Dr. G.H. Gool read telegrams of congratulation and support coming from all parts of the Union and from Rhodesia. Councillor R.E. Viljoen of Cape Town,

Messrs./.....

Messrs. S. & E. Culverwell of S.Rhodesia and others regretted their absence but volunteered their services to the Unity Movement.

Rev. Mahabane called for a motion of acceptance of Secretaries' Report.

Mr. Hammond moved acceptance of Report. Mr. Tsenyego seconded.

Prof. Jabavu objected to use of word "Quislings", in view of the fact that the Report would be printed.

Mr. Jayiya emphatically maintained that the term "Quisling" should be kept.

Mr. Tsenyego supported Mr. Jayiya's point of view. These sham representatives must be called quislings. It was a fitting term for those who would not co-operate with the mass of the people against the hypocrisy of the N.R.C.

Prof. Jabavu agreed with sentiments of Mr. Jayiya and Mr. Tsenyego, but urged change of the word "quisling" in interests of winning over the M.R.C.'s.

After some discussion the debate was adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Rev. Z.R.Mahabane took the Chair.

Discussion on "Quisling" is resumed.

Dr. Gool proposed use of "misleader" instead of "quisling". This is voted upon and accepted.

Mr. Fataar (Cape Town) brought up the question of another Joint Secretary, Mr. Ramsdale being absent.

Mr. Jayiya explained that Mr. Ramsdale would not be standing for re-election as he now lived in Johannesburg.

Mr. Nelson asked whether the Resolution of the Unity Movement re S.W. Africa implied favour of a Mandate for S-W. Africa or U.N.O. trusteeship.

Dr. Gool referred him to P.21 of the Minutes of the last Conference, for the Resolution.

Miss J.Gool said they did not advocate either. They were opposed to any inclusion of S-W. Africa as a 5th province of the Union. According to Resolution, they were doing their best to contact liberatory movements in S-W. Africa.

Prof. Jabavu moved adoption of Joint Secretaries' Report.

Mr. I.B.Tabata seconded. The Report was unanimously accepted.

A preliminary report from the credentials committee indicated that 51 organisations had so far registered, as follows:

5 religious bodies; 4 social welfare; 17 political; 7 educational;  
5 trade unions; 1 cultural; 1 ex-servicemen and 11 unclassified.

There were 50 delegates. It was estimated that 100,000 people were represented at Conference.

The adoption of Minutes of last Conference was passed unanimously.

Mr. I.B.Tabata led a Discussion on:



THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE NATIONAL SITUATION.

Many events of great significance had taken place, he said. He would attempt to place these events in their right perspective in order to understand the direction things were taking. On the one hand there were forces at work on the side of the oppressors against the Non-Europeans, while on the other there were forces at work on the side of the oppressed, moving in the opposite direction. They must try to assess these two opposing forces.

First, the South African Government. Some people had believed that there would be a betterment in the conditions of the Non-Europeans after the war, but it had become obvious that the Government did not intend to fulfil its promises. When the Whites were not busy fighting amongst themselves they were fighting the Non-Europeans with weapons deadlier than arms, with T.B., miners' phthisis, malnutrition. It is the deliberate policy of the Government to keep the Non-Europeans on the borderline of starvation so that they cannot attain a position of independence. The rulers have always wanted them to be dependent. Consider the plight of the Africans. Instead of getting land they are receiving the Rehabilitation Scheme, which is a fraud, because it is intended to squeeze all the able-bodied men out of the Reserves and into the mines and farms. At the same time those who are left find themselves confronted by another set of laws which squeeze them out of the towns; for example, the Pass system, the Urban Areas Act and locations. These laws are so framed that in time every Black man will be ticketed, so that they know exactly how many to squeeze out again back to the farms.

For the Coloured section there had been promises of a land of milk and honey, of "arriving in the end" and being absorbed by the Whites. But they had not been given the four basic rights. The Government had launched the C.A.C. as a frontal attack on their few remaining rights, and when they kicked against it Smuts resorted to a flank attack; if the vote could not be taken from them in one way they would try another. Smuts therefore voted fabulous sums for Segregation schemes, the object being to drive the Coloured people from their property push them into "Housing Schemes" and finally deprive them of their vote. Once the proper laws are framed and applied, they too will be altogether dependent on the bosses. They too will be voiceless and rightless, entirely at the mercy of the rulers.

The Indians in turn had been subjected to the Pegging Act, which was the same as the Land and Trust Act for the Africans. Although we think we belong to different sections, in the eyes of the rulers a Black man is a Black man and is subjected to a set of laws different from those applied to the Whites. There are signs that the Government is stiffening in its attitude towards us. Part of its plan is the incorporation of S.W. Africa as a 5th province of the Union. Of course they try to make-believe that the people have begged to be incorporated. Smuts is an English diplomat taught in the English school of diplomacy. He has his eye on territories beyond S-W.Africa and he will find some means of incorporation. This will enable him to come down more heavily upon us.

The iron heel of oppression is coming down harder upon us. There is an ever-increasing cry for cheap Black labour. Year after year the Opposition complains of the acute shortage of labour on the farms and blames the Government for it. The mines need cheap labour, and now there are the new Gold Mines, so that it becomes imperative to find new sources of labour in S-W. Africa and beyond, in Rhodesia. The Union is determined to incorporate as much territory as possible. For the Gold machine must be fed with the blood of Black labour. Britain and America have invested millions in the new gold fields and therefore they will support Smuts in his plans.

Now let us consider the forces on the other side, on the side of the oppressed. Smuts once praised us as the most docile people in the world, as patient as the ass. This is no longer so, as a number of recent events have shown. There was the African Mine Workers' Strike, an event of great magnitude. The mine workers were the most backward section; they were drawn from the

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tribes and compelled to live in compounds cut off from urban influences, yet they launched a most militant strike which rocked S. Africa. It was in fact a REVOLT against oppressed conditions, showing that the Africans, far from being docile, were throwing off the weight of the herrenvolk.

Then there had been the Lovedale Strike of students, not an isolated instance but evident all over in missionary institutions. Youth too is rising and lifting its head; the young men are beginning to assert themselves and demand to be treated like human beings. There are two educational trends in S. Africa, one for the Whites, which is a preparation for dominance, and one for the Blacks, which is a preparation for subjection. This training in slavery is the task of the missionary institutions. The clash had been between the policy of the Government and the spirit of youth.

The speaker strongly criticised the quisling bodies, the Native Representative Council (N.R.C.), the C.A.C. and the A.A.B. They must fight these bodies tooth and nail, for there was no doubt as to their function. Even the N.R.C. had squealed, but instead of resigning they had merely adjourned, leaving the door open for coming back.

All the events, then, showed clearly two irreconcilable forces at work. Every Black man was faced with the choice of being with the Government against the people, or with the people against oppression. In the past the leaders had collaborated with the Government; our own leaders had operated the Native Acts against us, which reduced us to slavery. When they were passed (1935-6) Hertzog had said they would not work without the co-operation of the African people. And the Liberals had argued: "Accept the Acts. Let us make the best of a bad job." Hence we have the Moltenos in Parliament and we have the N.R.C. We have actually assisted the Government in fighting against ourselves.

Once more let us realise that a choice lies before every Black man: either with the Government against the people, or with the people against oppression. It is not enough simply to recognise the trend of development in the activities among the oppressed Non-Europeans, which are largely spontaneous. It is necessary to canalise them and give them a direction. It is the duty of Conference to give directives that are in line with the Ten Point Programme. The Conference should adopt the policy of NON-COLLABORATION with the oppressors. Let us make a clean break with the past, cut the umbilical cord that ties us to the oppressor and wrench off the intellectual and political influences of the herrenvolk which have so long dominated us.

Let our policy be NON-COLLABORATION with the oppressors in our fight for FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS.

Resolution on the National Situation: Moved by Mr. Tabata, seconded by Mr. Sello.

Resolution adopted - with one dissentient.

"In view of the Government's systematic intensification of oppression as expressed by the extension of the Pass System, the Union-wide expropriation of Non-Europeans, the growing fascistic measures adopted against the working-class, especially the Non-European workers, as shown in the brutal suppression of the African Miners' Strike; and in view of the realisation of the fact that in the past the Non-Europeans have collaborated in their own oppression by operating the segregationist measures of the Government, this Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement resolves:

To call upon the Non-Europeans to refuse to be the agents of their own oppression and to take the road of Non-Collaboration."

Addendum: later moved by Dr. G.H. Gool. Seconded by Miss Mahabane.

"This/.....

"This, the 5th Unity Conference of the N.E.U.M., having given careful consideration to the results of the whole Union legislation in its relation to the Non-European groups as a whole and to the African and Indian sections of the Non-European population in particular; and having realised that these results have proved disastrous to the welfare of these communities, resolves:

To demand the abolition of the whole series of discriminatory legislation that has been enacted by the Union Parliament since the consummation of Union, such as the Native Land Act of 1913, as well as the subsequent amending legislation, The Native Urban Act as amended from time to time, and more especially the legislation of 1936, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, as also those administrative of the Union Parliament and Provincial Councils that have discriminated against the Coloured people."

Addendum unanimously adopted.

Discussion preceding the adoption of the Resolution extended into the evening session.

Mr. Sello emphasised the necessity to educate the masses.

Mr. Davids said that our emancipation depended on a no-compromise policy.

Mr. Kobus said that both the President's and Mr. Tabata's speech gives an answer to those who advocate the policy of going to the law courts. If we were not consulted on the framing of the constitution, how can we expect our freedom from the law courts of the oppressors. Non-collaboration with the rulers is the order of the day.

Mr. Jacobs said that he could not understand fully the term of Non-collaboration, where to apply and where not to apply it. He agreed with non-collaboration with British and American imperialism but we should collaborate with those against America and Britain. We must stop theorising.

Mr. Jampies brought greetings from the people of Rhodesia and said that he agreed with Mr. Jacobs in having the term non-collaboration cleared up. People also suffered from economic oppression. We must also aim at getting a fair share in the country's wealth.

Prof. Jabavu said that we were generally dubbed traitors if we ask for our rights. It was stated in black and white in the Government Commission Report that the African child had to be prepared to take a subordinate position in society in South Africa. He said that the people were not prepared to accept that policy of subordination any longer. The people in the Transkei had determined to boycott the Acts of 1936.

Dr. G.H.Gool said that the important political directive in Mr. Tabata's address was the new approach to their problems. In the past they had been instruments of their own oppression. Non-collaboration marked the parting of the ways. Specific instances of non-collaboration should be left to local bodies. For instance with respect to Housing Schemes, it should be pointed out to the people that these are virtually locations and that they should reject them and fight the regulations which framed them. Every member of the local organisations should realise that politics is part of the everyday fight and cannot be divorced from their activities. The Non-European Unity Movement can only grow on the strength of its component parts.

EVENING SESSION.

Rev. Z.R.Mahabane resumed the Chair. Discussion on National Situation continued.

Miss J.Gool pointed out that the political point of view was essential. Political collaboration means a selling out. The reformist attitude was a

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patching up of existing conditions; it was the liberal attitude which helped Capitalism to work. But our solution is to demand full democratic rights on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. The old A.P.O. had worked for reforms and had thus limited its scope, but today the A.P.O. had as its ultimate aim the 10-Point Programme.

With the growth of Nationalism there must be the growth of Unity. The masses feel intuitively that their liberation will come only through Unity. The speaker condemned the African teachers for not taking a part in the Unity Movement. The Black intellectuals still accept inequality.

Mr. Tabata replied to the discussion. He had tried to lead the discussion on a national level. It was the business of Conference to lay down the general policy. The constituent bodies, on their return home, would have the task of carrying out this general policy.

In explaining the question of Non-Collaboration it had been necessary first to explain how, in spite of blaming the rulers, we had actually assisted them in working the Native Acts against ourselves. Mr. Jacobs had said that the masses did not understand Non-Collaboration, but the speaker maintained that they did understand. It is the masses who are taking a lead. They are concerned about their political rights. The intellectuals knew that the dummy councils were a farce, but it was the masses who had to urge the intellectuals.

He stressed the point that Non-collaboration means to stop assisting the Government in the working of its oppressive Acts.

He countered the accusation of too much theorising by repeating that it was absolutely essential to lay down a general policy of action. Before taking action it was necessary to ask: "What kind of action?" Henceforth our action would be determined by the line of NON-COLLABORATION WITH THE OPPRESSORS.

Mr. Hammond (Cape Flats Anti-C.A.D. Comm.) introduced a discussion on:

#### EXPROPRIATION AND HOUSING SCHEMES.

The question, he said, had been taken up at the previous Conference and it had been followed by action everywhere. Expropriation was a national issue; there was no difference between the Native Land Act, the Indian Land Tenure Act and Expropriation for the Coloured. Expropriation meant residential segregation, and it was necessary for the people to take immediate action against the Government which was robbing people of their property.

The Non-Europeans had created a weapon to defeat these measures, namely the LOCAL CO-ORDINATING UNITY COMMITTEES which had successfully rallied the people together. He went on to show how in the Cape, at Athlone, Goodwood, Retreat, Kensington, Vasco and Elsie's River, the people had taken action and had proved adamant against expropriation. They had agreed not to sell and had signed a letter to that effect. The City Council had tried to persuade them to sell by offering a higher price and the Communist Party had urged a higher price in the City Council. But the local co-ordinating unity committee had rallied the people against this, and took action on their behalf. It was not a question of bargaining. The issue at stake was the people's property rights. Once they sold their property they were doomed. Consider the position of the Africans today, without rights, without a vote, and on a separate roll.

Sub-economic housing schemes were not acceptable to the people. They were meant to assist Residential Segregation. This was also to subsidise the exploiters, for cheap rents went with low wages. And the Council had the right to shift the areas. Smuts had set aside £20,000,000 for these segregated Housing Schemes. We must be prepared for a big fight against expropriation and housing schemes. Local areas must take it up and make

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it a national issue. Kimberley, which was putting up a fight, must take a still stronger stand. We must on no account negotiate with the City Councils. We must have nothing to do with the collaborators. Housing schemes mean Locations.

The speaker concluded by urging once more for the establishment of Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees, which already had successfully taken up the fight against Expropriation.

Boycott the Housing Schemes. Cut yourselves adrift from the Collaborators. Build up your Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees.

Discussion followed.

Prof. Jabavu emphasised the question of Expropriation as a national issue. There was a danger of a whole people becoming landless and homeless. He referred to the position in the district of Alice where the Government hold Trust Land but would not sell it to Africans and farmers objected to Africans occupying the land. The policy of the Government is that no Non-European should own land.

Mr. Osman referred particularly to the problem facing those who are not property owners, since Housing Schemes are meant to centralise people and cheapen labour for factories, etc.

Mr. Tsenyego informed Conference as to the position of Housing Schemes in E. London and the fight with the City Council. The Council by law claimed the right to demolish houses without paying compensation. The Vigilance Committee had opposed this and in one test case had been successful. It was necessary to expose expropriation and bring pressure to bear on the authorities.

Mr. Sello referred to the ex-servicemen who had been frustrated in their attempts to purchase land. In O.F.S. they had to pay a perpetual quit rent.

Mr. Fataar (Cape Town) doubted the efficacy of a Test Case. What was wanted was a concerted attack on the part of the Coloured people working through the local co-ordinating Unity committees.

Mr. Jayiya said our concern was to protect our right to hold property. He was against making appeals to the Courts of Law, which belong to the White Herrenvolk. He advocated following the example of the Cape where the people had stood firm, defended themselves and won the day.

The discussion as a whole emphasised the importance of the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees in bringing the people together in their struggles and educating them in political ideas.

Discussion adjourned.

SATURDAY, 21st DECEMBER, 1946.

Morning Session.

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane was in the Chair.

After a short discussion on Expropriation continued from the previous day, the following RESOLUTION was moved by Mr. Hammond, seconded by Mr. Neethling and accepted by an overwhelming majority.

"Conference considers that it has become increasingly clear to all Non-Europeans that Expropriation Measures have been in force against all sections of the Non-Europeans for generations, and that the Land Trust Act for the African, the Land Tenure Act for the Indian and the Expropriation Ordinance of the Cape for the Coloured are identical and are all three intended to make the Non-European dependent and propertyless.

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In view of the above, and the concerted attack on the smaller property owners, Conference urges all Non-Europeans to organise a co-ordinated campaign against each and every form of Expropriation.

Conference further learns with satisfaction that the expropriation of small property owners at Retreat and the rest of the Cape Peninsula is being successfully combatted by the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee, and urges all delegates and affiliated organisations to organise the people actively in defence of the right to own their homes and properties.

Conference further instructs all affiliated organisations to fight these measures under the Unity banner, to explain the political implications of Expropriation and Housing Schemes, and thereby strengthen the Unity Movement."

Mr. D.Koza (Johannesburg) led a Discussion on:

UNITY AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

He would review the position of the Non-European worker in relation to the Trade Union Movement in South Africa. During the war the Government had promised the recognition of African Trade Unions, but when the war was over this promise - and others - was forgotten. Not only that; when people came out on strike for better living conditions and a better wage, they were arrested and even killed. At critical moments the Government adopts a policy of appeasement of all workers, but as soon as the danger is over they return to a systematic and ruthless suppression of the African workers. The Minister of Labour stated that African Trade Unions would never be recognised under the Industrial Conciliation Act. The Government aimed at controlling African Trade Unions, instituting Unions similar to those in Germany.

The Government was working to have the African Trade Unions as organs of the Native Affairs Department. They would not be the same as the European Trade Unions, and African workers would not receive the same recognition as White workers. This they had made perfectly clear. The speaker illustrated the repressive policy of the Government in this matter by reference to the Unemployment Insurance Act. There was no Black worker represented on the Board.

There was a division between the Black worker and the White worker and this acted against the emancipation of the African. The White workers had turned their backs on the African workers. The African Miners' Strike had been described as the work of agitators and a statement had been sent to England from the Trades and Labour Council condemning the strike. The Trades and Labour Council would seem to have two voices, for at a Conference held in Bloemfontein there had been a proposal to include the African workers under the Industrial Conciliation Act. But when a crisis came they were against the Africans and had sanctioned the Government's policy in the ruthless suppression of the strike.

It was necessary not only to work to improve the conditions of the workers, but to bring about a solidarity of purpose. By aligning the African workers with the National Liberatory struggle we are not only fighting for the recognition of African Trade Unions.

The speaker considered the question of a National Council very important. The success of the body would largely depend on the support it received from the Unity Movement. He felt that the Unity Movement could invite the Non-European Trade Unions to discuss the setting up of such a Council.

Discussion followed.

Dr. Gool/.....

Dr. Gool pointed out the political significance of the African Mine Workers' Strike. It demonstrated once and for all that trade unions cannot be divorced from politics. The economic fight for higher wages and better conditions of work is bound up with the struggle for political rights. The Trade Unions should come over to the Unity Movement and accept the 10-Point Programme as the basis of struggle. The policy of Non-Collaboration applied to them too. Unfortunately the Coloured Cape Trade Unions despised the Northern Trade Unions on the grounds of colour and did not fight the case of the Non-whites. The Non-European workers should present a united front and be in the vanguard of the political struggle.

Mr. Tabata paid tribute to the heroic struggle of the African Mine Workers. With reference to the Unemployment Insurance Act, although the African paid into the fund he did not derive benefit from it. For him it was an instrument of forced labour. According to the Act he could not be unemployed; if found unemployed he was sent to the farms or the mines, and could not refuse.

The White Trade Unions carried the slogan: No politics in our Trade Unions, because their leaders were agents of the political parties of the country and carried out the policy of the White rulers against the Non-Europeans - Segregation. He emphasised that the African people were fighting for the political right to form trade unions. It is the duty of all Non-European Trade Unionists to carry on the fight within for political rights.

Miss H. du Preez (Mrs. Calvert - Johannesburg), with reference to the Garment Workers' Union, which had three sections, White, Coloured and African, said that the African male worker, being subject to the Pass Law, was not classed under the Industrial Conciliation Act, but the African female worker could get the same benefit as the European. The leaders of the Cape Garment Workers' Union would not help the Transvaal section, but collaborated with the Government, and broke up their meetings.

The Unity Movement must break down the segregationist mentality of the Cape Garment workers; it must break down the pass laws so that the African male worker will be free to join. The majority of the Cape workers had not been prepared to protest against the Factories Act of 1941. The Transvaal workers had fought and achieved something. It did not give lip service to the struggle, but fought for all sections. No. 2 Branch of the Garment Workers Union had succeeded in breaking down the herrenvolk idea and had African women serving on committees.

The speaker concluded by exhorting the Non-Europeans to fight to the utmost for the breakdown of all discriminatory and segregationist measures.

Mr. D. Koza replied to the discussion. He joined with others in his appreciation of Mrs. Calvert's able address.

Conditions for the Non-European workers in the Transvaal were not what they should be. There were 256,000 Non-European workers and 150,000 European. Employers were forced to employ the Non-Europeans in order to keep their machines running.

Mr. Fataar suggested that the Resolution on Trade Unions of previous Conference (See Minutes, P.33) should be embodied in Mr. Koza's Resolution.

Sgt. C. Doyle Modiakgatha seconded. Conference agreed.

Mr. D. Koza moved the following RESOLUTION:

"In view of the fact that the Non-European Unity Movement has launched the policy of Non-Collaboration with the Government;

And in view of the fact that the South African Trades & Labour Council

refuses/.....

refuses to identify itself with the struggle of the Non-European workers;

and in view of the fact that the Government has refused to recognise African Trade Unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act;

and in view of the fact that this attitude of the Government can be fought only by political action, this Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement resolves to call upon all Non-European Trade Unions

- (a) to reject the proposed discriminatory form of recognition of African Trade Unions.
- (b) to form an independent Federal Council fighting within the Unity Movement on the basis of the 10-Point Programme.

Mr. Tsenyego seconded. Resolution unanimously accepted.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Balance	£1. 18. 11	Delegates	£21. 10. 6.
Donation	3. 3. 0	Income	77. 6. 7½.
Wynberg don.	13. 11. 8½		
Donation	15. 0. 0		
Donation S.C.	5. 0. 0		
	<u>38. 13. 7½</u>		

Conf. minutes	2. 18. 6		
Knysna	1. 0. 0		
Rhodesia	2. 0. 0		
Wessels	5. 0		
Dodgen	8. 0		
Domingo	10. 0		
Raffle (Cake)	4. 12. 6		
Donation (T.L.A.)	2. 0. 6		
	<u>15. 1. 6</u>	13. 15. 6	
Minutes etc.	10. 0		
	2. 3. 0		
	<u>14. 3</u>		
	3. 7. 0		

Expenditure.

Printing	6. 0. 0		
Conference exp:			
Executive members'			
fares	10. 10. 7		
Duplicating	3. 14. 9		
Stamps	6		
President's fare	15. 0		
	<u>21. 0. 10</u>		

Balance	£56. 5. 9½.
Bank bal.	1. 18. 11
Roberts	30. 14. 8½
Table	23. 12. 2
	<u>56. 5. 9½</u>

Outstanding accounts:

Due Roberts	3. 19. 11
Loan	50. 0. 0
Noodgedacht Pers	58. 15. 0
Adverts	4. 6
	<u>7. 1</u>
	<u>113. 6. 6</u>



Dr. Gool referred to the illness of Mr. E.C.Roberts, the Treasurer.

Mr. Jayiya stated that a number of organisations were with Unity, but financial difficulties prevented them from being present.

Rev. Z.R.Mahabane said that the Editor of Inkundla Ya Bantu (Natal) had asked for report of proceedings of Conference.

Mr. Tsenyego advocated supporting "The Torch" (Cape Town) and sending reports.

Conference adjourned.

#### AFTERNOON SESSION.

Rev. Z.R.Mahabane took the Chair.

Miss J.Gool led a Discussion on:

#### THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN QUESTION.

##### The Unity Movement and the Passive Resistance Struggle.

In opening up discussion, Miss J.Gool said that the Indians were not represented on the Executive Committee of the N.E.U.M. They had not accepted the 10 point programme of the Unity Movement. The Indian Question was of major importance and should be thoroughly discussed.

She recapitulated the events during the last year which led up to the present position of the Indian people. Despite the many attempts to reach a negotiated settlement at a round-table conference between India and South Africa, Smuts decided to introduce the Indian Bill in Parliament in the middle of March. The immediate answer to this bill was the imposition of sanctions by India against South Africa and the recall of the High Commissioner. During April the Indians sent a deputation to India to arouse Indian opinion and to enlighten Mother India on the ignominious position of her sons in South Africa. In May, the South African Parliament allowed the Indians to submit a petition at the bar of the House in protest of this bill. The pleading, however fell on deaf ears and at the end of May the bill was passed and became the law of the land. At the same time the Passive Resistance Movement was launched by the Natal Indian Congress in protest of this Act. This Movement was condemned by the Executive of the S.A.I.C. on the grounds that the N.I.C. had acted without permission.

At the same time while the deputation was in India it was announced by Mr. Sohrabjee that certain Indian leaders at Cape Town were busy conducting private negotiations for the purpose of seeking amendments to the bill.

During September the Cape Times announced that the Ex. of the S.A.I.C. was seeking a compromise with Smuts on the holding of a round-table conference. This took place at the height of the Passive Resistance struggle. Councillor Ismail stated that he was only carrying out the decisions of the Feb. Conference. The P.R. Movement came out in opposition to this move. Together with Mr. Sohrabjee they declared that they supported a round-table conf. as long as the initiative came from the Union Gov't. During September another Indian Deputation left for U.N.O. and America. The resolution which was passed at U.N.O. was to effect that Smuts should report at the next session to state what steps have been taken.

These are the facts. When we analyse these facts we come to grasp the main thread which connects these events into a single whole. It is this that the S.A.I.C. leadership is completely wedded to the policy of collaboration and compromise. They have only one policy - a short term policy, renewable every six months, and that is to do every thing in their power for the holding of a round-table conference where they can sell out and call it an honourable compromise.

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This policy is the logical result of the S.A.I.C. rejection of the 10-point programme. The second Unity Conf. held at Kholvad House, Johannesburg shows to what extent the merchant class will betray the interests of the masses.

#### Anti Segregationist Bloc.

We must also be clear as to where the Anti-Segregationist bloc within the S.A.I.C. stands. While they captured the elections in Natal on the ticket of the Unity Movement, at the Feb. Conf. of this year, the ideological head of this group, Dr. Dadoo, came out in support of unity of Indians. Mind you, not unity of Non-Europeans. At this conf. this same group merely followed the right-wing leadership and supported them in their advocacy of a round-table conf. deputations to various parts of the world and a plea at the bar of the House and the launching of a Passive Resistance Struggle.

#### Passive Resistance.

It is on the question of passive resistance as such that we must think most clearly. A great deal of mass hysteria and hero worship has been introduced by the left-wing into the Passive Resistance Struggle for the purpose of drugging the thinking processes of the Indians and it is necessary to be as objective as possible. We must ask ourselves one question. Does the P.R. struggle bring us nearer or farther from unity. There is a difference between passive resistance as such and this form of Indian Passive Resistance at present being waged by the Indians in Natal.

Let us look at it this way. The fact that we are unarmed, decides the methods of resistance. In our struggle we use the boycott, mass meetings demonstrations etc. as our form of resisting further oppression. But the difference between our method and the P.R. Struggle is that the latter is wholly contaminated by the spirit of Gandhism. In the various passive disobedience struggles in India Gandhi called off the mass struggle at every critical juncture for the purpose of striking a bargain with the imperialists for the benefit of the merchant class whose spokesman he was. He gave the history of the Great Salt March in India. In South Africa, he called off the Passive Resistance campaign because he did not wish to embarrass the government. The Gandhi-Smuts Agreement was nothing else but a rotten compromise which only sought to safeguard the investments of the merchant class. It is because Gandhism is vitiating the struggle in Natal that the Unity Movement must come out in condemnation of it. The merchant class is controlling the organisation by means of their money. They, like Gandhi are confining the struggle to Indians only. While the masses are in jail, the merchants are conducting business as usual. The Indian worker and peasant are used as pawns in the game of coming to a deal with Smuts.

The P.R. Struggle today fosters the spirit of (a) Isolationism, (b) Disunity and (c) Hero-worship that it must be strongly condemned. The Pegging Act is not an Anti-Indian Act, it is an Anti-Non-European Act. In view of the past failures of all isolated struggles in S.A. by each of the oppressed groups, and the fact that we have established the Unity Movement we must come out in condemnation of all attempts to wreck unity. We in the Non-European Unity Movement are building up a leadership not this particular leader of individual. For us the movement is everything, the individual is unimportant. The cult of hero-worship<sup>which</sup> is being fostered in Natal is dangerous because it elevates the individual above the movement.

In conclusion, I wish to state that one of most important tasks is to warn the Indian people against the leadership of the merchant class in the Passive Resistance campaign in order to prevent them from suffering bitter disillusionment at a later stage, and defeatism. The time will soon come when we will be able to take the 10-point programme to the Indian masses ourselves, and ignore this leadership.

Discussion followed.

Dr. Gool/.....

Dr. Gool brought to the notice of Conf. particulars of a speech uttered by a Mr. Choudree at the 2nd Unity Conference, 1944 "that Natal had a group who believed in gradualness and this group found the attitude of the A.A.C. and the Anti-C.A.D. unacceptable."

Mr. A. Davids said that the Indian masses believed in the form of struggle at present being waged and we must not deride their methods. The speaker's address was mainly an attack on the leadership.

Mr. Domingo asked what the approach of the Indians were to other Non-European organisations. The Indian was out to exploit the Africans for the purpose of gain.

Mr. Osman condemned the last speaker for his racialistic attitude. We must go over the heads of the leadership to the masses.

Mr. Mdatyulwa said that Dr. Naicker had said that the most important feature of the P.R. Struggle was, that other sections had realised the strength of a united front. This leadership talks unity but acts disunity. Those leaders who keep the masses from real unity should be condemned.

Mr. Louis said that Mr. Domingo's racialistic utterances would be applauded by the Nationalist and Chamber of Mines Press. The P.R. struggle suits the merchant class for the purpose of arriving at a compromise. A queer political bird has been hatched in this process the emergence of Dr. Dadoo as a Stalinist Gandhist.

The following motion was moved by Miss J. Gool and seconded by Mr. M. Mdatyulwa. This was unanimously accepted.

"This Conference, while regarding the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act as a dastardly attack upon the rights of the South African Indian people, and while fully supporting the opposition of the South African Indian masses towards the so-called Ghetto Act, considers that the isolated passive resistance initiated and continued by the S.A. Indian leaders that it is not only an ineffective method of struggle but also diverts the Indian people further from the road of Non-European Unity.

This Conference feels that the attack upon the S.A. Indian people is an attack upon the whole of the Non-European population. And that, therefore, the place of the Indian people is within the Non-European Unity Movement. Since the Conference considers that the only way completely to defeat the Ghetto Act and all other forms of discriminatory legislation is to fight in the broad struggle of all Non-Europeans against segregation, it makes a further call to the Indian people to join the Non-European Unity Movement and to march side by side with it for the achievement of full citizenship rights for all Non-Europeans."

Dr. G.H. Gool led a discussion on:

#### THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

In looking over Conference reports of Non-European organisations since the turn of the century one singular omission came to light - the absence of any assessment of the world situation and the position of the Non-European oppressed peoples in relation to it. This omission was not accidental. It flowed from our attitude of mind to our problems. Just as we had left the fundamental question of our national rights to the Schreiners, the Rose-Innes-es, the Moltenos and the Ballingers - to those members of the Herrenvolk who style themselves Liberals - we left the interpretation of world events to the self-same people. But now we have taken upon ourselves the task of directly fighting for political power with organisations that are independent of the machinations of herrenvolk parties. And the first thing we must do is to understand the

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real meaning of the Unity Movement and the 10-Point Programme. Today all of us are forced to live the life of political outcasts. We are baffled by events that occur thousands of miles away, yet the economic crises taking place in New York or London have far-reaching effects on our own lives. The greatest threat is that of unemployment, which in such crises affect skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. We dare not be ignorant therefore of international events.

There are two forces struggling in the world today; on the one hand is the Old World of the Imperialists desperately holding on to their ill-gotten gains, and on the other there is the New World represented by the struggle of the workers and peasants in Europe and America together with the struggles of the Colonial peoples for National liberation.

With the signing of Peace last year, the "United Nations" split up into two warring camps: American and British Imperialism, with their satellites, on one hand and on the other the Soviet Union and those nations struggling to free themselves from Imperialist control. Now Imperialism, by its very nature, cannot be interested in a permanent peace, for the contradictions within a capitalist (imperialist) state lead logically to economic crises resulting in depression and mass unemployment. From this, war is both an escape and a gamble for new markets and increased profits. The Soviet Union, with a different economy, is not subject to these contradictions. But she is frustrated in her plans of permanent peace and the development of socialism in one country because she is encircled by hostile Imperialist powers. These fundamental differences must lead to World War 3. We will be fobbed off with many false reasons why war should be waged against the Soviet Union, and we must clearly understand the real basis of antagonism between the warring groups.

The speaker dealt briefly with the economic colonial policies of the two main Imperialist nations, U.S.A. and Great Britain. War had reduced the latter to a mere vassal of the former. America meant to open all doors in the British Empire for her trade, while Britain wanted a "closed door" policy of exploitation within the Empire. But we issue a grave note of warning to the oppressed people: the Imperialists one and all have one purpose, namely, the permanent exploitation of colonial peoples. Each one tries to whitewash itself, but we must not be deceived by "Colonial Charters" or new brands of trusteeship which are just as vicious as the old mandatory system.

The contradictions between the Imperialist powers recede into the background in face of the irreconcilable differences between them and the Soviet Union together with those nations striving for liberation. The very presence of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and in China was a nightmare to the Imperialists and they cannot fulfil their plans of complete exploitation until the Soviet Union is wiped off the face of the map. In other words, war must sooner or later break out against the Soviet Union. Here are a few facts indicating the approach of World War 3. (a) Feverish preparations for war in the major Imperialist countries, America and Great Britain. (b) Their determination to guard closely the secret of the atom bomb, especially against the Soviet Union. (c) The Bill before the American Congress for a 5,000,000 navy personnel. (d) The enormous sums expended on the espionage system. (e) The appointment of a Minister of Defence in Britain during peace time. (f) American Industry has not been wholly converted to peace time production. If she had she would have flooded the whole world with commodities. (g) Conscription in America and Britain. (h) The standardisation of American and British arms. (i) Exchange visits of American and British military staffs. (j) The open support given by America and Britain to the most reactionary fascist regimes in Europe and in the Colonies in order to crush the real liberatory struggle, for example in Greece and in China. (k) The establishment of war bases in Greenland, Iceland and the Arctic, and elsewhere.

But while the Imperialist war-mongers prepare for war there is one

very/.....

very important factor to be taken into consideration - the Common Man, who is the main sufferer in a n Imperialist war. He wants to be left in peace; he wants a job in order to provide food, clothing and shelter for his family. So it will be necessary for the Imperialists to allay his suspicions. They did this after the 1st World war by the creation of that gigantic fraud, the League of Nations - which had 51 wars to its credit. Now we have U.N.O. which is simply a continuation of the old fraudulent League under a new name. Already it has proved a farce, with war waging in Greece, China, Indo-China, Java. Under no circumstances can we be forgiven if we aid in the deception of the Colonial people by joining this new fraud, U.N.O. We must in no uncertain terms expose the hollow sham of this instrument, not of peace, but of war.

An ominous development is taking place in the Liberatory Movement, concluded Dr. Gool. Certain groups are allying themselves with the Imperialists. For example, the right wing of the Indian Congress was perpetuating the fraud of U.N.O. instead of exposing it. In the coming war the Imperialists would find it necessary to win over certain elements by granting them concessions. It was a dangerous development that was now taking place. But we must extend our policy of NON-COLLABORATION to the international field. Under no circumstances must the Colonial peoples be a party to collaboration in the coming World War!

Dr. G.H.Gool moved the RESOLUTION ON THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD SITUATION:

"While it has brought a certain amount of pleasure to the hearts of Non-Europeans to see the fascist brutalities of South Africa's herrenvolk exposed before U.N.O., we cannot place our confidence in an organisation established and controlled by the rulers of the big imperialist countries.

We realise also that behind the cover of the League of Nations there were perpetuated numerous wars which culminated in the Second World Slaughter. It is becoming clearer that this new League of Nations, the U.N.O., was established to perpetuate the illusion of peace. While the talk of disarmament goes on, there is on the other hand a race for armaments.

In view of the fact that we have learnt that in the past all wars were fought for the conquest of colonial countries with the assistance of the colonial peoples, this Conference calls upon the Non-European people to do everything in their power to counteract the preparations for all future wars engineered by Imperialism."

Mr. Lewis seconded. Resolution adopted, unanimously.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Gool's address it was emphasised that people must be enlightened so that they would not be in the dark as they were in the past wars. They must understand what they will be faced with.

After a full financial Statement was given by Mr. E.M.Gordon, acting on behalf of Mr. E.C.Roberts, Treasurer, Conference seriously discussed ways and means of augmenting Unity funds.

Every member must become an organiser.

It was decided that different finance committees should be established to make a more determined drive for the raising of funds.

Mr. Koza moved adoption of Treasurer's Report.

Mr. Tsenyego seconded. Report unanimously adopted.

Mr. E.M.Gordon/.....

Mr. E.M.Gordon gave Report of Credentials Committee as follows:

There were 62 delegates present representing 53 organisations, with a total membership of 107,495.

The organisations were as follows: 3 religious, 24 political, 10 educational, 8 trade unions, 6 social welfare, 1 benefit society and 1 cultural. Total, 53.

Members of the Executive gave short reports of meetings held and other work done to spread the idea of Unity.

Mr. I.B.Tabata had held meetings in the Transkei, in Johannesburg, Kroonstad, Kokstad, Port Elizabeth, and he had found that the people were thinking in terms of the Unity of all Non-Europeans in their approach to their problems, rather than in terms of their sectional organisations. It was the duty of the delegates to hold meetings and spread propaganda for Unity on their way home.

Mr. Gordon had held meetings in Port Elizabeth, New Brighton, Korsten and Piquetberg.

Mr. Neethling said that there had been a plan to impose a curfew for Africans in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, but the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee had stepped in and the municipality had feared a demonstration on the part of the Non-Europeans.

Mr. Sello, on behalf of Rev. Mahabane, who had to leave, reported that he had held meetings in Bethlehem, Vredefort and other places which had been attended by African workers. They had been very enthusiastic.

Mr. Jayiya (Joint Sec.) read telegrams and letters received, which indicated the solidarity of the people.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICIALS.

Chairman: Rev. Z. R. Mahabane.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. G. H. Gool.

Joint Secretaries: Mr. S. A. Jayiya and Mr. E. Marthinus.

Treasurer: Mr. R. E. Viljoen (Councillor)

Mr. A. Osman (A.P.O. Central Exec.) moved Resolution on HOUSING SCHEMES:

"In view of the fact that the Government utilises the housing shortage which, though aggravated by post-war conditions, is an integral feature of present society to introduce residential segregation by means of sub-economic housing schemes, Conference:

- (1) rejects all sub-economic housing schemes;
- (2) demands state-built non-segregatory houses which become the property of the tenants; such houses not to be built upon a mass-produced standardised pattern, but subject to the wishes of the individual members of the community who desire such houses.

Mr. L.Lundertz (A.P.O. Beaconsfield) seconded.

The Resolution was referred to the Executive.

Venue of next Conference - Kimberley. The Executive will decide the date.

On/.....

On a motion by Prof. Jabavu, Conference decided to give preference to the Financial Report, Organisation and the Venue of the next Conference on the first day of future conferences.

Votes of thanks were accorded to: The Catering Committee; to the Recorders, Miss Hendrichse, Mr. Cloete, Mr. Marthinus and co-workers.

Mr. Tabata also moved a vote of thanks to Prof. Jabavu and Dr. G.H.Gool.

Dr. G. H. Gool (Vice-Chairman) concluded Conference.