

THE NON-EUROPEAN UNITY MOVEMENT.

Report of the proceedings of the 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement, held in the Woodstock Town Hall, Cape Town, Monday - Tuesday, 2nd - 3rd April, 1951.

MONDAY, 2ND APRIL, 1951:

Morning Session - 9 a.m. to 1 p.m.

I. Registration of Delegates 9 a.m. to 10.30 a.m.

II. Mr. S.A. Jayiya on behalf of the Joint-Secretaries, read out the notice convening the Conference.

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, President of the N.E.U.M., opened the Conference with the following remarks:

"I have great pleasure in extending a cordial welcome to you, not only to Cape Town but also to this Conference, a momentous Conference which is taking place at a critical hour in the history of this country. We have had these critical hours before, but to my mind the present is the most critical of them all. With the movements that are taking place not only in South Africa but throughout the world, we should consider that this hour is the most critical. We have reached the crossroads and no-one but a prophet can predict what the ultimate outcome will be. I welcome you to this Conference.

The President then called for nominations to the Resolutions Committee. The following were elected after being duly proposed and seconded: Messrs. W.M. Tsotsi, B.M. Kies, L. Sihlali and A.E. Abdurahman.

The Vice-President, Dr. G.H. Gool, then took the chair.

Vice-President:

"I have great pleasure in calling upon the President, the Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, to deliver his Presidential address."

The President thereupon delivered the following address:

THE POLICY OF APARTHEID

A Negation of the Principles of Democracy and of Christianity.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great privilege for me once more to stand before you and speak to you on an issue of the greatest, nay transcendent importance, an issue that overshadows all other issues, for on it hangs the life or death of the Non-White peoples of the Union of South Africa as a political entity.

To win a General Parliamentary Election, that pending after the last World War, the Nationalist Party coined a word that would gain for it the ear of the electorate, and fire its imagination, a word that was capable of drawing attention to what was to this Party a matter of the gravest moment. The leaders of the Party discovered the word 'APARTHEID', which is an Afrikaans equivalent for the English word Separateness or Segregation. The term means 'Keeping apart and separate the various racial groups not only socially, but also residentially, territorially, industrially and politically.

Although the new word Apartheid did catch and fire the imagination of a large section of the European electorate of the country, did arouse its enthusiasm to a high pitch, it did not represent a new idea. The idea was as old as the establishment of the White man's rule in the sub-continent. Dr. Arthur Keppel-Jones in his book 'Friends or Foes' writes, 'One of the psychological curiosities of our history is the sudden substitution of the word 'Apartheid' for the word 'Segregation' which means the same thing.' Apartheid takes root from the idea embodied in that oft-quoted dictum found in the Grondwet of the Old Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and the Free State: 'There shall be no equality between White and Black in this land, either in Church or State.' This statement firmly established a policy the consequences of which have been as far-reaching as they have been inimical to the interests of the Non-White races of the land. From that fundamental principle came a policy of all-round differentiation, unequal treatment, discrimination; even the scales of justice are held unevenly as between these races. The principles of the United States of America which regards 'all men as having been born free and equal' have been discarded and ignored; the dictum of 'equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi irrespective of race or creed or colour' has been treated as so much nonsense, as a scrap of paper.

A cursory....

A cursory examination of the political history of South Africa reveals the fact that the Problem of Race Relations between White and Black races, the European and Non-European races, planted by a benevolent Providence on the soil of this country, has ever given headaches to all the Political thinkers of the land, has ever provided food for thought for thinkers of all shades of thought domiciled in the country, ever provided scope for philosophers and scholars who have lived and moved and had their being in the sub-Continent all these centuries. This field of study has given rise to two Schools of political thought in the land - the Liberals and the Reactionaries, the Assimilationists and the Segregationists, the Integregationists and the Separationists, the Negrophilists and the Negrophobes, the pro-Native and the Anti-Native, the Liberationists and the Repressionists. A grim struggle has, as a result of these conflicting ideologies, raged ever since the time of the negotiations that led to the unification of the four States which now constitute the Union of South Africa. At the National convention presided over by the late Lord de Villiers, who later became the first Chief Justice of the Union, the Segregationists triumphed, and the first foundation stone of the policy of Segregation or Apartheid was firmly laid on the Edifice which is now the Union of South Africa. By the insertion of what has since been known as the Colour Bar Clauses of the Act constituting the Union of South Africa the policy of Apartheid became the settled principle upon which the future Government of the Country was to be run. The Colour Bar Clauses referred to are Sections 26 (c) and 44 (d) of the Act. These clauses purport to define qualifications for membership of the Union Parliament. A member: 'A British subject of European descent.' By this phrase the Non-European was virtually excommunicated from the political family of the land of his birth, domicilium and adoption.

Apartheid as a political catch-word appeals to the imagination of the rabid racist more strongly than its equivalents, Segregation or Separation. It easily fires the hopes of the ardent disciple of the doctrine of 'The Baasskap' of the White man, of 'Supremacy of the White race', the maintenance of the Leadership of the White race not only in South Africa but also in the whole world. It gives expression to the inward feelings of the believer in the 'Herrenvolkism of the White people', the 'Master-servant conception' of relationship between White and Black, 'the preservation of the so-called Western Civilization'.

APARTHEID, SYMPTOM OF A DISEASED MIND.

Apartheid is symptomatic of a Psychosis which manifests itself in the twin Complexes, 'Fear Complex' and 'Superiority Complex'. This mental malady produces a number of complications. A sick heart, a jaundiced soul, a soul poisoned with the venom of race hatred, race prejudice, a mind warped by imaginable bogeys, strangely deranged by obsession cannot but behave in a manner that is offensive. The people who are responsible for this policy of Apartheid resemble a man who suffers from hallucinations which give him sleepless nights, and eventually drive him to actions for which he is presumably not responsible. The founder of the Christian religion was a great psychologist. He once taught that 'a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good, and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil, for the abundance of his heart his mouth speaketh'. It is therefore quite understandable that men whose hearts are seized with this evil of prejudice should think and speak as do the authors of Apartheid do. This Fear Complex so gripped the late Gen. J.B.M. Hertzog and the great majority for whom he spoke so severely, so firmly, that, discarding to the winds all sentiments of Christianity he gave vent to sentiments that showed what a man can be who suffers from mental disorders of this kind. In his defence of his Representation of Natives Bill of 1936, speaking in a Joint Session of the two Houses of Parliament, Gen. Hertzog, as reported in Hansard, said, 'And when they appeal to me as has sometimes been done recently, on the grounds that it is not Christian, that it is in conflict with Christian principles, then I say, Oh no, now I do not understand at all what you mean by Christian principles. Christian principles,' he continued, 'count for very much, but there is a principle of Self-preservation for a nation, the principle which causes everybody to sacrifice his life in time of war. It is a sacred principle, a Christian principle. I place that principle still higher, it is the only principle, that of Self-preservation, of Self-defence, by which humanity itself and Christianity itself will ever be able to protect itself.' The then Prime Minister of the Union went further and assured the House that when the Bill became Law, then only the Europeans would feel relieved that the sword that had been hanging over their heads all those years had disappeared, and that they could breathe freely. (Hansard No. 181936).

This, then, read alongside other innumerable utterances of the Advocates of Apartheid, gives a clear indication of the source of the whole series of Anti-

Non-White legislation that has been placed on the Statute Book of this unilateral Union of South Africa ever since 1909 to the present hour. Oliver Walker in his lively book, 'Kaffirs are Lively' quotes General Hertzog, who, in defending the Segregation aspect of his 1936 Bills, spoke of 'The Two Fears which had always made the White population of South Africa very anxious. One was the Fear of intermingling, of Miscegenation, and the other was that of being swamped by the sheer numerical strength of the Africans!

The superiority of the white man must perforce be hedged around with artificial devices of all thinkable kinds, such as depriving the Non-European of every vestige of rights, his relegation to a position of semi-slavery and of economic impotence, besides instilling into him, by the use of terroristic methods, a servile mentality. And truly may "Adamastor" observe, in his book, 'The White Man Boss', 'The Volk mind sees nothing immoral in these moves. They are made to the pattern of differentiation, meaning discrimination against Non-Whites, which pervades all South Africa, and are they not designed to protect White Civilisation, Boer Supremacy?'

It is strange to see how these people never stop to think that if you devise ways and means to protect yourself against some one else who has no intention of attacking you or of challenging your position of authority, you may expect that he will react to your attitude of evident hostility. As a human being endowed with human faculties of thought, emotion, volition and of vision he is sure to start thinking of ways and means of defending himself. They do not seem to remember what Moshesh, the Founder of the Basuto Nation once said: 'If,' said Moshesh, 'You beat a dog, he will show his teeth.' Or one might say, 'Tread upon the tail of a sleeping dog, he will surely be aroused to a deed of some kind or other.' It is cowardice of the basest kind to attack the rights of an unsuspecting and defenceless people.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the utterances of the leaders of European public thought, read alongside the other innumerable outbursts of all the Advocates of Apartheid, give a clear indication of the source of the whole series of Anti-Non-European Legislation that has found its place in the Statute Book of the Union of South Africa ever since 1909 to the present hour. Such as:

The Colour Bar Clauses of the Act of Union, the Union Defence Act of 1912 which excludes the Non-European from the Defence Forces of the land, the Mines and Works Act of 1923 which seeks to protect the White worker against the supposed competition of the Non-white worker, the Natives Land Act of 1913 as amended by the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 which aims at protecting the White man against competition with the Black man in the race for the acquisition of landed property, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, the Representation of Natives Act of 1936, the aim of which is to safeguard the position of the White man as Ruler in the country; and recently, the Population Registration Act of 1950; the Mixed Marriages Act of the same year, whose object it is to invalidate marriages between White and Black; the Group Areas Act of 1950, and now the so-called Representation of Non-Europeans Bill, 1951. The underlying principle of all these legislative measures is the Protection of the white man against the innocent non-white man, the maintenance of the White man's Civilization, the preservation of the supremacy of the Herrenvolk, the perpetuation of the idea of Inequality between White and Non-White in the country.

SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY:

Scriptural authority has been sought in support of the Policy of Apartheid; the case of the separation of Abraham and Lot has been quoted. It has not occurred to the Apostles of Apartheid that this Separation was a matter of mutual arrangement; also that the two men belonged to the same race, the same family, the same creed, spoke the same language, had the same culture, same traditions; that they were not separated on racial or cultural grounds, but for the sake of convenience. Territorial Separation between the Hebrews and the Egyptians was also a matter of voluntary arrangement; it was not forced down the throat of any of the two racial groups.

Apartheid is distinctly un-Christian, repugnant to the whole spirit of the Christian teaching as recorded in New Testament Writ.

ADVANTAGES OF APARTHEID:

The advocates of this pernicious doctrine have claimed that there are advantages in this thing.

In the Memorandum presented to Parliament on the occasion of the introduction of the great Apartheid Measure, the Group Areas Bill, in May 1950, it was averred that the main purpose of the Bill was twofold:

1) To.....

- 1) To bring persons of the same racial origin together for purposes of ownership and occupation of fixed property, and so to reduce to a minimum racial points of contact, and therefore racial conflict.
- 2) To permit each racial group to develop along its own lines according to culture and religion, and to give members of the Native and Coloured groups an opportunity, under proper guidance; ultimately to assume responsibility for their own local government.

Senator Dr. Verwoerd, Minister for Native Affairs, says Apartheid will put the Native on the right path; that it will improve relations between White and Black, and promote the spirit of harmony and good neighbourliness between the two races.

I am certain about the fact that it will do quite the opposite. Nothing is more calculated to produce a spirit of hostility between the races!

Speaking on another occasion, Dr. Verwoerd said that only Apartheid can avoid a blood bath in the future, to which the policy of the past had been allowed to drift. Further, he attributed the chaotic state of affairs to the previous policy of Integration, and said that Apartheid was the one clear-cut policy which would bring happiness to Black and White alike.

We contend that the Disadvantages of Apartheid far outweigh the supposed Advantages; that the policy operates adversely for the Non-Europeans of any subgroup. The writer of the book "White Man Boss" quotes Minister Schoeman as saying that Apartheid means that the Non-European will never have the same political rights as the Europeans; also that the European will always be "Baas"

Land is unevenly distributed between White and Non-White. Only about 14% of all the available land has been allocated for the occupation of the Non-Europeans, who number no less than 9,000,000, while 86% belongs to the White population of 2,300,000: besides the fact that European areas are found in fertile parts of the country and Non-European Areas in barren and hilly parts of the country. Instance the Transkeian Territories, the District of Herschel, etc. Instance also the educational facilities of the White child as contrasted with those provided for the Non-White child.

In conclusion, one might ask with Shakespeare: "What counsel give you in this weighty cause?"

The struggle for Full Citizenship Rights, the Fight for full human rights for the Non-White races of the land, the battle for our rightful place in the political sun of the land of our birth, adoption or common abode?

The authors of Apartheid have plunged the whole country into a tremendous, nay, titanic struggle, a psychological warfare, a war of nerves. The Non-White races of the land have no alternative, but to accept the challenge, and fight for recognition as members of the human race, for their rightful place in God's scheme of things, in matters political, matters economic. This political enslavement, this economic strangulation, this circumscribed system of Education for the Non-White child, this wicked exploitation of the labour of the voteless Black man, must be resisted.

I would suggest one or two methods of waging war against the iniquitous warfare on the rights of the Non-White people:-

- 1) Mobilisation of all our political forces into ONE big Army under an unified and enlightened leadership. Provision for this exists already - the Non-European Unity Movement, on the basis of the Ten-Point Programme.
- 2) Adoption of a firm Policy of Non-Collaboration with the rulers of the country in operating the machinery of Oppression, in the carrying out of these measures of Oppression; taking no part in the Sham Elections for men or women who will assist the Segregationists in enforcing Segregation. There is no other effective method of demonstrating our non-acceptance of the policy of Apartheid; we should decide once more that we shall not be party to the Elections to Location Advisory Boards, Native Representative Councils, Coloured Representative Councils, Local or District or Territorial Native Councils which are contemplated in the Policy of Apartheid-Bodies which will have NO influence at all with Governing Authorities, devices which are of the very essence of children's Dummies, or make-beliefs.
- 3) The entire Non-European population should, as a body, register a Decided "NO" to this form of political blinding of a people who have, like all other people, eyes to see.)

Ladies and Gentlemen, the White man thinks he can still say to the Black

man....

man,

"Eat your pudding, Slave, and hold your tongue."

Then followed discussion on the Presidential Address:

Cltr. R.E. Viljoen (Treasurer): I feel there is one point which the President made which is of great importance to Non-European Unity. It was when he stated that arrangements had been made within this organisation for other organisations to come in. I feel that it should again be explained to Conference and to the public at large that the Non-European Unity Movement will keep the door open to the African National Congress and the Indian Congresses to come into the movement on a principled basis. But it seems that after eight-years of practically pleading with these two bodies we find today they are still outside the N.E.U.M. And we cannot help asking why it is that these people are still outside the movement. We also know that on the Executive Committee of the Unity Movement we have set aside positions for these people. However, although eight years have passed, I think we are still hopeful that eventually the S.A.I.C. and the A.N.C. will see the light of day and be convinced that their only place in a struggle for liberation, for the rights of all, is in the Non-European Unity Movement as it is constituted today. A people who go into battle must be a disciplined people and it is precisely for that reason that the N.E.U.M. is constituted as it is. We owe a duty first of all to our people, so that when we lead them into action it must be as an enlightened people - a people who know and understand why and how they are going into action. And before we discipline the people we must discipline the leadership. The repeated failure of those outside the N.E.U.M. will bring home this lesson. So I feel that we can still be hopeful for the day when the leaders of the A.N.C. and S.A.I.C. will see the light and take their rightful place in the N.E.U.M.

Mr. F.G. Grammer (National Anti-C.A.D.): We have to agree that our President, in the remarks he made this morning, has told us exactly what increasing oppression is in store and what the reply of the Non-Europeans must and will be. During the day of the United Party it was 'development along your own lines' or 'segregation'. The Nationalists call it 'apartheid' or 'baasskap'. The very crudeness of the Herrenvolk has drawn the various sections of the Non-Europeans together. The Unity Movement has made progress since its inception. We have been brought together here because of an oppression which we are beginning to see as a common oppression.

We can see that the basis on which the Unity Movement is built has been proved correct. We should all take the words of the President to heart: let us mobilise our forces on a principled basis and let us work according to the principle of non-collaboration.

Mr. I.B. Tabata (All-African Convention W.P.): There is a saying that he who knows the road is he who has travelled. Our President, who has been on this road of struggle practically all his lifetime, has shown us that he does know the road and in his address he has carried us along the road and indicated the various avenues leading off the road. He knows the road and we are thankful to him for leading us along it.

He has raised a number of points that require consideration. He has raised the question of apartheid and segregation, equating the two. Even amongst the Non-Europeans there are still people who believe that there is a difference between these two terms. I am sure speakers will deal with this aspect during the course of Conference.

The next point raised was the question of the building, of the mobilization of the Non-European "army". I think that that point is the very cornerstone of this Conference. We must indicate, at least, the necessity for the mobilization of this "army".

I would like to underscore the idea of a 'diseased mind'. I think the President raised a point which all Non-Europeans ought to think very seriously about - the mind which could form such ideas as are contained in apartheid or segregation. It is known that Non-Europeans in this country have acquired civilization as it is known today. They have received this from the white who drifted into this country. It is our right that we should adopt this. It does not belong to the Europeans. First of all, the very terminology, 'white civilization' is wrong. It belongs to us equally. Our country is the very cradle of civilization. But because this civilization has come to us via the whites from Europe there has developed among us an attitude of mind which makes us feel somewhat inferior to the whites and they have traded on this inferiority. They
entrench....

entrench this feeling through all the means at their disposal. We have come to a stage where we are sloughing off this complex and it is time we examined this creature which we regarded as our superior. When we look at his intellect - and we can only judge that by what he does - we find that today he still boasts of the 'discovery' that the black man is inherently inferior. Even a child would know this is nonsense, yet the white people can seriously believe in these things, and regard themselves as superior. Any intelligent Non-European should laugh at the idea.

It would not matter so much if they were not the people who have the very control of our lives, of the whole of South Africa. But they are, and our present fate is in their hands. It is because of this that it becomes necessary to examine quite closely the diseased mind and the development in this diseased mind, where it is leading South Africa. And when we examine it, we will realise that it is time we cried: 'Halt!' and took our fate into our own hands because no nation can be ruled by a diseased mind. It is our absolute duty to come forward in defence of ourselves, in defence of our children, in defence of the nation, and take our rightful place in the government of the country."

The President then resumed the chair and Mr. S.A. Jayiya read out the Joint-Secretaries' Report:

REPORT OF THE JOINT-SECRETARIES.

When we last met in conference it was prior to the "general" election of 1948 which brought the Herenigde Nasionale Party into power. The Nationalists were caught unawares by this event to such an extent that quite some time elapsed before they recovered from the shock of having to take over the ruling and running of the State. The whole country, too, felt the effect of the unexpected change.

The first notable reaction of the people to the new situation was that they were benumbed and beset with a state of fear. All around was confusion. If in the past the Non-European had felt insecure in this country, this feeling became more pronounced at that time. This had to be so because of the enunciation of what the Nationalists stood for, and the picture painted of the H.N.V.P. by the other Herrenvolk parties and the so-called "friends" of the Non-Europeans.

Having recovered from the shock, the Malanite Government promptly proceeded to pronounce their intention to carry out the policy of apartheid in all its manifold features, saying that they would do all this in the interests of the multi-racial people forming the population of this country. Since they came into power they have succeeded in a very short space of time to put on their statute books extremely vicious and repressive legislation, typical of a Nazi state. Whatever they did and do, lest we forget, is what their predecessor, the United Party, would have done were it in office, since the Nationalists started from where the previous government had left off.

One of the first in a series of attacks on the remaining civil liberties of the Non-Europeans was the introduction of train apartheid in the Cape Peninsula in August 1948.

The Local Co-ordinating Committee of the Western Province took the initiative and called all the local organisations to a meeting to discuss and effect methods of opposing this measure. The outcome was the formation of an ad-hoc committee, the Train Apartheid Resistance Committee; because of the immensity of the task and in order to embrace many organisations, including the trade unions who always stood outside the Unity Movement, that form of organisation was accepted as a justifiable experiment.

It was obvious from the very outset that to rally the people to resist the train apartheid was not going to be an easy matter, as the government had aimed this attack at a vulnerable section of the Non-European people. Only first class travellers were affected by the regulations, and as the majority of the Non-Europeans travelled either second or third class this meant that a delicate balance had to be negotiated in order to rally the people and to organise resistance to the regulations. The organisation had hardly gathered momentum when those who were in control of the few trade unions in the T.A.R.C. withdrew from the campaign because they were working with the Liberals of the Civil Rights League which was formed in order to head off the popular following of the N.E.U.M. in the Cape. These people held important positions in the T.A.R.C. and their departure left the organisation in a weakened position. Having failed to control what was virtually an enlarged Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee, they adopted a course aimed at destroying the T.A.R.C.

The lessons to be drawn from the T.A.R.C. experiment were that it taught the people:-

1) The.....

- 1) The futility of winning our rights through the Herrenvolk law courts. This question will, no doubt, crop up when we discuss the methods of resisting the Rehabilitation Scheme.
- 2) Revealed the pathetic state of the trade unions. This problem, in general, will receive our attention under the Trade Union discussion.
- 3) Revealed that even an ad-hoc unity on a specific issue could not be successfully maintained outside the organisational framework of the N.E.U.M. This was a valuable and justifiable experiment; such ad-hoc committees function best as enlarged local co-ordinating Unity Committees in which non-affiliated organisations can be accommodated for the purpose of resisting a specific issue.

If we care to look back we will discover that quite a number of ad-hoc bogus unities have been formed only to end off in thin air before one could realise what it was all about; on each occasion the people were left in a weaker state than before. We have seen the coming into existence for short periods of: the various Anti-Pass Committees; the Votes for All; the Three Doctors' Unity Pact; May Day Unity Committee; Day of Mourning Unity Committee; the F.R.A.C., etc. In October 1948 the daily press carried a statement signed by twelve African leaders composed of the members of the A.N.C. and a few A.A.C. members. It soon became clear that the supposed proposal for the unity of the A.N.C. and A.A.C. was not a proposal emanating from these two organisations, but that the Liberals had a hand in it in order to get the people to perpetuate and support the 1936 Native Representation Act which was fast losing ground among the people, as the policy of non-collaboration was taken up more and more by the African people.

In January 1949 the N.E.U.M. issued a widely distributed statement on the Durban race riots. The N.E.U.M. stated that:-

"It regards them as a pogrom for which the prime responsibility must be laid at the door of the ruling classes of South Africa, whose constitution is founded upon the arrogant myth of their racial superiority over the non-Whites, and whose power is maintained by the division, suspicion and ill-feeling they nurture among the different racial groups living in this country. It further regards them as being directly inspired by the anti-Indian hatred and vilification which has been spread not only by the majority of the white population of Natal, but also by the present Government and its predecessors in office. And, moreover, it regards them as a severe warning to all the oppressed and exploited peoples of South Africa of the extent to which the Herrenvolk have succeeded in poisoning the relations between the various racial sections, and of the depths to which the ruling classes will sink in order to divert the growing militancy of the Non-Europeans and to wreck the growth of a unified movement to eradicate oppression."

Subsequently a meeting of certain African and Indian groups was held in Durban, which was attended by an observer from one of the affiliated organisations of the N.E.U.M. The Western Province L.C.U.C. held meetings to explain the machinations of these groups and the root causes of the riots.

Towards the end of the year 1949 the N.E.U.M. rejected an invitation from the Civil Rights League to attend a conference where the Malan proposal of removing the Coloured male voter from the common roll and the "abolition of Native Representation" were to be "discussed". The N.E.U.M. made it clear that under no circumstances could it accept part in discussions based on the retention of the status quo and the so-called entrenched clauses of the 1910 Act.

It is for us in the N.E.U.M. to state in unambiguous terms that we are determined to put forward our principled demands for the full franchise.

Discussion on Joint-Secretaries' Report:

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane: "The African National Congress has, to a certain extent, adopted a policy of non-collaboration, but has not carried it out because of the presence of people who still believe in sham representation and are obstructing the progress of the younger element. There is the unfortunate position that the man at the head of the A.N.C., elected on the clear understanding that he would resign from the Natives' Representative Council, has not done so yet."

Dr. G.H. Gool (Vice-President): "I think the Secretaries should have stressed the inroads that the policy of non-collaboration has made on those outside the N.E.U.M.; the strength and power of our ideas. Take for instance the A.N.C. I would rather put it that the reactionaries are in absolute control of Congress and only pressure from outside has had an effect on the Youth Leaguers and they have come out with the policy of non-collaboration - on paper. They do not....."

not practise it in deed. We judge an organisation, its nature, by this because we are committed to this policy of non-collaboration. About a month ago one of the sponsors of the Franchise Action Committee 'phoned me and invited me and the vice-chairman of the Anti-C.A.D. to attend a meeting. I told him to go to Jericho because it was quite obvious then already that they are committed to a policy of collaboration. They have exhumed the body of ex-Cac-man Golding. Now, with the failure of their deputations and petitions, they have come out with crises for 'Action'. But they avoid stating what they are going to do when the Disfranchisement Bill becomes a law. They are going to work the Act because Sam Kahn is already working the 1936 Acts to swell the number of white trustees, increasing the stranglehold of the white Herrenvolk over the Non-Europeans."

Mr. B.M. Kies (National Anti-C.A.D.): "There are two sections of the Joint-Secretaries' Report upon which Conference might profitably dwell. The first is the Durban Riots. We have not had a conference since that time and I think it would be important for us to discuss the implications of these riots and the causes that are still very much alive at the present time, and not merely in Natal or as between Indians and Africans. Looking at the Durban Riots, we have to draw the conclusion that we should not be too glib in the assumption that apartheid automatically unites Non-Europeans. It is basically a false assumption. We have to be aware of this fallacy. We have known and said that although the Herrenvolk oppress all sections in the same way they yet pretend to oppress them in slightly different ways, and this truth is as valid today as it was during the regime of the late Gen. Smuts. It would be wrong to think that the present Government is departing from the old Smuts policy of dividing the sections of the Non-Europeans from one another. We had fresh evidence of this on Friday last when the Group Areas Act was proclaimed. We must have noticed the emergence of certain new categories of Non-Europeans - there are now the Coloured people and Malays as supposedly distinct "racial" groups. This I take as a fresh symptom of something that has been going on for a very long time. Couple with that policy the attempt to put tribe against tribe and the attempt to preserve the relics of tribes. I have in mind the tours of the Minister for Native Affairs. In such a situation there is always the possibility of racial pogroms. The tragic riots in Durban were the first and most dramatic pogrom in our time, but we would be deceiving ourselves and the people if we believed that the Non-Europeans are so united by Nationalist policy that there will not be a repetition of what happened. It is here that the policy of the N.E.U.M., its political policy and organisational form should be made into a living thing in the minds and lives of every Non-European. Our ideas and organisation can be the only safeguard against the possibility of even greater pogroms in all parts of the country.

Secondly, I would go to another point which is related to this, and that is the various bogus and mushroom unities that have sprung up from time to time. There is no doubt that the rulers of this country are desperate and while there is definitely method in their madness, there is also a great amount of madness. It would be the greatest irresponsibility if we met madness with madness. I read a statement in this morning's paper that at a public gathering recently, a reputed Non-European leader said: "Our blood is hot and we have no time for wisdom and statesmanship." I have no objection to the temperature of people's blood. But I would say that in the political situation today and in the national liberatory movement there is a great necessity for coolness in our heads. There has never been a greater need for wisdom and for statesmanship, the statesmanship of an oppressed people struggling to liberate themselves. We have refused for the last three years to be panicked and stampeded into these various unities and councils of despair, because it is insanity which drives people to think that overnight they can come together and think they are unified now and the Government will tremble. We should not underestimate the powers of the rulers. They understand what forces are at work in the country and where the power lies at the present time. Whenever a fresh piece of legislation threatens we find that the group immediately threatened sets up an agitation that we must have another unity. Enthusiasm bubbles up and then the bill becomes an act and inevitably the people who were most excited accept it. There is the idea that if you can stop a particular bill then everything will be alright in South Africa. For example, there are those who say on the Coloured Disfranchisement Bill: If you can stop the Coloured from sinking to the level of the Africans everything will be fine. But the very people who use this terminology are already working the system of separate representation for Africans. They accept the status quo. The Joint-Secretaries' Report shows that we have at all times opposed the maintenance of the status quo and opposed not only every fresh bit of legislation but the whole body of oppressive legislation which already exists."

Mr. L. Sihlali (Vigilance Assoc., Queenstown): "It should be stressed that we must not be drawn into the committees of people which have no definite programme. We have seen in different places organisations which claim they accept the principles of the N.E.U.M., agreeing to come together on no definite basis with other organisations. The result has been that they have found themselves accepting things diametrically opposed to our 10-point programme.

The longer one studies and carries out this programme, the greater respect one has for it. In the local struggle the people learn to see it as part of the whole struggle of the Non-Europeans. When we are invited to attend these ad-hoc committees we should rather invite them to come along with us. A number of methods have been tried and tested and have not borne the strain. We know from experience that this programme is the only programme. It is a lesson we should take home with us and teach to the people.

A related item is the last one - the invitation by the Civil Rights League. It has been stressed that many of them are people who are waxing fat on the degradation and humiliation of the Non-European people. It is to be hoped that delegates wooed by these people will take the lesson of the N.E.U.M. Working Committee, who saw through this, and follow suit. We have no interest in fighting to retain the present arrangement of things and do not want any people who have benefited from this and then come along claiming to be our friends."

Mr. W.M. Tsotsi (All African Convention): "I believe it is going to be a very important task of this Conference to devise ways and means of branding the Quislings in our ranks. In the country, the farmer has a definite way of distinguishing his sheep from those of his neighbour. Unfortunately this practice does not relate to human beings, otherwise I would suggest that we do it with those who work against unity. I think a system has to be devised to get people to realise and distinguish their enemy from their friend. Our ideas have gone abroad and have been accepted. But the Quislings are trading on these ideas. There is the idea that a man fights for freedom just because he is a Non-European.

We must stress that being a Non-European is no guarantee. The ANC was openly opposed to the boycott. Then the ideas of the progressive section began to spread and the ranks of Congress felt that in order to maintain their hold they had to adopt certain subterfuges. They first of all came up with the idea of 'boycott candidates'. Then the people realised that this did not help much, so the Quislings fell back on a second line of defence and threatened to resign. This tided them over the period of conference. There is a great deal of silence on the matter now. There is no indication that they have resigned. One of our organisational tasks, as our ideas are spreading much faster than we can build up our organisation, is this idea of the boycott which must be stressed so that we may thereby tighten the ring around the Quislings. The people must get to know who is with us and who is not, because when these Quislings brandish progressive words stolen from the Unity Movement, the people are bound to listen."

Mr. I.B. Tabata (All African Convention, W.P.): "I have been made to understand that according to the law of the Herrenvolk, if there is a resignation from the N.R.C. it must be published in the Government Gazette within 30 days. As there has been no such publication, the threat of the A.N.C. leaders who are on the N.R.C. has remained a threat."

Mr. W.M. Tsotsi: "It is definitely true that they have not resigned. The Native Representation Law provided that when there is a resignation it has got to be made public."

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President): "There is a great deal of confusion among the rank and file. Congress in the Transvaal is divided into two factions: those who term themselves African Nationalists and those who are not African Nationalists. The African Nationalists claim that they will have nothing to do with people who are in the employ of the Herrenvolk. The question of the SAIC should also be discussed.

I would at this juncture like to extend a welcome to Dr. Limbada and those who are with him from Natal. I believe that the greater part of the whole Union of South Africa is represented at this conference."

The Rev. D.M. Wessels (Moravian Congregation, Lansdowne): moved the adoption of the Joint-Secretaries' Report. Seconded by Dr. N. Murison, (Gleenor Civic Association.) The Report was adopted.

The Joint-Secretaries then presented the minutes of the 6th National Conference. On a resolution from Mr. W.M. Tsotsi, seconded by Dr. S.A. Padiachy (Anti-CAD Com., Kimberley.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, 2.15 p.m. - 6.15 p.m.:

The Report of the Credentials Committee was read by Mr. S.A. Jayiya. The Committee reported that 72 organisations were represented, constituted as follows:

Political	22
Civic	13
Educational	24
Religious	2
Cultural	7
Sporting	4

Messages and greetings to the Conference were conveyed from the following: J. Maree, Social Committee, George; Miss J. Tabata, Port Elizabeth; V.G. Naidoo, Chairman, Dundee Branch of Natal Indian Congress; Teachers' League of S. Africa, East London Branch; Khaketla, Nigel; Secretary, Dundee Indian Tennis Club; Patel, Stars Indian Football Club, Dundee; Mrs. Benjamin, Bloemfontein; Mrs. H.S. Jayiya, Aliwal North; Rev. E. Gordon, Worcester; General Secretary, All African Convention, Umtata; Griqualand West Coloured Tennis Association.

The discussion on "THE FRANCHISE" was then introduced by Mr. W.M. Tsotsi:

"I have been asked to introduce a discussion on the Franchise. It is a cardinal point on the programme of the N.E.U.M.; necessarily so, because if the Non-Europeans of South Africa had the franchise then they would have everything else. We claim that all persons, whatever their class, who owe their origins to South Africa, who know no other country or homeland, are entitled to the franchise when they reach the age of 21 years.

Now I may be accused of insulting the intelligence of the delegates when I say that it seems to me that the meaning of the word 'franchise' is not generally understood. This is particularly so among the ranks of the Tuscans - those outside the Non-European Unity Movement. When we say we demand the franchise, we mean the right of all persons over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial, Divisional and Municipal and other democratic institutions of government. Our recent and current political experience shows that we cannot take it for granted that people have grasped this definition. Most people limit the franchise to the right to vote. When people see there is an election they get crazy and vote, and they are not particular whom they vote for. The franchise includes also the right to be elected. It is that aspect of our programme which has not sunk home yet. The two are complementary and one cannot exist without the other in a democratic system of government. If the one right is denied us, we cannot effectively use the other. That is because the vote is not an end in itself but a means to an end. That end is participation in the government of the country. The vote is there to procure an effective say in the government of the country. I am not here concerned with the merits and demerits of the democratic system.

We must view the obstacles in the way to achieving full democratic rights. There are two main ones. The one is the Herrenvolk policy of white supremacy and the other is the acceptance by the Non-Europeans of that policy. First of all, it is a fundamental principle of the democratic form of government that the will of the majority must prevail, and to ensure that this is so, the country is divided up into constituencies and each is entitled to elect representatives to represent it in Parliament. But in South Africa we have a position whereby the majority of the people are denied political rights. We have a colour-caste system, a country in which political power is monopolised by a minority racial group. You cannot have a democracy where you have a colour-caste society. Having said that, it is important to note that South Africa shares this doubtful honour with Southern Rhodesia.

It so happens that in South Africa we have a European problem which is not experienced in other colonial countries. So that whatever government is carried on, whatever political power is granted, must take into cognisance the resident European population. They have to consider not only the Non-Europeans but the resident Europeans. That is the European problem in South Africa which complicates matters. In other countries the Non-Europeans have been given the shadow of a franchise and the semblance of political power. For example, take the Gold Coast. The British Government has solved the problem there in a different manner by giving them shadow representation - ineffective in fact, but one which holds out hope of future improvement. We must distinguish between the policies of diplomacy and brazenness. But the result is the same - oppression. The British say that full democracy will be extended to the Non-Europeans gradually as they become civilized, and then they promptly create a situation which makes

that.....

that civilization impossible. The British will feed you on vain hopes and the Afrikaner will feed you on despair, but the result is the same: death. The British Government make qualifications so high in the Colonies that very few ever obtain the vote or get to Parliament. They do not say that Europeans must represent the people in Parliament, but the result is the same.

The South African government in 1936 passed the Representation of Natives' Act whereby they laid down that the Africans would be represented in Parliament by Europeans. We must not be confused by the difference in method. We must not think that because the British use diplomacy and the Afrikaner the open sjambok that we prefer the one to the other, because the practical result is the same. I believe that, with our agitation, the Afrikaner will learn also to use diplomacy, and we must be on our guard for such an eventuality. The advantage to the Herrenvolk of the British method is that a number of Non-European Quislings are employed to work institutions which are really foreign to democratic government. The British method is not dead. It is kept alive by the Liberals. They criticise as we do, the Afrikaner way. They excuse the fact that Europeans are at the head of things by saying that the Non-Europeans are still backward and cannot be entrusted with government. The Non-Europeans, they say, cannot claim representation because they are not yet fit to exercise the vote. Their policy is one of gradual extension of democracy, as circumstances permit, to the backward colonial people. The Liberals try to invoke morals into their politics. The nett result is political enslavement of the Non-Europeans. We must impress it on delegates and all Non-Europeans that one Herrenvolk party is as good as another, or as bad, and all are united against the Non-Europeans, and the return of one or another to Parliament is immaterial to us. We must expect that in future more of that kind of argument will appear which seeks to justify the deprivation of the vote on the grounds that the whites are the superiors and trustees.

I pass to the next point: the acceptance by the Non-Europeans of the Herrenvolk's allegation of supremacy. You would think that no Non-European would accept inferiority. Not so long ago, at the beginning of the Unity Movement, we had there quite responsible Indian leaders who said openly that they did not want the franchise. They wanted a communal system of voting because they maintained that if we claimed the franchise, it would antagonise the white nation. Of course they had their own reasons for saying that. I think it is correct to say that today most Non-Europeans want the franchise and only their actions belie their words. How can people accept dummy councils and N.R.C.s, etc., when acceptance of these institutions implies acceptance of inferiority! These institutions cannot effect a change for the better in the government of the people. Therefore they are useless as forms of representation. But you find many Non-Europeans who joyfully offer themselves for election to these institutions. We must therefore draw a very strong dividing line between those who fight inferiority in deed and those who fight it in words but accept it in deed. Unfortunately we have not a means of branding these people. But this Conference must devise a means whereby we can spot out these individuals on sight because they go to the people saying that they fight for the franchise and the people are taken in.

I do not feel that there is anything else to say in leading a discussion on the franchise. I want to end up by emphasising:

First of all we must have a clear conception of what we mean by the franchise and we must see to it that all Non-Europeans have this clear conception. Anything which does not give us an effective say in the determination of our destiny is not the franchise. And once we accept this meaning, we must realise the obstacles in our way. We have the whole Herrenvolk against us. We have also against us the Quislings. We must make it clear that there is a line which divides them from ourselves."

Discussion on The Franchise:

Mr. H. Jaffe (Cape Anti-CAD Com.): "I would like to take up a few of the theme ideas developed by Mr. Tsotsi. He has brought, in the first place, the idea that the right to vote cannot be separated from the right to stand for election. It is customary even amongst many of us to think, for example in the case of the Coloured vote, that we have half a franchise because the whole franchise means having the right to vote as well as the right to stand for election in Parliament. Mr. Tsotsi has drawn the conclusion that if you do not have the right to stand for Parliament you do not in fact have a vote. This conception is of importance in our struggle for the franchise. He has told us the meaning of the right to vote. When you want to vote, you must be free to vote. It means you must have a choice in the matter of whom you are going to vote for. If you have not the right to choose your candidate, in fact you have not.....

not the vote, and if you have not the right to stand, then the vote is not a vote. We are pleased to have this idea, this concept of the vote, developed.

Let us take the African vote. The African, using Mr. Tsotsi's yardstick, has no vote. Using his yardstick on the Coloureds and Indians, let us see what we arrive at. We see that half of the Coloured people have no vote because the women have been disfranchised, and only 20-25% vote, and when we see that this vote is not coupled with the right to stand for Parliament, we see that it boils down to a 2½% vote. Our movement is based on the fundamental idea of a full franchise for every citizen over the age of 21.

I would like to pose this question: Has there been in fact a difference in the South African and British method on the question of the franchise? It is our experience, and history shows, that there is no difference between the Boer and British methods of disfranchisement of the Non-Europeans. I maintain that the position we find ourselves in today is the logical culmination of a British plan and that there is no difference whatsoever between the South African and the British plan. I am not talking of their words, but of what they fundamentally want and work for in South Africa. Let us look at the question of Responsible government in the Cape in 1852. We find that the British introduced representative government and granted the franchise to Europeans in the Cape at the same time that they were engaged in the destruction of the Africans on the Eastern frontier. Let us take Natal. Shepstone disfranchised 100% of the people. Transvaal, when annexed by the British, maintained the colour-bar introduced by the Boers. Many must have heard of the well-known speech of Cecil Rhodes in which he said that there is not one man in India who has the vote and why should the Britains, who allow not a single Indian to vote, allow the Non-Europeans in South Africa to vote; and he began to devise plans for the disfranchisement of the Non-Europeans starting with the Glen Grey Act. His plan was that carried out by Hertzog in 1936. The plan was that no African should have the right to stand in Parliament, that there should be special dummy councils. We find that the policy South Africa is carrying out today was mapped out by the British decades ago, a policy of repression politically and denial of every political semblance of a vote to the Africans.

What we see with the Coloureds today is an extension of the Glen Grey idea. They must be segregated politically and have dummy councils. Long before Union, Milner came out with an interesting document which stated that he thought it advisable to have special white representatives to represent Africans in Parliament. Selborne was the architect of the Act of Union. Going through the records up to Union we find that the basic plan was worked out by the British and steadily implemented by the British and continued by Botha, Smuts, Hertzog and Malan.

Therefore, when we approach the question of the liberals, we must view them against a background that is a background of a fundamentally British policy which both the liberal and the boer applied. Historically viewed, that statement by Mr. Tsotsi is absolutely correct."

Mr. R. Canca (Transkei Organised Bodies, Central Exec.): "From the discussion two clear conceptions of the franchise have been formulated: (1) the right to vote, and (2) the right to be elected. I want to add a third conception and that is that elections must be conducted on democratic lines.

It is quite possible that if the Government should decide to give the Africans three African representatives in the House of Assembly, perhaps the majority of people would fall in with such a plan. It is possible that the Coloured people may fight the Representation of Non-Europeans Bill but when it comes to the section where they can be elected to the Provincial Council, they will fall in with this plan.

It should be made quite clear that if a party is not in a majority, the policy of that party can never be effective. Today, the Nationalists are in the majority in Parliament and when a Bill is presented it is a mere formality, because it is agreed on by them beforehand. All Bills presented today are sure to become laws tomorrow. I would like to warn people to look out for manoeuvres by the government in order to appease us. It is likely that the government may decide to give us a sop in face of the growing militancy of the Non-European.

I want to deal with the so-called 'civilisation test'. I read in the paper the other day that Non-Europeans would not be given the right to vote because they do not qualify. Up to 1910 our forefathers had the right to vote and to elect. We should by this day have advanced in civilisation! It is strange that today we should be robbed of the franchise. They say that all the Non-Europeans in this country have not gone so far as the Europeans. My people have never harnessed another people. They have never produced children and turned them into slaves....

slaves and I know that so-called civilised and Christian Europeans have done this. The whole question of civilisation and christianity is a complex one. If we have to divide the community according to civilisation standards, the people who will be found lacking are these people sitting in Parliament. There is the danger that when so-called 'improvements' are made, like enlarging the N.R.C. and allowing Coloured representatives in the Provincial Council, people are likely to fall in and it is necessary to repeat this warning. In this country as well as in other countries, there can only be one legislature. There can be no improvement on it by things like the N.R.C., the Bunga and Advisory Councils."

Mr. L. Green (T.L.S.A. Knysna): "The conception that we have today of the franchise is perhaps a little bit out of colour, out of keeping with the real crux of the matter. The franchise should be viewed as one aspect of government. I do not mean political government. I mean that it is really part of life itself. Insofar as the franchise, as we have experienced it, is concerned, it has really been no franchise at all. The franchise we possess is really a sop given to assist in continuing our political and economic exploitation. The Non-Europeans have not gained economically in any way by it."

Mr. Z. Nabe (Society of Young Africa, C.T.): "I would like to deal with the first part of the address, that is the significance of the franchise. I would like every delegate to ask himself a few questions: when, in society, am I included in the community, or when in life do I become a human being, a citizen of the country? It is only after answering this question that we can deal with the franchise. In South Africa we have no community. South Africa is divided into races. And an injury to any one race is an injury to the whole. African and Indian and Coloured do not form part of a community. That is why they have not developed; they have been given inferior jobs and cannot be allowed to do skilled work. We must first fight to be citizens, we must form a community, before we can fight for anything else."

Rev. R.D. Thlalo (All African Convention, Queenstown): "The subject of the franchise has been thrashed out well. It is the first time that I get a clue to it. Today we can see the results of what was begun 200 years back. Even the men who were given a vote - it was only a dummy vote. The white man has been playing the fool with us. Today it comes out. I have been asking myself: what am I going to do now if this is not a vote. I think we must do something about this. I think we have been fools in thinking that we are voters. At the conclusion of this the Resolutions Committee must say what we are going to do."

Mr. I.B. Tabata (A.A.C., W.P.): The subject under discussion is one of the most important, and in listening to the discussion since the beginning of Conference one has gained the impression that a great deal has taken place, that the Unity Movement itself has grown. I am talking about the ideological growth and maturity of the movement, and this has been expressed in all the speeches. There has been a maturing of ideas.

Mr. Canca implied that if you compare the people sitting over there and the people sitting here in this room today, that these people sitting here are the representatives of the Nation of South Africa. And I think the whole Conference agrees with this and, in point of fact, I base my remarks on this feeling - that the Non-Europeans of South Africa have discovered that they are the Nation of South Africa and this is an important discovery.

Everybody feels that the Non-Europeans of South Africa constitute the greater part of the nation and it is from this point of view that they are here examining the problems confronting them. Mr. Tsotsi has stated that we are faced with a European problem. I would call it a "Herrenvolk problem". He has said this from the point of view of nationhood, i.e. we are the nation.

From the same attitude arises the sentiments of the President when he said we are confronted with a peculiar "diseased mind". Now we, as a nation, are here today to examine our problems objectively with the specific aim of eliminating the disease. When I say "we", we are not excluding the white population. All the white people who feel they are with us and are still free from this disease of the mind, and who unreservedly recognise our right to full equality - they also comprise part of the nation.

From this point of view of nationhood let us examine various aspects of our problem. First, the franchise. The white people came to this country and conquered us. They proceeded to take unto themselves all the political power and use it exclusively in their own interests and against us. Next, let us consider the distribution of wealth in this country. By far the greatest production of the wealth of this country is done by the Non-Europeans. But who enjoys.....

enjoys it? It is they who have the political power who decide as to the distribution of the wealth, and here again we see that they have misused their power. Witness the destitution of the Non-Europeans as against the comparative wealth of the Europeans and the luxurious conditions of the white rulers. Now what does this mean in terms of human life? Look at the life expectancy of the two groups. Europeans expect to live on an average for 65 years, but for the Non-Europeans it is somewhere about 41 years. The difference is 24 years. This means that when the white man is reaching manhood and looking forward to another 24 years of comfortable living, the Black man is already old and tottering to his grave. It is difficult for us to grasp the full significance of the situation from bare figures. You have to live and see it happen before it means anything to you.

Again, from the point of view of nationhood let us examine the position in education. The education they are capable of giving is reserved for white children only - compulsory, free education, while by far the greater number of Non-European children of school-going age are roaming the streets.

Then consider the field of justice - or what should be known as a system of injustice. The so-called miscarriage of justice that is so frequent is the logical and legitimate outcome of the system of this country. Go to any court of law. There is no single Black magistrate, no single judge in the country who is Black. When a Black man goes into court he is convicted before he even enters the door of the court. Let us take the best of judges, those who say justice is blind. There is no such thing. Justice has to be administered with both eyes open, by a man who drank with his mother's milk colour prejudice. I am not concerned with the particular, individual judge or magistrate. The point is that the very system in which he grew up has so formed his mind that he is quite incapable of seeing a thing without seeing the colour of the man he has to judge. The whole legislature makes laws to create a whole nation of criminals. Someone once said, anyone can convict a Black man at any time of the day. He is sure to find some law under which he can be convicted. The very policemen, their whole attitude of mind, is the result of conditions in South Africa.

What we have to consider here today is the lack of franchise, which is responsible for all these things. If we had the franchise we would be going to Parliament to make all the laws for ourselves. We have to examine how the Herrenvolk have misused their power and see the effect of the "disease", as in recent legislation, for example. Like "galloping consumption" we can see this disease galloping in their minds today."

Mr. A. Pataar (National Anti-CAD): "I must express to the Executive Committee the thanks of this Conference for having asked the President of the All African Convention to introduce the discussion on the franchise.

Mr. President, you spoke this morning in your address about the madness with which the ruling class are going about the business of ruling and how, as Mr. Kies said, the oppressed can show another form of madness. Here in the Cape we have experienced a form of hysteria in connection with the taking away of the Cape Coloured vote. This has spread to the Press. Many people have, therefore, looked at the Non-European Unity Movement as part of that hysteria, and as a representative of the National Anti-Cad Committee I am glad that no such thing has been manifested here. The matter has been very soberly discussed. At the National Anti-Cad Conference in January it was discussed in the same sober fashion. We have not been in any way associated with FR.A.C. The Anti-Cad movement is completely independent of these people in FR.A.C. They are people who have refused not only to come into the Unity Movement but people who have refused to come into the Anti-Cad. It has never been a principle of the Unity Movement that we unite on any grounds. When it comes to this specific question of the Cape Coloured, male, limited vote, we are not indifferent to the removal of this vote. The Anti-Cad has put the position in this way: It is a question of knowing what forces we can muster to prevent the laws from going through Parliament. The whole nation is disfranchised. Therefore, who is to stop Parliament from making laws there? In the same way in 1936 the Africans were in no position to stop the Hertzog Bills from going through Parliament.

But we have discovered a weapon with which to make the Act not an Act. As a voteless people we yet have the power in our hands to make the Act unworkable. Since the formation of the All African Convention, the Africans have had a lone fight with the boycott of sham representation. It was a lone and vain struggle to a great extent because of enemies in the ranks. Today the Coloured people have adopted a similar weapon.

We see the announcement in the "Times" this morning of a one-day strike. In the report on the Fr.A.C. conference yesterday they said that many Indians and
Africans.....

Africans were present "as well as Coloured people". This latter is one of the first correct reports I have seen in the Herrenvolk press for a long time. Because the Coloured people are here in this hall today and have never been associated with these hysteria-mongers.

The Representation of Natives Act was accepted by the Liberals and the neo-Liberals, literally and figuratively, in the most shameful manner. Another resolution was passed at this Fr.A.C. Conference in connection with the Group Areas Act. It speaks in the usual manner about defence of the United Nations Charter, etc. I somehow get the impression that amongst all the hysteria there is a certain amount of exploitation of the situation, from the United Party down to those who are working the Natives Representation Act; a manoeuvring to get out of this what they can, whether it is to win support for the time when they stand for elections afterwards or to threaten the government in the interests of the trading section which will be affected by the Group Areas Act. This Conference has not shown evidence in any of the speeches made here that it is out to exploit the situation we have to-day. In this way it is proving to be a truly national Conference, representative of the African, Coloured and Indian oppressed."

Dr. G. Gool (Vice-President): "I want to bring down the discussion from its academic level to what we have to do once we have accepted the concept that we are free mentally. Let us take the movement that took place eight years ago when the Coloured people were faced with a Coloured Advisory Council and a Coloured Affairs Department. The movement was started to break the back of that legislation and we were able to isolate from our midst those Quislings who worked these institutions. If a mortal, infectious disease comes amongst us, it is isolated and destroyed. Therefore it was necessary for us to come out with the question of the boycott because these traitors did not speak for us. They spoke for the oppressors. In 1948 the Anti-Cad movement was brought into existence. It federated existing organisations of the people. It brought into use the boycott weapon. Today the boycott can be used against the new legislation. With the lesson of the first successful experiment, the Anti-Cad is asking the people to intensify this weapon to make the Disfranchisement Act completely unworkable. The Act will be a deadletter if the boycott is 100%. Today the organisations of the people in every town and dorp must unite in local committees to educate the people, to find out the number of voters and see to it that they do not vote."

Mr. A.C. Jordan (Cape African Teachers' Assoc., Central Exec.) said that the Europeans thought that they alone understood the meaning of civilisation, but that was an untruth. In white society there was a false belief that the chiefs were tyrants, whereas that was not the case. There was no doubt that they were democratic, for every man had a voice in the ruling of the people, and the chief could do nothing without them. Every man had the right to cross-examine in a judicial case. If a man did not know what verdict to give he would go to the boys, illustrate his point by means of a story and take their verdict. There was a democracy, even if it was primitive, and there was no question of their being unprepared for democracy, for all knew the content of the word.

In the old courts, after the evidence had been led, the men concerned retired, then their case was reviewed. On their return some other would give a review, and only at the end would the chief give the verdict of the people.

Present-day chiefs were only Government agents. Nowadays the magistrate goes to the people who object. He asks the chief for a verdict, and he cannot even say: "You have heard what the people say".

Soon Verwoerd would recruit a bigger council from the chiefs, and the Africans had now to prepare to fight tribal representation. They had not only to accept the boycott academically, but had to translate it into action: they had to show a closed fist.

Miss J. Gool (A.A.C.) said that a few weeks ago in the local press Dr. Dadoo had referred to the Anti-C.A.D. and N.E.U.M. as "those men of principle..... my blood is boiling, I am for action now". He had poured scorn on the N.E.U.M. but what had he advocated? A general strike.

She said that she had to enlarge on one point with regard to those people who had made "Freedom" day and the FR.A.C. They had resorted to a series of stunts during the past five years, and the stunts were to act as a substitute for the Ten-Point Programme. The stunts had included strikes, demonstrations, a Day of Mourning and Freedom Day. Those people had been consistent in that all their stunts led them into a cul-de-sac, and had resulted in the hindrance of the work of those who lead sincerely. Dadoo could scoff at the Ten-Point Programme because he did not believe in principles. Non-Collaboration and the Boycott had been our password, and, viewed from that angle, we, the nation, who had no say in the making
of.....

of the laws, could only make them ineffective by applying the boycott.

On the question of a General Strike she said that nobody could oppose the use of a general political strike as a weapon. We could not oppose it, but we had to regard the whole position in a mood of soberness. The Non-European oppressed did not require ersatz martyrs. Only when the majority of the Non-Europeans were united on the Ten-Point Programme could we take that step.

The people who toyed with that weapon at this stage were misusing a good idea. They had broken the boycott of the elections by putting up "boycott candidates" - they had debased every good idea. They had even gone so far as to say that teachers should not work if they disagreed with the Government.

The Conference was not going in for stunts: our sobriety was consistent with our growth. Our ideas were spreading, therefore it was necessary for them to cheapen our good ideas. They pour scorn on the Ten-Point Programme because at heart they do not believe that the Non-Europeans have the right to Parliamentary representation.

The discussion on LAND HUNGER was introduced by Mr. Leo Sihlali (Vigilance Association, Queenstown):

"When I received the Working Committee's invitation to speak on this subject I wanted to decline because I felt it needed expert knowledge. But on second thoughts I realised that the leader of the discussion need not necessarily go into finer points and, also, we live this thing and know what it means.

The question of land hunger has perhaps not appealed to us as it should have; that is, to us who are the mouthpiece of the oppressed. Maybe it is because our way of living is very much divorced from the land. But if we realise that hundreds of thousands of people depend on the land for an existence, then we shall see the importance of this question.

Let us try to view the question in this light. What is land? If we realise that land is one of the chief, if not the chief, factor in the production of wealth, then we shall give it the importance it deserves. We shall then come to realise why, among the disfranchised classes of the population, there is this land hunger. Then we shall see why these people in power have robbed us of land. It has been said that there is a disease in their minds and that there is a method in their madness; and one finds this same sort of method in the denial of land to us. It is because land creates wealth that it is denied us. Another thing, wealth confers power on those who possess it and poverty means, in this particular case, lack of land. And we shall see the effect this produces on the minds of the people.

Let me take an illustration from medieval England to show what power land could confer on those who possessed it. You all know how powerful the squire was and how degraded the peasant was. The possession of land produced the same degree of arrogance in those who have it here. We find that 87% of the population is to be allowed to occupy 12% of the land. And all they shall have is the right to occupy that land. They shall have no stake in the land. When people think of land, the tendency is to think of the 'country', but even in the towns we find the same process. We find that a certain set of circumstances has been created so that the Non-Europeans in towns cannot acquire land. As for the Africans in towns, they are there on sufferance. They are there only as long as they can be of use to the white man. If he is of no use he is immediately kicked out. That defencelessness flows from the lack of a vote. It is further intended to rob the Coloured man and place him in the same position. That is why the Disfranchisement Bill has been introduced.

The reserves were brought into being with the idea that 'when we have used up our labour sources here, we will draw on the reserves'. In 1913 there was a limited right to acquire land. Only certain classes could do so and these classes amongst the Africans were those who could vote. Land was a sop to them to vote for one or other of the Herrenvolk. But once it was agreed that the vote for the African was useless, these people were kicked out. In 1936 an Act came to do away completely with that right to buy and own land. Now we see the same thing coming along again. The Group Areas Act falls into the same category. After the Land and Trust Act of 1936, which denied to every African the right to buy land, they came along - they were going to accelerate the exodus from the reserves. They came out with stock limitation. Everything was placed in the way of any business which an African conducted. He could not get cash for his produce. The peasant was prevented from reaching any stage of independence. Look at these stock sales. The stock of a black man is not bought even if it is of the same quality as that of the white. The people in the reserves have to remain so poor that they have to turn round for succour to the very hand which

scourges them.

Having done all that to prevent the African from existing on the land, it seems that the exodus of labour was not yet meeting their demands so they came out with stock delimitation. And then they came along with the rehabilitation scheme. Under the 1936 Act, certain areas were to be released. These areas were not all released. The people who occupied the released areas were made to understand that this was Trust land and there they came under the direct control of what we call the Natives' Affiliation Department. They have no say in the form of agriculture they want to follow. According to the regulations, it is the Native Commissioner who will tell you what to do. He has the right to say what you must do; you have to ask him if you want to slaughter your cattle.

The whole aim of the creation of land hunger is to create a submissive attitude among the people. It is this that the Non-European Unity Movement has to fight. It is this possible psychological reaction which we have to fight. I say 'possible' because, of late, the people are reacting in quite a different way from what has been expected. We have to canalise the fight against land hunger, give direction to it. We would have been far on the way to doing this, but we have political crooks among us and the result is the people lose faith.

Knowing the effects of land hunger and knowing the purpose for which it has been created, what shall we do? How shall we go about fighting the slave mentality that has been created among the people through want?

I want Conference to realise also that although land is said to have been set aside, some of this is taken to create townships and conditions of residence so that you shall know your place, vis a vis the white boss. So there you have people put together and told: 'Now look, here you come and settle on condition that you are going to be a good boy!' It is impossible to talk to people there because there are informers all around us. One man who spoke out has been expelled. They are using land hunger to break the spirit of the people, and this I think Conference should try to counteract: how to avoid the people's spirit being broken."

Mr. Jack Molefe (Mafitling Organisation, Ngutu, Zululand): "Two of us have come here. They are the messengers of the chief of the nation. They have come here in connection with the grievances of the nation in Zululand, and how it has been treated since the year 1944. The Native Commissioner said the following: that the government wanted to cull stock, that is, cattle, sheep, goats and horses. The people refused and asked how they were going to live, because that was the bread of their children. The people said they were surprised at what the Government said. The Government knows that the only means of existence of the people is their cattle.

Now we are perplexed. The Commissioner deposed our chief and put up another one, namely, Wellington Butelezi. After deposing the one chief and putting up Wellington, the Commissioner took him into his confidence and agreed that they were going to cull the stock, and it is obvious that this was agreed upon between the government and Butelezi, because immediately they put up Butelezi, everything went very smoothly.

We remained like that for a period of four years and after that the Government once more brought back our chief. Many things had been spoilt and that is mainly what we have come down here for. The people have sent me down to tell you that they are not living happily where they are. When a man has ten cattle, five are taken away from him and only five he keeps. If he has 200 sheep, 150 are taken away from him and only fifty remain, and that is the cause of our unhappiness. If he has twenty goats, seventeen are taken away because it is said that the government is totally against any keeping of goats and donkeys. Now that is our complaint. We do not know what stand to take. So much of our stock has been taken away from us and lands were taken away. People are given two acres. Some people had to stay even three years without ploughing. They simply had to sit down and fold their arms. They had to fight to get back their fields. The government has simply ignored them. Now they have come to their wits' end. Our chief was not there at the time. When the people went to him to put the position to him he said he did not know anything about it because he had been deposed. That is all I have to say."

Dr. A.I. Limbada (Natal Indian Congress, Dundee Br.): "I think I will have to add a bit more to what Mr. Molefe has said in order to give a better picture of what is happening in his area. Zululand is about seven million morgen in area. There are about half a million people living there. That may make it seem that there is no land question in Zululand, but a large part of the land is not habitable and large areas are being leased out to private companies prospecting....."

prospecting for minerals. The administrative work there is done by chiefs nominated by the Native Affairs Department.

I will deal with the area from which my friend comes, the district of Nqutu. The land there is divided by the national road. The scheme was first introduced on the right hand side of the road. At that time his brother was chief and he was violently critical of the government. When the Rehabilitation scheme was introduced, he was immediately deposed. The government said that the motive was that the children should go to school instead of staying at home to herd the cattle. Fences were put up. The people began to realise what was going to happen and cut the fences. The Government held the nearest household responsible and fined them.

The next move was when they told the people they must move into a certain area. The people were forced out. They suddenly realised that they were all herded together in a manner very similar to the location system. The next step was that the Government said: 'You are overcrowded', and began cutting down the number of cattle and even cut down the amount of land the people were entitled to. They brought the people into one area that could be controlled; then they reduced the cattle, then they allowed each a small piece of land not enough to feed his family even for a month. The people were forced to move out and go and look for work. You will see here a linking of the Companies' leasing the land together with the need for a labour supply.

Then the Government came to the people on the left-hand side of the road. The people there had already organised and told the Government blankly "Asifuni". The government then said, "We will put a dam there." But the people again answered "Asithandi." The Native Commissioner told a number of people to come to a meeting. He told them that the government would give them schools, a dam and all amenities. The answer given was: "Don't worry about us. Make these improvements to your people first." The Native Commissioner got a shock. He was in a complete dilemma about what to do. And the people don't know what step to take next. The Government started putting up a fence for about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile and then stopped.

In that area there are intellectuals who are selling out. They don't depend on land or cattle for a living so it does not matter to them. Other areas are taking this as an example. They say: 'We are not going to be a party to oppression.' We find them seeing through this treacherous scheme and saying that "Even if the Government enforces it we will oppose it. At least our children and our children's children will not be able to point a finger at us and say we were party to making them slaves." As far away as those people are living, they are picking up the threads of Non-Collaboration."

Mr. R.J. Fortjies, (Die Arm-mans Noodlottige Vereniging, Dysselsdorp): "At Dysselsdorp many bad things are going on with us Coloured people. The white man comes and takes away our ground. We possessed 14,800 morgen of land and now we live on 2,300 morgen. That is what the white man does to us Coloured people. And then he comes along and limits the number of donkeys. We may not possess more than two. We may not possess more than one goat or sheep. And for that reason we think the white man wants everything. We resisted the measure and told him we were not going to submit. The magistrate in Oudtshoorn told us he could do nothing in the matter and he is the Chairman of the Divisional Council. He gives the European the right to mortgage the ground. And that is why we have come to this meeting to get advice from this Conference to tell us what to do. If we dare do anything against the white man, he will cast us into prison.

And then he wants to take us out of town and put us in the veld. And Dysselsdorp is undivided Crown land, a mission station. Tomorrow I will bring the papers and ask the President to read them to you."

EVENING SESSION, 8 p.m. - 10.30 p.m.:

(Discussion on Land Hunger continued):

Mr. R. Mkiwa (People's Working Committee, Idutywa): "We are happy to be with you today, to come and inform you of what is taking place in the district of Idutywa in the Transkei. I want to say that already there are five locations at Idutywa which have been brought under the Rehabilitation scheme. The whole scheme originated about three years ago. I am told that in Umtata the Bunga accepted it six years ago. This came to us as a great surprise. The locations were called upon to vote either for or against the scheme. In my location the result of the vote was 60 for and 70 against it. The headmen were instructed to preach the advantages of the Rehabilitation Scheme, to point out that it was not compulsory. But we find today that things are different. The magistrates tell us that if we do not accept the Rehabilitation scheme ourselves, the Government will enforce it against us. So that that is the real grievance of the people of Idutywa and that is why we are here today.

Now in the five districts that are said to have voted for the scheme, Planning committees have already been formed and these committees have plans ready for the reduction of stock. Now in the last meeting of the District council, which was on the 7th March, the magistrate told us that in one location the scheme was being enforced and 7,000 sheep had to be abolished and then in another location, 3,500 sheep had to be killed off.

I want you to understand that even in these five locations where they say the people "accepted" the scheme, it was not the people who accepted the scheme. The magistrate approached the headmen and they accepted the scheme. When the magistrate wants to bring about the Rehabilitation scheme, he calls the headmen together and makes them accept the scheme, whereas the people are not at that meeting, and then he says: 'This location has accepted the scheme.' This is the type of thing which you find over there when the magistrate takes to his side the chiefs and headmen and the people are left outside.

You know, just last Thursday the magistrate went out to one location to form a committee whose duty would be to cull stock in that location. And the settlement of the people has been changed and where a person had quite a big Lot he has been given a smaller area on which to settle.

Now in the village of Colora there are seven heads of families who have declared they will never move away from their sites until they have been evicted and they have taken a pledge that their stock will not be reduced. The people there have hired the services of a lawyer, Mr. Spilkin, to defend the cases of the people. Our greatest grievance is this, that the stock which we have has been given by God, and the Government in one day wants to take all that has been given to us by God. Some time back the Government appealed to us to give money to fence in the land - after that our children would be able to go to school. We agreed to that. We had already paid £100 but during the war the Government said it was too poor, it could not attend to the fencing of land. In fact, the only type of fencing accepted was the fencing of arable allotments, but today the Government won't hear anything of that. What the Government is doing today is the fencing of pasture land and the culling of stock and I don't know what is going to eat this grass because what should eat this grass is being killed off. My question is this: were we given these cattle and sheep by the Government that it can today take away our cattle and sheep? It is a pity we have no weapons because this is an issue on which we should be shedding blood. How much more important is this issue that we should not take up weapons and fight for our cattle, the cattle which we ourselves have reared and which was not given to us by the Europeans."

Mr. P. Xeketwana (People's Working Committee, Idutywa): "I am called to be Present at this Non-European Unity Movement Conference today to show you what a life we lead in the Transkei. I will speak on the question of land. I will explain what promises had been given to us by the Government officials. I would like this meeting to remember that in 1904 we were asked to help in the Boer War. We were told that we were going to fight for our country. In 1910 the Government took land belonging to us. Many white people were given farms in the Transkei. In 1914 when Gen. Botha was Prime Minister, he told us to go under the British flag to help the British in South West Africa. We were told we were going to fight for our rights and land. In 1918 the war came to an end. Sons of chiefs and common people died in that war. After the war, Gen. Hertzog came round in 1925. He imposed the poll tax on every male person. Even a person eighteen years old. That is how he thanked us for helping in the war. Again, in 1935 Smuts came round and asked us to fight Hitler. He said we should fight for our

rights.....

rights and country. Today old men who are about 65 are landless. When we asked for land he said there was no land, when large tracts of land are available to him to plant wattle trees and plantations. That is the sorry plight we find ourselves in. After we had fought the war against Hitler, the Government thanked us by introducing the Rehabilitation scheme.

On the 20th of March, the Planning Committee was at Idutywa. They came to a location and at a meeting which was held, only seven people accepted and 63 were against the Rehabilitation scheme. There were 63 who did not want that, only 7 who did vote for it and were prepared to go in for the scheme. He went to another location on the same day. Among the people there, 41 voted against and 15 for the Rehabilitation scheme. The 41 told the Magistrate to introduce the scheme only for the 15 who had voted for it. In another location the same case occurred. In many locations the magistrate had already introduced the Rehabilitation scheme and it is clear that the people there did not accept it.

I will stop my argument on that point. I am very glad that Dr. Malan has become Prime Minister of the Union. Because the people refused to come together before and now there are signs that they are coming together."

Mr. E. Bavasah (T.L.S.A. Goodwood-Vasco Br.): "There is a myth that soil erosion is caused by overstocking. I hope that African speakers will give us information about the real position."

Mr. R. Canca (Transkei Organised Bodies, Central Exec.): "The whole question is not a question of overstocking but a question of land hunger. The best way to illustrate that would be to give the figures. I want to give you an idea of what is happening in those areas which have accepted the Rehabilitation Scheme. I have got here a resume of Proc. 116 of 1949 and it is the terms of that Proclamation which I want to give Conference now. I want to give the terms, the offences created under this Proclamation, and the penalties provided for these offences. By 1949 quite a number of districts had accepted the Rehabilitation Scheme in the manner described by Mr. Mkiva. He told you that the methods used was to get the headmen and chiefs to agree and the opinion of the people did not matter; and after a district had accepted the Rehabilitation scheme they came under this Proclamation 116 of 1949.

It declares that once a location has accepted the Rehabilitation scheme, then the magistrate of that area will come in and paddock the whole area, divide it into camps. Then the magistrate will call on the residents to bring all their stock for counting and after the stock is counted the magistrate tells the people how much stock to keep in that area. He will then tell the people which stock to cull and when to cull them and the people will be given three months notice of this. He will tell the people when to plough and what kind of crops to plough. He will take the number of people resident in that location and keep this number of people.

In this Proclamation, measures introduced to improve the veld will be carried out by the community as a whole. This will not be paid labour. Then there is a list of a number of offences - the failure to close a gate will be an offence, jumping over a fence will be an offence, and failure to comply with the regulations regarding contour will be an offence; any obstruction to the deputy of the magistrate carrying out his duty will be an offence, and there are many others; there are at least seventeen criminal offences. It gives the magistrate or his deputy the right to enter premises at any time of the night or day, to demand poll tax receipts, to interrogate, to give them details of work, the nature of work or to find out the number of people in the family. Then it goes on to give the penalties. For the first offence it is £10 or 1 month's imprisonment. This increases with the second and third and fourth offence until the maximum fine is £100. It is interesting that this Proclamation was brought about at a time when the people of the locations had accepted the scheme. But the magistrate made the people to understand that the whole thing was voluntary and to be run by the people themselves.

This leads us to the consideration of the next question. When the people from the rural areas come to the towns, they say: "We can never stay in a location like that", but in the country, is the land our own? When such proclamations are passed, the task of telling the people the land is not theirs becomes easy. The whole land is a Government farm but this farm is divided and given different names. Some parts are called Surveyed Areas and others Unsurveyed Areas. Then there is a third division known as Trust farms; a fourth group called Betterment Areas - these are the areas which have accepted the Rehabilitation scheme.

Now I come to the last point. In the liberation movement there are people

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who have found the conventional phrases. They know the masses demand action and so they use catch-on phrases in order to keep them quiet.

The government knows full well the people want more land and it will bring in an act to register land and call it the Land Act, as if the purpose was to give more land. In order to keep the people away from Parliament, it will pass a law called the Representation of Non-Europeans, because the Government knows the people are clamouring for the vote. The rights of the people are taken away in the name of democracy. Therefore it is important for us not to look on this question of land as an isolated question. These matters are all connected up, one with another."

Mr. E. Bavasah: "A couple of years ago I listened to an inspiring address in which South Africa was described as a jungle in which the Herrenvolk are the lions but when I hear all these facts given tonight, then I wonder if South Africa is not more than a jungle because there you at least have a square foot of ground in which to defend yourself. Many times I have seen the poor tracts of land up country, and the Africans herded into small areas, and I seem to understand tonight why these lands are undeveloped. It is because these chaps are so busy today forming regulations and laws against us. Many years ago I could only picture to myself the many difficulties Africans had to contend with. But now it has become much more real to me. There are still many people who do not understand the question of land. Now only we can see that the whole question is inter-related. Today we see the Coloureds going into housing schemes. There is nothing different about that from the position of the Africans. So many still live with the idea that the Coloured is better than the African. They are still hoping that we will get a little concession here and a little concession there. That brings me to an important point - the question of the Indian trader. He always had a policy of pacifying the European. Today the screws are being turned against him too and yet the Indians will still not listen.

I come now to another point - the question raised by Dr. Limbada about the intellectuals who play up to the ruling class. The position is the same with us here today. There is now the question of the issuing of permits - people with property will be told, "You shut up and you can live in your house". They will be given special permits. We must watch carefully for the Quislings who will use these permits.

Then there is the question of expropriation. Special group areas have been evolved. All these things have been interrelated. But the people outside can see it. It is the man who has a house, who is aspiring to be a principal, these are the people who are Quislings. They are the ones who feel they must carry on the work of their masters."

Mr. A.E. Abdurahman (A.P.O., Central Exec.), said that about fifteen years ago he had come to the conclusion that the only way of discussing things on the agenda was to discuss them one in relation to another. It was inevitable that he would digress because of the nature of the discussion. Referring to the speech made by Mr. Jantjies, he said that in 1870 the people of Pacaltsdorp had migrated to found Dysseldorp. In 1892 the Europeans took control of the Village Management Board, and they immediately made improvements as near as possible to the white farms. The Board went bankrupt and the Divisional Council took over. A Commission of Inquiry was set up, but nothing was done. The report of the commission was nowhere to be found, not even in the Surveyor-General's files.

With regard to the Franchise he said that soon the Coloureds would be in the same position as the Africans. With regard to the relationship between the A.P.O. and the Fr.A.C., he said that the previous Friday night the A.P.O. Executive had fixed the President. The A.P.O. stood four-square behind the Non-European Unity Movement, and its only concern had been that it had failed to attract the African National Congress and S.A. Indian Congress into the movement. Negotiations had broken down continually on the questions of non-collaboration and the Ten-Point Programme. As one of the constituent parts of the Unity Movement it was a duty of the African People's Organisation to remain faithful.

Mr. H. Jaffe (Cape Anti-C.A.D. Com.), said that the struggle for land was the fundamental issue in the national-liberatory movement. This significant fact had clearly expressed itself at Conference. At the close of the previous afternoon session Conference had taken a dramatic turn. The country had spoken for itself, and delegates had been struck to the core. The problem of National Liberation was mainly and basically the land problem of the majority of the Non-Europeans, 80% of whom were landless peasantry. The delegates had stated important local facts; local pictures of conditions in the Transkei and Zululand had been given, and now it

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was necessary to draw the picture on a national scale.

In the reserves 85% of the people were landless and constituted a source of cheap labour. The 15% who possessed land had only nominal title. The average African occupied $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 morgen per farm while the white farmer owned 1000 morgen per farm. Since 1910 the South African Government had rehabilitated Europeans on 20 million morgen of Government land, giving each 1000 morgen.

In Zululand the Government intended to introduce mineral exploitation which would lead to further expropriation of land. When this bill was introduced in Parliament, not a single "Native Representative" had objected. Through Mrs. Ballinger they had accepted the bill, and that showed their whole attitude towards the question of land.

In the reserves 25% of the population owned no cattle, and 36% less than five head per farm. The European farmers, head for head, owned 20 times as much cattle and eighty times as many sheep and goats as the African. We find that the European farm is grossly overstocked. Every European farm has sixty head of cattle per farm whereas the African has only three. The European has 400 head of sheep per farm whereas the African has five sheep and goats.

What was the attitude of the Government to the African? It was their policy to ruin the African peasantry so that they could become a source of cheap labour, and to build up the European who lived on the African. Since 1910 over 100 laws had been passed to support and subsidise the European farmers. Every European farmer got 500 times as much assistance as the African farmer and then the latter "subsidised" himself through dummy councils. This was the picture on a national scale.

He then showed the conditions which were enforced under a recent regulation (Gazette 7/2/1951). Regulation number 28 stated that the Government could cancel the right to a kraal site if:

1. The occupant was away for more than a year;
2. If the occupant was removed from the location for any reason;
3. If the occupant was more than 2 years in arrears with his taxes;
4. If the land was used for any purpose other than that for which it was granted;
5. If the site falls in any irrigation scheme; and
6. If it is in the public interest or welfare; and, in addition, the heir of the family did not automatically gain occupation on the occupant's demise.

Mr. A. Fataar (National Anti-C.A.D.) said that the supply of land and the granting of privileges was not what the ruling class had in mind. When the African was given the dummy representation the pill was coated with the sugar of land. Now the bait of Coloured Provincial Councillors was being held up in order to hoodwink the people. But the promise of land was the greatest fraud of all. There was no security of tenure or occupation, and it was Government policy to concentrate the people on the smallest area of land. There was to be no production by the Non-Europeans; not even in the segregated areas. We could not think of taking the responsible people to a court of law, as that was part of the Herrenvolk machinery of oppression. Redress could not come from the law courts but only from those who struggled against these things.

Mr. W.M. Tsotsi (Voters' Assoc., Glen Grey) said that the problem of land and the Rehabilitation Scheme was a burning one, and the Conference would fail in its duty if it did not point out that there was no easy solution. First it was necessary to understand that legally it was laid down that the scheme could not apply in an area unless the people had been consulted. All possible pressure was generally brought to bear so that the people would "voluntarily" agree. That was only the practice, and it was not absolutely essential that the people's approval had to be obtained.

In practice it was often found that the people agreed at first, but when work began they realised the evil of the scheme. People were usually bluffed into accepting the scheme. That resistance had brought resistance committees into being because the chiefs so often accepted the scheme against the will of the people. Now the authorities were organising committees to work the scheme and to co-operate with the authorities.

Mr. B.M. Kies (National Anti-C.A.D.): "It would be fitting, since we are drawing near to the end of the discussion, that we should link it up with the discussion this afternoon on the franchise. Because we would be failing in our duty if we did not make it clear that there is an inseparable connection between the

question...

question of land and the question of fundamental political rights. It is in an organisation such as ours that we get in people's minds the connection between these two. Mr. Fataar has already hinted at the connection between the Native Representative Council and the question of land. You will recall that in 1935-36 the African people were told that the vote was not really worth very much and that what they needed more was land. They said, 'you cannot graze cattle on the vote and therefore you need land'. One of the big factors at the time in getting the Africans to accept dummy representation was the bait of land. Without that the acceptance and working of 'Native representation' would have gone with much greater difficulty. They attempted to separate the political struggle from the economic struggle. With regard to the Coloured people, in recent months there has been propaganda in the Government press that the Coloured vote has been a badge of exploitation for many years and is really of no great value. What they need more than anything else is economic upliftment, houses and protection from the Africans who are taking the jobs from them. I want to show that this is a consistent line on the part of the Herrenvolk to split these two questions.

In our minds we must have inseparable the struggle for land and for liberty, the economic struggle and the political struggle. It would be blindness to consider that without linking up the political struggle with the demand for land, we can get anywhere; then we will be merely talking. But on the other hand, it is important for those people to whom the question of land seems to fill the whole horizon, to know that without linking up with the fight for the franchise is to spend their whole lifetime in a blind alley. Hence one of the reasons for the programme of the Unity Movement and the organisational form of the Unity Movement is to tie up these two things in our struggle. On this question we will realise that the attempt through land starvation and the Group Areas Act is to reduce all Non-Europeans to a position of economic starvation and dependence and that this position breeds political subservience.

Delegates will find very often that the people assisting the ruling class, who apply the Land Act or the Rehabilitation Scheme, are the same people who are assisting the ruling class in working on their dummy political councils. It is the very chiefs and headmen who behind the backs of the people are accepting the Rehabilitation Scheme who are the people working the Advisory Boards and the N.R.C. and the whole system of political exploitation.

I want to close on this: that we will have done a great thing if, out of these two discussions, we have firmly fixed in our minds the inseparability of those struggles - the struggle for land and the struggle for liberation."

Mr. I.B. Tabata (A.A.C., W.P.): "The last speaker has drawn from the discussion on this all-important question of land-hunger the important slogan: "Land and Liberty", which emphasises the inseparability of the struggle for land and the struggle for the franchise. If Conference leaves with only this idea, it will have achieved a great deal. It is essential that we of the Non-European Unity Movement understand the place of the peasant in the struggle. The Land Problem is at the core. Coloureds and Africans depend on the land indirectly even in the towns. The town is dynamically related to the country.

We have heard of the struggles of the peasants, many of us for the first time. Recently we read about the disturbances in Witzieshoek, but the full import did not come home to us because the two struggles, of the workers in the towns and the peasants in the country, were not connected and seen as one struggle. The Witzieshoek martyrs are those who have gone into the battle first. Most people do not know that some of them have been locked up in Bloemfontein for three months without any charge being laid against them. This is going back to the Middle Ages.

In 1947 others in different parts of the country faced the same position. Take the case of the Amaxesibe who were summarily told to get rid of their stock. Many of their sheep were trucked to Natal and some of them died in transit, but the people received no compensation. When the magistrates went to the neighbouring villages the people refused to bring their stock, for they remembered the fate of their neighbours' stock. They first wanted to know what was to happen. Then the magistrate summarily arrested some of the people. And one village after another rose and took up arms. The country as a whole didn't know of these incidents. The only Press which mentioned it was the Torch. Yet the battle of the Amaxesibe - and of those in Zululand and Witzieshoek - is the battle of the Non-Europeans: They are fighting our battle. We must understand and demand to know what has happened in Witzieshoek. They belong to us. Not one organisation affiliated to the N.E.U.M. made a point of finding out what happened. We do not know yet now who are our martyrs. We do not yet understand that it is they who are fighting our battles."

Speaking...

Speaking in Xhosa (interpreted by Mr. A.C. Jordan) Mr. Tabata continued:

"I want to say a few words to those of Zululand. We are glad you are here. For the first time you have come to your home. You have realised that we are your people. The first thing I want to say is that this Rehabilitation Scheme is able to operate because we have lost our human rights, our independence, our manhood. We are pinning our faith on what died long ago - the chieftainship. What is a chief to-day? Is there a single chief amongst us who is a chief, determined by the will of the people? The very idea of a chief being paid by the Government is ridiculous. Why should it pay them if they are our chiefs? To-day we have no land and no cattle because our chiefs are in this position. In the old days the chief never left his people to go and discuss with others. Custom said that anything affecting the tribe must come to the men of the nation. Let us strive to achieve our former state of manhood where the men themselves discussed their problems - and let us have our women too, for they also are workers. Whenever any problem arises it must be discussed by all the people together, by themselves, and then only must their decisions be taken by elected delegates to the authorities - and not by the chief, who can be bought over. We advise you not to send chiefs to face the authorities. In all the villages tell the people that there must be People's Committees.

The Rehabilitation Scheme does not operate unless the people accept it. If the people did not accept it, how did it begin to operate? Through those who receive their monthly pay from the authorities. No paid servant of the Government should be the mouthpiece of the people. From Nqutu go all over Zululand and say this is the position and this is what you must do. And tell them also that the same things are happening in the Transkei. Keep in touch and work with the people in the Transkei.

I want to tell Mr. Molefe that we are glad his brother is such a man that the Government found it necessary to depose him. It shows that your brother is one of us. He knows that he is a Black man and must defend the rights of his people. We are glad to know that there are still men and human beings in Zululand who demand their human rights. Whoever is trusted by the Government is a mere White man's dog and should be treated as such.

Go home and tell your people that there are men here with you - here in the Non-European Unity Movement. We shall watch and always keep an ear open for news. Get your people into this fold. It is a long road and it means hard work, all over Zululand and further. Remember that in the Transkei you will find men like you and like us.

To those from the Transkei I shall add these few words: We are watching you. We are hoping that when the people follow you - as they do - you will live up to their trust in you. We are aware that some are toying with the idea of the Bunga. If you are going to take advantage of the people, you would be betraying the movement. The people have confidence in you. Go home and work as you have done hitherto, and even more. Carry the light from this Conference to penetrate all the corners of the Transkei, from Gealekaland, through to Pondoland and right down to Zululand and Natal as a whole. Go home, not to sleep, but to work."

THE FIGHT AGAINST SLAVE EDUCATION introduced by Mr. N. Honono (Transkei Organised Bodies, Central Executive):

"I was actually asked to speak on measures to reduce retardation but see I have to speak on the matter of slave education. I will try to concentrate on measures to reduce retardation.

It must be clear to everyone that in South Africa Non-Europeans are not regarded as human beings. They are regarded as slaves. And if you have to train your slave you have to train him to suit your own tastes because he is your own tool and you want him to suit you. That is the attitude of White South Africa towards us. You know, their attitude towards the education of a Non-European is very interesting. It is as follows: you hear some of them saying, 'I am against the education of a Non-European. I do not think that education is fit for him.' And you hear them say, 'I do not see in any case how you can prevent the education of a black man but I would definitely not encourage it. You hear some of them saying, 'Education spoils the Kaffir.' It makes him proud and arrogant.' There is the old idea of some of the Europeans who will tell you that 'the Kaffir's mind is just as woolly and as twisted as his hair. You stretch it out. It comes back to where it was.' And the white man will go on to say: 'Why do you educate this man? It is no use educating him. It does not make him any better. He is a different creature. You cannot make a white man out of him.' And they go on

to.....

to say: 'What will become of the poor whites if you educate this man? What future will there be for our children? Do you know the Natives will demand social equality and intermarriage?' These are the various bogies the white man has when he speaks of 'native education'.

It is clear that as far as he is concerned, there is an aim for educating the Non-European which is diametrically opposed to the aim of educating the white man. When you educate the black man you educate him for a subordinate position in society but educate a white man for a dominant position in society. That is the attitude white South Africa has towards African education.

A Commission has been going around investigating African education. It is said to be investigating the question of a syllabus but it has gone far and wide collecting evidence and writing a report. They want to make sure that they collect every bit of information that is necessary to make a good slave. They have even gone to the bounds of the Union for information about this creature who is unlike themselves. It is clear from the terms of reference that they intend to give the Africans a different type of education. The aim of education is to produce a citizen but the African or Non-European is no citizen in this country and therefore they have to give him something different; something which is not for a citizen. We used to say 'we are all citizens because we all belong to the same town or country'. That is the definition we used to use. But in South Africa we are not regarded as citizens and the education given us is not intended to create citizens.

This Commission is going to produce a syllabus entirely different from that given to the European. It is going to concentrate on agriculture because the African essentially belongs to the soil. And they say, agriculture must start from their own primary schools. It is therefore clear that we are up against a very hard nut, i.e. the syllabus which is forthcoming. It is the intention of the Teachers' League of South Africa and the Cape African Teachers' Association to discuss together that report when it comes out and see what to do with it. The question is, what are we going to do with that type of syllabus? Are we going to teach it to our children? We know before we have read the report that it is going to be an unfair type of syllabus.

I want to pass from that and touch on another aspect, what the Department of Education calls the policy for African Day Secondary schools. They say, for example, that before a secondary school is established, the church authorities where the school is situated should be consulted and must give their consent that it be established there. And if the church authorities accept this secondary school, it may be established. Then they also encourage tribal, day secondary schools where they say the tribe should contribute money for putting up a school on a pound for pound basis. They also say that three classrooms should be put up by the people before a day secondary school can be established. They also say that they have earmarked certain areas where classes can be established. In former times schools used to be put up where the greatest need was felt for them.

And their policy is too that these secondary schools should be small - three-teacher or four-teacher secondary schools and not more than that. Children must be able to travel to the school. They must not be boarders. You can see that the people who make these regulations are not conversant with conditions of the country. They also only accept people of that particular district to go to that school. There is no freedom for the parent to choose the school which his son or daughter shall attend. The school is created for children of that district and no other. They say also that there should be forty children for each class. As you know, we have in African schools, Forms I, II and III. If, therefore, you have got three classes, 120 children can attend; if four, 160 children. Then also, according to this policy, the syllabus that is used in school must be related to the environment of the students. When we asked one of the inspectors what it meant, he said that "you are agricultural people. You must study the soil. Do not bother with things like mathematics. Concentrate on things that will help you. You must be taught the value of the soil, the dignity of labour. You must be taught things of practical value." That is the policy for the day secondary schools in rural areas and it does not apply to urban areas.

You will see then that these people are already beginning their old campaign, saying that schools in the country must get their own syllabus, different from the syllabus of town schools, and African children must be given something that is their own. Do not Europeanise them.

The next point to deal with is the policy of employing women as principals of schools that go up to Std. IV. We know the reason why the Department is advocating that. We do not quarrel with the position of women as principals, but we know

that.....

that it is based on the fact that the men are too expensive. I want to say that that is the policy of the education department. In the selection of students, for instance, this year they took all the girls. All of them were accepted but they said that they did not have enough room for all the boys. We can see what that is leading to. There are not enough slaves on the farms! They have earmarked the type of slave who understands English, who will understand instructions. When I asked one of the inspectors the reason for this selection, he said that there is not enough money.

There are a number of difficulties in the Transkei for certain areas. The people are still very backward and no chief would convene a meeting when asked to do so by a lady teacher. It is not traditionally accepted for women to stand in front of men and address them.

Then there is also another matter which I would like to mention in connection with African education and it is the matter of higher education. You find that the various churches want to claim that they have done something for the Non-European. The churches want to feel that they partake also in this slave manufacture. In Pretoria a Bantu Post and Primary school was opened by the D.R.C. and the type of man produced there is the man who is going to be taught their own ways. They don't want the independent type of University man. They want someone who is going to be a good boy. The aim is clear. They are fighting against university education for the African. They say it makes him swollen-headed. It makes him despise the white man. They want a type of man of university status, but who will not be very useful to his own people. There is also a medical school that has not been opened in Durban. They coat their schemes nicely with something sweet. "You see, Europeans are also allowed to come to this university. The students are going to take seven years." It is quite clear that they want to produce some kind of doctor different from doctors in other universities. You do not expect a special university to be established for Non-Europeans when these people say there is no money for the education of Non-Europeans. It will not be possible to make a good job of it. It is going to be an inferior type of university. Quite a number of students have applied there. The people need education so badly that they tend to take half a loaf of bread when they cannot take a full loaf. The question is, what are we going to do when we are deprived of the right of attending the other universities?

Finally, I want to deal with measures to reduce retardation. The Department of Education produced certain measures which are meant to reduce retardation in African schools. They say that African children take too long with their schooling. By the time he gets to Std. VI he is a big man. So they want to stop retardation. And they frame regulations in order to fight this retardation. They say, for example, there should be 45 children per teacher and no more, and that the register should be marked half an hour after school has started, and that children must be admitted only the first two weeks in January after the opening of the term and after that no-one must be admitted. But later they changed their tactics and said that in July children might also be admitted. Others must be kept on a waiting list until there is space. Therefore, many children have been thrown out of school. In one of the districts of the Transkei a survey was conducted and it was found that many children had been thrown out. The number of children had to be reduced so as to conform to the Departmental regulation. In one district the children thrown out numbered over 500. It means that these children have to be placed on a waiting list until there is room for more.

I will read what has happened according to Departmental statistics issued earlier last year. In 1949 there were 2,263 African schools as against 2257 in the second quarter of 1950. For these the enrolment was 288,000 and 273,000 pupils respectively. You will find a decrease of six schools and 15,000 pupils in the Cape Province alone. It means that in the space of one year they have closed down six schools! It may be said that the schools had to discontinue because of dilapidation, but in any case most of them had to be closed down. It means that the light of certain communities has been put out.

Then the next matter is this. What are the African people doing about their children being thrown out of school? There has been a reaction in the country. Some sent their children back and told them to make a noise around the school. The inspector said to them: 'If you can employ unaided a teacher, you can have these children at school. In Port Elizabeth these little children created such a nuisance that the inspector was forced to increase the quota there. These children are being thrown out of schools because of the shortage of labour on the farms. The idea is that as soon as the children are thrown out they will

go on to the farms and work for these people. The chiefs fight against the teachers because of this. They complain: first you call the children to school. Now you are throwing them out. The inspector is in the background and does not suffer these onslaughts. But the position is really very crazy and we do not know how we are going to handle it. But one thing is certain, that though the Government said when it started the Rehabilitation Schemes that it would give our children a chance to become educated, it has not done so at all".

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President): "In the Free State we have had to open a private school because not sufficient funds have been available for salaries of additional teachers since 1949-50, nor for the recognition of new schools. New ones come but the Government is not prepared to give new grounds for them and under pressure the people are forced to open their own schools. At a place, Oudenkraalsrust, a new school was opened which now has 500 pupils. At Kroonstad also, we have had to open a private school since July last year, with over 300 pupils and the people are prepared to pay for this if the Department will also do so. That is the position in which we find ourselves. There is expansion in regard to education".

TUESDAY, 3rd APRIL, MORNING SESSION.

FIGHT AGAINST SLAVE EDUCATION - Continued.

Miss J. Gool (A.A.C.): "Mr. Honono's discussion last night was excellent in many ways but I think he devoted too much time to the details of the pernicious system throughout South Africa. This is not an education body. It is a political body and we must deal with education in a political sense. Because education is divided into two. One is the type suited for the dominant white section and the other to maintain that dominance. They are taught to be masters. They have to be the overseers in industrial life. In regard to the education of the Non-Europeans, education is hemmed in by restrictions that fit them out for a subordinate position in society. The point is, the Non-Europeans do not yet realise fully the slave education which we are having to support and run. In Natal, for example, a most pernicious thing has happened to the teachers. As we know, the phobia today is virulent against the Indian and they have been told that the Government will not build schools for Indian children, and the Education Department had the nerve to ask the Indian teachers there to forfeit part of their salaries to build schools. The pernicious thing about it is that the Indian teachers in Natal accepted this thing. I cannot imagine the whites or C.A.T.A. or the T.L.S.A. accepting a thing like that. In the end the schools will not belong to the Indian community. In the Orange Free State, if the people build schools, they at least belong to the people. The Government will have no say in it and they will be able to have their own syllabus. But in Natal, if the teachers forfeit part of their salaries, the buildings will belong to the Government.

The third point that I want to make is that if the educated section accepts a segregatory policy like that, then we can see that we have a long way to go to make the people feel that they are part of a nation and have as much right to the rights of the country. I refer here not only to the Indian teachers but to the Coloured teachers and the African teachers as well. Some of the educated teachers today have still a bad name in supporting reaction in this country.

My last point is, that when you view education you must view it as a weapon in the hands of the ruling class to suppress the aspirations of the Non-Europeans today. We can see that land, the franchise and education all link up together in one specific whole. It is becoming clear that the Group Areas have been suspended for 2 years. Why? Because the franchise bill has not yet been passed. And the fact that the Non-Europeans have no franchise in the Orange Free State and Natal shows why the people had no right to buy property there. In the last budget so many thousands of pounds were granted for Civil services. But when it comes to the Non-Europeans it seems likely that they will not receive any increase in their salaries. To what is that due? To the loss of the franchise. It will mean nothing else but cuts in salaries as our political rights decrease. It will mean a levelling out of all sections. The syllabus Mr. Honono was talking about should be the subject of a conference in South Africa because it will apply not only to the Africans but to the Coloureds and Indians as well. We can expect that in the new buildings. We can expect the axe on the question of salaries and buildings and everything connected with Non-European education. It is that approach, that education is used as a political axe to grind the Non-Europeans down, that we must adopt."

Mr. W.P. van Schoor (T.L.S.A. - Worcester): "Mr. Honono referred to the report of the Commission. I think he failed to show up sufficiently the question of retardation....

retardation against the background of state policy in education, that from a purely educational point of view retardation is the most logical outcome. It is all part of a carefully devised plan. To us retardation is very important because we are striving to build up a nation. It is the entire system, starting from the subsidization of education and the mission school system, which is part of a carefully devised plan. We have to link education and the question of retardation up with the entire system of colour oppression. Only against that background can we understand this slave system of education. I think that here we have another example of how we can link up all the disabilities that we have in this country with the political and social and any other aspect that we like to think of".

Mr. V. Fowler (T.L.S.A. - Central Executive): "I want to deal with this aspect of the problem: i.e. our approach and particularly our solution or something assisting to solve the problem. Before I commence I must relate an instance. A principal of a school had a discussion with me and was saying that when one teaches in Non-European schools one does not know what to teach the children because when they leave school they are not really prepared for life, there is no future for them. But he did not think of the reason. He seemed to have accepted that this is the condition and that we must change the syllabus or change the content of teaching to prepare the child for his second hand life outside of the schools. I had to point out to him that that is what political organisations, fighting for democracy, and progressive teachers' organisations exist for. They are aiming to change conditions as they exist. That is why we have to prepare the children in a different way. We have to give them an education which will prepare them for difficulties in life, that they should not accept them. It means we will have to educate them politically, to mobilise our forces as the President said. It is the whole political setup of the country which has caused this system of education. We have to educate the children in school, prepare them politically, tell them they will have to face many difficulties when they leave school and show them it is their duty to fight with others fighting for the oppressed when they leave school.

I want to touch on the point of private schools. Miss Gool pointed out that these schools would have their own syllabus and that the Government would have no say. I am wondering whether one should accept private schools as we tell the people we are entitled to state education. Our real demand should be for state education. We cannot just accept the idea of private schools. Among the Non-Europeans we know that the aim of private schools is different to what it is among the whites. The purpose of their private schools is to provide them with a first class education. But in the Free State these schools are established because the parents realise that they must give their children some form of education.

Then with regard to the point Mr. Honono raised on practical subjects. He mentioned that in the day-secondary schools for Africans, emphasis will be placed on practical subjects and pointed out that the Non-Europeans are being given a type of education that will prepare them for working the soil. The reason is also that if the children leave school they will perhaps be employed by farmers and that they will then be of more assistance than the uneducated African. Amongst the Coloureds the same idea is being pushed forward by the inspectors and nationalists, the question of "hande arbeid", the idea that the Non-European must be taught to use his hands and not be given a type of education that will Europeanise them".

Mr. A. Slingers (T.L.S.A. - Salt River): "From our discussion on the slave education for Non-Europeans, I think we have come to understand that as far as South Africa is concerned there is no particular one system of education. There is a system for the white child and a different one for the Non-European. In each province there are separate systems for the various races. It may be asked, why do we have these different systems? It is because the European child has to fulfil the role of domination in society. The Non-European child has to fulfil a subservient role. There are many people who say we must regard education as an important thing. There are many Non-Europeans who say we must not agitate, we are not sufficiently educated. We must wait and educate our children before we can demand things. We must realise that that argument is spurious because the whole system is not intended towards that end. The Government is only prepared to grant us institutions because it has a measure of control over these institutions. Education as it is, is a means of keeping the Non-Europeans tied to the ideas of the Herrenvolk."

Mr. A. Fataar (National Anti-C.A.D.): "The Non-European Unity Movement is the place where different organisations working in their particular fields can come together and discuss in this manner the problems that are common to the African,

Coloured.....

Coloured and Indian, whether it is on the question of land or the franchise or the field of education or the field of trade union activities. The discussion has shown us there is this common plan in education. It is pleasing to find that when the two major Non-European educational organisations in the Cape, C.A.T.A. and T.L.S.A, in December decided to work in closer co-operation, there was no need for any preliminary discussions. In other words, the Anti-C.A.D. and All African Convention had already cleared the ground and prepared the basis for this co-operation. At that meeting of these organisations, affiliated to the Unity Movement, I am pleased to say that a little time was for the first time devoted to an over-all survey of the Non-Europeans. Another little wheel has been set in motion - the collaboration of C.A.T.A. and the T.L.S.A."

Mr. W. Tsotsi (Voters' Association, Glen Grey) then, on behalf of the Resolutions Committee, presented the resolutions on The Franchise and Land Hunger. These were adopted, after certain emendations:-

1. FRANCHISE.

This 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement proclaims:-

(a) that the disabilities of the Non-European oppressed flow directly from the lack of political rights and that the struggle for the Franchise, i.e. the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and BE ELECTED to Parliament, Provincial Councils and all other divisional and municipal councils in accordance with the recognised democratic procedure, is the pivot of the struggle for the National Liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

(b) That the separate representation in Parliament and the Provincial Councils, the institution of the Native Representative Council, the Asiatic Advisory Board, the Board for Coloured Affairs, Location Advisory Boards and Bungas, is a negation of the franchise and is deliberately designed to keep the Non-Europeans outside the South African Nation.

(c) that whoever operates this undemocratic representation and these undemocratic Councils is an agent of the Herrenvolk and is aiding and abetting in the denial of the right of the Non-Europeans to be part of the South African nation.

(d) that the boycott of all such undemocratic institutions and the outlawing of those who operate them is the solemn duty of every oppressed person who refuses to accept an inferior political status, and who stakes his or her claim to full and equal citizenship.

2. LAND HUNGER.

This 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement

(a) proclaims: that the denial of land to the Non-Europeans, the establishment of Reserves, Locations, Ghettos and Group Areas, is part and parcel of the Herrenvolk policy of national oppression and economic ruination calculated to reduce the Non-Europeans to a position of dependence and subservience.

(b) declares: that the so-called Rehabilitation Schemes now being forced on the people are not calculated to improve their economic position, but, on the contrary, are an intensification of this policy of economic ruination designed to ensure a continuous supply of cheap labour for the farms, mines and industries.

(c) commends: the stubborn resistance of those people who have rejected these iniquitous schemes and recommends the formation of Peoples Committees to carry out the will of the people and conduct the struggle.

(d) stresses: the direct connection between the struggle for land and the struggle for full citizenship rights and urges the necessity of co-ordinating these struggles on the basis of the 10-Point Programme.

Dr. G.H. Gool (Vice-Chairman) introduced the discussion on:

TRADE-UNIONS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.

This very important subject demands of us a thorough-going study. But as this is only an introduction, only its more salient features can be dealt with. Like the questions on the Franchise, the Land-struggle and Education for a Slave-Race, which were all fully discussed yesterday, it has to be related to the background of our National Oppression.

We saw how the plan of the Herrenvolk as far back as 1910, at the time of Union, was to exclude the Non-European from being a member of the South African Nation.....

Nation, by denying him Direct Representation in the House of Assembly. We now understand why this was done, in order to make available a continuous supply of cheap African labour for the mines, farms and towns by a deliberate policy of driving the African people off the land and the creation of a landless peasantry. And, even by pleading at the Bar or by testing in the highest courts of the country the validity of the Acts of discrimination, there would be no redress. The State had become the exclusive monopoly of the White Herrenvolk.

OPPRESSION IS INDIVISIBLE:

When Mr. Honono gave us figures to show the number of African male youths being thrown out of schools by the Retardation scheme, he was teaching us a valuable lesson, namely, the link between the Herrenvolk's so-called education policy for the African people and their demand for cheap African labour. This is further illustrated by the statement made by the Minister of Labour, Mr. Ben Schoeman ("Cape Times" - March 31, 1951) in which he announced:

- "That an inter-departmental committee has been appointed to investigate and make recommendations on steps that can be taken to expand employment in industry for Native juveniles on the Witwatersrand and Pretoria".....
- "the committee's terms of reference are to investigate and make recommendations on the desirability or otherwise of:
- (1) prescribing lower wages and other conditions of employment for such juveniles, OTHER THAN THOSE FOR NATIVE ADULTS.
 - (2) compelling employers to employ a minimum number of juveniles in relation to adults.
 - (3) applying measures to ensure that Native juveniles who are placed in employment in industry, WILL REMAIN IN EMPLOYMENT UNTIL THEY BECOME ADULTS".

This inter-departmental committee of the White Herrenvolk

"will welcome the submission of evidence, information or relative data WITHIN THE SCOPE OF ITS INQUIRY".

The very fact that the Minister of Labour appointed an INTER-DEPARTMENTAL Committee shows clearly that the White Herrenvolk has long ago recognised that oppression is indivisible. Conversely, as we have emphasised and re-emphasised, the struggle for liberation is indivisible. We have never looked at the trade union question as something apart from the whole.

POLICIES OF U.P. AND NATIONALISTS INDISTINGUISHABLE:

At the fourth Unity Conference we pointed out that under the SMUTS Government already it was necessary for them to create a Utility Corporation to recruit African males between the ages of 14 and 19. These African adolescents would be hired out to employers for 5 years and would receive in the first year a 3d. a day, in the second year, 9d., and at the end of 5 years, 1/6d. The Malan Government is merely putting this plan of the Smuts Government into practice. Smuts proposes and Malan disposes. Their policies are indistinguishable.

EXPLOITATION OF THE NON-CITIZENS:

We can safely say that the degree of exploitation of the Non-European worker depends upon his political oppression. The lower his political status, the greater his exploitation, whether as a semi-citizen (Coloured and Indian) or as a non-citizen (African).

How familiar is the phrasing of labour legislation that excluded the African worker, the non-citizen, from its benefits:

"The Native is not an employee within the meaning and definition of this Act".

We shall merely list a few of these Acts:-

- 1911 - Mines and Works Act (Colour bar on mines)
- 1918 - Factories Act (Colour bar in industry)
- 1922 - Apprenticeship Act (Colour bar cuts off Non-European youth)
- 1924 - Civilized Labour Policy (Non-European labour ousted by rehabilitated WHITE unskilled labour from country)
- 1924 - Wage Acts (State protects living standards of White workers and exposes Black workers to greater poverty)
- 1934 - and subsequent legislation where inferior or no compensation is given to Africans; the ousting of African building workers' from city work.

This then is the position of the non-citizen in the economic life of the country.

THE CITIZEN-WORKER AND THE NON-CITIZEN WORKER:

Let us now discuss the role of the non-citizen worker within the flywheel of the.....

the national economy, the mines. The wage of the non-citizen worker on the mines is £44. 10s. 0d. a year. There are 420,000 non-citizen (African) miners. The citizen (White) earns £566- a year. There are 50,000 citizen (White) miners. The wage-ratio of citizen-worker to non-citizen worker on the mines is approximately $13\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

On the farms the non-citizen (Non-European) worker earns £20- in cash and goods a year. There are 830,000 non-citizen labourers employed on the farms. Citizen White Labourer earns £200- cash a year on the farms. There are 14,000 citizens (White) employed on the farms. The wage-ratio of citizen to non-citizen on the platteland is 10 to 1.

In the urban industries the non-citizen worker earns £110- a year. The citizen worker earns £375- a year. The wage-ratio in factories of citizen worker to non-citizen worker is $3\frac{1}{3}$ and two-thirds to 1.

On the railways there are 97,000 citizens (White) workers earning 2 to 5 times as much as 90,000 non-citizen (Black) workers.

THE LANDLESS NON-CITIZEN:

As we have said, the flywheel of the national economy is the mines, in particular the gold and diamond mines. The non-citizens in the mines bear the main weight of the slave state on their shoulders. Moreover they are the basic sector of the non-citizen workers in South Africa. They are landless peasants. They are the whole productive force on the mines.

They are under contract and herded in male compounds. The discussion on the land showed clearly how the people were driven off the land and converted into cheap, migrant landless peasants. Once in the towns these landless peasants are forcibly herded into compounds, completely divorced from a healthy family existence, and completely shut off from the amenities of urban life.

This same landless, peasant, compounded, contracted, migrant labour runs the heavy sector of secondary industry (power, engineering and chemical which is 33% of secondary industry).

67% of mining, industrial, commercial and transport workers are landless peasants; and these peasants operate the basic sectors of the national economy.

THE "SETTLED" NON-CITIZEN WORKERS:

The remaining 33% are settled in the towns, in locations, with no freedom of movement, cut off from the cultural life of the town (libraries, universities, theatres etc.).

Even with the so-called settled workers there is, in the case of the Africans, a section which is in continual movement between urban location and rural labour-Reserve, i.e. there is even amongst the "settled" Non-European workers a section which is a floating population, having ties with the land. And it is from this section that the unregistered African unions have been formed. The membership of these unions is not a stable one. In addition the formation of an African trade union is virtually illegal. Despite non-recognition by the Government these workers have forced limited concessions from the employers.

THE ORGANISED CITIZEN-WORKER AND THE UNORGANISED NON-CITIZEN WORKER:

The State itself has, particularly since 1924, encouraged the formation of trade unions for the citizen-workers. There are 410,000 workers organised into trade unions in the Union. Of this number 75% are citizen-workers (Whites). The other 25% organised into registered unions are the semi-citizen workers (Coloured and Indian). There are 187 of these recognised and registered trade unions.

90% of productive urban non-citizen workers (African) are not organised in trade unions. Figures available show that there are 35 unrecognised and unregistered African trade unions with a membership of only 62,000.

WHO PRODUCES THE WEALTH? - CITIZEN OR NON-CITIZEN?:

In the mines the African non-citizen produces £105- profit a year. THE CITIZEN WHITE MINER IS A DEAD LOSS OF £416- A YEAR.

The non-citizen factory worker produces £265- profit a year and the citizen factory worker produces £1- profit a year.

CONCLUSIONS:

In presenting you with these facts and figures our sole aim was to give you a clear picture of the whole economic and political background of the citizen and non-citizen worker in the economic life of the country. Our work in the trade union field will be futile and purposeless unless we keep this background always.....

always in view.

We have shown:-

- 1) The striking and unique wage-ratios of skilled White worker to unskilled Non-White worker. It is the difference between a citizen and non-citizen. In a democratic state, the wage-ratio of skilled to unskilled is roughly 13 to 11.
- 2) That the citizen-worker and employer form a specially privileged group which lives off the labour of the ever-exploited non-citizens, who produce the entire wealth of the country.
- 3) That the basic sector of the non-citizen worker, operating the fundamental fields of the national economy, is a landless peasant, completely shut off from all normal urban life.
- 4) That the "settled" urban non-citizen workers, from whom the Non-European organised trade unionists spring, are unstable, likewise divorced from all democratic urban life, and operate the subordinate and peripheral sectors of the urban economy. This situation makes the task of organising the non-citizens into trade unions unusually difficult, but certainly not insurmountable.

How can the gap between citizen, semi-citizen, and non-citizen worker be bridged?

It is our considered opinion that the gap cannot be bridged and the workers cannot be united along the lines of "pure" trade unionism - i.e. while the trade unions remain hostile to, and aloof from the struggle for full citizenship for all. This hostility of the citizens to the semi-citizens and non-citizens is deliberately organised by the Herrenvolk parties, including open fascist groups, which the citizen workers support against the non-citizens.

How ridiculous and ludicrous then is the attitude of the Non-European trade unionist who still believes in the rulers' lying slogan: "No politics in the Trade Unions!"

If I am asked in twenty years' time: "What did you think about the 1951 Unity Conference?" I would say: "The theme of this conference was the birth of a nation, a seeping in of national consciousness. And this birth, like every other birth, is a very painful process. The acceptance of these new ideas and the creation of a nation is like birth, painful, trying and self-sacrificing. We are in that process now; for a nation is being born. On this note I shall stop."

We shall have to consider very seriously the training of Non-European trade unionists along the lines indicated. I feel confident that within the next few years we will have trade unionists firmly planted on the soil of our national struggle. For no national movement can come to a successful conclusion unless, and until, the workers take their rightful place at its head."

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President): "You will have marked that the Non-European worker is not regarded as a citizen and is not included in the industrial machinery that has been created in this country, and occupies a subordinate position. That point should be given careful consideration. We must see that what has been said here reaches the ears of those outside the Non-European Unity Movement. I agree with Dr. Gool when he says that the theme of the 1951 Conference is "The Birth of a Nation."

It was agreed at this juncture to go straight on to the introductions to the Political and the Organisational tasks and to have discussion on all three items thereafter.

POLITICAL TASKS OF THE N.E.U.M. - INTRODUCED BY MR. B.M. KIES (National Anti-C.A.D)

I am not so much introducing a new subject as attempting to knit together certain threads running through the discussions since yesterday. It will already be apparent that certain fundamental principles of the Non-European Unity Movement have emerged from the discussions.

One of our first political tasks flows from our understanding that the struggle for the franchise is the pivotal point of the national liberatory struggle. From this must flow our understanding of the political tasks that we have to carry out once we have left this conference. On the land question, similarly, we attempted to knit together the struggle against the Rehabilitation Scheme, against reserves and locations and ghettos and the Group Areas Act, to link all these up with the political struggle. From our understanding of the

connection.....

connection between these different aspects of the struggle must flow our understanding of the tasks that confront us once we have left this hall. Furthermore, both these discussions have underscored once again the policy of non-collaboration, of not working the political machinery of our own oppression and of isolating from our midsts those quislings who are assisting the rulers in the application of these oppressive laws. From our discussions on education and Trade Unions flow other tasks that we will have to face once we get down to apply in practice the discussions and resolutions of this conference. Dr. Gool has made a point of stressing the connection between the trade unions and the national liberatory movement. I merely want to remind you that I am working upon these axioms, and this last one is the most recent, that from these resolutions, these principles, must flow certain of our tasks.

I want to go on to discuss other aspects of the political tasks that have not yet been covered. I do not intend drawing up a balance sheet of the last 8 years of the Unity Movement. There is a great deal which we have achieved and we can see evidence of that at this conference. I want to harp more on the weaknesses of this Movement as they have displayed themselves during the last 8 years and as they are at present hampering our growth.

I want to say, first of all, that one of our first tasks is to face up to the question that there are large layers of the Non-European people who, in spite of all that has happened over generations, yet do not seem to realise fully what we are up against and where the remedy lies. We would be deceiving ourselves if we accepted too glibly that the increase of oppression and the degree of oppression automatically bring to a people political awareness and activity. It is not true, and that has been demonstrated for the last 3 years particularly. And from that realisation must flow the realisation of the political tasks that must be carried out. There are still large sections of the Non-European people living from hand to mouth politically. Every time Parliament meets and there is a fresh bit of anti-Non-European legislation, the Non-European peoples seem to express surprise that there is another fresh piece of oppressive legislation. As if they expected them, the Herrenvolk, to do something else. And once the initial surprise has passed there is indignation and after that comes the passing of the Bills and then the frustration and fresh load of oppression. We are living in an expedient way. We have a battle psychology and do not realise that there is constant political war. This applies to large sections of the Non-European people and is one of the most important things that we will have to remedy because it is retarding the growth of a steady movement which goes on without having to have fresh surprises and occasions for indignation.

In such a situation, what are our fundamental political tasks? First of all, we should not flatter ourselves that we have succeeded during the past 8 years in killing the segregation germ. It is still too glib and easy an assurance on the part of some persons who consider that once they have freed their minds of racial prejudice, therefore everybody else has. It has been the experience of the last 8 years, and of the last 3 years in particular, in spite of all the talk of "unity", that it has been very difficult to break down suspicion as between one group of Non-Europeans and another. We would be falling into the trap of the enemies of unity if we thought that the mere cry of "unity" was sufficient. Let us not fool ourselves that in 8 years we have broken down the walls that the Herrenvolk have built up over 300 years. I do not think we have broken down the walls to foundation level yet.

From that I want to say that it is our task to attempt more and more to get the people to look at our problems as a whole, as the problems besetting a whole nation. It would be untrue to say that we have arrived at a stage that when a particular section of the nation is attacked, that that section looks at the attack from the point of view of the whole nation. More and more we shall have to take to every group the idea of looking at things from the point of view of the whole nation and it is going to be one of the most important political tasks - the breaking of the sectarianism in our approach.

I want to return to the battle psychology of the Non-Europeans. Every time there is a fresh attack there is a fresh battle. Our history has been one of defensive battles. We have fought guerilla battles for 30 years or more without realising that the Herrenvolk have been in a state of constant political warfare against the Non-Europeans and that this calls for a consistent state of political warfare on our side. Hence the slow political growth of the N.E.U.M. Naturally a war us made up of battles, but they are not fought merely when one is attacked. On this question, there is for the leadership, in particular, a tremendous task that we have to accomplish. It may sound paradoxical, but I want to say that one of the biggest tasks we shall have to accomplish is to cure Non-Europeans of their "enthusiasm". It is too easy, whenever there is an attack,
to.....

to raise everyone to a tremendous degree of "enthusiasm". That has been the curse of liberatory politics - the boiling of the blood. It is going to kill us in the end unless we teach the Non-European people that staying power is much more important in the long run. These quick fires do not make for the building of a consistent liberatory movement which goes on to meet the political warfare of the Herrenvolk. We will have to transform that enthusiasm into consistent staying power. These fiery bursts of enthusiasm have left behind the Non-Europeans a whole cinder trail of burnt out hopes and disillusionment.

I go on to the next point which flows from this: to teach all sections of the people that there are no short cuts, no magic formulae. But it is one of the tragedies of the movement that there are too many people outside the Unity Movement who still act on the assumption that there is a magic formula. We shall have to teach the people that this war of liberation is a war on two fronts. It is a war, first of all, against the Herrenvolk, a war not only against fresh bills, but against the status quo. It is a war to change the whole political and economic face of South Africa so that all persons will be part and parcel of the South African Nation. The war is on two fronts - one against the Herrenvolk and all oppressive measures and the other against the agents of the Herrenvolk. It would be imbecility on our part if we thought or continued to think that the persons who in 1951 are still working or seeking to work various pieces of slave machinery, are doing so because they do not know any better. We are still too sentimental in thinking that "our poor brother" is misguided and misled and that is why he goes onto a NRC or CAD. He is not misguided. In 1951 we would be deceiving ourselves if we excused these people, because not only the history of recent times but the history of the dummy institutions themselves proves to anyone that these institutions serve a definite purpose and it would be idiocy to think that the people who work these institutions do not know their purpose. Certain sections have carried out a war on these quislings further than others. But it is necessary for us now to see to it that among all sections there is not merely a smelling out, but a separation, of agents of the Herrenvolk from the work and lives of the ordinary oppressed people. The quislings are not strong in numbers. In the Coloured section I would have to refer you to the sorry example of FRAC. Among the African people again you have a clear-cut differentiation of the quislings from the rest of the people. You can see the leadership of the ANC consisting of a mere handful of people but they have had and continue to have a retarding influence out of all proportion to their numbers. One of the reasons for this is that we have been too kind and generous. We have tolerated in our ranks the agents of people whom we are supposed to be fighting. We must realise that the agents of the other side must be dealt with in the same way as the other side.

I want to deal more specifically with the Indian section. Since Kajeer there has been no influential quisling section such as we find amongst the Africans and Coloureds. But we have had persons, supposedly progressive, who speak a language very much like our own but in fact have almost gone out of their way to aid and abet the quisling section of the African people and, now, among the Coloured people. I am referring to the support which the Dadoo's and the Naickers have given to the quisling section of the African people in the ANC. If it were not for this support, the African people would have been nearer to the Unity Movement today. Please note that I make a distinction. I do not brand them as quislings. But I do say this. That by their actions they have over the last few years been practically inseparable from the retarding, quisling section of the African people. And I would say, not merely to Indian delegates here, but to all sections, that we will have to help to break the connection between these persons and the other sectors. I consider that that is one of the most important political tasks that we will have to carry out.

Now many persons have spoken on the theme of this conference: that we are attempting to build a nation. And I think if we could take this idea and plant it in the minds of the oppressed people, we would be able to change to a great extent the fighting morale of the Non-European people at the present time. Perhaps it is true that for too long we have had a defensive attitude, that we were fighting against this and that and the other. I think we have here, in the idea crystallised by Dr. Gool, that we are assisting in the birth of a nation, something that can fire the imagination of the oppressed and help to bring them together into one fighting unity. If we would make it a reality in their lives and make it a goal, and fire them with a determination to end the tyranny, to unify and co-ordinate the war on two fronts, if we could do this, we would reap tremendous rewards in the growth of the Non-European Unity Movement.

I want to direct a particular word to the leadership of the people and particularly to the leadership of the N.E.U.M. We have understood for a long time that it is the more literate sections who have to take the ideas to the people and who have to assist in the organisation of the people. I.....

I want to sound a note which may sound a little sour, because we have shown part of the very weakness that we have criticised in the people themselves. We have shown that we too have been veary greatly the victims of enthusiasm, that we can only do work and make sacrifices when everybody is moving and everybody is up. That has been part of an intellectual weakness which the leadership shares with the most immature sections of the rank and file. The leadership will have to learn to take more seriously the ideas that it propounds. We have to give ourselves not merely a philosophy but a way of life and a way of living. There are too many who merely patronise advanced political ideas. The ideas have to be taken seriously by the intelligentsia so that from day to day they can go on, whether they are in a period of ebb or there is a high degree of enthusiasm. The test of a person who really is a liberator, is that person's whole way of life and living. There are too many who treat our political organisations in the same way as they treat their tennis or football or cricket clubs, as seasonal games. And as long as they treat the political struggle as a seasonal game, so long will the intelligentsia itself be unfit to lead the people to liberation. The curse and tragedy of the overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia is that when you most need them, you cannot find them. It is because they have not made their liberatory ideas a part of their way of living. You have to burn out of your whole system all the irrelevant things and concentrate on all the important things. After all, we are oppressed people. We cannot continue this oppression. So our whole way of life should be that of a living personality that is striving to be free and trying to bring ideas of freedom to other people. The intelligentsia is as guilty as the people it accuses. Even guiltier, because it has had the chance to learn. If it were not for this, we would have been further than we are today.

My last point is this: that we have today a more striking presentation of our ideal - the building of a nation. But unless we, who have to take ideas to the people, make it a part, not merely a creed, but of a way of life, unless we can do this, we will not only be unfit to join in this great task of raising the people from the depths and teaching them that 'you all belong' but we will be incapable of such a task and we will go on for generations to be mere dabblers in liberatory politics, and our conference will not be a conference of a people who are engaged in a war and have come together as a General Council to discuss how far we have gone and where our weaknesses lie. Our conferences will be what too many conferences have been in the past - mere talking shops. And this, I think, is one of the most important lessons to be learned at this conference. From it flows our most important task.

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ORGANISATIONAL TASKS - introduced by MR. I.B. TABATA (All-African Convention):

It seems to me that this problem of organisation will become one of those items in our conferences usually known as the hardy annuals. When you deal with it you really have nothing new to say and yet people still come back to it again at every conference.

Now at the first All-in Conference of the N.E.U.M. in January, 1945, we established the Non-European Unity Movement on a federal basis. We went to great lengths to explain the implications of such a form of organisation at this stage of the development of our political movement. I think we might say by now that the events have proved us correct. But none the less, we still have a few people who make quite a noise against the federal structure. Fortunately for us, they are only a few. One would have thought that after the struggle from 1943 to today it would not be necessary still to repeat that we are not a political party. We are a national movement designed to effect the maximum unity of the oppressed on the basis of a minimum programme. Yet we find it necessary to cover the ground all over again.

In this movement of ours, as we are here today, we have many different schools of thought, all of them meeting here today on the basis of the minimum programme. Naturally, the quislings are not here and they cannot be here. The enemy is not here. But those who believe in the minimum programme are here. But within this group, there is a wide range of different schools of thought and it is precisely the task of a national movement to accommodate all these schools of thought struggling towards the same end.

Last time, in explaining the federal structure, we listed a number of categories who were opposed to the idea of the federal structure. We said at that time: they will oppose it. And they did oppose it. One was the merchant class; and it so happens that in South Africa, amongst the Non-Europeans, this class exists predominantly amongst the Indian section. The second was the quislings and collaborators. The third was the intellectual who suffers from intellectual digestion.

And

And now we have to add to this list a new creature who is closely allied to this last one and that is, the petty-bourgeois intellectual who has no political home. To him the federal structure is a nuisance because it forces him to join an organisation before he can have a platform here. This person is usually a teacher. He may be a shopkeeper or a clerk but he is a loose molecule. He does not belong to any of the people's organisations. Now this intellectual cannot find his way here so he demands that we should have a unitary organisation which he can join and then he has a platform. He also is opposed to the federal structure.

Groups 3 and 4 are numerically small. But this is what they do. They attach themselves to more powerful groups. And in this way they increase their nuisance value. Usually they are "educated" youngsters who do not begin to understand the tasks of the liberatory movement. They feel it is merely a matter of educating the oppressor, showing him the wrongness of his ways, proving to him that his ways are not to the benefit of mankind. He thinks he can convince the oppressor and feels he does not require the masses. All he needs is a battery of good speakers. It does not occur to him that the masses are required for the struggle. Hence his contemptuous attitude towards the masses.

I will give you an example: the last time negotiations took place between the AAC and the ANC. During the debate one of the youth leaguers stated the case quite clearly. He said to us: "These people of the All African Convention would have us include in our political organisation sportsmen and dishwashers." As I put it to you now I am not really conveying to you what this young man said. The real thing was in his voice, the contempt with which he said "dishwashers". It became our duty to tell him that these people he referred to were our mothers who worked their fingers to their bones to give us this education. And we had to tell him that we regard these same dishwashers, these poor people, illiterate, as the very basis upon which the movement must rest. It is these people who are going to carry the movement forward. As a result of this, the negotiations broke down. These young men, together with the collaborators and quislings were responsible for the breakdown of negotiations. In other words, they pushed back the day of unity in the African section. In themselves they are unimportant, but in so far as they assist disrupters by attaching themselves to stronger groups and using our language to cover up the nefarious deeds of the collaborators - to this extent they are a danger.

In Cape Town there is another such group. Fortunately it is so tiny that you need a microscope to see it. This group is not represented at conference today. They have withdrawn from the Unity Movement and have come here merely as observers, to observe how the Non-Europeans are planning to liberate themselves. In the same way they sent a delegate to the Conference of the All African Convention to observe. Fortunately this group also exposes itself quite clearly. Now they have been turning out articles, one of which deals with the battle of the Anti-C.A.D. and another with "The Awakening of a People", a book published by the All African Convention. The first article contains a paragraph which is interesting in view of the fact that we devoted the whole of yesterday afternoon to discussing what we consider to be the most important question facing us - the problem of land. We stressed the importance of the peasant. But the author of this article writes: "In modern society the peasantry, white, black or yellow, has always been and will continue to be the most treacherous element in the struggle for democracy." This reveals their viewpoint.

Now, as I have said, this group in itself is unimportant, - we need not even take the trouble to name it - but they attach themselves to a stronger group. If you follow up the next article I referred to, you will see that their ideas lead them to support what nobody wants today: the Franchise Action Committee (FRAC). The important thing is that they give theoretical support to such things as the FRAC and the M.R.C.s (Members of the Native Representative Council). Only they do not say so in words. I am quite prepared to believe that the writer of that article did not consciously go out of his way to support the M.R.C.s and the Native Representatives in Parliament, or FRAC. But the logic of his position sent him precisely where he finds himself today, without his knowing it, because he took up a wrong position. So much for this group.

Let us return to the first group - the merchant class. Events have already shown us what happened to them. They ran all over the place: India, America, England and then specifically at U.N.O. But during all this the Herrenvolk Parliament went on quietly with its legislation and had today brought out what hurts the Indian merchant class most - the Group Areas Bill. When the Indian people launched their Passive Resistance struggle they showed great heroism, not

realising ,....

realising that they served the purpose of the merchant class which was aiming to bring about a Round Table Conference. The Indian Masses had to pay dearly for this lesson.

We must pay tribute to those delegates amongst us today who represent Indian organisations in Natal. This new, young element has broken with the idea and the sectarian outlook of the Indian merchant class, which rejected the principled basis of struggle. They see the struggle as a whole; they realise that the Herrenvolk sees only two colours, White or Black, and they understand that oppression is indivisible, that the struggle of the Non-Europeans therefore must be a united one, that their problem will be solved only when the problem of the African peasant is solved, when the whole question of liberty is solved. They have not come to Conference to bargain.

Examining the whole political set-up of the country, one can see no other way for the Indian: he is bound to come into the N.E.U.M. or else he must perish. There is no other course open to him.

Now we have repeatedly stressed the importance of the federal structure of organisation. To show you how effectively the federal organisation has worked in the past consider the example of the Anti-C.A.D. When faced with the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943 it gathered together the existing organisations under the federal body and politicised them, with the result that it was able to carry out the Boycott, since all the organisations throughout the country were guided by the policy adopted at the National Anti-C.A.D. Conference. It was able to carry out the boycott of the segregatory institution, the C.A.C. and also the personal boycott. And today the collaborators have no home amongst the Coloured people. The important thing in all this was the politicisation of the existing local bodies.

The African people on the other hand have not been able to carry out the Boycott to the same degree, precisely because the African unitary organisation, the African National Congress, is still outside the federal body, the All-African Convention. The collaborators have kept the Congress out of the A.A.C. because they don't want to be tied to a principled basis of struggle. And when they were driven out of the people's organisations in the Transkei (T.O.B. and the Voters' Association) their only home was the Congress. So you see the importance of the federal structure. An idea formed by all the organisations of the people must find its way back to the very roots of the people.

In summing up I would like to point out that we are still lagging behind for the simple reason that we have not the numerical forces necessary for this big task. There is also the question of the financial forces we require. We need organisers first of all, who will tour the country all the year round. The N.E.U.M. is fully alive to this necessity, but the lack of funds is a serious handicap. Secondly, in order to reach the people all the time we should have a Press, which will carry our ideas to the people. Let us write down our struggles; let those in Pondoland, in Zululand, in the Transkei know what the town is doing; thus we create a community of interest between town and country; we do not feel that we are alone but that our struggles are part of one great struggle. Here let us compliment the "Torch", which is the only paper so far that has assisted in carrying our ideas to the people. For this we owe them a debt of gratitude. Meantime, until we are in a position to create our own Press, let us see that the "Torch" is taken to the furthest corners of South Africa.

I am not dealing with the question of local committees, because I would like the delegates themselves to discuss this fully.

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Conference then decided that, on the resumption after lunch, it would discuss the three subjects introduced by Dr. Gool, Mr. Kies and Mr. Tabata.

AFTERNOON SESSION:

Mr. H. Jaffe (Cape Anti-C.A.D.):- said that there were two points that he wished to deal with: (i) the 'political strike' which was being proposed, and, (ii) Independent Non-European trade unions.

The political side of the so-called 'political strike' had already been dealt with well enough, and Dr. Gool had given a picture of how the workers were distributed in the towns. One-third of the workers were peasantry: The trade unions spring from light industry and commerce, and had resulted in an organic weakness, and hence only 10% of the workers were organised. Only one-tenth could know the criminal nature of such a strike after the lessons of 1st May and 26th June. To see the potential of the workers, we must look back at the

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activity of the workers who would be called upon to resist.. If from 1906 to 1948, taking all workers in the towns, we had to inquire how long they had been on strike, we would find that the average time would only be 10 days. That indicates the weakness of the trade unions. To call upon them now would be criminal folly of the grossest type. In the N.E.U.M. the gulf between the workers in the town and in the country could be bridged by coming together. We could help to bridge in the political sense. Then again it had to be remembered that the majority of the trade unions were controlled by white bureaucrats. When the I.C.U. had applied for affiliation in 1928, Bill Andrews had refused. In Bloemfontein in 1946 various unions had decided to accept the principle of an Independent federation. In 1950 they had resolved to organise independently of the white trade unions as the only way of getting unity on the basis of equality. It was essential that they break the shackles of the white aristocracy and bureaucrats.

Mr. E. Hassim (Coloured People's Congress, Transvaal):- said that the position of the majority of the African workers in the towns was not that of the permanent town dweller, and the result was that the gulf between the town and the country was thus narrowed. He suggested that a possible way of getting to the workers in the mines was through the farms and peasantry. The present weakness of the trade unions was due to the continuous shifting population, the slogan of 'no politics', and the stranglehold which the white labour aristocrats had on the workers. The Garment Workers' Union was supposed to have no colour bar, but the officers were all Europeans, and the No. 2 branch had to dance to the tunes of the Europeans. There had been a general election in the union, and because of the growth of the nationalist section, Sachs' position was no longer so secure, and in order to appease them, No. 2 branch had been shifted to a headquarters some distance away. That type of thing happened in every union where there was ostensibly no colour bar. The African trade unions were mainly just offices with people making a comfortable living. Those trade unions in the Transvaal were in a complete state of chaos. It was imperative that we immediately start spreading the idea that Non-Europeans must organise in separate trade unions, otherwise the trade union movement would never get anywhere. The influence of the bureaucrats would have to be removed completely.

Mr. P. Xeketwana (People's Working Committee, Idutywa):- said that he supported the views expressed by Mr. Hassim very strongly. There was no compensation for the mineworkers. A person who worked in the mines was in continual danger. Very often their sight was affected, and they could not get children when they married. If a disease was contracted, no provision was made for compensation, and there was no provident fund. To quote a few cases: A son had lost his life and compensation was fixed at £46-. His father spoke to the commissioner and said he did not accept that compensation. He was recalled in 1950 and told he would be brought before the law-courts; he refused and was fined £5-. He paid and still refused the compensation.

A second man spoke of a nephew of his who met his death during a fall of rock, and was given £66.17.6d. He spoke to the assistant magistrate at Idutywa, who said that that was the amount sent by the Chamber of Mines. It was not given in cash, but paid in monthly amounts of £2- when the pensions were given. They had to receive it as if they were blind. He had asked the magistrate when the debts of the deceased could be settled, and he was told that those were the laws in the mines and could not be remedied by him. He mentioned that by way of illustration and held that that should be remedied by the N.E.U.M., if possible.

Mr. A. Madalani (Peoples' Working Committee, Idutywa):- said that he had something else to mention. We pay taxes yearly, and although we must pay, after 7 months a messenger of the court confiscates cattle if those are not paid. They had fought without success, and so when they had received the notice of the Conference, they had decided to come. He wanted to know whether there was any remedy.

Mr. Mtshula (Society of Young Africa):- said that there had been various speakers on the question of the trade unions, but the trouble was that at times there were some who wished to tackle the question concretely, but they did not know how to set about it.

The Vice-President said that the necessary literature would be sent out, wherever necessary.

Mr. G.L. Abrahams (T.L.S.A., South Peninsula):- suggested the drafting of a pamphlet.

Miss J. Gool (A.A.C., Central Executive):- supported the idea, and said that the ideas expressed at the Conference should be embodied in a pamphlet.

Mr. I.B. Tabata (A.A.C., Western Province Committee):- said that it was correct to link the trade unions and the peasants.

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Many delegates had wondered what Mr. Xeketwana, for example, would say on the Trade Union Question, but now they could see the connection. It was the peasant who went to the mines, and hence the Herrenvolk must keep the miners down to suppress the peasantry. He suggested that the N.E.U.M. do something about these matters.

Mr. Sihlali (Vigilance Association, Queenstown):- said that it was the accepted policy to pay, in all cases of compensation, £2- per month when ill, and there was no question of a lump sum. It was a general practice, and not only confined to the mines. The delegate from Johannesburg had said that trade unions do not exist there. In fact, in Johannesburg people are discouraged from joining because they are not recognised. He thought that those present should educate others to struggle for future benefits. Only strikes were of any use, negotiations were useless.

The resolutions on Slave Education and the Trade Unions were then passed unanimously:-

SLAVE EDUCATION:

This 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement

(a) affirms: that the denial of education to the Non-European children as evidenced by the lack of schools, the lack of compulsory education and the vicious retardation measures is part of the Herrenvolk policy of National Oppression of the Non-Europeans.

(b) urges: all parents and teachers to co-ordinate their struggle for democracy in education with the struggle for full citizenship.

TRADE UNIONS:

This 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement

(a) deplores the fact that the organised Non-European workers are still permitting their Trade Unions to be kept out of the struggle for National liberation.

(b) urges upon the Non-European workers the necessity for freeing themselves from the bonds whereby the Herrenvolk elements in the Trade Union leadership are tying them to their oppressor, thus preventing them from employing their organised power for the emancipation of the Non-European people from oppression and exploitation.

(c) again calls upon the Trade Unions to take their rightful place in the Non-European Unity Movement.

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Miss J. Gool (All African Convention, Central Executive), then introduced a discussion on:

WORLD WAR III, U.N.O., and NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN ASIA.

I think it will not be amiss to say that we in South Africa have always been most interested in the international question and more especially in the struggles of the Non-European peoples in the East and elsewhere, for two reasons. Firstly, because the East provides us with valuable lessons for our own national movement, and secondly, because our national movement must find a place in the national struggles going on in the East.

Today we are witnessing tremendous waves of national feeling in the East which have, since World War II, been going on at a steady progression up to today. The fresh impetus that the national movements received after the last World War has been the liberation of China from the shackles of imperialism. That fact stands today as one of the greatest single factors influencing the national movements, because the liberation of China has caused the greatest repercussions in various countries in Asia. From China, the struggle spread to Malaya, Indonesia, India, Indo-China, Burma, Afghanistan, and right across the Asian continent away to Persia and Iraq. The primary cause has been China.

Let us look at the results of what has taken place in China. Today, according to what the imperialist press is forced to state, the value of the pound in our own country, has dropped to seven shillings and sixpence and our own coinage has been inflated. But in China, the price index has fallen, showing a substantial increase of real wages. The pound in China is worth a pound in value. Dealings in foreign currency have been strictly forbidden. The value of the new currency in China has been established. We know, during the time of the

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Chiang Kai Shek period, the monthly rate of interest on £100 was 42%. By May last year, after the liberation of China, the rate had fallen to 3 and 4½%. The Government controls private industry and in each factory there is a director who must share with an Administration Committee elected by the workers the whole running of the factory. Workers and peasants are running industry in China through the various factory's committees. In other words, the economy of China has been put on a sound basis and nepotism, graft and corruption are now a thing of the past. The imperialists, have lost China, and the loss has been such a bitter blow that they have never recovered from it. Recently it was reported that out of 10 diplomatic centres in China, six have been closed and there are only four left. The missionaries have been leaving by the thousands which is symptomatic of the attitude of the Chinese people to these agents of imperialism.

This tremendous victory of the Chinese over the imperialists has placed its mark on the various national movements and given them a great impetus. In Persia and Iraq the people have come out and demanded the nationalisation of the oil industry. They want to get rid of British control. There is something interesting to relate about Teheran. The imperialists themselves have to admit that the situation is bleak. There is no successor to Razmara. Razmara was a quisling in the pay of the imperialists. It is reported that a certain Mr. S.Kandari reminded the people in Europe at a Peace Conference that the treaty which was signed in 1921 between the Soviet Union and Persia still stands. It empowers the Soviet Union to dispatch troops to counter any imperialist plans to occupy Persia. British ships are outside in the Persian Gulf but dare not land. But dare they, at any moment to land their troops, the treaty will come into operation. No wonder the position for the imperialists is bleak. We imagine that something similar will take place in Iraq, sooner or later. It appears that all this has influenced Afghanistan to make a treaty with India against Pakistan which is collaborating with the imperialists.

The importance of the victory in China can be judged not only from the influence it has had in the colonial countries, but the reaction which it has caused in the imperialist camp. Their chagrin at the loss of China has been the real reason for the American attack on Korea. The war was unleashed to break China. The whole strategy was to march the American army right up to the borders of Manchuria. Tanaka, one of the foremost Japanese military strategists once said: "Conquer Manchuria, and you conquer China. Conquer China and you conquer Asia". The Americans under McArthur are merely following Tanaka. The point is that when McArthur marched up to the Yalu River he was under the impression that he could defeat China and that China would not enter into a war with the great America. So McArthur could do what he liked. But when he came there, Chou-en-lai, the commander of the Chinese military forces, stated that: "the Chinese people would not supinely tolerate seeing their neighbours being invaded by the imperialists". He warned McArthur not to cross the border but this warning was ignored and then China entered the war. We can remember what jubilation went all over South Africa among the Non-Europeans when the Americans were defeated after they crossed the Yalu River and were driven right down to Pusan. Great America has been humbled in the dust before Little China. Today they are crying for peace. The peace which will be made will be an uneasy one because World War III is round the corner. The very fact that the Americans took her army right across to Korea shows the hatred they have towards China because of the income they have lost since China is lost to her. Today America supports Chiang Kai Shek on his last stand in Formosa. At the same time, Attlee in Britain is asking America not to espouse the cause of Chiang Kai Shek in Formosa, for should she handle the position badly, the position for America would be invidious. Preparations for the next World War are already taking place. The animal is becoming more vicious. Last year over six thousand million dollars of America's budget was devoted to armament. The exposure of U.N.O. has become clearer. Some of us still believe that U.N.O. really represents the forces of peace as they said at the beginning of the Korean conflict, and that the essential object of U.N.O. intervention in Korea was to establish a democratic government in Korea. But we must not forget that when America marched into Korea and landed her troops there, she did so without consulting U.N.O. Afterwards U.N.O. ratified America's intervention. Thus we can see how much a tool of America is this U.N.O. America first acts and then U.N.O. signs on the dotted line.

U.N.O. has also been exposed on the South West African question. When South Africa annexed S.W.A. one day, and held elections there, U.N.O. demanded a Report, but South Africa simply refused and has not done so up to the present day. U.N.O. is helpless in enforcing her demand. When the Indians want to plead their cause at U.N.O., it demanded South Africa suspend the Group Areas Act

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and hold a round-table conference. South Africa flouted her demands and the position today remains as before. The Act is being enforced against the Indians, and U.N.O. is powerless to intervene.

We may well ask what America has gained out of this war on the Korean peoples. She has gained nothing. She has laid the land waste and caused privation, hunger and death to many hundreds of thousands of innocent people. In Malaya, the fight never stops. The press reports that there are no less than 500 incidents a month. The night mail train dare not proceed inland because the guerillas lay in wait. They openly acknowledge the fact that they have received fresh morale from China and Korea.

In the East, the rule of imperialism has come to an end. In every country in the East, the white face has become a symbol of oppression. The wave of liberation is sweeping to our shores, to Africa where national movements are still in the embryo stage.

Our attitude towards the coming war must now be made clear. Only a month ago South Africa proclaimed that she was neutral on the Korean War. But her actions belie her statements. She is sending squadron after squadron of airmen to shoot down the Koreans. Does this mean that South Africa is at war with Korea, or does it not? We should, at this Conference, disassociate ourselves from what Malan is doing.

When the next World War comes, there are two questions to be faced by the Non-Europeans in South Africa. Are we going to fight on behalf of the Herrenvolk who are oppressing us in this very country? Are we going to help the Herrenvolk wage war upon other colonial peoples who are giving up their lives in the cause of their own liberation? We shall be used to shoot down Africans, Egyptians, Persians, Chinese - equally oppressed as ourselves. For make no mistake, that will be our task in the next war. We have to think very carefully at this Conference and make our decision. Are we with the colonial people or are we not?

This question must be coupled with another fact: that there may be a possibility of giving the Non-Europeans in South Africa arms. In Britain they have been debating - that because they have no Indian army to fight for imperialism, the creation of an African army was necessary. The promise of a gun may make some people believe that they must use any opportunity in order to learn how to handle a gun. That is a trap that we must be aware of. We must declare once and for all that we will only fight in the cause of our own liberation. This gun business is something we should be most wary of. The colonial people are not yet finished with their oppressors. Day by day the millions in Asia are fighting, endangering their lives to free themselves. If that feeling of liberation could come to our shores in Africa, we would be well on the way to our liberty and freedom.

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In order to facilitate discussion, it was agreed to go straight on to an allied subject, "New Developments in Africa", to be introduced by Mr. R.O. Dudley (Teachers' League of South Africa, Executive).

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA.

Miss J. Gool has outlined the situation which has commanded our attention for a long time in Asia and we are beginning to look to our own continent to see the beginnings of developments here which we all hope will take the same course as in Asia.

I think that the cause of our not having had an opportunity to study what is going on in Africa is due to several factors, apart from the fact that most of us are too engrossed in our own struggles here to see exactly how we fit into world events.

We do not find events being shaped on such a gigantic scale as in Asia. Africa is almost the last of the continents under imperialist control. Moreover, the people are carved into far smaller groups than in Asia. But I think that we have come to learn that things are taking place in Africa which are going to influence all developments of the political struggle in our own country sooner or later. And the very fact that on the eve of a major war, much more attention is being paid to Africa and efforts are being made to win over certain sections, make us realise that there are great possibilities in Africa today.

These are some of the things which form the background to our thinking and in this brief analysis of events in different parts of the continent, I am going to restrict myself to the examination of certain tendencies and events that have

occurred

occurred over the last 20 years.

If we take the first group of colonies, namely, the British West African colonies of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and the Cameroons, we find that there is only the very, very first indication of any effort on the part of the Africans in these territories to put forward demands like those which we find in the 10-point programme. The populations live in regions chiefly agricultural. It is only recently that there has sprung up an intelligentsia. During the years before the occupation of these countries by the imperialists there existed in these territories a form of government which was outlined for us yesterday by Mr. Jordan on his homily on who is civilized in this country and who is not. The primitive democratic forms were ruthlessly destroyed and the chiefs skimmed off from the rest of the people and used as tools. Roughly about 80 years ago the chiefs were in a legislative assembly in which they held the position of agents of the colonial servants who ruled these territories and despite tremendous developments of trade towards the end of the 19th century and the development of a merchant class, the British avoided using anyone else bar the chiefs, to administrate in these territories. Another way in which they differ from rule in our country, there is not the studious robbing of the land as in this country. Naturally, since the whole basis of the existence of the people had been destroyed and the chiefs had become the main enemies of the Africans in their efforts to live a peaceful life after the terrible period of slave days, there arose a rift between the people and the chiefs, but not sufficient to organise the mass of the people in one opposition to their chiefs and the civil servants who used the chiefs to keep the people in subjection. But with development, there arose a dissident faction amongst the people, completely outside the administration of the colonies and they began to agitate for participation in the administration.

There was a foul system of injustice which caught the masses on the raw. This, and taxes reduced the Africans to a poor level. Revolts broke out from time to time, and attempts were made at the conciliation of the intellectuals: they were given a limited number of seats and worked on a provincial basis. They fell for that type of thing but soon they realised that they could do nothing. After the Second World War there were more revolts and in Nigeria the number of seats for the intellectuals was increased from five to nine in order to placate them. Conditions were worsening. Despite being allowed to live as peasants, the people could not conduct sales.

The leniency of the Ten-Year Plan of Britain was because they controlled the purse, and could play with the incomes of the peasants. They were told they would be given about 4d. per pound of cocoa, and were forced to take it, in order to pay their taxes and chiefs. Britain made a gigantic sum, and a dividend of less than 500% by Lever Bros. was regarded as bad.

Disillusionment had to follow. After World War II the ideas of non-co-operation took root, and the West African Bloc came into being. There was no further development of government, and strikes were chiefly economic or against the Police. The chiefs were well-bribed, and Britain was able to pay one chief £5,000 per year together with £1,000 for entertainment. Not even Verwoerd earns that.

The chief must act as the overseer of the peasants earning £3 to £5 per annum. Peasants and others were reduced in misery, and the demand for self-government came not so much from the West African Congress as from the groups in the coastal areas and religious leaders who disagreed with the missionaries. There was no upsurge of a national character, except Azikwe who adopted the slogans of "Africa for the Africans", and "To Hell with the Whites".

In 1946 there were widespread revolts in the Gold Coast, as a result of which commissions were instituted, led by members of the Fabian Society. Africans asked for independence, and freedom from the Colonial idea -- Nkrumah followed that line, and then Britain tried to win over the intellectuals who then made extreme demands. Up to 1949 promises were held that the colony would get self-government. Nkrumah was given a chance in the municipal elections, and it appeared the Gold Coast Africans were under the Convention banner. A scheme whereby intellectuals could take part in the government without destroying the original forms of rule was devised. The chiefs would continue in office, but the intellectuals could form a cabinet of their own, made up of 38 elected representatives. Nkrumah was alive to this bluff, and made it clear that the offers were bogus, and all expected him to boycott the elections. The people were not intimidated. He was in gaol but made a clean sweep in the elections. The decision of Nkrumah to take part, to participate in the elections has left him in an awkward position. There is no question of Africans sitting in their

own Parliament. Of the 84 members, 38 were elected under the Nkrumah banner, and 37 were chosen through the electoral colleges, which was an opportunity for the chiefs to get into the so-called "parliament". There was the extension of the "popular franchise" which was filled with obstructions.

Then also there is the Executive Council. Of the nine portfolios, the Africans were given only the three most harmless ones (social welfare, roads & drainage, etc.) while finance, justice, policy etc. were controlled by Europeans chosen from the colonial Office. While it is true that the Governor will not preside over the legislative Assembly, he still retains the right to veto any of their decisions.

Nkrumah has been raised to the stature of a legendary figure, but had there been anything genuine in it, he would not have got so much publicity. He had been in gaol for a long time, and was known as one who stood for 100% self-government, but when he was released he agreed to give the constitution a trial, and announced that he stood for full sovereignty within the British Commonwealth. He turned out to be just another Nehru. The new Constitution is bogus, for the ministers will still be under the permanent officials. It is disappointing to know that when he had such fine support he was decoyed into the sands of compromise and collaboration.

In Central and East Africa things have taken a different turn because of a new influence, namely, religious groups. As an example, take Uganda where ground has been given over to three churches, although the majority of the people are Moslem. There were revolts, and the leaders were drawn from the religious groups. The movement was crushed by a bloody campaign by the Colonial Office.

In Kenya and Tanganyika there was also a crying for the removal of the British, but it was a blind revolt against rising costs and low living standards. Changes have occurred: the Groundnuts Scheme, heralded as the saviour of the British Empire, was a flop, and now attempts are being made to change Africa into another Argentine. Bechuanaland and Northern Rhodesia are being investigated in order to recoup Britain's losses on the Groundnuts Scheme.

The imperialists have turned their eyes to Africa to recruit for World War III. There were certain differences in the techniques adopted by the Colonial Office and the South African Government. In the Gold Coast, for example, attempts were made to get the intellectuals to take part in the governing of the country, while maintaining the position of the chiefs. In South Africa, Apartheid first tried to win over the intellectuals, but now they are being jettisoned.

There is the embryo of a growing nationalism, and an understanding of the origin of their oppression. Despite the leaderships being unreliable, we know there is a rising consciousness and that domination is fast on the way out.

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Owing to the lateness of the hour it was decided to proceed to the Treasurer's Report immediately.

TREASURER'S REPORT presented by Councillor R.E. Viljoen:-

The question of finance may not be the all-important question, but it is a question that is important because we heard earlier today that we have been living from hand to mouth politically. I must also state that, for the last 8 years, we have been living from hand to mouth financially. We have at no time been in a position to speed up our work so that we could get our political ideas to the people. We have had to depend on individuals and voluntary workers so that the work has of necessity been slowed down. And with the new task that I have heard about at this Conference, it is necessary that we should give serious consideration to the question of finance.

A sad state of affairs still exists. When I was elected Treasurer 4 years ago, I was handed over a loan of £50. That loan is still outstanding today.

However, Mr. President, I want to say that the burden of raising finances has been thrown on to the shoulders of a few people and I feel that such a state is not desirable. Therefore, I am suggesting to you that if we are building up a leadership, then the leadership must now take responsibility and it must be their duty to see that not only at Conference do they pay their 10/6, but throughout the year they should see to it that finance flows into the movement. If we can do that, we can do the political tasks which we are hoping to do.

Mr. Tabata stated that if it were not for the "Torch", our ideas would not

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have got to the people as fast as they did. But we cannot expect the "Torch" to do all our work. It is an independent paper. It is not our organ.

We find that all the work here at conference has been done voluntarily. If we had had to pay for these things I would have been in the unhappy position of having to present a financial statement which would have shown a deficit. Before I submit to you the statement, I want to tell you that as we stand here today, there are still a few things to be paid and some money to come in, but I am in the happy position to tell you that, apart from the £50, the only amount we owe is 8/-. But it is because a few people have not thrown their weight into the raising of funds in order to make it possible for us to be in a solvent state tonight. So I would like delegates to take the message back to their organisations to see that, apart from conference fees, they send in affiliation fees. We have not had these for a very long time and I feel that with speedy developments taking place today, organisations must send them in.

After this conference, we will have to do a lot of work which we cannot leave until we have money. There are things the committee will have to take on. I appeal to this conference not to shove the responsibility into the background and think there is a Treasurer to raise money. The Treasurer cannot be expected to raise all the money. We are grateful to those people who have from time to time supported our parties to raise funds. The position of the £50 has been a worrying one to me because it has been so long outstanding but I am able to tell conference that I am going to reduce this loan immediately by a considerable amount and, if possible, will settle the whole amount. I will reduce the amount by at least 50%. The position with finances at the moment may seem to be very healthy but we must not forget that we have certain commitments, and the few pounds we have in hand will not be sufficient.

The position is as follows:-

<u>INCOME:</u> (Details given)	£183.17. 1d.
<u>EXPENDITURE:</u> (Details given)	84.18. 6d.
<u>BALANCE:</u>	£98.18. 7d.

Sixty-four (64) organisations have paid their conference fees. We had a few fraternal delegates who do not pay. I must thank the ladies for the splendid work they have done in connection with conference catering. They have actually done the catering at a profit to the Treasurer. Receipts for conference fees will be forwarded within the course of the next few weeks as there was no time to do so today.

I want to thank everyone who has helped us from the financial point of view with this conference.

Then followed a discussion on the Treasurer's Report:-

Dr. G.H. Gool (Vice-President):- "I want to move a vote of thanks to the Treasurer for presenting a credit balance. The question of raising funds becomes very serious now in view of the tremendous amount of work we shall have to do in the coming period. We have discussed the question of pamphlets. Paper, stationery and printing-ink are going up in price every month and are going to be very expensive items and therefore we shall have to ask organisations, as we are building a people, that in the matter of finance they see to it that they send, without being prodded, their affiliation fees as soon as possible. That will be the test of their good faith because we can say all things in the world, but the acid test is whether on these organisational things we meet our obligations or not. We are not yet asking them to shed their blood as the people of Korea and China do willingly. We are only asking you to pay into the coffers what is due to the movement.

We will have to consider the establishment of a building fund. We have to do a tremendous amount of work. There is the question of an organiser. This needs money, but this money spent on an organiser will bring in more money because the more work you do, the more you get in your returns. We have always had a resolution that we will have an organiser, funds permitting. So we will have to have a building fund and ask organisations to contribute to this fund.

There is also the question of propagating the ideas of the unity movement and the modern vehicle for the spread of ideas is the paper, and the "Torch" has been the only paper in the whole of South Africa to spread the ideas of the Unity Movement. As you know, the "Torch" has been involved in a very heavy case of litigation. The Defence Committee has already raised something like £3,000-. If we wish to see our movement grow, organisations must support the "Torch". It

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must be read in all the corners of South Africa and further north. As Dr. Limbada said "It has been like a light in the darkness of Natal" and the "Torch" has been responsible for the spreading of ideas in the absence of personal contacts in that area. So in every area we must support the "Torch" which has never come to us and begged".

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President):- "I desire to appeal to all members to go home and introduce to their organisations and their people this paper, the "Torch", and get more subscribers and a bigger circulation throughout the length and breadth of South Africa".

The Treasurer's Report was then adopted on a resolution.

The following resolution on the International Situation was read by Mr. W.M. Tsotsi and adopted:-

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION:

This 7th National Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement

(a) salutes the struggles of the peoples of China, Korea and all other colonial and semi-colonial peoples who are throwing off the forces of White Domination and freeing themselves from the chains of oppression and exploitation.

(b) condemns the despicable role of U.N.O. in the aggressive war upon Korea and China and declares that U.N.O. is an open tool of the powers owning colonies or having colonial investments.

(c) identifies itself with the liberatory struggle of all the oppressed peoples, declares that it has no quarrel with them and dissociates itself from any attacks made upon them by the South African Herrenvolk.

(d) warns the Non-European oppressed people of South Africa against the danger of being used in World War III in order to defend and entrench the forces of White Domination and in order to fight their natural allies in the struggle against Herrenvolkism.

DISCUSSION ON ORGANISATION:

Mr. G.L. Abrahams (T.L.S.A., South Peninsula Branch):- "Mr. President, I don't know whether you and Conference know that at the T.L.S.A. conference in June a motion was carried deploring the organisational weaknesses of the Unity Movement. It was introduced by our Branch and we were happily surprised to find a number of branches who thought as we did. I am also pleased to note that running through the speeches there is this admission that ideologically we have progressed and organisationally we have not progressed as far.

Yesterday we had Chief Molefe, Mr. Jantjies and two more gentlemen here bringing complaints from the country and requesting us to help. I immediately felt guilty. I could not see any way in which the N.E.U.M. could be of immediate help. We could not say: go back to the local co-ordinating unity committee there and ask them to help you fight. Eight years ago, when I first came here, I heard the most eloquent speeches and I thought the political liberation of the people was around the corner, and I am sure that many people new here are under the same impression today. We are politically in the same position today as we were eight years ago. I don't know how many local co-ordinating unity committees were established during the course of the last eight years so I cannot be sure that the work we originally set out to do has been done. I say this: that unless we have local co-ordinating unity committees we will never get the idea of unity into the minds of the people; otherwise everyone will be working separately and in isolation. Unless this conference starts thinking very seriously of the organisational weaknesses in the movement, we will make no progress. Ideologically we may make progress but it will remain amongst the intelligentsia. I am thinking of the notion adopted about four years ago that we would have an organising secretary. I want to make it plain that we have no criticism of the ideological progress but we do find fault with the organisational laxity in our movement."

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President):- "All I can say is that we thank you very much, Mr. Abrahams, and I believe members of conference will give the matter their serious attention".

Mr. G.L. Abrahams - "I want to move the following:-

"That in view of the organisational weaknesses of the Non-European Unity Movement, a special committee be elected to examine the organisational weaknesses with a view to righting same".

Mr. L. Sihlali.....

Mr. L. Sihlali (Vigilance Association, Queenstown):- "Is this an indication that the Working Committee is not capable? I move an amendment that the Working Committee does it."

Mr. G.L. Abrahams - "I have the democratic right to say that I feel that the Federal structure in theory is alright but please put it into practice".

Miss J. Gool (A.A.C., Central Executive):- "That is out of order. We have pointed out that organisationally we are weak. That means that the formation of committees has not been proceeded with. All we can say is that delegates must go home and form local co-ordinating committees. But we cannot at this late stage bring in any doubt on the organisational basis".

Dr. Gool (Vice-President):- "We have asked people to send their resolutions well in time so that they might be put before conference and discussed. But Mr. Abrahams comes at the last moment with this resolution. Why?"

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane (President):- "It is not the fault of Mr. Abrahams that this was brought up at 6.30 p.m. The item was on the agenda this morning but there was no time to discuss it. There was only time to introduce it."

Miss J. Gool - "Conference had a whole month before. It could have been submitted".

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane - "But that question is on the agenda and members who come to conference have a right to move resolutions".

Mr. G.L. Abrahams - "If I have the guarantee that the Working Committee will give serious thought to this, I will withdraw the resolution".

Mr. I.B. Tabata (A.A.C., U.P. Committee):- "In Cape Town we have a Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee. I would like to have Mr. Abrahams' assurance that he will give this committee the support which he talks about now and even half the energy he gives to the Catholic Teachers' Association. We also want guarantees from the other side that members will work in organisations that will come into the Unity Movement."

Rev. Z.R. Mahabane - "We cannot ask organisations to give guarantees and I cannot permit any irrelevant matters to be brought into the discussion. I think we all have confidence that the Working Committee and all the organisations assembled here will give their most serious and urgent attention to our organisational as well as our political tasks in the building of a nation. I think we shall now proceed with the election of the officials."

The following officials were then elected after being duly moved and seconded:

President:	REV. Z.R. MAHABANE
Vice-President:	DR. G.H. GOOL
Joint-Secretaries:	MESSRS. S.A. JAYIYA and D. NEETHLING
Treasurer:	COUNCILLOR R.E. VILJOEN.

The President, in a final speech, thanked all the delegates and others who had participated in, organised and supported the Conference and expressed his confidence that everyone who had the cause of human freedom and justice at heart must have been inspired with confidence and filled with strength for the great task of building the nation. Conference then closed.

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