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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (CAPE)

13 P.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE; HELD  
AT CRADOCK ON THE 15TH AUGUST 1953.

Sons and Daughters of Africa,

It is my pleasant duty, first of all, to say a word of welcome to all the delegates who have come from different parts of the Cape Province to attend this Conference. Our area of operation covers a considerable proportion of the Union of South Africa. Our branches are scattered all over this vast area, and therefore it is by no means easy for a conference of this kind to be assembled, more particularly if this is done more than once a year. As you know the normal practice is for us to hold our Provincial Conference during the month of June. In 1952 we were compelled by circumstances to depart from this custom. During that year, you will remember that we held a Special Conference at Port Elizabeth on April the 12th, in response to a directive from our National head-quarters in connection with preparations for the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

At that Conference it was decided to convert the special conference into our annual conference so as to obviate the holding of a further meeting in June 1952. It was hoped, then, that it might be possible to hold another meeting later in the year, but as all the world knows, the second half of the year 1952 was taken up with the historic Defiance Campaign in which the Cape Province played such an important role, so that it was not feasible for the Provincial Conference to be held until February, 1953. When I returned from the United States in May, 1953, I realised that it would probably be impossible to resume immediately our normal practice of holding our Conference in June 1953. Our Provincial Executive, which met at Port Elizabeth in June, decided, however, that the Provincial Conference should be held as soon as arrangements for it could be made in view of important developments, not only in the Province but in the country as a whole. August 15th, 1953, at Cradock was therefore decided upon. It is hoped, however, that in future we shall be able to resume our normal practice and so hold our next annual conference in June, 1954.

In the second place, may I, on behalf of the Province, say a word of thanks to the Cradock branch of the African National Congress (Cape) for the readiness with which they consented to assume the responsibility of acting as hosts for this Conference. Normally when a branch is called upon to receive the Provincial Conference, it is given a whole year's notice, so as to give it a reasonable period within which to make the necessary arrangements. In this case Cradock was given a little more than a month's notice but they did not hesitate to undertake this heavy responsibility. The last occasion on which we met here was in June, 1951, and many of us still have happy memories of the excellent treatment accorded to us then, and so we have come here full of pleasant expectations which we know will not be disappointed.

A word of thanks is also due to the Town Council of Cradock which has once more permitted us to meet within its area of jurisdiction. The Town Council of Cradock has not yet joined those local authorities which mistakenly suppose that peace and harmony between white and black can only be maintained by denying the black man the expression of his legitimate aspirations. For the denial of a group of people of the freedom to express their views on matters affecting their welfare does not mean that they either cease to have those views or cease to believe in the justice of their cause. On the contrary, the enforced quiet or silence gives those in authority a false sense of security which is rudely shaken when the superficial calm is disturbed, as it inevitably must be, by the irrepressible urge to freedom for which all people yearn, without distinction of race or colour or creed.

/ We can/

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We can only express the hope that Cradock, which is one of the principal centres of the Cape Midlands, essentially a farming area, will continue to maintain the open door, and will not succumb to the blandishments of those who are trying to propagate the dangerous doctrine that the interests of the different sections of our population are diametrically opposed to one another or who see some menace to their position whenever two or three Africans are gathered together in some place.

In the African National Congress we believe that the interests of white and black in South Africa are so inextricably interwoven that no policy which either overtly or covertly seeks to employ the machinery of the State to secure advantages for one section of the population at the expense or to the detriment of other sections of the population will, in the long run benefit, even the so-called privileged section, to say nothing of the rest. When the day comes for which all true South Africans are working, when we shall have achieved a united South African nation, honour will go to those who throughout South African history have not allowed their temporary or fortuitous position of advantage to cloud their vision of a South African state based upon justice, fairplay and equal opportunity for all.

PRESENT SITUATION.

We are meeting at a time which is very critical in the history of the country. Those of you who have eyes to see and ears to hear will agree that the present state of affairs in South Africa shows signs of an ever deepening crisis in the relations between the various groups represented here. The present government has just been returned to power with a majority which in the view of some of its supporters entitles it to put into effect a policy of "white South Africa" first, second and last, whatever the consequences to the country as a whole. The size of the government's majority becomes even greater when it is borne in mind that the opposition parties are in the main but pale reflections of the government party as far as their colour policies are concerned. But we are satisfied that no amount of "Coffee - Drinking" over it, will result in the production of a state of affairs in South Africa in which the interests of non-whites can safely be ignored.

The removal of African voters from the common roll did not bring about the white millenium which was hoped for in 1936. Similarly the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll in 1953 with or without a two-thirds majority, with or without consultation of the Coloured people, will not make that millenium any less of a pipe-dream. The same applies to much of the ideological legislation which is now before the Special Session of Parliament in which Ministers are vying with each other in putting various apartheid measures on the Statute Book. The Minister of Labour has discovered a method by which he hopes successfully to prevent nearly a million African workers in industry from having an effective say in matters affecting their welfare, their terms and conditions of employment. The voteless workers concerned, being totally unrepresented in the white Parliament, will not be able to prevent him from putting his 'Native Settlement of Disputes' Bill on the Statute Book. The advice of government commissions on which the workers were not represented, the past experience of the Departments of Native Affairs and Labour which had already recognised the existence of African Trade Unions though they could not register them in terms of the law, the unqualified opposition of organised labour both white and non-white, developments in other parts of the African continent ... all these have been brushed aside. But the mere fact that a law has been placed on the Statute book will not of itself make it workable, and whether the legislation concerned will achieve its objective will not depend on the machinery created under the Act alone. The African workers will, in due course, give their reply to this measure.

/ The Minister /

The Minister of Native Affairs is proceeding with his plan to transfer African education to the Department of Native Affairs. Once again, it is believed that once this transfer is effected, the aims, content and financing of African education will be streamlined to fit into the apartheid mould. The voteless African will not be able to prevent this step from being taken. But no amount of departmental jugglery will indefinitely prevent the African from achieving his destiny in matters educational. The process may be delayed by artificial obstacles of various kinds but the African people who are determined not to be fobbed off with any inferior brands of education will give their emphatic reply in deeds, not words, as they have done from time to time in connection with other schemes which purported to be intended for their benefit but were shot through with implications with which the African people were in fundamental disagreement.

Another Minister is busy putting on the Statute Book, a law to entrench the principle of separate and unequal public amenities and to make sure that this principle of which white South Africa is so proud shall not be interpreted by the Courts in favour of justice and fairplay for all. Naturally this law will not make provision for separate and unequal charges for separate and unequal amenities. That would be unfair discrimination against the whites!

The South African idea that wrong can be made into right by the use, or the abuse, of the sovereignty of a Parliament in which only one section of the population is adequately represented is bound, if not abandoned, to have disastrous consequences not only on the relations between white and non-white but also on the relations between white and white. The exercise of power or force can never be adequate criterion for the settlement of questions of human relations from which moral considerations can by no means be ruled out. But although we are convinced that in the long run these attempts to solve national problems on a unilateral basis are doomed to fail, we must remember that a great deal of misunderstanding and perhaps, much hardship will probably be brought about before their futility is recognised.

The people we represent are the ones who are most likely to suffer as a result of ill-conceived schemes. It is because the African National Congress cannot look on and fold its arms or pass by on the other side that we must continue to work for the removal of the disabilities under which our people labour, in spite of the fact that we may be misunderstood in official quarters and elsewhere. We are aware that attempts are being made in some quarters to represent the African National Congress as either an anti-white or a subversive organisation which is out to overthrow the government of the country and to substitute for it some kind of anarchic regime. In some quarters it is alleged that the African National Congress is under some kind of non-African domination. The trouble is that there are so many people in this country who are themselves accustomed to pushing the African from pillar to post that because the African is no longer at their beck and call, he must be subject to the influence of someone else. They are not willing to give the African credit for ever being able to do anything on his own initiative. These are the people who refuse to recognise the new spirit of self-direction and self-determination which is abroad in the new Africa. But we need not be deterred from our primary goal by the misrepresentation of our motives. We need make no apology for rejecting all policies or schemes which are inspired by principles with which we disagree. The African people, like any other group, claim the right to do all in their power to safeguard their interests and to make sure that they are not regarded by any group, however powerful, as mere means to the ends of others. In making these claims we are inspired by any ill-will towards any group, white or non-white. On the contrary the African National Congress is prepared to work with any group for the achievement of a more united South Africa, provided only that this co-operation is based on the principle of equal rights for all. To demand equal rights for all is, we know, regarded as the greatest heresy in certain South African circles.

All the parties which are busily engaged in searching for a political structure that will best serve to ensure a stable and harmonious multi-racial society in South Africa, proceed on the assumption that if there is one thing which is to be avoided at all costs it is equal rights for all. Directly or indirectly all of them from the extreme right wing of the Nationalists to the Liberals are anxious to preserve a position of privilege for one section of the population; whether they describe it as "white" or as "civilized" makes no difference.

The African National Congress and its allies on the other hand take the view that harmony, stability and peace can only be achieved through the establishment of a truly democratic South Africa i.e. one based on the principle of equal rights for all regardless of race or colour. Peace, harmony and prosperity can only exist, we believe, where the principle is accepted, and acted upon, that all peoples in the country have a full share in/and responsibility for the decision affecting their welfare, unfettered by artificial restrictions or man-made laws which they had no share in making.

As far back as 1945, when the African National Congress drew up a "Bill of Rights" which embodied our principal demands, included among them, was the following:-

"THE ABOLITION OF POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE... AND THE EXTENSION TO ALL ADULTS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND BE ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT, PROVINCIAL COUNCILS AND OTHER REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS".

The African National Congress has not yet been given by any body any convincing grounds to justify a change of front in this regard. Those who are unable to contemplate a state of affairs in which they might have to share their cherished rights and privileges with others cannot blame us for working for a state of affairs which holds no terror for us.

But we must be on our guard against minimising the gravity of the problems with which we are confronted. I recall that one of the last words I addressed to the members of the African National Congress (Cape) before my departure overseas was that they should remember that the struggle on which we are engaged is not a picnic. It is a grim affair. The events of 1952 served to remind us all of this. If we are going to be able to discharge our duty and to fulfill our mission we shall have to build up our organisation into an even better force than it has proved thus far. It will be your duty during this Conference, as you listen to and consider the reports which come from our branches in different parts of the country, to give serious attention to the question of strengthening our organisational machinery. This aspect of our work is not spectacular, but unless it is done we shall not be able to carry on successfully the struggle which lies ahead.

The African National Congress (Cape) has an important part to play in our National struggle. On December 17th, 1951 when the African National Congress assembled at Bloemfontein took the now historic decision to launch the momentous campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, participating in that debate on behalf of the Province I represented, I expressed the view that when the hour of decision and action struck, the Cape Province would not be found wanting. It was with a great deal of satisfaction, as I followed the Campaign from a distance, that I noted the honourable role which the Cape played. You can all be proud of the excellent contribution you made to every aspect of the struggle..... The number of Volunteers, the increased membership of our organisation, the personal sacrifices made by leaders and followers, the attention paid to the intergration of the rural and urban aspects of the struggle, the attention paid to the welfare of the dependants of the volunteers, the maintenance of the code of discipline and self-control associated with a non-violent struggle, the adherence to sound principles and the increased solidarity in our ranks which made it possible for informers, agents-provocateurs and /

provocateurs and other enemies of the people to have any influence on the movement.

I should like to congratulate you one and all on the excellent reply you gave to those who previously had no respect for the African's determination and ability to stand up and fight for his rights in the land of his birth. But we cannot afford to rest on our laurels. One phase of the struggle has come and gone, but contrary to popular belief in some quarters, the struggle is by no means at an end. Depending upon surrounding circumstances, the struggle may assume one form at one period and another at a different period, but as long as our main objectives have not been fully achieved, how can there be an end to the struggle? Our National Executive has the matter in hand and it is for us to intensify our organisation and to be prepared, with a strong senior Congress, a sound women's section and a vigorous Youth League. As the President-General has reminded us, "....."

"REMEMBERING THE PAST AND BEARING IN MIND OUR DUTY FOR THE FUTURE WE MUST DEDICATE OURSELVES AFRESH FOR THE OBJECTIVES FOR WHICH OUR ORGANISATION STANDS".

Various groups in the country as you know are considering the idea of a national convention at which all groups might be represented to consider our national problems on an all-inclusive basis. The sponsors of these conventions are hoping to invite various groups to send delegates to such meetings. I wonder whether the time has not come for the African National Congress to consider the question of convening a National Convention, A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a FREEDOM CHARTER for the DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA OF THE FUTURE. Once the principle of the establishment of such a CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE was accepted, the details of its implementation could be worked out either by the National Executive or by an ad hoc committee with that special duty.

In conclusion, I would like to say a word of thanks to the office-bearers of all the branches and to my colleagues in the Provincial Executive for the manner in which they have discharged their duties, especially during my absence overseas. As I said in the message I sent to the branches recently: "I make no apology for making special mention of the distinguished work done by Dr. J.L.Z. Njongwe of Port Elizabeth, who took over the duties of Acting-President, at such short notice and during such an eventful period in the history of our struggle. His fearless and inspired leadership, his untiring efforts and his selfless devotion to the cause of Africa were in no small measure responsible for the remarkable achievements of the African National Congress (Cape) in the campaign which made such an indelible impression upon South Africa. In this work he was ably supported by the Provincial Secretary, Mr. Matji and other members of the Provincial Executive and by our branch officials throughout the province. All of them, one and all, acquitted themselves like true sons and daughters of Africa. This was due, among other things, to the admirable and loyal support which they received from the rank and file of our members. When our principal office-bearers were compelled to relinquish their duties owing to various bans imposed upon them, other members stepped into the breach. In this connection, I want to express my personal thanks and the thanks of the organisation to the Rev. W.B. Tshume, who succeeded Dr. Njongwe as Acting-President and the Rev. A.A. Tsekoletsa who temporarily took over the duties of Provincial Secretary after the Conference held in February 1953.

I trust that in all our deliberations we shall be inspired by a sense of the gravity of the issues which will be placed before us and the responsibility we owe to those we represent here.

AFRIKA'S CAUSE MUST TRIUMPH !

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ( CAPE ).

SECRETARIAL REPORT TO THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE  
HELD AT CRADOCK ON THE 15th/16TH AUGUST 1953.

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRIKA:

This Conference of our National Organisation is, in some respects different from our usual annual Conferences; Our last annual Conference having been held only six months ago today. The present leadership of our organisation was elected at a time when most of the leaders of the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws were banned from attending or addressing any gatherings, by the Minister of Justice. As a result of the Parliamentary elections of white S.A. and the firm entrenchment of a Fascist government in the Country, it has become necessary, nay, essential, to hold this conference which must decide the course of the A.N.C. in the Cape for the future. The Malan regime has wasted no time in arrogating to itself wide autocratic and despotic power which will enable it to impose further hardships on the people of S.A.. We can no longer speak idly of a Fascist threat.... FASCISM HAS ARRIVED.

You, who are gathered at this Conference must not fail to appreciate the gravity of the situation with which we are faced. You, who represent the majority of the oppressed and exploited are not without experience as far as the methods used by the Fascists to, ruthlessly crush our people, their aspirations and our organisation. You, who can claim, as a result of your association with the A.N.C. and its democratic policies and programme to be the best exponents of democracy in South Africa. Today, as never before, we are in danger of liquidation.

It is for this Conference to take note of the state of emergency created by the Government of the day and to give priority to the question of meeting the threats and activities of the tyrannical and despotic forces which aim to deny and deprive us (the oppressed and exploited) of every vestige of freedom and democracy in our fatherland. The keynote of this Conference, must, therefore be, the strengthening of our forces and the building up of our resources together with those of others who believe in our just cause, for the purpose of bringing an end to Fascism....Liberating our people from the merciless and sadistic tenacles of their oppressors and exploiters.

This Conference must plan and decide on measures which will guide our movement in the grave and bitter struggles which, however costly in sacrifices, must eventually free our people from perpetual serfdom and humiliation in our country, until, with our own efforts and struggles we are able to live in peace, without fear, in a truly democratic South Africa in which human values will be respected.

INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS.

While we have these serious problems confronting us, both as a people and as a National organisation, we must not lose sight of the fact that we form part of the oppressed people of the world, even if it is freely admitted that we are the most oppressed in the world and that, international events must inevitably have their impact on our movement and our country. Throughout the world, we see the oppressed people making tremendous strides in their glorious efforts to be rid of the centuries old domination under which they have suffered untold misery. On the other hand we see the powerful Imperialist groups wedded in order that they may continue the domination of colonial countries and, further, spreading in varied sinister forms, their influence and control over new and wider regions. The Iron heel is meeting opposition at last and we, who have long been victims of its gluttony cannot but contribute to a cause which must end its tyranny over the world.

/ In the fight /

In the fight against Imperialism and foreign domination, which is also the fight for independence and self-determination, our Continent is emerging as a focal centre; From South to North, In Egypt, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, the French Morroccos, yes, in Kenya, the Rhodesias and also our struggles in South Africa. Africa is indeed marching forward and carrying the flag of freedom. Africa and its peoples are no longer satisfied with mere protests, appeals to the humanitarianism of Imperialists ( the futility of which has disillussioned the people) and fruitless deputations against injustices suffered. Her (Africa's) people, our people, by positive action, are now engaged in shaping the destiny which she has long been denied in world affairs; From being an object of history, the African people have become the subject of history, planning and shaping their future destiny.

In South Africa, where Dr.Malan and his fellow rulers are continuing with the implementation of their false, mediaval and hypocritical policy of apartheid. The colour bar is now fully entrenched in the legislature of the country; The Nationalists are fully determined to extend their ideology with its sinister motives, to maintain the status quo and to perpetuate white basskap.

There are today in the world, two different reactions to the apartheid doctrine. First, there is the outright condemnation to which we and the civilised democratic peoples subscribe, who see in it a danger similar to that of the pernicious Hitlerite Nazism of Heren-Volk. Secondly, there is the opportunistic condemnation from the Imperialist camp, which may seem a contradiction in terms of their interests; But this condemnation, by the Imperialists of the Nationalists' tactics is not inspired nor influenced by an anti-oppression, anti-exploitation motive, but because they feel that the Malan ruling clique is antagonising the indigenous people of Africa to such an extent that, apartheid has become glaringly dangerous to their old and mature tactic by which they have successfully maintained their supremacy over our people and, further, the method by which they hope to give a new lease of life to Imperialism.

It is imperative and essential that we note the vital and fundamental difference between the two different oppositions to South Africa's apartheid arising as these do, from differing motives and thus remain without illusions which may mar our methods of discernment in considering this evil and immoral apartheid ideology. What inspires it we know, what exposes it, is our business, how to be rid of it must be one of our aims if we are to have a true democracy.

In persuance of their apartheid hotch-potch, the Malan regime, has during the last three years of the white Parliament, enacted a number of outrageous and uncivilised laws intended to suppress the aspirations of the African people. It is true however that in South Africa, such laws are not only not unusual but are legion. But let us examine and deal here with the recent and most audaciously atrocious ones, intended to destroy our aspirations.

THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM ACT.

You all know that already the most significant leaders of our organisation and those of our allies have been convicted under this law and that our prediction in 1950, that this Act was intended not for the suppression of Communism but, for the suppression of the aspirations for freedom of the oppressed in the country, has been proved correct as usual. Time has proved, as we predicted that this notorious and ruthless measure was aimed to stifle all freedom of speech, assembly, movement and organisation. Only this week, in Kimberley, eleven more of the officers of the African National Congress were convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act for advocating "Freedom in our Lifetime. Communism in South Africa has been given a new interpretation and our leaders have been brought under the orbit of this Act, because it is maintained by the rulers, that freedom and liberty are, in South Africa, a prerogative of a particular group, in the shade of the arch-enemy of humanity, Hitler.

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## THE ANTI-DEFIANCE ACTS.

When the African National Congress, together with its allies demonstrated, in no uncertain manner the ability of the oppressed to boldly assert their grievances by their participation in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, the Government, in desperation put in the Statute Book two of the most dangerous laws ever conceived by any government. In order to crush the people's movement and their just claims, the Government deprived even the white citizens of their legitimate rights; They enacted the PUBLIC SAFETY ACT, which provides for the declaration of an emergency and the suspension of all other ordinary laws, in effect they created a STATE OF EMERGENCY. This Act, authorises penalties of five years imprisonment, detention without trial for unlimited periods and further condones illegal arrests by police and the army with retrospective effect. Public insecurity, terror, intimidation and victimisation can be let loose under the pretext of PUBLIC SAFETY. We ask, what price, public safety?

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ACT, the whiplash of the rulers on the emerging giant of the African struggle for freedom. Here too, savage provisions are made for so-called offences committed in protest against any law or support of any effort to change any law. This Act prohibits the solitation for funds, receiving or contributing any funds or material assistance for any cause is now illegal and therefore criminal. Again we may ask, what crimes are perpetrated in the name of order, injustice painted to appear just.

## SEPERATE FACILITIES BILL.

After the A.D. had found that there was no legal authority to make facilities in the S.A.R. unequal or unfair to the Africans, the apartheid government has found it necessary to produce another act of desperation which will enable them to provide (or not provide) unequal and unfair separate facilities in persuance of apartheid. This reveals, naturally, the bankruptcy that we in the A.N.C. have maintained is implied in the apartheid policy... THE FIG-LEAF WITH WHICH THE NAKEDNESS OF THE APARTHEID POLICY HAS BEEN COVERED, IS NOW TO BE REMOVED FOR THE BHENGUS AND OTHER BLIND SUPPORTERS OF THIS HYPOCRITICAL DOCTRINE.

## SETTLEMENT OF NATIVE DISPUTES BILL.

Whereas the African has never been recognised as an employee in the Industrial legislation of South Africa, notwithstanding which the African did endeavour, under the most difficult conditions, to organise, the rulers have now decided to deny him any possibility and opportunity to create machinery for collective bargaining. The Labour Minister, in order to ensure that the African will perpetually be at the mercy of elements over which he has no control, has promulgated another law, viciously anti-worker to serve apartheid. The Strike weapon, the only workers' weapon is now illegal and it is criminal to suggest that it be used by the African worker. No more can African workers decide of their own free will to make representations for better conditions of work or for the raising of their wages; It is Mister Bass Schoeman who may decide that, the African needs one more slice of porridge in order to serve the Bass. We know what to expect from these antagonistic elements and it remains for us to give an effective answer to this Fascist move.

With these laws against our every move, we must realise that the most potent force which will give some protection to both our people and our organisation, is the organised might of the African people themselves together with their allies in the struggle for freedom and justice. We must exhort the people to realise and to appreciate this, lest we perish in a state of doubt of our ability.

/ If we fail /



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If we fail to understand this basic and fundamental fact we cannot be certain that we shall pursue a correct policy for our people nor can we be certain that we shall serve them if we vacillate.

It is vitally important that we appreciate and evaluate in its proper perspective, the potential power of our people when organised, because, in the final analysis, freedom will only be won by the efforts and the sacrifices of the African people themselves, with or without any assistance from any quarter. When concerted and calculated attacks are made against us... against our aspirations, we must, without hesitation be in the vanguard of the fight, the intense struggle which must have the active support of all the oppressed whom we represent, not only in our Country and Continent but the whole democratic world, which sees in oppressed Africa a danger to freedom and peace.

Your duty, as delegates of the people in this conference, is to review the struggles of the past and from correct inferences and also of course your experiences, formulate plans which will carry forward the implacable struggles for freedom a stage further... Now is not the time for vacillation nor must we procrastinate. The entire nation must be vigilant, must be ready to contribute, making even greater sacrifices which will be called for in the days ahead.

#### ORGANISATION.

In comparison with the last six months of 1952, the eight months of 1953 have shown a decline in the number of members who had so enthusiastically joined during the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. Numerous reasons may be forwarded for the considerable deterioration in our organisational structure and, because this is one of the most important (if not the most important) aspects of the A.N.C. work, it can in no way be treated lightly. Actually, the strength or weakness of our organisation is dependant largely upon and is a reflection of our political activity and vigilance. It is necessary to examine oneself occasionally, criticise oneself too if one is not a coward, find fault with oneself and correct oneself where it is necessary. Self-criticism is healthy, it assists one to rectify the error of one's ways; This way, you survive. Today is the occasion for this as far as our organisation is concerned, let us open our minds and turn the search-light of truth on the organisational structure of the A.N.C. our organisation.

#### STEWARDS.

In pursuance of a vigilant administration, your Executive Committee circulated, at the beginning of January 1953, what it called the "ORGANISATIONAL INSTRUCTION No.1 of 1953. Delegates will remember that this instruction contained the new method of organisation for our branches. This circular outlined in detail a system whereby, in spite of the difficulty of convening meetings, members could be enrolled, contact with the people maintained together with the co-ordination of the organisation. Cards were printed for this purpose by the Provincial office to facilitate the implementation of the group or steward system. This system formulated by your Executive became the base of what was later to be known as the "MANDELA PLAN".

Peculiar as it may sound, many branches ignored this instruction and some deliberately did not even attempt to explain it to their membership. This, the test of the vigilance and political consciousness of our branch leadership in a crisis, proved beyond their capability. They proved that they lacked objective conscientiousness and our membership deteriorated as a consequence, as the membership figures will reflect. Let us examine further how this malady on the part of branch leadership is seeping the strength of the organisation.

/ Whereas branches /

Whereas branches were enjoined to maintain the progress and the standard of organisation demonstrated during our recent Campaign to increase membership. Some branches disappeared from the scene of active politics. Letters from the Provincial office, Circulars and even instructions were not acknowledged. Worse still, some branches suddenly discovered that their intelligence was so wonderful that it would be below them to take the provincial office seriously enough to consider any directive emanating from that source. The Provincial was a composition of blundering fools, politically backward. While it may be true that any person may have opinions about others, and that there may have been fools in the provincial office, surely it would have been more constructive to respect the office to which they had been elected; Help them in building the organisation, criticise them where they blundered, advice them where necessary and expose them at an opportune moment. This was expected but instead, there was an under-current of undesirable growth of malicious and petty gossip and whispering campaigns against officers of the organisation. Nothing could be proved but that did not prevent the gossip-mongers from creeping into the organisation, creating factions and, with the cunning of criminals, they sowed dissension, stagnation and suspicion, all this was done at the expense of the African National Congress.

Discipline was submerged in the dirt that was thrown around.. The principles of the A.N.C. were even buried in order that rivals could be destroyed or that certain people be completely maligned. We repeat, factionalism's head arose, intent to destroy, naming, whispering and vilifying in an attempt to denigrate leaders of the people; The Government could not buy leaders of the Campaign, so they introduced the whisper. Some people, moved by ambition instead of conviction acquired a ruling passion to drag down others even to the extent of sacrificing and ruining the organisation; Thus the healthy state of organisation was invaded by a virus, a virus which must be completely uprooted if we are to make the progress which we are pledged to make as members and officers of the African National Congress.

LOCAL ISSUES.

Local issues, around which branches are expected to rally the people have not received the attention they deserve in accordance with regular and constant enjoiners to branches to take up such issues in order that they give leadership to the people in their respective areas. Other branches, on the other hand, believing that they are in a better position to solve their own local problems do not even take the trouble to acquaint the provincial office of their problems until they are not capable of making a single move; with the result that the provincial office is consulted in the last resort when the people are frustrated with blunders. This should not be taken to mean that the provincial office has the complete formulae for local problems but must be regarded and considered as a means of co-ordinating our entire organisation. On the other hand, the failure to tackle local problems has inevitably and detrimentally affected our organisation. It may be a wise decision for us to consider the setting up of investigating committees, which could be established regionally, for consideration of local problems, under the leadership of one or more members of the provincial Executive Committee. There must, in no circumstances, be a return to the past blunders if we are to make headway and if we are to win the confidence of the people.

THE MANDELA PLAN.

The MANDELA PLAN was evolved by the National Executive in order to meet the changed conditions (Political circumstances) in the country, as they affected the work of our National organisation. It is to be regretted that this plan was never fully and properly explained to our branches, with the result that a lot of unnecessary misconceptions have been created in the minds of the people about it. By its very nature, unfortunately, explanation of the plan had to be in the hands of individuals selected by the province.

We, in the Cape, were hampered in our attempt to implement this Plan, by the fact that, a short time after we had been advised to make certain preparations for the implementation of the plan, we were informed that funds for the operation of the M. Plan were inadequate and that the organisers who had been employed should be asked to cease their activities. We may report that, while the National H.Q. had informed us that the Cape had been allocated thirty five (35) organisers at a proposed wage of Twenty pounds (£20) per month for a period of two months per organiser, only one hundred pounds (£100) was received by us for this work. We had, however been committed to a contract with the five organisers whom we employed upon receipt of the first One hundred pounds and were compelled, as a result to appeal to our branches to donate to a fund for the remuneration of these organisers. This fund did not prove successful and we were forced to appeal to the organisers involved to cease performing their work.

Another appeal has been made to branches and it is hoped that we shall be able to retain some organisers on the field in order that we are kept informed of events as they affect our people, particularly in the reserves.

VOLUNTEER CORPS. →

The state of the Volunteer Corps has not received the attention it deserves and an obvious confusion exists which has been created by an official silence on the function of the Corps today. There have been many complaints from many branches about the badges and Certificates which should have been awarded to Volunteers in recognition of their glorious service in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. This is a reflection on our organisation and it is the duty of Conference to decide what form the recognition for the glorious service of the Volunteers should take.

Branches have been circularised about the appointment of Mr. R. Mhlaba as Volunteer in Chief of the Cape, in the place of Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe. This matter was handled by the Acting-President, Rev. Tshame but the reasons for this action are to the Secretary unknown and it may be necessary for Conference to investigate this matter.

The Volunteer Corps has an important role to play in the organisation, indeed so important that it is the duty of the A.N.C. to make proper use of the Volunteers, who so honourably served the cause for our freedom in the recent Campaign. The Mandela Plan could be more easily implemented if the Volunteers were trained for this purpose. How much could we not achieve if, with the Voluntary workers who have been tested in hard struggle, who have proved their worth in making sacrifices and whose spirit has not been broken by the humiliation of gaol life. With such a following it would be criminal for us to neglect our mission and the suffering of the people in the recent campaign would be worthless.

Our membership has fallen by forty thousand, the people are waiting for us to come to them with a programme, there need be no misapprehension about our policy because it has proved and will still prove to be the only salvation for a democratic South Africa.

May I in conclusion suggest the following recommendations for consideration and application by this conference, these recommendations would probably lead to greater activity by branches and increase the interest of the people in the African National Congress:-

Branches to conduct "Economic Boycott" Campaigns which are bound to attract our members ( See: Resolutions).

Branches to take greater responsibility in local struggles where necessary the P.H.Q. to be shifted to any area where people are conducting campaigns in order that the A.N.C. takes the lead in all the people's struggles.

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RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF  
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ( C.A.P.F. ) HELD AT CRADOCK 15/16TH  
OF AUGUST 1953.

1. That this Conference re-affirms its belief in the Programme of Action adopted by the African National Congress with all that it implies and in all its phases; It therefore recommends that positive steps should be taken with a view to implementing the remaining phases, and to this end urges that all necessary steps be taken to intensify the organisation of the African people in all areas, including the reserves, in accordance with the directive of our National Head-Quarters.
2. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the regimentation of African Youth through the establishment of so-called "Youth Camps" on the lines indicated by the Central Government, whether with or without the collaboration of provincial or local authorities. The sinister motives behind this move may be gathered from, among other things, from the systematic exclusion of representatives of the African National Congress from Conferences convened to discuss the establishment of such "Youth Camps", as was the case in a recent Conference held in East London under the sponsorship of the City Council.
3. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the transfer of the control of African Education to the Native Affairs Department; The terms of the proposed Bill are sufficient proof that far from being intended to serve the educational needs of the African child, this measure is calculated to entrench the apartheid ideology to which the African National Congress is uncompromisingly opposed. The divorce of the education of the African people from that of other sections of the population in order to facilitate their further regimentation by a department entrusted primarily with the enforcement of oppressive measures and with no experience of educational problems is deplored and condemned.
4. That this Conference views with alarm the proposed Bill for the Settlement of Disputes between African workers and their employers which is calculated to deny African workers the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike in defence of rights as wage-earners. The denial of these legitimate and democratic methods of working for the improvement of their conditions of employment, far from leading to peace in industry, will leave African workers no alternative but to search for other methods of defending their rights.
5. That this Conference urges branches to make use of the boycott weapon to compel individual firms, business undertakings and Government enterprises operating among the African people ...
  - (a) TO MAKE AVAILABLE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR AFRICANS.
  - (b) TO ACCORD PROPER TREATMENT AND SERVICE TO THEIR AFRICAN CUSTOMERS.
  - (c) GENERALLY TO RECOGNISE THEIR DEPENDENCE ON AFRICAN PURCHASING POWER.THE USE OF THIS METHOD IN FARMING AREAS AS WELL MUST BE EXPLORED.
6. That this Conference urges branches to take greater responsibility in participating in the struggle of the African people against local difficulties in different areas in connection with the various disabilities under which they labour. Congress (A.N.C.) must be in the front rank of the struggles of the people wherever they occur.

/ 7. That this Conference /

7. That this Conference considers the establishment of a Congress Newspaper as an urgent necessity, in order to make it possible for the message of liberation to be carried to the people in their own languages, especially in the rural areas. The Provincial Executive is urged to make every endeavour to bring this about.
8. That this Conference notes with interest, the remarks of the President on the need for the establishment at the instance of the African National Congress and under its leadership of a "CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" in South Africa, to draw up, inter alia, a "FREEDOM CHARTER OR CONSTITUTION" embodying a vision of the future South Africa, as we in Congress see it. Conference instructs the incoming Executive to make specific recommendations in this regard to the African National Congress headquarters. Such a Congress of the People would serve to unite all the democratic forces in South Africa among all races into a front against the dangers of Fascism, and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems of the country.
9. That this Conference instructs all Branches to study the draft Constitution submitted to this Conference for consideration and report, and to submit all suggestions, comments or criticisms to the Provincial Executive by September 30th 1953. This will enable the Executive to present the views of the Cape on the proposed draft constitution to the National Conference at the end of the year.
10. In order to expedite business at future Conferences, especially in the matter of the consideration of branch reports, Branches will be required to submit their annual reports at least two months before the date of conference in order to make it possible for a summary of the main issues raised in the reports to be circulated to branches before Conference for the benefit of their delegates.
11. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll with or without the two-thirds majority. The extension of the system of separate representation which has already proved a failure in the case of the African people will confer no benefit either on the Coloured people or on the country as a whole. This Conference welcomes the proposed establishment among the Coloured people of a National organisation to protect and promote their rights as citizens of South Africa.

MINUTES OF ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT CRADOCK IN AUGUST, 1953. 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE A. N. C. (CAPE).

PROFESSOR Z. K. MATTHEWS PRESIDED.

1. DEVOTIONS : Conducted by Rev. J. A. Calata.
2. ELECTION OF COMMITTEES :
  - (a) Credentials Committee : Messrs Matji, Taho and Mhla6a.
  - (b) Resolutions Committee : Messrs G. X. Tshume, D. D. Siwisa and A. S. Gwentshe.
  - (c) Finance Committee : Dr. Bokwe, Messrs T. Tshume and E. Mfara.
  - (d) Press Committee : Messrs Matji, D. D. Siwisa and G. Taho.
3. REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE : 122 delegates representing 32 Branches were present and were entitled to be members of Conference.
4. RULING ON PRESENCE OF KORSTEN YOUTH LEAGUE DELIGATION : Korsten was already represented by 10 delegates of the A. N. C. and could therefore not have a further deligation from its Youth League Branch.
5. RULING ON MESSRS QIKO AND KEPE'S CREDENTIALS : These two were members of the New Brighton Branch who alleged that they represented the Richmond Hill Branch. It was ruled by Conference that only members of a Branch could represent such a Branch. The credentials of these two men were then not valid.
6. REPORTS : Branches read reports of their activities which were elaborately discussed by Conference in Committee.
7. RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING FROM THIS DISCUSSION : These were noted by the Resolutions Committee.

S U N D A Y.

Conference elected an Appeals Committee to consider the appeal lodged by Dyanty and others of New Brighton on their expulsion from the A. N. C.

8. SECRETARY'S REPORT TO CONFERENCE : The Secretary read the Executive Report to Conference which was unanimously adopted.
9. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : Given by Professor Matthews was also unanimously adopted.
10. POINTS RAISED BY REPORT AND ADDRESS :
  - (1) Professor Matthews' thankfulness to A. N. C. leadership which had carried on the work of the organisation in his absence.
  - (2) Legislation affecting the Africans - Administration of the ANC and vigilance by its officers.
  - (3) Role of the Volunteer Corps in the ANC.
  - (4) Suggestion for the calling of the Congress of the People of South Africa to frame a Freedom Charter.
  - (5) Suggestions for the conduct of the Economic Boycott Campaign.
  - (6) Dismissal of Dr. Njongwe as Volunteer - in - Chief and appointment of Mr Mhla6a in this capacity which it was ruled by Conference was unconstitutional.
11. NECESSITY FOR THE CREATION OF A FUND FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE RESERVES:
12. FINANCIAL REPORT : Unanimously adopted.
13. REPORT OF APPEAL COMMITTEE : Recommends the reinstatement of Dyantyi and others and Conference approves.

- 4 -
14. ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS : Professpr Z.K. Matthews.  
M. Matji.  
Dr. Njongwe.  
Dr. Bokwe.  
Rev. Calata.  
Mrs Matomela.  
Mr Gwentsho.  
Mr Molema.  
Mr Sigwano.  
Mr Jililiza.  
Mr Mhla6a.  
Rev. Gawe.

The President thanked delegates and the people of Cradock and thereafter Conference closed.

MAYIBUYE!!! MAYIBUYE!!!

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

1. That this Conference reaffirms its belief in the Programme of Action adopted by the African National Congress with all it implies and in all its phases; it therefore recommends that positive steps should be taken with a view to implementing the remaining phases, and to this end urges that all necessary steps be taken to intensify the organisation of the African people in all areas, including the reserves, in accordance with the directive of our National Headquarters.
2. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the regimentation of African Youth through the establishment of so-called "Youth Camps" on the lines indicated by the Central Government, whether with or without the collaboration of Provincial or Local authorities. The sinister motives behind this move may be gathered from, among other things, the systematic exclusion of representatives of the African National Congress from Conferences convened to discuss the need for such "Youth Camps" as was the case in the recent Conference held in East London under the sponsorship of the City Council.
3. That this conference is strongly opposed to the proposed transfer of the control of African Education to the Native Affairs Department. The terms of the proposed Bill are sufficient proof that far from being intended to serve the educational needs of the African child, this measure is calculated to entrench the Apartheid Ideology to which the A.N.C. is uncompromisingly opposed. The divorce of the education of the African people from that of other sections of the population in order to facilitate their further regimentation by a Department entrusted primarily with the enforcement of oppressive measures and with no experience of educational problems is deplored and condemned.
4. That this Conference views with alarm the proposed Bill for the Settlement of Disputes between African workers and their employers which is calculated to deny African workers the right of collective bargaining and the right strike in defence of their rights as wage earners. The denial of these legitimate and democratic methods of working for the improvement of their conditions of employment, far from leading to peace in industry, will leave African workers no alternative but to search for other methods of defending their rights.
5. That this Conference urges Branches to make use of the Boycott weapon to compell individual firms, business undertakings and Government enterprises operating among the African people (a) to make available employment opportunities for Africans, (b) to accord proper treatment and service to their African customers, and (c) generally to recognise their dependence on African purchasing power. The use of this method in farming areas as well must be explored.
6. That this Conference urges Branches to take greater responsibility in participating in the struggle of the African people against local difficulties in different areas in connection with the various disabilities under which they labour. Congress must be in the front rank of the struggles of the people wherever they occur.

7. That this Conference considers the establishment of a Congress News Paper as an urgent necessity, in order to make it possible for the message of Liberation to be carried to the people in their own languages, especially in the rural areas. The Provincial Executive is urged to make every endeavour to bring this about.
8. That this Conference notes, with interest, the remarks of the President on the need for the establishment at the instance of the African National Congress and under its leadership of a Congress of the people in South Africa to draw up, inter alia, a Freedom Charter or Constitution embodying a vision of the future South Africa as w<sup>h</sup> in Congress see it. Conference instructs the incoming Executive to make specific recommendations in this regard to the African National Congress Headquarters. Such a Congress of the people would serve to unite all democratic forces in South Africa among all races into a front against the dangers of fascism, and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems of the country.
9. That this Conference instructs all Branches to study the Draft Constitution submitted to this Conference for consideration and report, and to submit all suggestions, comments or criticisms to the Provincial Executive by September 30th, 1953. This will enable the Executive to present the views of the Cape on the Draft Constitution to the National Conference at the end of the year.
10. In order to expedite business at future, Conferences especially in the matter of consideration of Branch Reports, Branches will be required to submit their annual reports at least 2 months before the date of Conference in order to make it possible for a summary of the main issues raised in the reports to be circulated to Branches before Conference for the benefit of their delegates.
11. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the removal of Coloured Voters from the common roll with or without the two thirds majority. The extension of the system of separate representation which has already proved a failure in the case of the African people will confer no benefit either on the Coloured people or on the country as a whole. This Conference welcomes the proposed establishment among the <sup>coloured</sup> people of a National Organisation to protect and promote their rights as citizens of South Africa.

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(6)

NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

The fundamental principles of the Programme of Action of the A.N.C. are inspired by the desire to achieve National Freedom. By National Freedom we mean freedom from White Domination, and the attainment of Political Independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship, or White leadership which are all in one way or another motivated by the idea of White Domination or Domination of the White over the Black. Like all other people, the African people claim the right of self determination.

With this object in view, in the light of these principles, we claim and will continue to fight for the political rights tabulated on page 8 of our Bill of Rights, such as :-

- (1) The right of direct representation in all governing bodies of the country - national, provincial and local, and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies created for Africans, namely, representative councils, local and district councils, advisory boards, present form of parliamentary form of representation.
- (2) To achieve these objectives the following Programme of Action is suggested :-
  - (a) The creation of National Fund to finance the struggle for National ( freedom and ) liberation.
  - (b) The appointment of a committee to organise and appeal for funds and to devise ways and means therefore.
  - (c) The regular issue of propoganda material through :
    - (i) the usual press, newsletter or other means of disseminating our ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness
    - (ii) Establishment of a National Press.
- (3) Appointment of a Council of Action whose function should be to carry into effect, vigorously and with utmost determination, the Programme of Action. It shall be competent for the Council of Action to implement our resolve to work for;
  - (a) The abolition of all differential political institutions, the boycotting of which we accept, and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue and in addition to employ the following weapons ; immediate and active boycott, strikes, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations.
  - (b) Preparations and making of Plans for a National stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the government.
- (4) Economic :
  - (a) The establishment of commercial, industrial, transport and other enterprise in both urban and rural areas.
  - (b) Consolidation of the industrial organisations of the workers for the improvement of their standard of living.
  - (c) Pursuant to paragraph (a) herein instructions be issued to Provincial Congress Branches to study economic and social conditions in the reserves and other African settlements and to devise ways and means for their development, establishment of industries and such other enterprises as may give employment to a number of people.
- (5) Education : It be an instruction to the African National Congress to devise ways and means for:
  - (a) Raising the standard of the Africans in the commercial, industrial and other enterprises and workers in their workers' organisations by means of providing a common educational forum wherein intellectuals, peasants and .....

workers participate for the common good.

- (b) Establishment of National Centres of education for the purpose of training and educating African Youth and provision of large scale scholarships tenable in various overseas countries.

(6) Cultural :

- (a) To unite the cultural with the educational and national struggle.
- (b) The establishment of a National Academy of Arts and Science.

- (7) Congress realises that ultimately the people will be brought together by inspired leadership, under the banner of African Nationalism with courage and determination.

MAGASI HALL,  
BLOEMFONTEIN.  
December, 17th, 1949.

( NOTE THIS )

( AFRICAN NATIONALISM is the dynamic liberatory creed of the oppressed African people. Its fundamental aim is :-

1. the creation of a united front out of the heterogeneous tribes;
2. the freeing of the African people from foreign domination and foreign leadership;
3. the creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to progress and happiness.

The African has a primary inherent and inalienable right to Africa which is his continent and Motherland, and the Africans as a whole have a divine destiny which is to make Africa free among the people and nations of the earth.

In order to achieve Africa's freedom the Africans must build a powerful National Liberatory movement, and in order that the National movement should have inner strength and solidarity it should adopt the National Liberatory creed - AFRICAN NATIONALISM, and should be led by the Africans themselves. \_\_\_\_\_ Extract from Basic Policy - Congress Youth League).

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**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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