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Copy by Ray Resay  
Dear Sp. of P. Resay  
To Sp. of P. Resay  
Date 1956  
Verways No. AT TACK

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Internal  
Bulletin  
of the  
Congress of  
Democrats

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# EUROPE AND THE EUROPEANS

EVERY BREATH OF THE Nationalist Government has caused a new puncture in the Nationalist balloon. Six foetid whiffs let loose the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and since then the ball has steadily gone down. Not even the Public Safety Act with its spell of Parliamentary Fascism and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, the law of the whip and the sjambok, have prevented the ball from floundering.

This is the unresolvable contradiction of today. Dangerous, artificial, unflattering, assertive, confident in the future, in the Freedom Charter, - and the Nationalist Government - bereft of principle, repressive, driven to desperation to uphold their creed of White Supremacy in the face of an unparalleled movement for National Liberation and human rights.

And unparalleled it is in breadth, unity and clarity of purpose. Five Congresses, encompassing all sections, all races, all democratic and oppressed peoples - notwithstanding the women in their multi racial Federation and the A.N.C. Women's League - poised against the Government on the side of human rights.

Yet to all intent and purpose, the Europeans are left outside this many-sided alliance. This is the most disconcerting aspect of the political situation today and the one which the Congress Movement, particularly the C.O.D., must give its serious attention. The problem is how to win the support of this section and strengthen the democratic alliance.

The Nationalist attacks on democratic rights, particularly the Senate Act, the Quorum Act, the I.C. Bill and the S.A. Amendment Act, have unmistakably left their mark on some sections of the European population. The growth of the Black Sash Movement, stemming from the attack on the entrenched clauses of the S.A. Act, pinpointed the vulnerability of the 1910 Constitution to Nat. subversion. The docility of the United Party and the use of Parliamentary machinery to waylay the Constitution brought the women into open extra parliamentary struggle against the Nationalist Government. Their faith in Parliament as an instrument of democratic rule has been noticeably shattered since the inception of the Sash Movement. Their disillusionment and sense of futility has been shared by other sections of the European population.

The emphasis of the women's campaign has been to "Save the 1910 Constitution" and to respect the 1910 Agreement. To preserve the Constitution and maintain our moral obligations to the fathers of Union. The Black Sash naively believe that the Constitution they are so tenaciously defending is a moral and democratic one. That it was founded on the will of the people. They claim to be democratic, and sincerely believe that they are being so. Yet they stand aloof from the majority of the unfranchised people of South Africa. Europeans admire and support them. Yet they too stand on one side.

But as things stand, the Nationalist Government is becoming more ruthless and less democratic and the demonstrations of the Black Sash have amounted to naught. With the partial disappearance of the entrenched clauses, the moment of impasse has been reached and the Black Sash Movement and the Defence of the Constitution League can go no further.

The exclusion of the Congress Movement from participation in the struggle of the Black Sash Movement, together with the differences in approach of the two movements has led to the two struggles taking place independently of one another. The situation is explicable in that the Black Sash were upholding a constitution that denied the majority of the people the right to democratic government. Their campaign cut across Congress, adding nothing to the struggle for equal democratic rights for all.

The emergence of the C.O.D., not as a sporadic movement of protest, but as a full-blooded partner in the struggle for democracy, is one of the major features in this sphere of the struggle against the Nationalist Government. The role of the C.O.D. is self-evident: to proclaim that the 1910 Constitution was a fraud and doomed to extinction! That nine-tenths of the people were debarred from the convention which gave birth to a constitution which set the pattern for the racialism of the last 40 years! That if we are democrats we must agree to the first principle of democratic rule - government of the majority of the people by the people.

There is no doubt that many Europeans, confused and demoralised with the hopelessness of their previous form of struggle (of lack of it) will see no other way out and will joining hands with the Congress Movement and proclaim as sacred not the 1910 Constitution but the principles of the Freedom Charter.



provided that the C.O.D. presents itself and the Congress Movement as the true alternative to Nationalist Fascism and enters into their daily struggles, there is every reason to believe that many will join the ranks of the Congress Movement.

In the same way as the Constitutional struggle has brought many Europeans face to face with the demand for political rights of the non-Europeans, the disruptive effects of the I.C. Bill and the Suppression of Communism Act will focus attention on the reactionary policy of the Nationalist Government towards the working class. Similarly, the Population Registration and Passport Acts will highlight the democratic demand for the repeal of the Pass Laws and their proposed extension to African womenfolk. The enforcement of the Natives Urban Areas Amendment Act in so far as it applies to the employment of domestic labour, will have the similar effect of emphasising the overall denial of democratic rights and will put to the test Congress' claim that "an injury to one, is an injury to all. That all have democratic rights or none".

IN THIS CONTEXT THE THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE C.O.D. IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL. RESOLUTIONS ON ALL THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY WILL BE BEFORE THE DELEGATES. IF CONGRESS DECISIONS ARE APPLIED WITH ZEAL AND PERSPECTIVE AND EVERY EFFORT IS MADE TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF PROGRESSIVE WHITES, IT MIGHT WELL PROVE A TURNING POINT FOR THE C. O. D.

THE STATE SCANDAL  
INFORMATION SCANDAL

TWO HUNDRED AND fifty thousand pounds.  
A lot of money - even if it belongs to the State Treasury.

Last year the Nationalists spent this sum on a "vital public service". What was this important service: Housing? Education? Transport? No, it was none of these.

The money was used "to inform the world about the way of life, attitudes and circumstances of South Africans . . .".

Now no reasonable man would quarrel with his government if it wants to tell the world about his country. After all, that is the basis of international understanding . . .

And as for telling the world about the "circumstances" of South Africans - well, a lot of South Africans who have no direct means of communication with overseas, would very much like the rest of mankind to know exactly what life is like for human beings here - especially if your skins are the wrong colour!

PART OF STATE

But the hitch, of course, lies with the word "State". The State Information Office is an integral part of the state machine. And there lies the rub. For it only disseminates such information as facilitates the job of the state. And the job of the state is to keep the non-European peoples and their allies in subjection.

How does the SIO function? It has offices in seventeen overseas capitals - 9 in Europe, 4 in the Americas, 3 in Africa and 1 in Australia. Most of its work consists in distributing official publications like the "Digest of South African Affairs" and brochures such as "Land of Sunshine" and "South Africa Quiz". These are sent to newspaper editors, government officials and intending settlers.

DISTORTED PICTURE

What sort of picture does the overseas reader get - "of the life, attitudes and circumstances of South Africans" from the SIO? Not much guesswork is required to answer this question.

South Africa, through the tainted spectacles of the SIO, is a happy, progressive land, a paradise for foreign investors, blessed with a government which upholds the great traditions of Western Civilization, and who cordially welcomes its Bantu wards. A pleasant picture? Yes, but there is a flaw in the tape - the spectre of Communism, rearing its head among the susceptible Bantu, and finding its most doughty adversary in the National Government.

Let us take a quick peep into the "Digest of South African Affairs". This is how the Digest reports "The Sophiatown School Closure": the chief points in the article are printed as sub-head lines, as follows - "Established illegally - Opened as a gesture of protest - Wife of former red on staff - New School for all pupils affected."

On the ANC Conference, the main points are - "No lightening of amnesty policy" - Bantu reporter asked to leave - Communist literature circulated."

Some other headlines: "Premiers New Year Message - Plea made for racial justice" "Retrograde head says South Africa needs understanding" "Bantu traders to serve own people" "Migrant arrivals increasing" "Union has warned West of Russian infiltration into Africa" "British financial editors optimistic about S.S. Prospects" "UN investigators never saw Africa" "Closure of Russian Consulates a lead to Africa" "Bantu organisation supports apartheid" "Almost unlimited prospects for industrial development" "White donors aid Indians" "Grave problems of non-White students abroad."

Yes, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds is being spent annually to present the world with a picture which tries to camouflage the miseries and bondage of the people of South Africa. This money could well be used to ameliorate some of the very conditions the Nats are attempting to hide.

But they prefer to use it for lies instead. As a case of utter political bankruptcy, this must surely take the cake!



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# CONSTITUTIONAL

APPEALS

## CAN A DISHONOURABLE CONSTITUTION BE DISHONoured

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"THE SOUTH AFRICA ACT WAS, ... ENTIRELY THE WORK OF SOUTH AFRICANS, BROUGHT INTO BEING BY SOUTH AFRICANS AND FREELY AND FAIRLY ACCEPTED . . . ." - The Black Sash, Vol 1, No. 2.

SO THE COLOURED Voters symphony has come to an end. And what a performance it was! Between the conductor (Mr Strijdom) and the leader of the orchestra (Mr Strauss) a completely novel interpretation was given to the piece.

The franchising theme was conspicuously played down and subtly replaced by the sweet sounding melodies of the sovereignty of parliament motif, which culminated in the dramatic white unity final movement.

If the debate in Parliament struck only discords in the ears of the oppressed peoples, it was precisely because the ONLY CRUCIAL ISSUE, namely the question of the voting rights of a section of the non-European peoples, was quietly pigeonholed. In its place there was a tiresome discussion on "the meaning of a white man's pledge" and "Parliament's sovereignty."

Why did the official Opposition (and the cohorts of the Black Sash outside Parliament) allow itself to be sidetracked into avoiding the issue of the Coloured peoples' right to vote, and non-European voting rights in general? The answer lies in the fact that the European Parliamentary Opposition groups and the Black Sash BASED THEIR CAMPAIGN ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ACCEPTANCE OF THE S. A. ACT-BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL INSTRUMENT FOR ENTRENCHING WHITE SUPREMACY, AND DISENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PEOPLE.

IMPLICIT IN THE S.A. ACT IS THE ASSUMPTION THAT IT IS NOT DESIRABLE THAT THE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES SHOULD HAVE THE FRANCHISE.

And it is precisely because the U.P. and Black Sash accepted this implicit assumption that they were inevitably driven to avoid the question of principle involved and forced to concentrate on narrow technical and legal issues.

HONOURED OR DISHONoured, OUR CONSTITUTION IS ROTTEN WITH RACIALISM FROM TOP TO BOTTOM.

INDEED, THE SOUTH AFRICA ACT IS, WAS AND ALWAYS WILL BE A DISHONOURABLE CONSTITUTION, and those who plead for the observance of its provisions are only asking for the preservation of the status quo. Their quarrel with the Nats is not over direction, but over pace and method.

THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT, HOWEVER, REJECTS THE DIRECTION AS WELL AS THE METHODS OF THE NATS. WE REJECT IT BECAUSE WE HAVE SEEN THAT THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA WANT A NEW CONSTITUTION EMBODYING THE PRINCIPLES FRAMED IN THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

And that is the truth of the matter: Only when the Charter is realised will South Africa have a truly honourable constitution.

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### PARLIAMENTARY POTTAGE

"The Union Government is ... building up a task force for us outside South Africa against external aggression." - Mr Erasmus.

"I have always told the police there was something I admired about them: they never squeal." - Mr. Swart.

The word "banskop" had been twisted in overseas propaganda and the word "boes" which had a kindly significance in Afrikaans became misrepresented to mean "the man with the whip". - Mr P.B. Bekker (Saps report).

Skin colour is not the sole factor involved in colour feeling . . . . There was, and still is, such features of a physiological and anatomical character, as for example, body build, shape of countenance, form of hair and body odour. It is these differences which, in my opinion, lie far more at the basis of the apartheid urge, as far as the great mass of the European community are concerned, than the colour differences". -

"I request the Minister of Justice to make available the records of cases heard before the Courts under the (Immorality) Act, and we will then discover whether more supporters of the United Party were convicted under that Act than supporters of the Nationalist Party." - Dr. Steenkamp.

Prof. A. C. Cilliers

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THE PROHIBITION  
OF INTERDICTS  
BILL

VERWOERD REMOVES THE  
LADY'S BLINDFOLD

WHO IS NOT familiar with the famous statue of Dame Justice balancing a pair of scales before her blindfolded eyes? Justice has never really been blind in South Africa (in the lower Courts, at any rate) but with the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill, the blindfold will be effectively removed from her eyes.

In terms of this Bill the Minister will be able to order the removal or dispossession of an African even if in doing so he is transgressing the law.

- \* Africans are prevented from applying for restraining interdicts if the Minister is acting outside the law.
- \* Interdicts, reviews or other appeals are prevented from holding up the Minister's edict.

Some one once remarked: "The Courts are open to all - like the Ritz Hotel! Or the Carlton Hotel! Doubtless the fiction will still be retained that all may avail themselves of our judicial machinery. In fact this Bill goes a long way towards converting our Courts into a preserve of Europeans only.

Its effect is to deprive Africans of recourse to the law and thereby to establish the stupefying principle of one law for Africans and another for Europeans.

This is an attack on the Rule of Law (by placing the Minister above the law) and on the Courts (by narrowing their effective jurisdiction).

But above all it is an attack on the African people who on occasion have found relief in the Courts when their rights were infringed. No longer will an African be able to obtain a Court order restraining his illegal ejection from home or district.

Not satisfied with attempting to strip the Africans of the elements of human dignity, the Nats are now trying to destroy them as legal personalities - a reversion to the times of the Roman Empire when a slave had as much legal rights as a cat or piece of furniture.

Although this Bill is aimed primarily at Africans, it throws overboard certain fundamental legal and constitutional principles which cannot but affect the European people too.

1. The dangerous precedent has been established that a Minister can be vested with powers enabling him to act in defiance of existing laws protecting the rights of individuals.

2. Our Courts, whose value rests, to a large extent, on their being open to all desirous of availing themselves of judicial relief, have had their field of operation drastically curtailed. This Bill gives the strong impression that our judicial system is being converted into an instrument to serve the racialist ideology of the Nats, and as such can only undermine the relative independence which the judiciary has hitherto enjoyed.

BOTH THESE ASPECTS OF THE BILL MAKE IT A MATTER OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE THAT EUROPEANS REGISTER THEIR STRONGEST OPPOSITION TO AN ATTACK NOT ONLY ON THE RIGHTS OF THE ORDINARY AFRICAN, BUT ON THE CIVIL LIBERTIES OF THE ORDINARY EUROPEAN TOO.

THAT STAB IN  
THE BACK!

THE S. A. House official who made the melodramatic comment "This is a stab in the back for South Africa" on learning of Glubb Pasha's ejection from Jordan was not stretching the long-bow.

His attitude was an expression of South Africa's new role as the Western World's Special Branch in Africa, to which the Middle East is the northern gate.

Earlier this month Die Volksblad reported: "It is authoritatively stated that the Union's possible participation in the war in the Middle East will be decided in the light of circumstances." (10/3/1956)

CONTINENTAL INTERESTS

The very possibility that South Africa may enter a war thousands of miles away indicates the full scope of the Nationalist's trans-continental interests.

This is due to a number of factors :-

1. 60% of the Union's oil and petrol comes from the Middle East, making the protection of the sources of oil, as well as the routes by which it comes to South Africa of vital strategic importance.
2. The appointment of South Africa by the West (which has lost its strategic footholds in the North) as its gendarme against the National Liberation Movements in Africa.
3. The Nats own interests of spreading their ideology over the continent and also finding new markets (there is already considerable trade with Nigeria, Gold Coast and Egypt).

("Counter Attack" invites readers to express their views on the points raised above).

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JUMBLE JUMBLE JUMBLE  
Urgently required by Jhb. Region  
for GIANT JUMBLE SALE  
SATURDAY MAY 5th.



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last week

S.A. CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS.  
N.E.C. Statement on Bantu Education - suggested as a basis  
for discussion at Conference.

In formulating the resolution on Bantu Education it was felt that the opportunity should be taken to submit a statement in reply to those who might still believe that the principle of boycott of Verwoerd's schools is wrong because they feel that: - Some education, some literacy, some culture is better than none. People must make the best they can of any pernicious system of education.

We begin with a very brief historical outline.

In 1948 the Institute for Christian National Education issued a pamphlet, formulating their policy for C.N.O.

On Native Education Article 15 of the Programme states :

"Native Education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aims should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation. Native Education should lead to the development of an independent, self-supporting Christian-nationalist Native Community."

The Commission on Native Education from 1949 to 1951 faithfully followed the above instructions. It felt that the only hope for progress for the "Bantu" lay in a separate educational system, divorced from the education of all other groups in South Africa and based on something called the "Bantu Community".

The most revealing recommendation of the commission is contained in paragraph 924 :-

"English and Afrikaners to be taught in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work."

In 1954 the Bantu Education Act became law and for the first time in the world a new kind of education was introduced which was not merely different in quantity or quality from education as universally known but different in kind. This fact became clear for all to see when Verwoerd took over the schools and issued syllabuses and directives regulating the lives of teachers and pupils.

This said the Education League, is the negation of every fundamental aim of education and it is a policy which will ensure that trained "Bantu" doctors, teachers etc. will never be produced. The content of Bantu Education, continues the Education League, is so meagre, so narrow, so unimportant that it can be fobbed off to the department which deals with other aspects of "Native Life".

"Bantu Education" said Father Huddleston, "is an attempt to secure that the African people shall never make its home 'among the civilised community of South Africa'. It is designed to perpetuate 'white supremacy' by ensuring that every African child shall be taught from the earliest years that there is 'No place for him above the level of certain forms of labour.'"

There are some who talk of "literacy" even of "culture" when they mention Bantu Education. Literacy? Is it literacy one acquires in 2 grades and perhaps Standard 1 receiving instruction in some schools from harassed partly literate teachers for 2 hours a week in English and Afrikaans. And this during a first or second shift under intolerable conditions in over-crowded classrooms with hopelessly inadequate equipment, reading and writing material.

Culture? What culture? - the bible for 2 hours a week, singing

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for 40 minutes a week, drawing for 20 minutes a week, crafts for 20 minutes a week?

And the price for that "literacy" that "Culture" - to be taught to be Christian nationalist "natives" - to fit into the boer, broederbond white paradise - to have no contact with real education, with the heritage of mankind .

It is also completely incorrect to compare Bantu Education with the education which the whites of South Africa obtain or which is available to the people in other capitalist (non fascist) countries. Not with standing its weaknesses and its 'pernicious' aspects it still seeks to pass on something of mankind's heritage. It still trains and teaches qualified people without wrecking the faculty for independent thought.

It is necessary to bear in mind the fact that most of the peasants of China, Vietnam and Indo-China were illiterate yet they knew where their interests lay and proved their superiority over better equipped better trained armies because their hearts and heads had not been moulded and warped by fascist ideology.

On the other hand the youth of Nazi Germany were illiterate but their minds had been so moulded so filled with "master-race" ideology that they became disciplined, murderous machines.

We maintain that African Children will not be deprived of anything valuable by means of a boycott. To the contrary Bantu Education is so harmful in reality that it is not true to say that it is better than no education at all. It is in fact designed to be a weapon against the liberation movement. It is a deliberate attempt to use the classroom as an instrument in the implementation of white supremacy. — As Duma Nokwe said on pages 18 - 19 of Liberation (October 1955) :-

"It is important to realise that Bantu Education is not merely designed to destroy the political consciousness and understanding of the African child, so that he may be a dumb and contented serf, but it is positively designed to produce Nationalist cadres, who will sow seeds of hostility against the Liberatory movements, sabotage its campaigns and attempt to terrorise and intimidate progressive people.

Bantu Education thus constitutes a positive political front against the movements."

In our opinion there is nothing of education which the African might perchance receive in a Bantu Education school which he would not through the African Education Movement have in home education and in a cultural club without indoctrination.

We therefore support the Africa National Congress's decision to boycott Verwoerd's schools, but a boycott is a process which involves explanation, consistent steady propaganda, massive well organised work leading to withdrawal from school in any area only when the people are ready to carry it out, even for a short period to begin with. There can be no fixing of a date for such a boycott which must be part of a campaign which is not static but which snowballs to success.

To oppose and defeat Bantu Education is part of the general struggle for a democratic South Africa. There never will be proper schooling for all until the people are liberated.



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Report of the National Executive Committee  
19...  
Verwysings No...  
Annual National Conference

March 31st. - April 1st.

The N.E.C. elected at the last Conference in June 1955 set about the work of implementing the resolutions passed at that Conference against the background and inspiration of the Congress of the People. The N.E.C. recognised that as a sponsoring organisation of the C.O.P. and in terms of a resolution passed at this Congress, the C.O.D. was committed to do all in its power towards the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

To this end the joint executives of the four Congresses met in Durban in July and adopted a plan for popularising the Charter. This joint meeting agreed to set up a National Consultative Committee consisting of two representatives from each of the four sponsoring organisations and recommended that Provincial consultative committees be set up in the various regions to be composed in the same manner. These consultative committees were to ensure the continuation of the working together of the Congresses and the carrying out of the plan adopted.

Your N.E.C. elected two representatives to the National Consultative Committee which met in Johannesburg. Our National Chairman is chairman of the National Consultative Committee and our other delegate is the treasurer. The National Consultative Committee was responsible for the publication of 50,000 copies of the Freedom Charter in the four languages, but plans to bring out pamphlets and propaganda material were hampered by lack of finance. At times the National Consultative Committee met regularly and well but latterly this Committee has not had sufficient contact with the other regions. C.O.D. members in Port Elizabeth, assisted in bringing the Port Elizabeth Consultative Committee into existence in October and good contact is being maintained between C.O.D. and the other congresses as a result. The Transvaal Consultative Committee has worked well over the last six months, C.O.D. representatives pulling their weight. Visits to country areas have been paid over the week-ends and public meetings have been held in some centres where the Freedom Charter has been put forward. This committee brings out a monthly bulletin.

PORT ELIZABETH

Over the past year an attempt was made to strengthen C.O.D. nationally. The National Secretary visited Port Elizabeth at the end of September and spent a week there. The Branch was reorganised, new officials elected and membership improved, though still small. The Branch commenced to meet regularly. The main activity of this branch has been in participating in the African Education Movement. A weakness in this centre, partly due to shortage of personnel and partly to a resistance common to most branches to do area work, has been sales of literature and distribution of leaflets. It is strongly recommended by the National Executive that this region try to find ways and means of contacting the European population.

BENONI

Attempts were made to reorganise the Benoni Branch and although a few house meetings were held and contact kept with some people there, the Branch is not functioning. It was hoped that a representative from Benoni would have been



at Conference but for various reasons this was not possible. Money was collected in Benoni for Head Office funds.

#### PRETORIA

A few visits were paid to contacts here but although money was collected there is still no functioning Branch in Pretoria.

#### DURBAN

The arrival of additional C.O.D. personnel to Durban in July increased the activity of this branch. The Region which had previously met spasmodically reorganised their work and met fortnightly. Contact with Head Office was good especially over the last few months, as mail was dealt with promptly and efficiently from both sides. A serious attempt at area work was made when the branch canvassed numbers of people with questionnaires. Unfortunately this original method of contacting Europeans was dropped after a good start. The usual handicap of limited, busy personnel hampered this work, but it is our opinion that in Durban as in the other centres, members fight shy of going out to the European population. Literature sales are slow in Durban. Little is done to organise drives and members depend on meetings and functions for selling literature. Leaflet distribution is tackled when material is received from Johannesburg but as far as we know the branch has not issued its own leaflets on any local topic.

The Consultative Committee is working well in Durban and the Congress of Democrats has good contact with the other congresses. C.O.D. members are active in assisting with political classes together with the A.N.C. and the N.I.C.

Durban C.O.D. members are at the moment assisting with the formation of a women's organisation which intends to affiliate to the Federation of S. A. Women and to participate in the campaign against passes.

#### CAPE WESTERN REGION

A comprehensive report submitted by this region is before Conference, and we are encouraged by the emphasis in this report of the need to do more work amongst Europeans. There has in the past been a tendency in Cape Town to concentrate its forces on working in Non-European areas, and to neglect activity amongst Europeans. We also find their critical analysis of the weakness in "door to door" work is very healthy and promising.

Elsewhere in this report we have commended Cape Town for their leaflet publications and coupled with this we must link our praise for their good work in organising public meetings and the able way in which new people came forward as speakers, to replace banned leading members.

We would like to express our deep regret at the banings of Sonia Bunting, Bennie Turock and Albie Sachs. Their loss as active members has been felt by the movement but we are happy in the knowledge that their example of hard work has been so ably followed.



## JOHANNESBURG REGION

This region consists of four active branches and two inactive ones. Since last conference there has not been much change in membership and recruiting has been slow with the exception of the Bellvue Branch, which has considerably increased its membership.

Bellevue's work amongst the Europeans in the area has excelled any done anywhere in South Africa by our branches. Through extensive leaflet distribution, literature selling poster campaigns, discussions on local issues, as well as general ones, they have kept in constant touch with the people.

There is a need here, though, for more serious study courses in the branch itself to assist especially new young people in their political understanding of their work.

The Johannesburg Regional Committee is at present dealing with a very important potential for recruiting members. Through the campaign for the signing of the Charter at tables in the streets of Johannesburg (a campaign initiated by Hillbrow Branch) contact has been established with people sympathetic to our views. Some of these people have been visited in their homes, but much work still has to be done. Interference from police who raid the tables from time to time, has not stopped the work from continuing, nor has it intimidated people from signing the Freedom Charter.

Our main handicap in contacting the signatories is, as always, the limited number of people who are prepared or able to canvass. A resistance to this work must be broken down. There is a resolution before Conference asking other regions to start table campaigns for the signing of the Charter and we hope it will be seriously considered. We would remind the other regions that Hillbrow branch undertook the organisation of its first table with much trepidation and the results surprised even the most optimistic. It is through these tables, as well as through other forms of area work that the small groups of C.O.D. people working in Durban and Port Elizabeth could widen their ranks.

## HILLBROW BY-ELECTION

The Hillbrow by-election held in Johannesburg in September afforded this region a very good opportunity of introducing the Charter to the electorate. Some members of the Johannesburg Region disagreed with the N.E.C.'s decision not to support actively Friedman's campaign but the N.E.C. proposed to issue a statement commending Friedman for his stand in resigning from the United Party on the principle of the Coloured vote and asking people to vote for him in preference to the United Party candidate; but the statement would also point out the weakness of Friedman's opposition to the Nationalists. It would also have dealt with the Freedom Charter, which it was intended to distribute.

A general meeting of the Johannesburg region was called to discuss the N.E.C.'s decision. After a thorough discussion the majority of those present voted in favour of the N.E.C.'s policy on this election. A minority still felt it more important that at this particular period all efforts should go towards helping Friedman win election, and our statement would lose him votes. Despite disagreement by some, the Johannesburg members carried out the N.E.C. directive magnificently (those who wished to can-



vass were free to do so). Hundreds of homes were visited and C.O.D. policy explained and the Freedom Charter introduced for the first time. It is apparent that work done in Hillbrow during that election contributed to the success at the Hillbrow tables later.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

A less successful demonstration of support in Hillbrow was a public meeting which was called by the Hillbrow Branch in the Skyline Hotel. The object of the meeting was to popularise the Freedom Charter and C.O.D. policy. Propaganda for the meeting linked up the Senate Act with the need for a new constitution as outlined in the Freedom Charter. Poor attendances at public meetings on subjects which the general public still feel do not concern them directly, is something to be tackled. It is part of the general weakness of our work of rallying the people and we would like to quote here from a letter in New Age :-

"Why have we failed to rouse the truly democratic forces, the bulk of the population against this measure (The S.A. Amendment Act) Is it because, our eyes fixed on the noble vision of a people's constitution whose foundation has been laid by the Freedom Charter, we consider it not worth while to defend what little democracy we have against utter destruction ?"

In contrast to this poor meeting, two very successful meetings were held on the Police Raids. These meetings were organised by the Congresses, the Liberal Party and the S.A. Labour Party. For the first time excellent co-operation was obtained with the latter two political parties. Propaganda for the meetings was good, well-known public speakers led by the Bishop of Johannesburg were on the platforms and generally a basis was established for more joint work with other organisations. Congress members both from the platform and floor, did not fail to link up the Freedom Charter with these raids, and signatures were obtained after the meeting at the Trades Hall.

Another attempt was made by C.O.D. to hold a joint meeting with the Labour and Liberal Parties on the S.A. Amendment Act, but this time unsuccessfully. The N.E.C. therefore proceeded on its own and held a very worth-while meeting at the City Hall Steps (a very useful forum when it can be obtained) The public listened with interest to a speaker who put forward the Freedom Charter as the only true alternative constitution. Many signed the Charter at a table at the Steps, and letters came into the office from interested people.

BANTU EDUCATION.

In terms of the resolution passed at Conference C.O.D. members continued to assist the A.E.M. movement. Two N.E.C. members are particularly active in this movement and doing invaluable work there.

C.O.D. members have assisted to form local committees which give assistance to cultural clubs.

Population Registration.

The Government's action in demanding the production of identity numbers for marriages, births and deaths was campaigned against and was exposed by C.O.D. as probably illegal. A pamphlet "Your Number Please" was produced and sold. Bellevue Branch held a public meeting which was poorly attended.



In most centres C.O.D. assisted S.A.C.P.O. in fighting "reclassification". In Port Elizabeth particularly C.O.D. helped to organise S.A.C.P.O. into opposition against this measure.

Durban Region was concerned with employers who were refusing to employ workers who had not their identity numbers. This matter was referred to the local committee of S.A. Congress of Trade Unions to endeavour to fight it in the Trade Union movement.

### Anti-Pass Campaign.

The National Executive Committee sent a fraternal delegate to the African National Congress Conference which met in Bloemfontein in December. The delegate delivered a message which dealt with the Freedom Charter, Bantu Education and the Anti-Pass Campaign. This Conference undertook to fight passes for African women as well as the whole pass system and C.O.D. undertook to stand behind them in their campaign. The campaign was to be planned by the National Consultative Committee who eventually called a joint executive meeting of the five congresses (S.A.C.T.U. since having joined the N.C.C.) The joint meeting undertook to support the campaign against passes by assisting in organising and mobilising the people into opposition to passes.

An important milestone in the campaign was the Women's demonstration at Union Buildings. A campaign magnificently organised by the Federation of S.A. Women, culminated in 2000 women lodging their protest against passes, Bantu Education, ethnic groupings and all apartheid legislation. C.O.D. played an active part in this campaign both as individual members participating and collectively through our organisation. The Secretary of the Federation of S.A. Women is a leading N.E.C. member.

Recently a conference was called by the Federation which will long be remembered for its enthusiastic inspiring determination to fight the introduction of passes for women, and other reactionary legislation.

The main task before C.O.D. members in the anti-pass campaign is to join the resistance to passes by refusing themselves to co-operate with the Government in their introduction of identity cards and by educating Europeans into non-co-operation, to win the sympathy of Europeans to the African women's struggle against passes, and to urge the European employers of African women not to assist the Government by registering these employees.

### S.A. Congress of Trade Unions.

Acting on Conference decision members of C.O.D. were encouraged to assist trade unions requiring technical and other help. However Conference resolution that a special pamphlet be produced appealing to white workers was not implemented, although someone was asked to write such a pamphlet.

### Propaganda.

Since the last Conference the N.E.C. Propaganda Committee was strengthened and has met fairly regularly except for the last month or so, when it has suffered from shortage of personnel again. The Committee has still not produced Counter Attack regularly throughout the year, although it has appeared much more often than last year. The last few editions have been of a much higher level than previously. The Committee request suggestions and active assistance from branches who could indicate what they require in the way of leaflets, pamphlets etc. and general propaganda.

### Leaflets.

Numerous leaflets were produced by Cape Western Region and Johannesburg and distributed by most of the regions. Some of the subjects covered



were "Tembeni", Police Raids; the Senate Act, the closing of the Soviet Consulate ( a joint Congress leaflet), the S.A. Amendment Act, etc. Special praise is due to Cape Western Region for hitting back immediately at the police and bringing out a leaflet on the raids even before the N.E.C. who were slow on the job. Cape Western's leaflet was used by Johannesburg and other centres.

Pamphlets.

Two new Pamphlets were produced since last conference, "We Are Many" and "Your Number Please". Five thousand of each were printed and there are still copies on hand. Bellevue Branch sold £20 worth of these pamphlets. They have showed a responsible enthusiastic attitude towards literature selling, and Hillbrow Branch have regular small drives (not enough people participating). The other regions ordered very small quantities of these pamphlets and we feel that Cape Western Region especially could intensify their efforts at literature selling.

Fighting Talk.

Bellevue and Youth Branches and Cape Western Region sell this paper in fair quantities. The other branches take only enough copies for members.

Liberation.

This journal appears to be read by most C.O.D. members although there is not much sale to the ordinary contacts.

New Age.

C.O.D. members in most of our regions sell the paper. Youth branch in Johannesburg organised a function for New Age.

Study Classes.

"The World We Live In" was tackled by some branches and regions but due to pressure of business, fund-raising activities etc. these classes seem to be neglected by most branches. More time must be found for study. Trade Union notes have recently been made available to members.

Finance.

It has been seen from the Financial Statement that the Johannesburg Region once again carried almost the whole burden of financing Head Office. Two branches in Johannesburg, Greenpark and Northern, whose area work leaves much to be desired, rallied magnificently to help Head Office meet its liabilities. A joint function organised by these two branches raised £135 and a joint jumble sale almost £75. A number of smaller jumble sales are also organised regularly by them. Hillbrow Branch has adopted a consistent responsible attitude towards its financial obligations and have organised some successful functions. Their collection of subscriptions has been regular and dependable. Despite its small numbers Durban Branch has made some attempt at collecting monies and hold regular jumble sales. A little money has come in to Head Office from them.

The National Executive Committee appeals to all Regions to regard their responsibility to Head Office very seriously. Time that should be spent on organisational work is devoted by the office to collecting donations, organising functions etc. in order to keep going. Our propaganda continually suffers through lack of finance with which to bring out pamphlets etc. Collecting of finance is a political task and should be regarded as such by all our branches.

If the year under review is not full of extraordinary achievement, it is brimful of possibilities and promise for the future.



4. 971  
FRATERNAL GREETINGS TO CONFERENCE FROM CHIEF LUTULI.

What is your task in South Africa?

In sending you fraternal greetings and wishing your Annual Conference all success, I would like to centre my brief remarks on the question, "What is your task in South Africa?"

An annual conference is always an occasion for stock-taking where both the backward look and the forward look are made. I would ask you in making an appraisal of your activities in the past year and laying out your plans for the coming year to ask yourselves what your task is in our present situation in South Africa when we find ourselves faced with the most savage and fanatical government that shows no signs of being willing to share democratic rights with all people in the country regardless of their race or colour. The government of the Nationalist Party despite adverse world opinion seems bent on making democracy a possession of "Europeans Only".

Each session of Parliament sees the statute book of the Union loaded with new oppressive discriminatory legislative and administrative enactments which press hard on non-whites and on all who champion the cause of the oppressed people. The task before us is most urgent and exacting, faced as we are with fanatical rulers who would bring the country to ruin politically, economically and otherwise, than do all the right things towards all sections of our multi-racial nation, especially the non-whites who at present are the hardest-hit victims of the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. The situation challenges all lovers of freedom for all to fight on until the forces of oppression are defeated,

Your task as an all-white political party that is in full fellowship with the premier political organisations amongst non-whites is not an easy one at all.

You have a special mission to convert white South Africans to your view-point of regarding all people regardless of their race or colour as equals and therefore deserving of being accorded all democratic rights to enable each individual to develop himself to his fullest capacity. A wide acceptance of this viewpoint would result in the categorical rejection of the policy of apartheid which is inflicting on non-whites, solely on grounds of race and colour, indignities and atrocities so derogatory to human dignity that no human being should be made to bear them.

Unfortunately at present, white South Africa in its treatment of non-whites ignores, to her harm, fundamental spiritual values such as:

Righteousness and not injustice uplifteth a nation;  
Magnanimity and not selfishness and pettiness  
bring honour and greatness to a people;  
Brotherliness and not racial arrogance brings about  
harmony and cooperation in a nation, especially a  
multi-racial nation.

It will not pay white South Africa to live by the jungle law of "might is right". The lesson of history is that those who rule by an iron hand eventually suffer an ignominious end. Your task - is to save white South Africa from bringing about its own destruction. Apartheid will prove a terrible Frankenstein one day.

Finally your task is not an easy one because as lovers of freedom for all, you will be persecuted and abused by white South Africa with the oppressed whose cause you champion. But even worse than this you may find yourselves suspected of ulterior motives by some of the people you are trying to liberate. All this should not daunt you and divert you from the struggle for freedom for all in our country.



Remain true to the end, to the Cause of Freedom! Better the abuse and mistrust of your contemporaries than the condemnation and curse of posterity. Better to suffer for a noble cause - freedom - than to compromise with evil: apartheid is an evil thing which true democrats should reject categorically with the contempt it deserves.

In closing, let me re-assure you of the warm spirit of friendship which the African National Congress, which I have the honour to lead, has for you, and how deeply it appreciates your association with it in the Liberatory Movement in South Africa. Its desire is to march with you hand in hand through thick and thin until victory is won by the forces of Freedom.

Mayibuye ! Afrika

Afrika! Mayibuye

INKULULEKO NGESIKATHI SETHU !

Bewysstuk No. ....  
 Gekry by..... *Len Len* .....  
 Deur..... *S.P. Rappaport* .....  
 Te..... *T.P.C. Rappaport - JAB* .....  
 Datum..... *1/4/56* .....  
 Verwysings No. .... *7* .....



9.972

S.A. CONGRESS

Branch No. ....

Cape Western Region

Secretary by Leon Remy

Draft Report

To T. L. C. Kuylenstierna

1. Internal Activity

Date 1/4/56

Verwysings No. 8

A. Organisation:

Since September 1954, when a number of our leading members were banned from C.O.D., the number of functioning branches has been reduced from three to one. This functioning branch, Claremont, has now been reorganised as the Cape Town Branch and its new branch committee will act as the liaison with Johannesburg and with the CWCC in Cape Town. The old regional Executive has been abolished, as it was a top heavy form of organisation for one branch. The chief reason for the decline in the number of branches has been the failure of leading members to take over the responsibilities of secretaryship, especially in Cape Town Central and Sea Point, where there could be functioning branches.

Now that meetings are held centrally there should be an improvement in attendance. Attendance at Claremont during the past year varied from 6 to 10. This should now increase to about 15, providing adequate transport is arranged.

Meetings are held fortnightly on the basis of alternating discussion evenings and activists' evenings.

The book membership has remained at the original 80, with a number of gains and losses due to people leaving the Cape or coming to live here. Of these 80, 15 can be called upon to do regular active work of one sort or another. The remainder will attend functions and most will give money but not attend meetings or do active work in C.O.D.

B. Finance:

Far more money could have been raised through donations, but our treasurers have failed to do their collecting work. A new one has just been appointed and we are still awaiting results.

C. Education:

"The World We Live In" was started but not completed. Otherwise, we have had instructional talks on the A.N.C. Conference, SACTU, Housing etc.

D. Literature:

4 Members have done door to door work among Europeans, and 5 among Non-Europeans, selling New Age and our various pamphlets. Another attempt is now being made to persuade our members of the vital need to sell among Europeans if we wish to influence them and win new members.

2. External Activity.

A. Co-operation with Congress Movement:

This has been good, and healthy relations have been established with the A.N.C. and S.A.C.P.O. Our members serve on the Cape Western Consultative Committee and have been instrumental in seeing that the recent Freedom Charter campaign has been pushed along. Of this plan about 50% was carried out. The failures were due to bad organisation and lack of enthusiasm for the task. To date only one school has been held and others are due. Our signature collection for the Freedom Charter has been at meetings organised by the CWCC. With regard to the National Consultative Committee, we feel that their propaganda has been



poor and insufficient. Apparently it is now impossible to obtain English Charters in Cape Town. We suggest a brochure similar to that produced by Durban, giving a pictorial record of what happened at C.O.P. for sale by the Congresses.

#### B. Study Classes:

This has been the best aspect of our work. Members are now acting as tutors to a number of A.N.C. and other groups. Through this medium too, we have established close relations with the A.N.C. branches.

#### C. Speakers at Public Meetings:

We have provided speakers at joint public meetings on the Parade, at Freedom Charter meetings, at SACTU meetings etc. Generally members have filled the gaps left by the bannings of Turok and Bunting.

#### D. Work with other Congresses :

We have assisted the Congresses with leaflet distribution, arranging of meetings of protest, trade Union secretarial work for S.A.C.T.U., painting of posters etc. Members have shown that they appreciate the need to build strong relations with the Congress groups.

#### E. Peace:

Some of our members are on the Peace Council although the level of activity has not been high, as it is mainly a European Organisation.

### 3. INDEPENDENT ACTIVITY.

#### A. Door to door Work.

This is by far the poorest part of our work and accounts largely for the failure to recruit new members. So long as there is resistance to this primary form of activity, so long will we remain small and isolated. Steps are being taken to improve.

#### B. Leaflets:

Since June 1955, Claremont branch produced them on Tembeni, Police Raids, Deportations of African Women, Black Sash, 10,000 in each case plus those that went to Johannesburg. We have also handed out those sent down from Head Office from time to time.

#### C. U.P. Senate Act Meeting.

This was taken over by two of our members and public interest was high. A similar attempt later, failed due to inability to obtain loudspeaker equipment.

#### D. Statements to Press.

These have been issued from time to time, but only the one on the police raids was printed by the Cape Times.

#### E. Social Functions:

A number have been held during the year. The most successful having been an invitation affair to welcome home delegates to the A.N.C. National Conference. 100 people attended and films on C.O.P. and Youth Festivals, were shown. Proceeds went to New Age.



F. Co-operation with other Organisations:

This has been nil in Cape Town, both because the Liberals here are more cautious than those in Johannesburg, and because of the sectarian attitude of our members. But there seems to be a changing atmosphere judging from two small private meetings recently.

The election campaign also engendered hot and unnecessary polemics between C.O.D. and the Liberals. We feel that the National Executive should bring home the need to all branches of C.O.D. to get together with other organisations on the basis of mutual respect for each others' differences and to the right of organisations to a separate membership and existence. We feel that past statements by the N.E.C., the local Executive and New Age have not made co-operation easier. Peter Meyer's New Age articles last session were particularly naïve and have been siezed upon by local liberals as a reason for non-cooperation.

G. Alwyn Food Parcels:

These are sent off regularly to the Alwyn family at Worcester together with any donations that come in.

H. Students: Nil.



9.974  
MEMORANDUM DRAWN UP BY THE DURBAN AND DISTRICT BRANCH OF  
THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS WITH REFERENCE TO THE RESOLUTIONS  
OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF EDUCATION.

(This memorandum refers to the resolution on Bantu Education  
passed at the Conference of C.O.D. in 1955.)

This Branch disagrees with Section (a) of the resolution on Education  
in the following respects :-

1. We regret the use of the word "whatever" in the resolution "to  
give the fullest active support to whatever measures are adopted  
by the African National Congress to provide alternative education  
for African children." If taken literally this pledges the C.O.D.  
to follow blindly and without discussion, any education policy  
which may be laid down by a fraternal but distinct organisation.  
If the C.O.D. is to win the attention and respect of the European  
section of the community (or of the non-European) it must avoid  
the danger of appearing as a "tail" behind the larger Congresses.
2. We regard support for the policy of permanent school boycott as  
erroneous for the following reasons :
  - (a) Literacy is a first condition for political understanding, for  
an illiterate person is an easy prey to superstition and  
prejudice, finds difficulty in clear expression and comprehension,  
and can benefit only to a limited degree by the experience of  
others. His political understanding is bound to be clouded and  
his political action hampered by these limitations. This  
fact has been widely recognised in other countries. Yet the  
boycott has threatened to deprive the most promising children,  
those from the most progressive homes, of their chance of  
literacy. We maintain that literacy coupled with inadequate  
and distorted cultural teaching would be a lesser evil for  
these children, than complete illiteracy and ignorance.
  - (b) The A.N.C. and the liberatory movement as a whole cannot  
undertake the task of making the people literate, since they  
have neither the means nor the forces, nor the facilities to  
do it. Yet this is the only logical corollary of the boycott  
policy. Such a task is the task of the state and in so far  
as the State provides any facilities at all, the liberatory  
movement should not prevent the people from making use of  
them. It must be remembered that "poisonous education" is  
not new and is not confined to the African schools of this  
country. It is known in many other countries where freedom-  
loving people make the best they can of a pernicious system  
of education. We Europeans do not withdraw our children from  
the state and private schools, although they are there taught  
the most vicious poison of all - that they belong to a  
superior race. It seems to us that this theory that the  
world (or the community) can be changed for the worse by  
education is merely a form of the incorrect general theory  
that the world can be reformed by education.
  - (c) While recognising that in Johannesburg the liberatory movement  
has a special responsibility to the boycott children, which it  
must fulfil, we feel that as a general principle it is wrong  
to attempt political work among young children (of 7 or 8),  
when so much remains to be done among adolescents and adults.  
It seems to us that much of the work done in the cultural  
clubs runs the risk of becoming social rather than political  
work. We feel that a wiser policy would be to establish  
cultural clubs among older children and adolescents who are  
literate and old enough to understand the issues in order to  
supplement and correct the teaching received by them in school.  
Later it may be possible to supplement the policy of home  
education by cultural clubs.



9974

(d) It is our opinion that the weapon of boycott itself is ~~one which is not sufficiently understood and therefore is~~ sometimes used incorrectly. We feel that discussion and examination of this question is very necessary.

(e) Generally, we believe it to be unfortunate that the attention of the people, C.O.D. and the liberation movement as a whole should be concentrated on an issue such as Bantu Education, instead of upon the major political issues (such as Population Registration and the Pass Laws, wages and prices, lack and loss of democratic rights, hindrances to Trade Union activity etc.,) which are now coming to the fore. We believe that the liberation movement should direct its offensive into what are now more important fields, after taking due measure of its mistakes and the reasons for them.

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**Collection Number: AD1812**

**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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