

RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO BE CONSIDERED BY THE ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE, TO BE HELD IN JOHANNESBURG, 31ST MARCH - 1ST. APRIL, 1956.

J. S. J. No. 1017
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1. POLICY.

Deeply conscious that the urgent strategic needs of the people's struggle to defeat the Nationalist Party and its fascist programme, require the mobilisation of all sections of the population for an extra-parliamentary struggle to replace the Nationalist Government with a People's Democratic Government, and to replace the present denial of social, economic and political rights with a constitution guaranteeing to all the rights embodied in the Freedom Charter, and conscious too, that the Congress movement with its five basic organisations is the historically correct instrument for this task, Conference recognises that the S.A. Congress of Democrats has a general and collective responsibility to and for the Congress Movement as a whole but a specific responsibility for the task which historically and because of its nature and character, it alone is best equipped to undertake - the task of winning to the Congress Movement the militant white anti-nationalists.

Conference therefore resolves that the S.A. Congress of Democrats shall concern itself primarily with the issues directly affecting the whites and actively make the Congress Movement and the Freedom Charter a vital factor in the sphere of European politics.

POLITICAL

PARLIAMENTARY LEGISLATION.

Conference is confronted with reviewing the legislation of the current session of Parliament, exposing the undemocratic manoeuvres of the Nationalist Government and placing its alternative, the Freedom Charter, before the people. With each new session of Parliament the legislation of the Nationalist Government is brought more sharply into conflict with the wishes of the majority of the people of South Africa.

2. THE SOUTH AFRICA ACT AMENDMENT BILL

Conference condemns the South Africa Act Amendment Bill which deprives the coloured people of their meagre franchise rights and places them on a separate voters' roll. Assured of a two thirds majority at a joint sitting of both houses of Parliament and emboldened by a reconstituted judiciary the Government is arrogantly hastening towards a fascist constitution.

The re-entrenchment of the Language Rights is meaningless in the presence of a Nationalist majority in the Senate and the flagrant contempt of the Nationalist party for democratic principles.

Conference is pledged to expose the constitution of 1910 which deprives the majority of the people of the right to vote and is pledged to place before the people of South Africa, its policy of votes for all and the Freedom Charter as the true alternative to the Nationalist Government.

3. THE DEFENCE BILL
THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT.

The Military pacts of the Nationalist Government ostensibly "for the defence of Southern Africa", have committed South Africa to a policy of war and aggression. Conference condemns the introduction of militaristic legislation to modernise

the defence system and to establish Civil Protective Services, and to strengthen the Active Citizen's Force and place members of the Defence Force under oath to perform service against an enemy anywhere in South Africa or outside the Union.

Conference is of the opinion that legislation of this nature is unnecessary and clearly aimed at democratic and liberation movements and all bodies opposed to apartheid and the policies of the Nationalist Government. Conference pledges itself to oppose this legislation and to strengthen the forces for peace and democracy in South Africa.

4. THE PROHIBITION OF INTERDICTS BILL:

Conference strongly condemns the Prohibition of Interdicts Bill which runs contrary to all internationally accepted principles of Law.

Conference believes that this attempt to rob the African people of their right of access to the courts to protect themselves from unjustifiable ejection from their homes will create misery and uncertainty and seriously disrupt the lives of the African people.

Conference condemns this Bill as undemocratic and fascist in character and re-iterates the principles of the Freedom Charter that all people shall be equal before the law.

5. THE INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AMENDMENT BILL.

Conference is of the opinion that only a strong and united Trade Union Movement, representative of all sections of the workers can effectively combat the evil intentions of the Nationalist Government and preserve the right of the workers to trade union organisation. Conference therefore pledges support to the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions in its efforts to combat the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill and to fight for trade union unity.

6. THE NURSING ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

Conference upholds the right of all people to receive equal training and facilities for such training and rejects the concept of inferior status for non-Europeans in any field of study or profession.

Conference rejects the undemocratic principles of the Amendment to the Nursing Act and upholds the right of Non-European nurses to equal facilities for training and study and equal status in the profession.

7. POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT.

Conference declares that, in its opinion,

1. There is no compulsion on any person to be photographed for the Population Register.
2. Arrests and compulsory probes are not legal.
3. The production of identity numbers for marriages, births and deaths is not legally obligatory.

Conference therefore calls upon the people not to do anything which will assist the Nationalist Government in its aim to classify the population.

Conference furthermore calls for a campaign among the people to avail themselves of their legal rights on every possible occasion.

Conference furthermore calls upon the White people of South Africa to guard their rights and the rights of all others and to support the struggles of all other sections against regimentation because no group is safe whilst the rights of other groups are diminished.

8. PASSES FOR WOMEN:

Conference condemns the proposal to extend the vicious and degrading pass system to African women as an outrage against human dignity, and as a deliberate attempt to enslave still further the African people.

Conference resolves to support the African women to the fullest degree in their opposition to the passes, in their determination to resist this attempt to expose them to the humiliations and hardships already suffered by the African men, and resolves further to mobilise men and women of all races into the coming struggle against the pass system.

9. PEACE AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

That this conference of South African Congress of Democrats reiterates its stand for world peace and negotiations between states and endorses the Panchila, the five points adopted by the Afro-Asian conference.

1. Mutual respect for each others territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Non-aggression.
3. Non-interference in each others internal affairs for any reason of an economic, political or ideological character.
4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Conference welcomes the holding of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung and the Geneva Conference of major powers as steps to the banning of atomic weapons and general disarmament.

Realising that a lasting peace is impossible while the imperialist exploitation continues, conference expresses its solidarity with the colonial and subject people in their struggle for freedom, independence and peace. Conference would welcome further conferences for peace and against colonialism particularly in the continent of Africa.

Conference condemns the actions adopted by the South African Government towards world affairs, especially the breach with the United Nations, the recent unwarranted closing of the Soviet Consulate in South Africa and the failure to restore relations with India.

Conference moreover realises that the recent statement of the Minister of Defence regarding closer ties with America and Britain is actually an offer to act as policemen in Africa for the imperialist powers under the guise of "defending Africa against Communism".

Conference demands the immediate restoration of full relations with India and the Soviet Union, and the recognition of the People's Republic of China. Conference demands further the closing

Resolutions submitted by Regions and Branches.

SUBMITTED BY MILLEROW BRANCH, JOHANNESBURG.

Amendments to N.E.C. RESOLUTIONS.

- 12. Delete the last paragraph in Resolution 1 (Policy) and substitute the following :-

Conference therefore resolves that the main task of the South African Congress of Democrats shall be to make the Congress movement and the Freedom Charter a living force amongst the European population, at the same time not neglecting specific issues affecting the white population.

- 13. Proposed amendment to resolution 3 The Defence Bill.

Allow the first sentence ending with "and aggression" to stand, and for the remaining section of the resolution commencing from "Conference condemns" to "democracy in South Africa" substitute the following :-

Conference is of the opinion that recent militaristic legislation to establish Civil Protective Services, to strengthen the Active Citizen Force and to place members of the Defence Force under oath to perform service against an enemy anywhere in South Africa or outside the Union, is clearly aimed at the democratic and liberation movements and at all bodies opposed to apartheid and to the policies of the Nationalist Government. Conference therefore condemns this legislation and pledges itself to oppose it and to strengthen the forces for peace and democracy in South Africa.

- 14. Proposed Amendment to Resolution 5 The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill.

Insert the words "irrespective of race or colour" after the word "workers" at the beginning of the third line.

- 15. Proposed amendment to resolution 8 Passes for Women.

Replace the whole of the resolution by the following :-

"Conference condemns the extension of the vicious and degrading pass system to African women as an outrage against human dignity and as a deliberate attempt to enslave still further the African people.

Conference condemns further the underhand methods employed by the officials of the Native Affairs Department in forcing passes upon the African women of Winburg by misleading them into believing that the reference books are not passes.

Conference resolves to give the fullest support to African women in their opposition to the passes, in their determination to resist this attempt to expose them to the humiliations and hardships already suffered by the African men and resolves further to mobilise men and women of all races into the struggle against the pass system.

- 16. Proposed amendment to resolution 9 Peace and the International Situation.

Paragraph 6 of the resolution.

After the phrase "Republic of China" insert the following :

"instead of the Chinese Nationalist Government which is not representative of the Chinese people."

Delete the sentence commencing "Conference demands further" in the third line and ending "Consulate in South Africa" in the fourth line, of paragraph 6.

17. Proposed Amendments to N.E.C. Resolutions Continued.

Add to Resolution 5 I.C. Amendment Bill.

Conference further condemns those leaders of the I.U.C. who have offered to co-operate with the Government in trying to make the Bill work. We urge rank and file workers to speak up for unity of all workers in South Africa.

Cape Western Region.

18. Resolution 5.I.C. Amendment Bill.

Amend as follows :

Insert after the words 'union organisation' in the fifth line: "Conference particularly draws attention to the effect the Bill will have in isolating the European working class still further from the growing strength and unity of the Non-European working class, thereby rendering the European working class more vulnerable in its attempts to improve conditions for its members. Conference resolves therefore to do everything in its power to wean the European workers from their reactionary policy of holding themselves aloof from the only true body which will fight for their rights as workers - S.A. Congress of Trade Unions."

Then continue the resolution as it stands from "Conference therefore pledges support etc." to the end.

Durban Region.

POLITICAL.

19. Group Areas Act.

We condemn the views expressed at a recent S.A.B.R.A. Conference which clarified the Government's intention to apply the policy of the Group Areas Act to Industry, making it compulsory, unless exemption is obtained, for employers to employ workers from different racial groups in different industrial areas. This is a clear opportunity for the Nationalist Government to apply pressure upon employers who do not co-operate with them in splitting the ranks of the workers, and is an opportunity to freeze smaller businessmen, especially those belonging to the Non-European section, out of existence.

We condemn the fact that the Government is restricting still further the purchase of land by Indians in Natal under cover of the Group Areas Act, and deplore the artificial inflation and deflation of property which is affecting all races. We are alarmed at the increasing evidence that the Group Areas Act is being used by unscrupulous politicians to further their business interests through floating companies to handle the redistribution of land once the Group Areas have been proclaimed. It appears that this Act is being utilised to concentrate business in the hands of the Europeans, and particularly the rising Nationalist capitalist class.

Durban Region.

20. Indian Unemployment.

We note with increasing concern the steady increase of unemployment amongst the Indian working class in Natal, and consider that this is an obvious manoeuvre to force Indian workers to accept unskilled jobs and low wages in Industry and on the farms, or to be repatriated to India. We wholeheartedly support the stand of the Natal Indian Congress in opposing the pincer movement adopted by the Nationalists and their satellites in industry against the Indian people of Natal, and draw attention to the extreme hardship and misery which is facing the Indian working class. We consider that these racialist tactics demonstrate still further the utterly unscrupulous character of the ruling class in South Africa, and condemn the support which this policy is receiving from the bigoted European employers in Natal.

Durban Region.

21. Cost of Living.

We condemn the fact that the Nationalist Government of South Africa, and the United Party Opposition have spent the Parliamentary session in devising further restrictive and oppressive laws against the people of South Africa, instead of devoting its attention to the rising cost of living structure of the Union and the reduction of living standards of the people to a starvation level in many instances. We draw attention to the fact that the Africans in the reserves are starving, the Africans in the towns are living at a subsistence level, and the Indian workers are being reduced to semi-starvation whereas the Budget is specifically designed to lower taxation for the middle and upper income groups and thereby to capture support from them for the "Apartheid" policy of the Nationalists.

Durban Region.

22. Rent Control

The lifting of rent control at the present time is to be condemned as it will have the effect of freezing out the smaller shop-keeper, and concentrating the wealth of industry and business still further in the hands of the cartels and monopolies.

Durban Region.

23. Conference condemns the attempt by the Government and the Provincial Council of the Cape to force Apartheid on the people of the Cape, in the University, in the buses, parks, beaches and libraries. We urge the City Council to stand firm against this attempt of the Government to drive the races apart in Cape Town. We remind the Council that the people of Cape Town have never requested Apartheid and in fact have striven to maintain and increase the rights of all sections of the community.

Cape Western Region.

24. Conference condemns the proposals of the Cape Provincial Council to introduce measures which will disenfranchise Coloured women and Indians from voting in Municipal elections in Cape Town. It demands the extension of the vote to all adults over the age of 21.

Cape Western Region

25. Conference condemns the proposals of the Government to move Africans in the Cape Peninsula to the Nyanga Emergency Camp. We demand that Africans be allowed to live where they wish and that more houses at low rents be built for all sections who need them.

Cape Western Region

26. Conference condemns the failure of the Government to take measures to relieve famine in the Transkei, Ciskei and Pondoland. We demand the immediate despatch of food to the African people of these areas. Conference further demands :-

(a) The suspension of all tax collections in affected areas.

(b) The free distribution of seed grain.

(c) The establishment of emergency Government food depots supplying food to the people at low prices.

Cape Western Region.

27. Conference protests against the recent increase in violence and intimidation by uniformed and plain clothes members of the S.A. Police. We believe that these are a direct result of the threats directed mainly against the democratic movement by Ministers of the Government during the past year but that the affects are being felt by all sections of the people.

Conference demands:-

(a) A clear statement from the Minister of Justice condemning assault on prisoners and arrested persons.

(b) the introduction of legislation making assault by policemen punishable by imprisonment without the option of a fine.

27(c) the subsequent dismissal of policemen found guilty of assault on prisoners and members of the public under arrest.

(d) the above also to apply to prison warders.
Cape Western Region

28. Conference supports Miss Lucy in her fight to win equal education rights for the Negroes of the United States.

Cape Western Region

29. Conference condemns very strongly the banning of meetings of more than ten Africans in the Port Elizabeth and Peddie Municipal areas. Conference expresses its disgust with the City Councils and Divisional Councils concerned in slavishly adopting the Nationalist policy of oppression of the African people by denying them the fundamental human right of association.

Port Elizabeth Region.

ORGANISATIONAL.

30. Conference recommends that the Congress Consultative Committee go into the problem of organising youth movements to further the work of Congress.

Such a Youth movement of the A.N.C. especially, would strengthen the boycott of Bantu Education by providing a large number of propagandists against Bantu Education.

Bellevue Branch, Jhb.

31. Freedom Charter.

Conference calls upon all regions to popularise the Freedom Charter amongst Europeans by setting up tables for the collection of signatures, following the example of the Johannesburg Region.

Hillbrow Branch Jhb.

32. Conference resolves that members of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, both officially and as individuals, make every effort to increase co-operation with other organisations holding similar views on many of the issues facing the people. Conference recognises the past efforts of all such organisations made in the defence of human rights to have been of great value to the cause of freedom. Conference realises further that sincere and fraternal co-operation towards mutually agreed aims can only be based on agreement to respect the differences of opinion on some issues and the loyalty of individuals to their own organisations.

Cape Western Region.

PROPAGANDA.

New Age.

33. Recognising the valuable and consistent support given by New Age to the Congress of Democrats and the national liberation movement in general, and to the popularisation of the Freedom Charter in particular, Conference welcomes the financial campaign organised by the paper and instructs all branches to give active support to the campaign.

Hillbrow Branch, Jhb.

New Age.

34. Conference congratulates New Age on its great fight on behalf of the people of South Africa. Conference resolves that members and branches of C.O.D. take steps forthwith to increase circulation of New Age through sales to the public, organise functions to raise money for the £10,000 Appeal by the paper, and make regular official and personal donations to the fund.

Cape Western Region.

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THE FREEDOM CHARTER

ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AT
KLIPTOWN, JOHANNESBURG, ON JUNE 25 AND 26, 1955.

WE, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN !

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS !

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH !

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT !

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW !

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS !

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY I

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED I

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind, shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT I

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP I

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

J. Hoogendyk
M. Komat van Heerden
T. I. C. Leader Weststraat 37, JHBurg
D. 1/4/56

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 Internal Bulletin of the Congress of Democrats

No 3
 1956
 21 MARCH 1956

ATTACK

COLOID 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 undeniable contradiction of today. Congress: articulate, challenging, 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, involving 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 obligation 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 unenfranchised 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 nought. 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 hoplessness 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 CONFERENCE DECISIONS ARE APPLIED WITH ZEAL AND PERSPECTIVE AND EVERY EFFORT IS MADE TO WIN THE SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC WHITES, IT MIGHT WELL PROVE A TURNING POINT FOR THE C. O. D.

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Behind
the
Scenes!

THE STATE SCANDAL INFORMATION

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 without 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 path 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 tinted 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 Civilisation, and molly-coddles its Bantu wards. A pleasant picture? Yes, but there is a fluc in the lute - 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 inside 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 ANCO Conference, the main points are - " 'No lightening of mastery policy' - Bantu reporter asked to leave - Communist literature circulated."

Some other headlines: "Premiers New Year Message - Plea made for racial justice" "Rotary 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!

CONSTITUTIONAL CAN A DISHONOURABLE CONSTITUTION BE DISHONOURED

"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 Straus) a completely novel interpretation was given to the piece.

The franchise 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.

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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.

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

"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.

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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.

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

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". -

Prof. A. C. Cilliers

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THE PROHIBITION
OF INTERDIKTS
BILL

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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 racist 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.

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 Afrikaans 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, broaderbond 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 literate 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 propoganda, 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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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 combat the teaching received by them in school. Later it may be possible to carry out the policy of home education through the medium of these adolescent clubs.

(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.

J. Hoogenboezem
S. Komt van Harder
Te Kantore van T. I. C. J. H. K. J.
Datum 1/4/56
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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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