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NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS
(Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894)

AGENDA BOOK

SIXTH ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

held at

DURBAN

on

21st and 22nd FEBRUARY, 1953.

Opened by

Chief A. J. LUTHULI

(President General: African National Congress)

Headquarters:
17, Lakhani Chambers,
2, Saville Street, Durban.

P.O. Box 2299.
Phone 22643.

AGENDA BOOK

2.

OF THE

6TH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

OF THE

NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS

C O N T E N T S

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SECTION 1.

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OFFICIALS AND COMMITTEE MEMBERS

P R E S I D E N T

Dr. G.M. Naicker.

V I C E - P R E S I D E N T S

V. Lawrence
G. Hurbans
J.N. Singh
A. Choudree

A. I. Meer
R. M. Naidoo
A. C. Meer
Dr. A. H. Sader
G. S. Naidoo

G E N E R A L S E C R E T A R Y

Debi Singh.

J O I N T H O N . T R E A S U R E R S

Dr. M. N. Padayachee

S. M. Mayet

E X E C U T I V E C O M M I T T E E M E M B E R S

C.I. Amra
H.R. Deoduth
F. Ephraim
I.C.Meer
M.P. Naicker

A. I. Bhoola

S. V. Reddy
R. A. Pillay
Dr. A. Singh
K.Moonsamy
H.Mall

S E C R E T A R I A T

C. I. Amra
A. Choudree
A. I. Meer
S. M. Mayet

Debi Singh.

Dr.G.M. Naicker
I. C. Meer
M.P. Naicker
J. N. Singh

SUNDAY:

22nd FEBRUARY, 1953

9.30 a.m.

1. Discussion on General Secretary's Report and relevant resolutions.

Conference will adjourn and
resume at 2.0. p.m.

RESUMPTION OF CONFERENCE - 2.0. P.M.

1. Joint Hon. Treasurers' Statement and audited Balance Sheet.
 2. Discussion on Treasurers' Statement and relevant resolutions.
 3. Nominations: Officials and Executive members.
 4. Amendments to Constitution.
 5. Elections Officials and Executive members.
 6. Venue and date of next Conference.
 7. General.
 8. MAYIBUYE AFRIKA.
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EXTRACTS FROM MESSAGES TO THE
6TH PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF
THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, HELD
IN DURBAN, FEBRUARY 21st and 22nd
1953.

From: The General Secretary,
ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

- NEW DELHI

"The whole world today is watching the mighty struggle launched by the mighty sons of the African soil. India's interest in the struggle is traditional to her own struggle which she had launched against unjust repression. So the Indian National Congress not only appreciates the valiant challenge you have thrown against the imperialistic forces of misguided politics, but wishes the struggle a crowning peaceful victory, which will be surely yours provided all the Coloured brethren of South Africa march in a body against intimidation, oppression, repression and even torture. The acid test for the true love for freedom is preparedness for sacrificing the dearest and nearest ones for its achievement. May God give you that strength of mind and character to achieve this end. All India joins you in this prayer."

From: Dr. Mohammed F. Jamali,
Foreign Minister and leader of
the Iraqi delegation to United Nations

- IRAQ

"The brotherhood of man and equality among races are the cornerstones of peace and justice in this world. We must all unite to achieve this aim. Wish you success in your noble endeavours and I am sure the day of achieving that Brotherhood is not too far stop Racial prejudice and racial discrimination must be wiped from the face of the earth."

From: Mr. Paul Robeson,
President: Council of African Affairs.

- NEW YORK

"Heartfelt greetings to your Conference. South African Peoples' United and heroic struggle is an inspiration to us in America and to the oppressed everywhere. Yours in full solidarity until final victory is won."

From: Mr. Julius Silverman, M.P.,
General Secretary,
INDIA LEAGUE.

- GREAT BRITAIN

"We extend to you our congratulations on the great struggle which is being waged by your members, together with other people of Africa, for freedom, justice and equality.

"We admire the courage with which the unjust laws and decrees of the South African Government are being defied. We are sure that your cause, being just, will triumph in the end.

"The whole of British progressive opinion is absolutely with you."

From: Mr. C.N. Paldi,
Permanent representative
to the U.N. for the
Republic of Indonesia.

- INDONESIA

"The Indonesian Delegation to the United Nations is, indeed, privileged to have the opportunity to bring, along with other African and Asian nations, the question of racial discrimination in the Union of South Africa before the United Nations.

"We have followed your struggle for justice and human rights with great sympathy and we firmly believe that this struggle must be championed by all democratic peoples, by all who envisage an enlightened and peaceful world. Therefore, it was only our duty and obligation to act upon the strength of our convictions and to bring this matter before the United Nations in support of your noble fight for freedom and equality.

"In the discussions and debate which prevailed on this matter in the General Assembly of the United Nations, one could not but admire your staunch struggle against the iniquities suffered by the majority of peoples of your country.

"We are, therefore, pleased to have this opportunity to convey our esteem and sympathy to the members of the Natal Indian Congress and all the peoples of South Africa who have so patiently, but firmly, embarked upon this struggle. A struggle which, indeed, constitutes an invaluable contribution to the fight for fundamental human rights throughout the world. And we wish also to take this opportunity to express our deep-felt sympathies for those who gave their lives in this cause for justice and equality.

"It is our sincere conviction that your movement, nurtured and pursued along democratic lines, will and must ultimately attain its noble goal."

From: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,
Prime Minister and
Life Chairman of the
Convention Peoples' Party,
ACCRA.

- GOLD COAST.

"The eyes of the world are on Africa - North, South, East and West, and the retrograde policy of the rulers of South Africa appals all right thinking people, who are astounded at the determination and courage shown by those who, in the face of imprisonment and barbarous threats of flogging, have continued to carry out their Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. In spite of certain punishment and we know not what to come thereafter, these people, with a deep faith in the justice of their cause, continue the fight, and it is indicative of the force of the liberation movement that all races in South Africa have shown their unity of belief and purpose in this Campaign.

"It is said from time to time that the oppressed peoples of Africa look to West Africa as the embodiment of our liberation movement. We shall not fail! The sufferings of the coloured races and particularly of the Negro in the history of the world, are incalculable, but the end is beginning - the end of injustice, oppression and misery.

"To our brothers who are in the thick of the fight, and who thus bear the full fury of the barbarous treatment meted out to them, we say this: Your cause is just! Your fight is ours! Your suffering is ours! Have faith and the struggle will not be in vain!

From: Presidents,
Indian National Congress,
African National Congress,
and Mauritius Labour Party.

- MAURITIUS.

"Mauritius Labour Party joins World Wide admiration your struggle for human rights stop Sends message solidarity and support to all passive resisters stop"

From: Miss Hilda Watts,
Secretary,
Transvaal Peace Council.

- TRANSVAAL.

"At the very time when your Conference is meeting, the Peoples Congress for Peace is taking place in Vienna, a great Congress at which South Africa is represented among the many countries of the world.

"The two Conferences have significance for each other. They meet at a time of grave tension in South Africa and in the world.

The aim of every progressive person is peace, and the end to all wars and conflicts between nations and men. Only under conditions of peace can countries go forward to develop their resources and advance the happiness and well-being of their people.

"There is an intimate connection between war and the system of colonial repression. Racial discrimination is a breeding ground for strife and war. The abolition of racial discrimination would further the interests of peace, and your cause would be immeasurably strengthened by the growth of the peace movement in South Africa. We look to your members for support in the great peace campaigns which will arise from the Vienna Congress.

"We hope your Conference will be fruitful and will strengthen the cause of peace."

From:

Mr. Cecil Williams
(National Chairman)
Mr. P.J. Hodgton
(National Secretary)
Springbok Legion.

- SOUTH AFRICA.

"We welcome this opportunity of strengthening the bond between us, the bond of our common aspirations and our common struggle for Democracy in South Africa.

"Since the critical period ahead will offer many fruitful opportunities to both white and non-white 'nationalists' to pervert our struggle into a racial clash, we believe it more than ever urgent for democrats to become aware of their fundamental unity.

"We believe that only in the solidarity of all democrats, white and non-white, shall we find the answer to our problems and ultimately the way to the achievement of our common aims.

"We wish you well in your deliberations and hope that your Conference will be a very successful one."

FROM: Dr. J.L.Z. Njongwe,
Acting President
African National Congress (Cape).

CAPE TOWN.

"..... our warmest fraternal greetings on the occasion of your conference today.

"You are meeting at a time when fascism is sweeping our country towards chaos; at a time when the non-Whites of South Africa are engaged in a bitter struggle for fundamental human rights; a time which has witnessed a great number of sacrifices made by the gallant and glorious volunteers in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign.

"You have amongst you at this Conference a number of men and women who have willingly and voluntarily come forward in the defence of those democratic principles which have guided us in our struggle; May I take the liberty of expressing to them too the cordial greetings of the people of the Cape.

"We have reached a crucial stage in our struggle, where our oppressors have demonstrated their determination to crush our movement, but we, realising this, must organise ourselves, creating a solidarity within our democratic ranks and reaffirm our pledges until our objectives of "freedom in our lifetime" are achieved."

STANDING RULES AND ORDERSORDER OF BUSINESS:

1. (a) These standing rules and orders shall be adopted by Conference by a formal motion.
- (b) The Agenda submitted by the Executive Committee shall be accepted by a formal motion.
- (c) It shall be competent for any delegate to move at any stage in the agenda that any item on the Agenda have preference.

CHAIRMAN:

2. (a) The President shall preside over all sittings of Conference, but he may appoint any of the Vice-Presidents to preside over any sitting. In the event of the President being absent from Conference, Conference shall elect a Chairman.
- (b) If the Chairman wishes to take part in the debate, he shall vacate the Chair for that purpose and appoint any of the Vice-Presidents to take his place.

SPEECHES - LENGTH OF:

3. The mover of an original motion and members of the Executive, (on subjects coming within their departments) shall be allowed fifteen minutes in which to address Conference. The mover shall be allowed to reply. All other speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, provided that it shall be competent for any member other than the speaker to move for an extension of time.

CONDUCT OF MEMBERS:

4. (a) The Chairman must always be heard in silence and when he rises, a delegate speaking or offering to speak must resume his seat.
- (b) A delegate must not interrupt another delegate who is speaking.
- (c) No member shall speak twice on any motion or on any amendment except:-
 - (i) to make a personal explanation,
 - (ii) to reply,
 - (iii) on a point of order.

NOTICES OF MOTION:

5. (a) The following motions may be moved without notice:-
 - (i) Unopposed motions.
 - (ii) Motions to postpone or discharge any question on the Agenda for the day.
 - (iii) Amendments to a motion under discussion.
 - (iv) A motion for the adjournment of the debate.
 - (v) Motions of a special or urgent nature which Conference by a majority vote shall allow without notice.

- (b) No other motion shall be moved, debated or voted upon unless notice thereof has been given.
- (c) A notice of motion shall be in writing and signed by the competent official of the Branch or delegate moving it.
- (d) The notice of motion to rescind or re-commit a resolution passed during Conference shall not be accepted unless signed by ten delegates in addition to the proposer and seconder.
- (e) No notice of motion shall be received by Conference after a day and time fixed by Congress Executive, except with special leave of Conference.

MOTIONS:

- 6. (a) Every matter requiring the decision of Conference or of Conference in Committee shall be decided by means of the question put from the Chair, or on a motion proposed and seconded by the delegates.
- (b) A motion shall not be withdrawn except with the consent of both the mover and the seconder.
- (c) The seconder to a motion may reserve his remarks till later in the debate.
- (d) The Chairman shall have power to divide a motion into several portions and take a vote on each separately.

MOTIONS NOT COMPETENT TO AMEND:

- 7. (i) It shall not be competent to propose any amendment to a motion for:--
 - (a) Discharge of any question from the Agenda.
 - (b) Reporting progress.
 - (c) The closure.

MOTIONS NOT COMPETENT TO DEBATE:

- 8. The following motions shall be put without debate:--
 - (a) Discharge of any question from the Agenda.
 - (b) The closure.

AMENDMENTS:

- 9. (a) After a motion has been proposed and seconded, amendments may be moved and seconded, and amendments must be:--
 - (i) To delete certain words;
 - (ii) To insert or add certain words;
 - (iii) To delete certain words and to insert certain other words in their place.

- (b) An amendment must be relevant to the question to which it is proposed.
- (c) The debate on the motion, amendment or amendments may proceed simultaneously unless in the opinion of the Chairman it is desirable to dispose of them separately, in which case he shall suspend the debate on the substantive motion until the conclusion of the debate on the amendment and until a vote has been taken thereon.
- (d) After amendments have been voted upon, the Chairman shall put the question as amended or not without further discussion unless he has suspended the debate on the main question, in which case he shall allow delegates who have not yet addressed Conference to proceed with the debate, and the mover to reply, after which the question shall be put.

AMENDMENTS TO AMENDMENTS:

- 10. It shall not be competent to move an amendment to an amendment.

RIGHT TO REPLY:

- 11. A right of reply shall be allowed to a mover of a substantive motion but not to that of an amendment.

DIVISIONS:

- 12. (a) When a debate is completed the Chairman shall read the question and put it to Conference and a decision shall be taken on a show of hands.
- (b) If his opinion is challenged, the delegate or delegates can claim a division of the house.
- (c) If the Chairman is of the opinion that a division has been frivolously claimed, he may ask those who dispute his decision to rise, and if they are in a clear minority, he may refuse a division.
- (d) A member who is in Conference when a question is put, cannot leave during a division.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS:

- 13. (a) A delegate need not necessarily answer a question addressed to him by another delegate.

COMMITTEE - RULES FOR:

- 14. (a) Conference may resolve itself into Committee on a motion duly proposed, seconded and voted on after discussion if Conference so wishes.
- (b) Conference --in--Committee shall only consider matters committed to it by Conference.

- (c) If the questions committed by Conference are completed, the President shall take a vote on the question "that progress be reported" with any rider which the Committee may add. If this is agreed to, Conference-in-Committee shall resolve itself again into Conference, and the President will report to Conference what has been done, and the report shall be minuted.
- (d) Unless Conference otherwise directs, discussions in Committee shall not be minuted or reported in the Press. The Secretary shall take note of every resolution taken and every amendment agreed to in Committee and these shall be embodied in the Report to Conference and then minuted.
- (e) Except as above mentioned, all other rules of procedure laid down for Conference shall apply to Conference-in-Committee.

SUB-COMMITTEES:

15. Conference may refer any matter for discussion and/or decision and/or action to a sub-committee of such size as it shall then decide, with or without leave to sit during Conference or during Conference-in-Committee, or after the final rising of Conference with instructions, to report to next Conference or the Executive. Conference, in appointing a Sub-Committee, shall nominate a member thereof as convener, who shall be responsible for calling the Sub-Committee together when necessary.

OFFENCES:

16. (a) Conference may, on a motion duly proposed, seconded and agreed to by a two-thirds majority of those present, suspend a delegate for a definite length of time for:-
- (1) Violating the Rules and Orders of Conference after his attention has been drawn to the breach.
- (11) Making himself obnoxious to Conference by his behaviour.
- (b) If a delegate is suspended for more than 24 hours, the Branch which he represents shall be notified immediately by telegram asking it to appoint another member to represent it. Conference-in-Committee shall not have the power to suspend, though Conference may resolve to discuss the matter in Committee and report thereon.

CHAIRMAN'S RULING:

17. The Chairman shall decide any question relative to the procedure of Conference not dealt with in these Standing Orders, in such manner as he shall deem most in keeping with the rules, forms and usages of the Legislative Assembly of the Union. His decision thereon and on the interpretation of the Standing Orders shall be final unless Conference by resolution duly proposed and seconded, decides otherwise.
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SECTION 2

- (i) Address of Welcome :
Mr. V. Lawrence (Chairman:
Reception Committee): (Pages 1-2)
- (ii) Official Opening Address:
Chief A.J.Luthuli -
President-General A.N.C. (Pages 3-6)
- (iii) Presidential Address:
Dr.G.M.Nalcker -
President- Natal Indian Congress (Pages 7-10)
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ADDRESS OF WELCOME

BY

MR. V. LAWRENCECHAIRMAN- RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Mr. President, Chief Luthuli and Friends,

When we met last time, for the Fifth Provincial Conference, the political situation facing the Non-European community was critical enough, today the position is far worse, judging by the things that are being perpetrated in the name of democracy and public safety- Many things have happened since and the whole Non-European community is perturbed. Whether it is going to be for their freedom or serfdom, progress or degradation, I can scarcely say. In fact, a very great number of Europeans are perturbed at the legislation sought to be passed by the Nationalist Government.

Some of you, at one of our joint open air meetings, some time ago, must have heard me declaring "Vox Populi Vox Dei", that is, the Voice of the people is the voice of God". The truth and realism of that solemn scriptural maxim cannot be repudiated. You have met here this afternoon, delegates from all parts of this Province 'the Garden Colony of South Africa' to give that voice full force and effect, so that it may reach the Heavens, the very throne of God.

My first duty, therefore, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, is to extend a very cordial welcome to our guide, philosopher and friend, Chief Luthuli, the President-General of the African National Congress, and to thank him for so readily consenting to open the Conference, as he has done last time, and to offer him, in your name and on your behalf, our warmest and sincerest congratulations on his election to that high office, the highest honour his people could confer on him. It speaks volumes for his sincerity of heart, honesty of purpose, devotion to duty, his outstanding courage and wisdom to head the Non-Europeans of this land, in our struggle for freedom, and secondly to proffer to you, the delegates, fraternal delegates and guests, a very warm welcome, to this our Sixth Provincial Conference. I fervently hope and pray, Almighty God, the common father of us all, may guide you in all your deliberations and discussions, which I am sure will be moderate, relevant, fruitful and beneficial to the lasting peace and good of all the people of this great country of ours, to which we are anxious to make our genuine contribution, for the progress, welfare and happiness of the whole of the South African population, without distinction of race, colour or creed. Our course is just and righteous. "Righteousness exalteth a Nation". We are part and parcel of the South African Nation - unless, we act justly, rightly and fairly towards each other, irrespective of race, colour or creed, recognising the dignity of man, the human person, it is certain, not exaltation, but humiliation, will be our ultimate reward, for God is not mocked, a day of retribution is sure to follow - So, then, all our actions, thoughts, and words, must be, non-violent, peaceful and harmonious. It is interesting to note here the very thoughtful conclusions, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic Church in South Africa, have arrived at, at their Conference, in June 1952, on Race Relations. "This racial problem admits of us easy solution and for that reason, it can only be regretted, that it is so frequently made the plaything of party politics without regard for the real welfare of citizens. A problem, so fraught

with...../

with grave consequences, should be kept on the highest level of earnest and prudent consideration, for no good purpose can be served and only detriment can result, when the problem or any proposed solution, is exploited for sectional interest or party gain. No true endeavour can be made to solve the problem, unless, we keep constantly, before our minds the fundamental Christian truths, that man is created by God, in his own image, with a spiritual soul, the power to reason and a free will, that his last end is to achieve everlasting happiness in the vision of God in Heaven".

As a result of historical circumstances, the Europeans, who constitute about one-fifth of the population, hold most of the land, wealth and for all practical purposes, the entire political power. The Non-Europeans (Africans, Asians and Coloured people) have practically no share in the Government of the country and are debarred by laws and custom from enjoying equal opportunity with Europeans, in the field of gainful employ and consequently in other spheres of social life. This political, economic and legal "Colour Bar" has its psychological counterpart. Whatever be its origin, it induces many Europeans, to look upon Non-Europeans as persons of inferior race, who can never be entitled to full citizenship and complete equality. A stigma of social debasement is attached to the condition of Non-Europeans. The natural consequence, is the growth among Non-Europeans of resentment, animosity and distrust.

The solution to this vexed problem of human relationship can be sought only in prudent and careful planning and in the practice of charity and justice.

Justice demands that we give every man his due. It is a virtue that prompts us to recognise the rights of others and forbids us to hinder their legitimate exercise. These are rights that flow from the very nature and constitution of man, whatever the inequalities in the natural and social spheres. Such rights are fundamental and inviolable and include the right to life, dignity, sustenance, worship, to the integrity, use and normal development of faculties, to work and enjoy the fruit of work, to private ownership of property, to sojourn and movement, to marriage and the procreation and education of children, to association with one's fellow men.

It is a significant coincidence, in this hour of our sore trial, we meet at a time of penance, the season of Lent in the Christian calendar when the passion and sufferings, crucifixion and death of the God-made man, Jesus Christ is re-enacted and commemorated. This greatest tragedy in human history teaches us a memorable and sublime lesson never to be forgotten, to strengthen us in our resolve to emulate His example, and to practice unswervingly those virtues of patience, perseverance and suffering, unmistakably reminding us, that without suffering there can be no redemption, restoration. Such suffering can only be borne by humble prayer, for He prayed, even on the Cross of his enemies; who persecuted Him. Prayer is the raising of our heart and mind to God, to seek His mercy and guidance. May I remind you, my Friends, Mahatma Gandhi, the author of Passive Resistance in this country as well as in India, always embarked upon his activities with prayer, placing reliance upon the infinite power, mercy and goodness of God.

In conclusion, I now call upon our genial friend and leader, Chief Luthuli, to declare this sixth Provincial Conference open.

LET US MARCH TOGETHER TO FREEDOM

Being an address given by Mr. Albert J. Lutuli,
President-General of the African National Congress,
on the occasion of the opening of the sixth Annual
Conference of The Natal Indian Congress, at Durban,
on Saturday the 21st February, 1953.

I. A Formidable Comradeship-in-arms

I am happy to have again the privilege of opening your Annual Conference. I assure you, Friends, that it gave me the greatest pleasure to respond affirmatively to your invitation; it would have pained me greatly if circumstances had ordered otherwise.

Much to the embarrassment and anger of those among the Europeans who are the arch protagonists of the white supremacy policy in the Union and who seem bent on establishing themselves as dictators over all other citizens, both black and white, the emergence in recent years, especially since 1949, of a non-European political front in the Union, has presented a formidable challenge to the realisation of their selfish and nefarious aim of gaining complete political ascendancy in the Union. On the basis of giving to all people in the Union equal opportunities for full unfettered development our non-European political front seeks to reinforce and enlarge the meagre and weak democratic forces found in the Union.

I am happy to speak to you as a living symbol of our unity-in-arms representing as I do, the African wing of our comradeship-in-arms since events in the African National Congress have placed me in a position of representing and speaking on behalf of all Africans who owe direct allegiance to or come under the sphere of influence of the African National Congress.

This assertion of solidarity and effectiveness of our alliance is no premature or extravagant claim.

The universal approbation accorded our political programme by all freedom-loving people here and in the rest of the world is encouraging evidence of our becoming an effective force; even the utterances and actions of the governing party in the Union prove it. Let me refer you to two recent instances: recently in the course of presenting and defending his notorious twin bills, the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, in rejecting the plea by the opposition to consult non-Europeans on the general unhealthy situation obtaining in the country, was forced to admit that "There was no one to consult since moderate Natives had no following". This conversely means that only the group he cannot consult with, namely ourselves, has a following and stands as an unseriously challenged political group among the non-European people.

Incidentally, what an admission of his lack of confidence in such widely publicised but bogus political frauds as Mr. S.S. Bhengu's Bantu National Congress and the Supreme Council of African Affairs, both of which we have reason to believe, enjoy the active support and guidance of the Government party! The Government's admission and fearing concern

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of our growing influence among our respective communities is shown even by the most frantic manner in which, with the saddening acquiescence of the official opposition the Government is rushing through in a most indecent haste to place on the Statute Book of the Union the two twin savage Bills to which reference has already been made. This is being done in an effort to stop the forward march of all the democratic forces in the land which present a serious challenge to undemocratic policies and laws in our country.

I am glad to note that the non-Europeans under the joint leadership of our Congresses have stood in the vanguard of the forces in the Union that have presented a determined opposition to these ferocious twin Bills so aptly described by many prominent and responsible leaders of white public opinion as "savage, brutal, barbarous, autocratic" and other synonymous epithets - a condemnation they so well deserve.

I would here like to assure the Minister of Justice that he must expect to witness continued opposition in action to these Bills even if sanity and justice in Parliament should be swallowed by reactionary mad forces which seek to plunge our beloved country into the abyss and atmosphere that characterised the unfortunate Medieval Dark Ages.

In concluding this observation on our formidable alliance, I must state that ours is not a marriage of convenience but is a political alliance based on a common, genuine regard for true democracy, and is resulting in a growing spirit of friendship between our respective communities.

This comradeship-in-arms has withstood the onslaught of Government action and propaganda which sadly enough very often is carried out by or through members of our own communities who, through ignorance and fear but worse through selfishness, assist our oppressors directly or indirectly, and thus tend to sabotage, though ineffectively, our efforts to realise freedom in our lifetime.

As further concrete proof of the vitality and efficacy of our growing comradeship one is glad to note that, notwithstanding the deliberate incitement of Africans against the Indians by some in the Government party and its agents in an open invitation to Africans to join in the diabolic cry of reactionary selfish Europeans who vainly cry "Away with the Indian", except for a few insignificant voices of assenting response to this invitation, all shades of responsible African public opinion have replied that inasmuch as Africans were never responsible for the coming of the Indians to South Africa, so they shall never be a party to efforts to expatriate them; but rather on the contrary in our desire to see peace, goodwill and progress flourish in our country, we work for the creation of a partnership in the system of governing our country as shall give all people in the Union of South Africa, regardless of their colour, race, creed or land of origin, a voice in the Government of the country, and open unfettered opportunities for their full development, each according to his or her God-given talents.

II. A Tribute To The Heroes Of Our Liberatory Movement

I desire here, on behalf of all those here and elsewhere who desire freedom for all, to pay glowing and deserving tribute to all those men and women - old and young - in our respective communities who responded so magnificently last year to our call to struggle for freedom through our non-violent, Passive Resistance Campaign.

History/...

History will undoubtedly accord them a place of honour in the annals of the progress of mankind. My remarks of appreciation and praise are directed to all and sundry who in any way contributed to the successful launching of our Struggle: the eight thousand volunteers who courted imprisonment; members of families who willingly allowed their dear ones to make the sacrifice; the hundreds of what I call our ground staff who in a humble or in an exalted position made possible an organisation which resulted in a successful launching of our Non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign.

My last word to all these various participants is: KEEP MARCHING ON TO FREEDOM WHATEVER THE COST AND SACRIFICE.

III. Open Invitation To All True South Africans To Join The Army Of Freedom

When I chose the subject "Let us march together to Freedom", I intended to say words of encouragement to those who are actively striving for "freedom for all in our country", especially along the political front, for our respective Congresses are primarily and foremost political organisations and not social or cultural bodies. But I also desired to appeal deliberately and strongly to those who, while like us love and cherish freedom, but either through fear or ignorance or a false sense of security or an honest doubt of our method of striving for freedom, are sitting on the fence or passively acquiescing in the status quo. I warn them of the great danger to their own personality of this state of indecision.

I invite them to an honest consideration and appraisal of our aims, policies and actions in the light of our situation in our country and see whether or not our policies are not the best in the interest of all in South Africa. I submit that the logic of facts in the situation as obtaining at present in the Union should cause them to see the unwisdom and the unreasonableness of their attitude of indifference or even hostility to our Congresses, an attitude which makes them in the final analysis disloyal to the best in them.

We are criticised by some as being too hasty and militant. To this accusation we plead that our experience is that since Union our representations and protestations through the so-called regular channels have been either treated with contempt by the Authorities or conveniently ignored in their efforts to ensure the supremacy of the white man.

The so-called democratic institutions given us, such as Advisory Boards, Local Councils, the Bantu Authorities, communal representation in Parliament, etc. are a gross insult to and mockery of democracy in that, whilst they were diplomatically presented as elementary steps to the attainment of democracy, they have proved in practice to be blind alleys serving mainly as a delaying tactic to ensure the prolongation of the period of white domination over blacks.

We further plead that the history of the liberation of people from man's inhumanity to man has always been through a terrific struggle involving much sacrifice and suffering on the part of the oppressed and that, therefore, the oppressed in the Union can have no cause to believe that they can attain freedom otherwise.

All over the world and through all ages, liberation has come that way. The coming into being of the great democracy of the United States of America came that way ; the birth or re-birth of great and noble ideas and ideals in Europe such as the cry of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", etc. which formed the basis of our modern conception of civic rights were won for mankind by the sacrifice and suffering of those who intensely and devoutly believed in these concepts of human rights. These men and women responded actively to the spirit of Divine Discontent in them,

Since Union we have witnessed a decided deterioration in making available to non-Whites opportunities for full development. Must we fold our hands in despair when we see our people drift to ultimate impotence and perpetual slavery ? God forbid that we should be so untrue to Africa and the cause of Freedom !

Let us set our spirit and consciences attune with the spirit of Divine Discontent that is within us, and together with freedom-loving people elsewhere serve faithfully the Cause of Freedom in the World in general, and in South Africa in particular, and so help our beloved South Africa to march honourably with the rest of the democratic world to the final liberation of all mankind.

Mr.Chairman, let me conclude my address by performing my real task which was to open your Conference and not to subject you to a long address as I have done.

I have great pleasure in declaring this sixth Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress open. Afrika ! Mayibuye !

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR. G.M. NAICKER,
PRESIDENT OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS,
AT THE OPENING OF THE 6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
HELD AT THE MADRESSA HALL, PINE STREET,
DURBAN, ON SATURDAY THE 21st DAY OF
FEBRUARY, 1953, at 2.30 P.M.

For the second time in succession Chief A.J. Lutuli has declared open our Annual Conference. When he opened the Conference in September, 1951, I, in my Presidential address, declared that his presence was an indication of the desire of the African and Indian peoples to work in close co-operation. I fully realise that co-operation among leaders of different national organisations is in itself not sufficient for the historic task that lies ahead of us, the task of ending colour oppression in the Union. It is the task of progressive Non-European leaders in South Africa to do everything in their power to unite the country's oppressed peoples for their liberation.

Unity of the oppressed people is not something reserved for academic discussion and debates; it is something living, vital and dynamic and is created in the process of united action in struggles against all the injustices that are perpetrated under the policy of segregation and apartheid.

Since our last Conference the country has witnessed the mighty united effort against unjust laws on the part of South Africa's non-White peoples. The campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws is the first major united attack on the citadel of oppression by the growing movement for liberation in South Africa. We are proud of the part played in this Campaign by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

In particular we are proud of the role played by Chief A.J. Lutuli. Chief Lutuli opened our last Conference as the newly elected President of the Natal Branch of the African National Congress. He was at the time the Chief of the Amakolwa tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve. Because of his courageous stand in the political life of this country, where courage is so often absent, Chief Lutuli has been dismissed by the Government from his Chieftainship. In reply, as it were, the African National Congress elected him to the highest post in their body. Today we welcome him as the President-General of the African National Congress.

Since our last Conference, much has happened in South Africa and abroad which must engage the attention of the delegates assembled here. I ask them to pay serious attention to the problems that face us and to discuss them objectively and dispassionately. We form an integral part of the liberation front in this country and we have to formulate our policy and act in unity with others so as to advance the cause of freedom in South Africa.

On the international plane, we form part of the great movement for peace. We are totally against all aggressive war preparations which are against the interests of the colonially oppressed and freedom loving peoples of the world.

We welcome the world-wide support we have received from people who believe in freedom and we shall at all times extend our support, in whichever way possible, to all peoples fighting oppression. The struggle against racial oppression is gaining momentum the world over and we too must play our full part in it.

In South Africa we are on the eve of a General Election, an election in which the White people will go to the polls to decide which White political Party shall rule South Africa for the succeeding five years. It is usual that at election time there is an increased political activity on the part of the Parliamentary parties. The Nationalists and the so-called United Democratic Front are already in the field to woo the White voters seeped in colour prejudices. All the Parliamentary parties, even within the United Democratic Front, are upholders of White domination; all of them accept segregation.

The Non-White people therefore, can have no faith in their policies or programmes.

The Nationalist Government has since its advent to power gone forward with its ruthless apartheid policy and to day the Union is on the verge of the establishment of a full fledged fascist police state. The Non-European peoples have not been unduly surprised at the feeble and ineffective stand in Parliament by the official Opposition, as there is no fundamental difference between them and the Government on the question of segregation. The United Party, in particular, has repeatedly done everything possible to impress upon the European electorate that it, too, believes in keeping the Non-European people "in their place." Thus the Nationalists have found no difficulty in putting through Parliament, measure after measure, attacking existing rights of the people. Since democracy is indivisible, South Africa, to-day, finds itself being threatened with the extinction of all civil liberties of the Non-White as well as the White people.

There is hardly any concrete opposition from White South Africa against the so-called Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, despite the fact that these Bills seek to destroy all vestiges of democracy in the country and to place in the hands of a Fascist clique, dictatorial and arbitrary powers never before placed in the hands of any Government of White South Africa.

While the Non-European people have been unanimous in their condemnation of these Bills, in Parliament only the Labour Party and the "Native Representatives" have expressed their opposition to the principle embodied in these measures. The United Party has demonstrated to the entire country how close it is to the Nationalists by accepting the Fascist principles of these Bills.

It is in these critical times, more than ever before, that the oppressed people of South Africa should realise the historic role they are destined to play in making South Africa a democratic country capable of taking its rightful place in the progressive world, and freeing South Africa from the grip of Fascism.

While we welcome the support and encouragement we have received from outside the borders of the Union, we must at all times clearly understand that our emancipation and freedom will come from our own efforts in South Africa. Every oppressed South African must be educated by his political leaders to have faith in himself and in the united efforts of the oppressed peoples to free himself, his people and his country. Our freedom cannot and will not come from the United Nations Organisation, India, Pakistan or any other outside source, however welcome and important their support.

Once we realise this cardinal fact, that we have to strive for our freedom in South Africa itself, then it is necessary for us to have a clear policy and programme for the achievement of our objective. The present leadership of the Natal Indian Congress, for almost fifteen years now, has consistently impressed on the Indian people that colour and racial oppression in this country will be ended only with the united struggle on the part of the Non-European people supported by those Europeans who genuinely belong to the democratic camp.

In the past year, we have been able to see our policy in action in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. While there is a growing awakening among the Non-European people for United action to end all oppression in South Africa, it would be wrong for us not to take due cognisance of the efforts of the White ruling class to sow the seeds of dissension within the ranks of the oppressed peoples.

The harder we work for unity in the ranks of the Non-White people, the quicker will we defeat those who are trying to antagonise us against each other. I want to appeal to all members of Congress to dedicate themselves anew to the great and noble cause of united action which has made such great headway during the period under review.

Members of Congress must at all times in all their actions demonstrate in no uncertain terms that they completely reject the idea of "superior and inferior races." All their day to day activities must be such that on one can accuse them of being guilty, no matter in how small a measure, no matter in how small a measure, of accepting the "herenvolk" ideology of the ruling class.

The Natal Indian Congress has embodied in its Constitution the demand for "the extension to Indians of the franchise on the common roll free from any special qualifications." This object is fundamental to all national organisations of the people. There can be no compromise on it and it becomes absolutely necessary for all Congress members in all their activities to stress the fact that only when our people have the vote without any restrictions on grounds of colour will we be able to solve the many burning problems which face us.

We can only call ourselves democrats and progressives when we believe in and fight for equal franchise rights, not only for ourselves, but for all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed.

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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