

that in the absence of a high political consciousness, a clear understanding and readiness to carry out duties, a sound co-ordination amongst members and organs of our organisation and generally efficient and smooth running organisational machinery, it is impossible to rally the people effectively for their historic task. It is therefore in the interest of our struggle that these problems should be discussed frankly and an honest and determined effort be made to solve them.

SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PROVINCES.

BRANCHES. (Youth League & Women's League).

78. Transvaal. In spite of the dispute in the Transvaal the political organisational work has not been relaxed as shown by the Provincial Conference. No less than 600 delegates, 200 of which were accredited delegates excluding 50 Africanists whose presence was merely to disrupt Conference, attended. Paid membership of the organisation exceeded that of the corresponding period 1952 when the Defiance Campaign was under way. Members came from all parts of the Province, others as far afield as the rural Areas of Zeerust, Sekhukhuniland, Pietersburg and Bethal.

79. Cape. We must compliment the Cape because the Eastern Province has become a model of organisational efficiency. The Cape Province has also suffered a setback due to internal troubles. The new Executive however is now busy attempting to consolidate its position. In addition they are penetrating into the countryside, branches have been established in the reserves, in Ciskei and Transkei.

80. O.F.S. The Province is still poorly organised; its machinery is not properly co-ordinated.

81. Natal. The busiest time for the Natal Province was during Election week, both Durban and Northern Natal Regions were very active. New branches have also been established.

82. Women's League. Everyone knows to-day that the African Women are in the front line in the struggle against passes. Their demonstrations in different parts of the country which have resulted in a number of arrests, recently no less than 2,000 have been arrested and convicted. Sentences range from 3 weeks to 4 months with an alternative of a fine from £5 - £50. We have been highly inspired with the courage and determination of our women folk. We should also point out however, that the organisational machinery leaves much to be desired especially at the National Executive level. It is hoped that this conference will do something about this.

83. Youth League. It is encouraging to note that the Youth League is now becoming a mass organisation. It has a growing number of branches in the Transvaal. Its National machinery requires strengthening.

84. Friends now that we have received the situation in the country and our organisation, the question which arises is what is to be done? The correct method assessing the progress of an organisation is the fulfilment of the tasks allocated. We should be in the state of readiness for the banning of the organisation. For more vicious onslaughts on our organisation. Therefore the following organisational tasks in addition to the political tasks already dealt with should be undertaken.

- (a) An immediate efficiency campaign on both administration and organisation be conducted by all branches. Members should

endeavour / . . .

endeavour to work according to stipulated time.

- (b) Every member must be able to give a good account of any duty assigned to him.
- (c) The tendency of giving inflated and exaggerated reports must be discontinued, as such a tendency leads to the taking of wrong decisions based on such reports.

RESPONSIBILITY.

85. All tasks of the African National Congress should be undertaken with the utmost responsibility, particularly by leading members.

No member should fail to fulfil his/her obligation if he or she has promised to carry out an undertaking.

Branches should never fail to give an account of their work to the Provincial Office.

All decisions of the African National Congress should be implemented without any delay, and reports should be furnished to the Provincial Office on how such decisions have been implemented. Branches should not be ashamed to register their failures on the implementation of any decision.

As a guide to the general membership, we suggest that all the leading members of the African National Congress throughout the country should be exemplary by undertaking to carry out these suggestions to the letter. It is considered that such an example will be a practical education to the general membership.

An educational campaign on efficiency should be conducted among the members of the African National Congress and every lesson which has been taught must put into practice so as to find out whether members are having any interest or enthusiasm in the campaign.

The best way to do it is to assign duties to some members and then check and recheck whether members so directed have carried out their undertakings with the strictest observance of time.

These suggestions will improve the efficiency of our organisation and will render members more competent and efficient in their style of work. One of the most important organizational tasks is to recruit new members. It is proposed that 120,000 new members be recruited by June, 26th, 1959.

In conclusion, therefore, sons and daughters of Africa, we wish once again to make a solemn call to conference, learning and building from our experiences, to prepare with increased vigour, for the tasks which face us in the coming year.

First and foremost our task is the building of unity within our ranks - MAXIMUM UNITY which is the only answer to increased repressions and threats against our organisation.

We must continually inspire people with their own achievements, the advancing march to freedom of the people of Africa, and their inevitable victory over Verwoerdism.

Let us go forward with confidence! Afrika!
Mayibuye!

ANNEXURE "A"

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
TO THE TRANSVAAL SPECIAL CONFERENCE.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS:

This Annual Conference of the A.N.C., Transvaal, has been convened by the National Executive Committee of the A.N.C. It is an unusual conference. Unusual, because we meet at a time when the Province has no Executive Committee and it is administered by the National Executive through an administrative committee.

Friends, the events within our organisation since the last Provincial Conference have rich lessons for us all in building the unity of our organisation. If we examine them in the correct spirit, we can draw the conclusions which will enable us to avoid past mistakes and eliminate the weaknesses which cause disunity and disputes within our organisation. Let us say from the outset that we are confident that the delegates will examine the events of the previous year not with a view to fanning and reviving old disputes, but in order to forge an invincible unity amongst us all, and to bury once and for all the issues which have weakened our organisation and dissipated its energies.

THE OCTOBER CONFERENCE.

Our Conference last year was held during one of the most memorable and eventful years. It was a year during which there was a fresh upsurge of resistance against Apartheid tyranny by the people in the towns and countryside; following the arrest of the leaders in the Treason case. The mighty demonstrations of the people at the Drill Hall, the historic bus boycott, the growing resistance of the women in the countryside against passes, deportation and removals were the signs that the unity, confidence and courage of the people had risen as never before. It was in this atmosphere of resistance that our last conference met.

Naturally, the primary task of the Conference was to gear the machinery of our Transvaal Branch to raise the resistance of the people to new heights. Numerous tasks faced the Conference. Arising from the Bus Boycott and the demand for £1 per day, Conference should have discussed the plea for recruiting 20,000 workers into the trade Unions. The Anti-pass Campaign had to be intensified. The Multi-Racial Conference and the world-wide demonstrations against Apartheid on Human Rights Day had to be considered by Conference. All these issues required the serious consideration of Conference, and the people of the Province waited eagerly for a lead from the Conference. It was, however, friends, unfortunate - gravely unfortunate - that instead of devoting its attention to these momentous tasks, Conference was pre-occupied with disputes and differences and it ended without a united Transvaal membership ready to lead the people against the tyranny of the Nationalists.

Friends, Conference is of course a place where disputes and differences should be discussed and settled. But that is not the only purpose of a Conference. Conference is expected at all times to produce something constructive and not destructive. It is supposed to produce the broad outline of the plan which must be implemented during

the ensuing year to strengthen our organisation to make effective advances against the enemy. Constructive resolutions and greater unity and solidarity are the primary features of a successful Conference. Every delegate who has the interests of our Organisation at heart can contribute to make a conference a success.

AFTER THE OCTOBER CONFERENCE:

After the October Conference a number of Branches submitted a petition to the President of the Province in which they made the following points:-

- (a) That they were dissatisfied with the manner in which the Conference was summoned in that other branches had not been informed;
- (b) That they were dissatisfied with the financial statement;
- (c) That they were dissatisfied with the manner in which Conference was conducted in that the speaker was biased; and further
- (d) That Conference did not discuss the campaigns of the Organisation;
- (e) That they were dissatisfied with the elections in that the Provincial Executive had been elected en bloc.

The petition requisitioned a Special Conference to discuss these grievances. The Provincial Executive investigated the origin of the petition, and came to the conclusion that there was very little or no support for the petition. However, it decided that a Special Conference should be convened. Those who had requisitioned the Special Conference pressed for a date before the Annual Conference and threatened to raise the matter at the Annual Conference if the Special Conference was not held. It was clear that the time of the National Conference which had to consider matters of national import would be devoted to the Transvaal issue unless a truce was sought. It was clear that no Special Conference could be called before the National Conference. Consequently a meeting was held between the Provincial Executive and representatives of the Branches which had petitioned, but no settlement was arrived at. The purpose of the meeting was to reach an agreement that the problems of the Transvaal should not be raised at the National Conference and that they should be shelved until the New Year.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

The National Conference was held in Orlando in this atmosphere of dispute in the Transvaal. For hours Conference could not begin its business, because some of the delegates from the Branches which had petitioned insisted that their grievances be discussed by the National Conference. Delegates from the other Provinces awaited with apprehension the disruption of the National Conference over an issue which they knew nothing about and which was purely local. The Conference only began its business after the Deputy President General had promised the delegates from the Branches which had petitioned that he

would write to the Provincial Executive after the Conference and find out what steps they had taken and if he failed to receive a reply from them within 21 days, he would inform the National Executive.

THE FEBRUARY CONFERENCE:

After the National Conference, the Provincial Executive fixed February the 23rd as the day of the Special Conference. The February Conference will be remembered as an unfortunate event in the history of this Province. It was a Conference whose purpose was specifically to settle the differences in our organisation and unite the people. It achieved neither of these. Instead, certain elements resorted to violence and hooliganism and disregarded completely the democratic principles of our Organisation. These acts of violence disrupted Conference and aggravated the situation.

Lawlessness and hooliganism were rampant to an extent which made it impossible for Conference to transact any business. There were assaults; the A.N.C. motor car was forcibly removed from the A.N.C. driver, who was assaulted in the process. In spite of persistent demands and for a considerable time the A.N.C. members who had robbed the Organisation of the use of this car refused to hand it back. Other acts of gross indiscipline were the removal of A.N.C. furniture and equipment from the Provincial Office. This group of individuals returned the A.N.C. property on demand.

The intervention of the National Executive in the Transvaal situation was welcomed and supported by all except one or two branches. The National Executive wishes to express its appreciation of the spirit of co-operation with which members of Congress received that intervention. This clearly demonstrated the desire for unity amongst the members and indeed it served to lay a firm basis for unity. We are called upon to consolidate that unity at this Conference, and to be at all times vigilant against the enemies of our organisation, who seek to take advantage of every sign of disunity amongst us.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCE.

The Working Committee established an Administrative Committee through which it administered the Province. The Working Committee regarded its primary task to be the restoration of unity and normal conditions in the Transvaal. To this end, it decided to prepare for the convening of a Special Conference during the month of May, 1958. However, various circumstances, including the ban on meetings, made it impossible to hold that Conference as early as was intended.

THE WORKERS' CONFERENCE AND THE STAY AT HOME:

The first issue which confronted the Working Committee was the Workers' Conference which was held a week after the National Executive had taken over. It was the task of the Administrative Committee to organise for the implementation of the decision to demonstrate during election week.

APRIL 14TH:

It is regrettable that April 14th was not the

success we expected it to be. However, it was not a total failure. Thousands of workers honoured the decision to stay at home and we can do no more than to reiterate our congratulations and appreciation of those people and branches and Workers' organisations who contributed towards this partial success by their sacrifices. The lessons of this campaign have been discussed over and over again and it is only necessary to state that the M - plan must be implemented. Some areas have already begun to implement it and we hope it will be intensified.

Following the stay-at-home campaign, 25 leaders have been convicted under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and 16 others are at present facing trial.

OTHER MASS TRIALS.

The Zeerust Trials which arose from the resistance of the people against the passes, are continuing. In Sekhukhuniland 269 people are appearing in a preparatory examination. Numerous appeals have been addressed to the Branches to assist with funds, contributions have been received but these barely meet the demands of these cases.

WOMEN'S PASSES:

This year the Government has attempted to issue passes to the women on the Reef. It has met with resistance. However, it is clear that we would have to double our efforts, strengthen our Organisation and improve our propaganda if we are to ensure a sustained struggle against the Passes. In Nigel, 7,000 women accepted passes with little or no resistance. In Springs, passes have been issued mainly to domestic servants. In Benoni, the women are resisting the issue of Passes. In Johannesburg, there is a courageous and magnificent demonstration against Passes by women; already over 2,000 have been arrested in a week. It is clear that the struggle against the Passes is sharpening.

INCREASED TAXATION:

The Government has passed an Act designed to increase taxation and extend it to women. This is yet another example of the ruthlessness of the Nationalists who have deprived the poorest section of the people of their meagre earnings. Leaflets and petitions have been distributed to Branches for the purpose of waging a relentless struggle against this cruel Act.

£1-a-DAY CAMPAIGN.

With the increase in taxation and the increase in rents and the cost of living, it has become more and more urgent that we should intensify the struggle for a minimum wage of £1.0.0d. per day. Already the Chamber of Commerce has announced that it supported an increase in wages and it is imperative that in our Branches and elsewhere we should popularise the £1.0.0d. a day demand and encourage all Congressites and members to join Trade Unions.

THE TREASON TRIAL.

The withdrawal of the indictment after the futile efforts to prune and patch it, is of great significance to the Liberatory Movement. There is some threat that this is not the end of the Trial. It is

certainly / . . .

certainly about time that Mr. C.R. Swart stopped this form of political persecution.

DISCIPLINE:

During the course of its stewardship, the National Executive had to expel Messrs. Madzunya and Leballo from the A.N.C. for their disruptive activities in the Organisation, flouting the authority and decisions of the Organisation, attacking its policy in public and advocating a new policy contrary to the official policy of the A.N.C. In this regard reference may be made to the policy statement annexed to this report, which has already been circulated to Branches.

Members of the Western Region of the Youth League who were responsible for the removal of furniture, were strongly reprimanded by the National Executive, apologised to the A.N.C. The National Executive accepts this apology and repeats the stern warning already given that conduct of this kind cannot be tolerated.

ORGANISATION AND FINANCE:

Friends, the National Executive has attempted to resolve the difficulties which existed in various branches; where it has not completed its task no doubt the incoming Executive will continue the work. However, a few observations can be made.

- (a) In many Branches the M-Plan has not yet been implemented.
- (b) Our drive for membership has not been vigorous enough.
- (c) The Branch Executives have not made reports, financial and otherwise, regularly to the office.

The Joint Executivemeetings have been of considerable assistance. We must, however, remedy the above mistakes if our organisation is to be fortified against intensified Nationalist attack.

CONCLUSION.

We have now reviewed the past and the present. We have seen the harmful effects of disputes and disunity in the People's struggle. The unity of our members is most important and is an urgent issue for this Conference. The achievement of this very unity depends largely, if not solely, on the delegates present here. To ask each and every delegate at this Conference to rise above it, this Conference to rise above all petty and personal recriminations and to deal with all issues in a political and objective manner is not too exacting a demand. Let unity be the central theme in your mandate to your leaders for the ensuing year, and let unity be the message of this Conference to our Branches.

Let us leave this Conference a United force, to meet our momentous future tasks. Let us inspire

the / . . .

the country with the leadership which is required of us and which we can surely give. Let us so handle this Conference that we can go back to the Branches carrying the report that our disputes are over and all that is left now is Organisation and Resistance against Nationalist tyranny.

1st NOVEMBER, 1958.

O.R. TAMBO
SECRETARY - GENERAL
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

NOTES FOR DELEGATES
TO THE
ALL AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
TO BE HELD IN
ACCRA, GHANA, IN DECEMBER, 1958.

OURSELVES:

1. The African National Congress was established in 1912 as a liberation organisation of the African people in the Union of South Africa. The Congress is today the premier national organisation, the undisputed leader of and spokesman for the African people in this country. Its aims and objects are to:-
 - (a) "Unite the African people in a powerful and effective instrument to secure their own complete liberation from all forms of discrimination and national oppression;
 - (b) "promote and protect the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them.
 - (c) "strive for the attainment of universal adult suffrage and the creation of a united democratic South Africa on the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter;
 - (d) "support the cause of National Liberation and the right to independence of nations in Africa and the rest of the world"
2. It will be noted from "(c)" above that the Congress aims at establishing a multi-racial society in South Africa based on a Universal adult suffrage and the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter.
3. In order to appreciate the reasons for and meaning and significance of our aims and objectives one has to know and understand the history - political, economic and social development of this country and its racial set-up. Apart from its historical development, it should also be remembered that the Union of South Africa is the only country in Africa with a very large settled White population.
4. In consequence of the recognition of this historic development our philosophy of struggle is "a democratic South Africa" embracing all, regardless of colour or race who pay undivided allegiance to South Africa and mother Africa. 1 (a) under our Objects implies our recognition of African Nationalism, but in our situation as stated above, we are progressively developing the concept of an all embracing "Africanism".
5. For the reasons stated in the preceding paragraphs the African National Congress is apprehensive of and finds it difficult to agree with the following statement contained in the "Call to Independence" :-
"This Conference will formulate and proclaim our African "Personality based on the philosophy of Pan-African Socialism as the ideology of the African non-violent revolution."
.....6.....

6. No doubt Conference will analyse and satisfy itself of what is implied in such expressions as "African personality", "Pan-African Socialism." Absolute clarity is necessary before any "formulation and proclamation". This observation gives force to the plea - a practical plea in the circumstances - we make in paragraphs 7 and 8 below.

7. It is our intention to make the Conference a great success. We should therefore bear in mind that the Conference is a meeting of representatives of national liberatory organisations and movements which hold diverse political and social theories and principles. To try to get them to adopt a common ideology and philosophy will only lend the Conference into difficulties and unpleasantness. We suggest that it should not be attempted.

8. In our considered opinion the Conference should merely attempt what is absolutely politically necessary and practical in the fight against imperialism and all forms of national oppression.

WORLD EVENTS AND AFRICA

9. The African Continent has acquired added political and international importance as a result of post-war political and social developments: the emergence of new independent African States, the growth of the peoples' struggles for freedom and independence in various countries in the Continent, and the loss of Asia as a field of investment for foreign countries.

10. It is gratifying to note that after centuries of foreign domination, humiliation and ruthless exploitation, the peoples of Africa are at long last coming into their own or finding ways to their political freedom and social and economic progress.

11. Having lost Asia as a field of investment and colonial exploitation, imperialist powers of Europe and America have now turned their attention to Africa. The hitherto "dark Continent" is to become the main area of capital investment, economic exploitation and a military base where battles of ideologies are to be fought. Africa must not be allowed to become a battlefield for the interests of foreign powers.

12. The above facts give special significance and importance to the present All African People's Conference. We therefore welcome the convening of the Conference and wholeheartedly congratulate its organisers. We should like particularly to place on record the deep appreciation of the oppressed people of South Africa of the fact that those who have already achieved their freedom and independence have not forgotten their duties and responsibilities to those who are still in chains, and to the sacred cause of African freedom and independence.

13. We note that the Conference will discuss, formulate plans and make important pronouncements on a variety of questions of vital interest to the peoples of Africa, such as :-

* COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM

** RACIALISM AND DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND PRACTICES

*** TRIBALISM AND RELIGIOUS SEPARATION

**** THE POSITION OF CHIEFTAINCY UNDER :-

(a) Colonial rule; and

(b) A free democratic society.

***** LAND TO THE AFRICANS

***** EQUAL VOTING RIGHTS FOR ALL, REGARDLESS OF RACE, TRIBE, COLOUR OR CREED

***** IMPLEMENTATION OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

***** ADJUSTMENT OF EXISTING ARTIFICIAL FRONTIERS

***** AMALGAMATION OR FEDERATION OF TERRITORIES on a regional basis

***** THE PROGRESSIVE FEDERATION OR CONFEDERATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONAL STATES GROUPINGS INTO AN ULTIMATE PAN-AFRICAN COMMONWEALTH OF FREE, INDEPENDENT UNITED STATES OF AFRICA.

14. Much as we agree with some of the problems and demands included in the long list of items for the Conference, we cannot see the wisdom in the suggested procedure. In our view the Conference should merely confine itself to formulating broad principles of fighting imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa.

15. Questions of local issues, detail programmes, policies and tactics are matters which should be left to organisations and social forces in each country to be intimately dealt with and decided upon in accordance with the concrete political situation and peculiar historical conditions, bearing in mind always that political, economic and social conditions are not the same in all countries or territories in Africa, and that, therefore, no single detail programme or policy can suit them all.

16. We should not be unmindful of the fact that some of the issues raised in the list in paragraph 13, more correctly fall under the purview of independent states or new independent states and not purely liberatory movements primarily concerned with the main goal: freedom or independence as the case may be. It is true that liberatory movements are not debarred from expressing views on these questions but certainly not at the early stage when they are trying to forge a machinery of giving form to their co-operative efforts in their struggle for freedom.

17. These questions have international implications of great, if not explosive, import. Liberatory movements must aim to capture a much goodwill in the world from people of many countries, if not from the governments of, those countries. Wisdom demands that we should handle delicately some international issues which have no direct bearing on our liberatory efforts.

18. The Conference should guard against any tendency towards self-isolation by African States and peoples from Asian States and peoples. It is our opinion that in a world setting our Conference should be part of the Bandung Conference, that it should be, as it were, a regional Conference of the Bandung Conference, and that it should be based on the ten principles of that Conference. There should be a measure of greater co-operation among the forces of freedom in Asia and Africa.

19. On the other hand, as an All-Africa Conference, our Conference should - apart from laying down the general principles of fighting imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination in the Continent - work out methods of co-operation and loose co-ordination of the struggles for genuine democracy and freedom in Africa.

20. To make this co-operation and loose co-ordination possible, it will be necessary to set up a machinery for exchanging information about the struggle and political trends in each country, and reactions to those trends. For this we strongly recommend the appointment of a secretariate, a secretariate with no pretence at executive authority.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

21. Put generally, the situation in this country is one of political domination, ruthless economic exploitation and plunder of the masses, social bars and racial discrimination: injustices, poverty, hunger, illiteracy and disease! White domination and exploitation in the Union of South Africa is of a twofold nature :-

- (a) that by foreign powers and nations; and
- (b) that by the ruling local minority.

Our electoral laws, and the enjoyment of citizenship rights, are based purely and simply on skin colour, and not on education and culture as is usually asserted by the oppressors and their apologists.

22. By way of illustration, we should like to mention a few of the injustices perpetrated against the non-White majority by the ruling White minority:-

(i) Political Rights:

23. The basic political principle and philosophy of the rulers of South Africa is that there shall be no equality between the Whites and the Blacks in Church or State. The advocates of this theory maintain that the Whites have been predestined by God to be masters over the non-Whites. To further their sinister political objectives they have adopted the policy of White baasskap (White overlordship) and apartheid, by which the 11½ million non-White inhabitants are denied any say or participation in the administration of their own country.

(ii) Freedom of Movement:

24. Passports are denied to non-Whites as a matter of national or State policy. But internally it is the pass laws and poll tax receipts that seriously interfere with the freedom of movement and liberty of the Africans, and provincial barriers with that of South Africans of Indian descent.

(iii) Land Hunger:

25. There is an acute shortage of land among African peasantry in rural areas. It is a well-known fact that only 13% of the land has been set aside for occupation by the African population of 10,000,000 as compared with 87% for the Whites who only number 3,000,000. Legally, Africans may not own, acquire, lease or occupy land outside the scheduled area without permission from the Governor-General-in-Council. Under the Group Areas Act Asians and other non-Whites have been swindled of their hard-earned properties and economically and financially ruined. All of us, Asians, Coloureds and Africans have today no security of tenure whatsoever. We are pushed from pillar to post.

(iv) Economic:

26. The economic conditions of the non-Whites are deliberately retarded and depressed by government policy. Opportunities to engage in commerce, trades and professions are denied to them, or very much restricted. Industrial colour bars operate against non-White workers, particularly against African workers who are denied the right of forming trade unions and, who are excluded from all the benefits bestowed to other workers by the country's basic industrial law: the Industrial Conciliation Act. Skilled occupations and living wages are for Whites only. In the interests of profits and the comfort of the Whites, the wages of non-White workers are kept scandalously low.

(v) Education and Cultural Advancement:

27. The theory and belief of the advocates of White baasskap and apartheid are that African progress is a threat to "Western" way of life in the Union. So, they have set themselves the difficult task of checking it at all costs. The compulsory school age for White children ensures their covering the primary school education and for a normal child the secondary school education. Higher education, including technical education, is heavily subsidized; that of non-White children is neither free, compulsory nor adequate.
28. But the position is worse in the case of African children. Not only is 70% of African children of school age not at school, but even for the 30% which goes to school, the position is vitiated by the Bantu Education Act. Under this Act African children have been cut off from the main stream of world culture by eliminating and prohibiting the teaching of all important and essential subjects, and by taking over or closing all private schools.

29. It should also be remembered that apart from two White universities which allow a limited number of non-White students, all White universities in South Africa are closed to non-Whites. Segregationists are today talking about establishing two "Bantu universities" in addition to Fort Hare University College. These "Bantu universities" are to be ethnic in nature.

(vi) Freedom of Dpeech and Assembly:

30. Nowadays practically all political and trade union meetings of Africans may be held only with the permission of the police. More often than not it is grudgingly given. In many areas, and for all practical purposes in all rural areas, meetings are prohibited.

(vii) Vicious Attacks on the People:

31. The Government has launched vicious attacks on the non-White people - Coloured, Indian and African - and their organisations. It is using unjust and discriminatory laws to suppress, ban or banish its political opponents. But the main brunt of the attacks is concentrated on the African section of the community, masses of whom have to suffer the humiliation and indignities of being arrested daily in pass, permit, tax and liquor raids to be fined, imprisoned or sold to farmers as cheap labour.

(viii) Efforts to Stem the Tide:

32. As part of its political activities in fulfilment of its programme and in an effort to stem the tide of White reaction, the Congress has formed an alliance with other democratic organisations, consisting of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. This agreement to co-operate in no way limits the independence or freedom of any of the parties to it. All are still free to pursue their political activities as before.

33. Under the leadership of the African National Congress, these organisations pledged themselves to co-operate in the struggle against oppression and injustices, and for freedom and full political, economic and social equality for all the people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed.

NOTABLE FREEDOM EFFORTS IN THE UNION

34. In pursuance of its freedom objective the African National Congress, together with other democratic organisations with which it is in alliance, has staged notable non-violent struggles for freedom. Foundation for militancy in our struggle was theoretically laid down in our "African Claims" in 1943, but was given practical consideration in 1949 in our Programme of Action.

35. Here are some of the notable dates of our practical efforts:-

- (a) 1946 - African Miners strike on the Witwatersrand.
- (b) 1950 - National Day of Protest against unjust discriminatory laws.
- (c) 1952 - The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign in which more than 10,000 volunteers took part, and over 8,000 of them went to gaol for breach of various unjust laws.
- (d) 1955 - The Campaign for the Congress of the People that formulated the Freedom Charter. The first March of the African Women, supported by other democratic women, to Pretoria to protest against the extension of the pass system to African women.
- (e) 1956 - The Second March of African and other democratic women to Pretoria in which over 20,000 women took part. Then came the mass arrests for treason in which 156 national leaders of the liberation movement were arrested and prosecuted on a charge of High Treason.
- (f) 1957 - The great Rand - Pretoria Bus Boycott, which lasted three months and caused a number of sympathy boycotts all over the country. The Stay at Home Protest. The Boycott Nationalist Products.
- (g) 1958 - The election week protest - April 14 Stay at Home. The Campaign against the issuing of passes to African women in which thousands of African women have been arrested and convicted.

36. The campaigns tabulated above were not all successful, but some of them were really a great political success. Yet they have all given us important knowledge. We have gained a wealth of experience from our successes and failures.

37. The fact that we have so far only mentioned the struggles of the past 15 years should not be interpreted or taken as indicating that the Congress did nothing very important politically till recently. Any such impression would be very far from the truth.

38. As may be noted in paragraph 1 of these notes, the African National Congress was founded some 46 years ago on the eve of the enactment of one of the most unjust and cruel laws of the Union Parliament: The Natives Land Act of 1913. So, from the very early days of its establishment, the Congress was confronted with very grave national tragedies and problems. Young as it was and considering its historical and political background, the Congress achieved wonders during the short period of 1913 to 1925.

P R E S I D E N T I A L A D D R E S S

by

ALBERT J. LUTULI

PRESIDENT - GENERAL OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

To The

46TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Of The

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

held at

DURBAN - ON DECEMBER 13 & 14, 1958.

Sons and Daughters of Afrika,

NATIONALIST RETURNED TO POWER:

We meet for our 46th Annual Conference when the fury of the Nationalist Party Government in its implementation of Apartheid shows no signs of abatement. We have no reason to expect it to be otherwise since the Nationalist Party was returned with an overwhelming majority in the General Election held early this year. Their return was not unexpected but not the near land-slide that it was. This clear mandate is a full endorsement by white South Africa of the Nationalist Party policy of baaskap apartheid.

The Nationalist Party on their part responded to this honour and trust by elevating Dr. Verwoerd to the leadership of the Party and so to the premiership of the country in succession to the late Mr. Strydom. The results of the General Election are an ominous sign for all with political eyes to see: to see the rise to mighty power of the Nationalist Party with its apartheid policy and their full entrenchment, and to see how this forebodes further oppressive laws for non-whites and a consequent further interference and curtailments of the freedom of the whites.

The whites are already experiencing this in the application of the Influx Control Regulations, the policy regarding the siting of industry and the policy and regulations governing the holding of meetings by Africans in urban areas. The truth embodied in the saying: "Freedom is indivisible" is dawning on some whites hitherto indifferent to restrictions under which non-whites, especially Africans, suffered.

The rise by Dr. Verwoerd to the Premiership of the country added to our concern but not to our surprise. Our experience of him in the Ministry of African Affairs made us most apprehensive of our future and that of the Union with Dr. Verwoerd controlling the reins of the State. Undoubtedly, he is the most ardent and relentless apostle of Apartheid determined "to keep the native in his place". He is not the type to hesitate when he deems it necessary to forcefully disabuse "the Bantu" from any pretensions to graze in the free pastures of the Union he

regards..../2

regards as the preserve of the whites only. His Bantu Education Act and Bantu Authorities Act, his amendments to existing laws such as the Urban Areas Act, the various measures governing Rural Reserves, reveal his ruthless mind and qualify him as an arch-oppressor of non-whites. It is such a man the Nationalist Party made Premier of the country. As would be expected a power-hungry man like him, he skilfully made sure in his appointment of his Cabinet that he remained unchallenged within the cabinet itself. He made the office of the Prime Minister a most vigilant nerve centre of the government than, to our knowledge, had ever been done before. No doubt, this and other arrangements not here pertinent will give him strong control of the government, his party and the country. Unfortunately, the large majority in white South Africa welcome a Prime Minister who will ensure their retention of the privileged position they hold in South Africa.

Do these whites forget that RESISTANCE is the natural reaction to DOMINATION AND FORCE ? This could not be in the best interests of the country.

PEOPLE'S RESISTANCE GROWS.

To their credit, it can be truly said that the African National Congress and other member-organisations of the Congress Alliance, together with other democratic groups like the Liberal Party and progressive political free lancers, have continued to expose without fear and to oppose most vehemently the policy of apartheid. These groups and individuals have been the watch-dogs of the nation.

On the whole the response from among the oppressed, having regard to the degree of their political education and awareness, has been encouraging and gives promise to the building of an effective MASS FREEDOM FRONT. Equally encouraging has been the manner in which many freedom lovers in the white community have come out openly and boldly to champion the cause of making the Union a true democracy for all, and not be what it is now: a democracy for whites and a police state for non-whites. There is encouraging evidence of a determined - not just sporadic - attack on apartheid from leaders of some sporting organisations, artist groups and religious leaders when hitherto it was practically all quiet in some of these sectors of the nation-community.

The growth of this spirit of opposition should make the Liberatory Movement redouble its efforts to build a Democratic United Front against the apartheid front. Something more will be said later in the address on this important freedom front.

The courage and determination of some of the freedom fighters has been marvellous and seems to have risen in proportion to the severity of the tyrannical application of any apartheid laws; indeed, their courage has been true to the hymn-words "Let Courage Rise with Danger." In this connection let us refer very briefly to some Freedom struggle activities of the year that deserve special note and appreciation.

THE TREASON CASE: The Treason Trialists have shown admirable fortitude in their crucial testing time as front-line volunteers in the freedom struggle; and so have their families and dependents.

Let me here thank warmly all those, here and overseas, who have spared no effort to raise funds to provide the accused with the most capable defence team and helped to a most appreciable measure to relieve the accused and dependents of much physical suffering and

mental anxiety. The treason case has dominated the political scene in South Africa and has provided an effective political rallying point. It has helped, not only to make the African National Congress more widely known and recognised as a political force in the country, but has directly and indirectly helped to spread the Congress spirit of opposition to apartheid. The Treason Trial has provided another instance of "good out of evil".

We regret its tortuous progress which has been punctuated intermittently by many adjournments. The African National Congress joins the voices that have urged the Government, as an act of manliness and honour, to abandon this case.

THE OPPOSITION TO THE ISSUE OF REFERENCE BOOKS TO AFRICAN WOMEN.

Magnificent effective mass demonstrations were staged in different parts of the country. As a result of these protests and demonstrations some women have been victims of police arrest and quite unnecessarily police brutality. We say BRAVO! to those African women who in any way showed their courageous opposition to the pass system which is responsible for so much suffering among Africans. During any one year thousands of African people are arrested and introduced to jail life through the operation of pass laws. To many, this introduction has proved to be the beginning of a most destructive life of crime.

THE CONGRESSES AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

The voteless non-whites, as an important third political force in the country, made an effort to intervene in the General election held early this year. Protest week activities despite the setback suffered by the Stay-at Home efforts of non-white workers, were a successful gate-crashing for the first time into a white general election hitherto erroneously regarded by the non-whites as not of their concern but of whites only. By this attitude the non-whites showed a lack of appreciation of the truth in the words: "South African Affairs are African Affairs." It must be so since Africans, by their labours and services, impinge on all sectors and aspects of South African life.

The combined frantic efforts to smash the demonstration were made by the government, the white employers' agencies and thenon-white ill-assortment of despicable corroborators. This unholy alliance showed up as nothing could, the importance of this form of demonstration. That some thing was done in the face of such terrific opposition, no matter how feebly, should be a source of gratification to the leaders of the non-white workers.

On the positive side the demonstration-protest helped to highlight the pecuniary plight of non-white workers whose wages, it is admitted, are on starvation level. Some employers are forestalling workers' demands by making puny shameful increases out of tune with the realities of the facts of the situation. This is undermining the workers' demands for a minimum wage of £1 a day for unskilled African workers. I fear that the workers, since protest week, have been losing the initiative. The Congresses should endeavour to their utmost to give effective lead to workers in their demand for a living wage in this matter.

FURTHER INCREASES IN TAXATION FOR AFRICANS.

Parliament met in June shortly after the General Election. True to its now regular feature and practice Parliament produced and placed on the Statute Book more oppressive apartheid measures; the

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FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN 1954-1963

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