3/11/58.

CAN HATIONAL CONGRESS: T annual conference of t Transvaal ANC was held in t Orlando Communal Hall on November 1 and 2. I attended t entire conference - for t REM. I set out all relevant details, in chronological order.

Most speeches were either in English or were translated from t vernacular. It was obviously impossible for me to understand t vernacular, although, wherever possible, I tried to get people around me to tell me what was happening. In several cases of translation, I had diffie culty in following what was said.

On Saturday, Nov. 1, I arrived at t meeting-place at about 1.30 pm. Thall - which would be able to seat 800 to 1000 people on benches - is set in t middle of an iron enclosure, with t main gate leading to t main road. T muchanness fence is about 20 to 40 yds from t hall, forming a rectangle around it.

x I had been told tt t conference began at 1.0 pm. When I arrived, there were about 50 people - singing and dancing. At about 2.15pm, Hkobi and Tabbo arrived. T official agends for t conference - which was not circulated to delegates - was as follows: 2.0 Official opening. 2.10 presidential address. 3. adjournment. 3.15 Roll call. 3.25 election of sub-committees. 3.30 Executive report and financial statement. 4.30 Election of exec. committee. Sunday: 0.30 passes and tax (representatives of t women who were arrested). El a day campaign. Trade Unions.

At 3.10 pm, t conference began. Tembo stood up on t platform, and said: "I have been asked by t national exec. to preside at this conference. I am usking tt announcement so tt no-one should at any stage ask who is introducing tt man. There is no programme at t moment - we will try to let yo have one at a later stage.

I would also like to say: it has been made to appear tt we are going to have a rowdy, violent com"erence." (lapsed into vernacular here).

Then followed t singing of t anthem, and a long more prayer (in t vern.) Koxx At this stage, t people on t platform were Luthuli, Tambo, Ekobi, James Hadebe and about 2 others I did not know. For t rest of t conference, those on t platform were usually t same, except tt Putini and Nzo were also there at times.

Tambo continued: "This is an open **z** session to which all and sundry are welcome, whether they are members or not, friends or foe, whether they are concerned about our affairs or indifferent. At a later style, it will be a closed session.

"In a sense we are fortunate in coming together today - it falls in t middle of a vicious struggle. Nobody knows what t ultimate results will be. TANC has never reckoned on results - for us, there is only one result, and tt is, t victory in t struggle. It is fortunate we meet today because whatever happens we will remember tt we are meeting in t middle of a battle.

"We have attempted to come together in t past and we have not abayar been successful. Sometimes because we have been able to make no progress towards freedom. At other times we could not come together because those who have power over us would not allow us to meet. But let it not be said again tt t reason why we have not **Example Source** anything is because we are incapable of doing it.

"We have come together today to achieve something. I want to ask this of you. As chairman or speaker I should like to see an opportunity given to everyone to do what he has come here to do. I want to proceed on t assumption tt everybody is going to act honestly and to help t organisation."

is then called on luthuli to give t presidential address.

(NE At this stage, about 600 people in t hall - had been steadily dribblin in. This no. was t high water mark for t day).

Luthuli: "I want to sake one or two observations which are quite relevent to t conference. T first point is: normally I should be saying tt I accept t honour of being t guest speaker - but I am not in tt capacity today. We from national headquarters are here in quite enother capacity. Events tt have made us here to be on t platform cannot be described as giving us joy.

"Normally, t man who is Tvl president should be here - I need not relate t sed story of why national had to come into t Transveal. But although I cannot say at t beginning tt I have been honoured to be here, I shall be able to say that i end of t meeting. I anticipate results which will make me say thank you. "I too shall try to assist conference in whichever way I can as t leader

"Another observation I would like to make prises from my reading of t Bantu World, It was suggested in t BW tt there were several candidates for election who were standing for election. It is t right of any public organ to tell t community what people areaspiring for. I paper too has a right, if it favours certain candidates, to push them up. T only point I wish to point out which is xeenwhat somewhat misplaced in t article I read is tt when t article suggested tt my executive was interested in certain candidates. I would like to disabuse, here and now, any such thogiths. T national exec. cannot put up any candidate at provincial level. What we are interested in from t national point of view is tt t Transvaal should be able democratically to elect a Transvaal exec. In t mational exec. there are of course members of t Transval executive. These men and women have a right of up aspire to t leadership of t Fransvaal. But t fact tt certain exec. members aspire to leadership does not mean tt t national exec. sponsors their aspirations. T national exec. comes here as impartial mediators."

Luthuli then proceeded to his address. T theme was "T meaning and challenge of Mationalit rule." This speech ended at 4.45 pm.

Taubo rose again. He main thanked t Chief for t speech and said: have no doubt delegates may wish to comment on what has been said. There 112 will be limited discussion - about 4 speakers. When we have elected a new president and he opens our next conference then will be t time for full discussion.

1) T discussion began with 2ak Mathopeng. He said: "T national presid nt made a very interesting speech and he made a very interesting speech and comment briefly. I want to comment on this issue of multi-racialism. Frankly and homestly, if t president is sincere, he will realise tt t Mare can buigocomperation it idean inton been a supersession to feggeressor. send & efficienty there is the presenting as doin del into 2 group

Tambo: "I should like tox ask tt t comments on t presidential address should not carry any suggestion of insincer/ity on t part of t president.

Mathopeng: "I am sorry if you read tt into my remarks. I withdraw it. As long as there is a différence of interests, you cannot bring together t two peoples. T people who are oppressed are t African people and t gravity of t struggle is on their shoulders. They are fighting for their land Afrika."

(this statement was greeted by a concerted shout of support, foot-stampings and crieg of Afrika! It was clear tt was about 100 Africanists were present, standing and sitting at t back of t audience. Many of them carried long, heavy sticks. From this stage onwards, whenever an Africanist speaker spoke, t group gave him loud and prolonged vocal support).

He continued: "Let us cease to deceive t people tt they can get friendmin ship from t Whites - they are oppressors. (shouts) Africa is for t Africans and t Whites must go back to Europe." (loud shouts. Byort Altho he started quively, by t end of his speech, Mathopeng had worked themse himself into a near frenzy and was shouting at t top of his voice. At the end.

Tambo: "I mshould like to metric comment to you an experience I had. Standing here in front of you, I am capable of mistakes. There is t possibility tt you also will make mistakes. I should like to thank Mr Mathopeng for t apology he made. He was making respect not to me but to t conference. I feel happy when I see it. I hope we shall endeavour to follow his example."

2) Maine: "T key-note of his address was unity and t reformation of t Twl. Personally, I had no quarrel with tt. Iam all out for unity, but there must be some specific basis for tt unity - there cannot be unity only in writing. This hand conference should be given an opportunity to state their views and to weigh their convictions. I want to declare tt there is nothing like a marrow mationalism. (PS I am not too certain whether I recorded this last sentence correctly). We have learnt history with understanding - people all over t world have struggled for independen ence and it was based on nationalism. I stand for African mationalism (shouts). At t same time I stand for democracy. I believe we must enter into alliances but because of our numbers we must play a dominant fole. Democracy in its marrowser sense is rule of t majority. Africans in this country are int majority and must rule (PS He sold these two sentences, but I don't think he knew just what he was saying). Africans do not want to rule others. B t this country is ours and whether we die or not, this country is ours (shouts). This conference will be successful only if if we deverybody a chance to express themselves. We do not know who is wars wrong -axt we must listen to them." (shouts - not too loud).

Tambo: "You must not misunderstand Mr Msima. There are 600 of up here - it does not mean all must speak today.

3) Ramokadi (spelling?): "We have gathered from all corners of t Tvl. We have come to see t ways and means of seeing t building of a new Africa. And tt is through democracy. We shall never discriminate on race - our policy is democracy and christianity. (NB There was an uproar at this stage - it was difficult to decide from where it was coming or max what

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was causing it. Then someone jumped up and should: "We have come to a political meeting not to a church.")

Tambo: "We must permit t one who wants to talk to do so." (This statement followed by another series of interruptions - there was simply a general unrest. Then t next speaker ros, and things quietened down again).

Motsele: "We have listened here to a presidential address concerning t problem. This report contains matters of grave importance. There must be cooperation while we are fighting apartheid. I want t African people to be united so to they can push out of t way x those who oppose them. (shouts) I want to state to t presidential address which has been given today should not be given to an oppressed people but to t oppressor. T presidential address can be given to us when we are have freedom. It has never happened in t history of mankind to t oppressor has cooperated with t one who is oppressed. (NB By tistage, he was screaming at top of his voice. There was also a constant background of shouts of support from t African people aims and to leave t white people alone - they can look after themselves. (shouts). They came into Africa to oppress us. Our business is to overthrow them. Wermone cannot accept t minority who come to us when they appeal to all t African here to stand togkether - whether they are left or appeal to all t Africans here to stand togkether - whether they are left or appeal to all t Africans here to stand togkether - whether they are left or

4) Taele: "T chairman has t right to see tt discussions do not become repititious and tedious. Every speaker has said exactly t same thing. I know t Chief's feeling. Cooperation is a fundamental ag aspect of human life so let us rule out t repetition."

Tambo: "I do not think t speakers were repeating ximux themselves."

Ex 5) Judith Matee: "During t presidentail deliberations, he touched a upont t point tt a leader would arise and point out t way of liberation. But tt leader is found missing in t way he is pointing to people to follow. T slogan: Africa for t Africans - for a long period we have heard t slogan - but those people arenot there to lead t people. (abouts of Mayibuye - from t leadership supporters). I stand for unity and minor solidarity broadly. I stand for Africa for all (shouts of Mayibuye and Afrika from t opposing camps. Incidentally, t 2 sides, generally stuck to one slogant t Africanists to Afrika, and t others to Mayibuye). Let us all units with t whites and wipe out t word anotheid. We must liberate t Whites from apartheid and show them t way to democracy. Women are carrying passes today because you men went and carried passes. Before we reach liberation, it xi will be t duty of all men to destroy their passes."

6) Sobukwe: (he spoke in Sotho and was hadly interpreted. I had t utmost difficulty in making out what was said, so t following is more a series of points than anything else). "Let us listen to each others point of viewwe shall disagree as we go along. T president tore nationalism left, right and centre. He said we are going back to tribelism. But we are wearing European clothes and we will not go back to tribelism. When we speak of nationalism, there is no point of connection with tribelism. When t ANC was born in 1912, t Zulu nation and other tribes were completely buried. No one today says 2 I am a Zulu, a Sotho, etc. We all say we are Africans. Nationalism has made us say this, and this is far from tribalism. It is tt nationalism which will carry us forward. We are against nobody. We demand freedom and we will go by stages, if necessary. I here and now declare tit Nationalist Party is not t only oppressor of t African. Even before 1948 we were oppressed. We are against White domination and oppression. There will be no justice if no democracy. We cannot afford to forget our history (he referred to various tribal wars) - we cannot pretend tt this did not happen. This is an African land. We were born here. This is our national heritage. After is freedom, whoever will stay will enjoy human rights. There will be no bags here. (shouts of Afrika). Other nationalists will respect us when we are a united group."

7) & 8) Two speakers followed. Both were pro-leadership as far as I could make out. Difficulties of recording prevented me noting their words. In anyevent, it was of little import. T second one did , however, say this: "T role of t African people is to educate those poor Whites who do not know how to live in a multi-racial society. T people who oppose a multi-racial EA are in fact carrying out t m very apartheid policy of t Nationalist Pa_rty government."

James Main Hadebe rose to speak. Medzunya, however, said tt he wanted to speak first. At this, there were shouts of Afrika.

Tambo: "Wr Madzunys has had hishand up for a long time. I do not want to create a precedent, but at t same time I do not want to create t impression of not wanting him to speak. This conference is open to all. I am going to exercise my discretion and I do not want anybody to say tt I am creating a precedent. I shall ask Mr M. to do me this favours because I am departing from t course I mk have already indicated. - to speak for exactly 3 minutes. It is a special favour."

9) Madzunya: "Fellow-Africans who are slaves in their own country, t country given them by G-d. All of us who are here are all oppressed - but we are being asked to fight against oppression. Thisx oppression which we are fighting against has been brought by a foreign people. I say tt every human being been given portion of t human globe by G-d. This recognized by all great philosophers - Marx, Lenin, Engels, Trotsky. They say to destroy ask me when I am struggling, to cooperate with elements of t oppressor. - tt I can't do. T Englishman can't say England is for every-body. Russians also can't. TT is why when Germans attacked Russia, Stalin atisty said: defend fatherland, We recognises Africa for t Africans, Africans for Humanity, Humanity for G-dig. Nationalism doesn't mean what colour you are. But you must not recognize t country from which you are. In SA there cannot be an inch given to a man who recognizes t country of his origin." (NE All this g screamed at t xe top of his voice, together with arm-wavings and gesticulations. T language is his most own. Throughout, he was backed up by t Africanists, and t end of his speech was greeted by hearty applause.)

Tambo: "I must thank t last speaker for honouring t agreement between us" (NB Madzunya had spoken for about 4 to 5 minutes).

10) James Hadebe: "T president spoke at length about tmenace called apartheid - t word which has made SA a stinking name throughout t world. How did apartheid come about? - it is t baby of fear and hatred...... Nobody is isolated from t whole world." (NE Here he was interrupted by shouts from t Africanists. But screene started a song, and all joined in.

After a minute or so, Tambo rose and said tt Luthuli would reply to t debate - this was at 6.35 pm.

Eluthuli: "I was happy to hear different points of view. Obviously, I cannot agree with all tt has been said. So I do not wish to speak on tt aspect. As far as possible, I want to remain neutral and to guide conference. I presented my address which I thought would be current Congress' policy, as a democrat. I realise t even within Congress there may be different points of view. But t debate has stressed tt we need more political education among ourselves - discussion such as we have had today, but in a quieter atmosphere."

(NE Unfortunately, I missed t last few minutes of his speech, but Matthew Nkoana told me later tt he had simply restated what he started saying, and tt nothing new emerged).

At 6.45, all those in t hall were sent to t back of t hall. Lists of delegations were handed in, where this had not deready been done, and t delegation name was called out, together with t numes of delegates. T delegates were then allowed to go t front of t hall, and were scated there Tambo, assisted by Putini, Nkobi and others did t calling out of names, et I tried to keep track of t names of t branches, t no. allotted to each, and t no. which actually came forward. This, however, proved an almost impossible task. In max many cases, t number of delegates did not correspond with t allotted number. Also, I had great difficulty in making out t names of t branches - Afrikaans place-names spoken with an African accent sound fantastic! In any event, I set out below, t branches present each one being on a separate line. I indicate t divergences where applicable. Where t actual no. of delegates was present, I add t word "yes". Where not, I state t position.

Volksrust 3 yes Western Native Township, No 1. 2 yes Mapete 5 yes Alexandra no 6 YOB 7 yes Newclare Dube 7 yes Molapi 9 A.a. Kwa tema yes ? (i.e. branch name indecipherable) 3 yes Payneville 8 yes Lorolo 2 yes Mzinhlope 3 yes Jabavu 9 yes Mofole North 4 yes Alex no 1 2 yes

Orlando East 6 names were read out (G. Hache, N. Putini, Maduna, N. Molapo, Mahlangu, Q. Molapo). 5 came forward. Tambo said: "Itx is understgood tt Orlando East has two delegations. I shall make notes of t others." (NB He went to fetch a note-book, came back and duly recorded t position.) 2xais Phomolong: 4 yes Lady Selborne 4 yes (S. Mandela, Mangisa, Dr Taele, J. Tsele). Alex. no 2 2 yes ? no.? none. Sophiatown 7 yes (included Mahopo, Segule, Ramugale, Kosi, Mali, Mbuli (was present in afternoon, but not now)). Central 7 yes Starright on an allow white Taubo: "We have two delegations from Western Native Township - in each the there are 10 delegates..." (lapsed into vernacular). "Also, an ANC Alex. branch.X - 10 people." 3 2 yes a second provide the second state of the state allowing the Elizabeth as the Tambo announced tt he would first call out t branches already on t list. Grom now on, no names of delegates were called wout. Only t branch, and t number of delegates.) Alex, no 3 5 (all absent ?) Hamersford 1 none Pitane 10 none Bank 1 none Alberton 1 none Robinson 10 none Eastern Native Township 2 yes Koster 20 none Rustenburg 4 (absent ?) Evaton 4 yes van der Bijl Park 7 none 7 10 none where Dhlemini 1 yes is iskraal 10 none ? 6 none West Reef 5 none ? 2 none ? 5 none 7 1 none Tikkiedraai (?) 10 (8 yes) ? 10 (all present ?) Frugersdorp 2 yes Jabavu Western Centre (?) 4 (1 yes) 7 3 (1 yes) Roomanskop (?) no.? n Natalspruit no.? none P.P. Hust 9 none none 7 no.? none 2 none 7 8 none

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Ermelo 5 none ? 1 none Elandshoop 2 none. Heidelberg 4 none Meadowlands 10 (8 yes) Westonaria 2 none Winfontein 2 none Winterskop(?) 4 none Tladi (?) 4 (2 yes) ? 2 yes Benoni 5 none Roodepoort 1 none Zwartruggens 7 none Phafeni 2 yes Driefontein Newstands Four other branches

only t branch name called. No numbers of dele gate There were no delegates from any.

WER

? 1 yes.

Standerton 2 yes.

(NE Above list by no means claimed to be wholly inaccurate - all t omissions apart.)

Tambo usde an announcement in vernacular which I was told/about t dis-

Then he said: "There is another delegation from Newclare. Who is t leader? (NB I think this referred to Newclare South). I understand there are 11 delegates. I have made a note of it - it is one of our headaches." "There are also **ford** people from ins Moroka (or Moroka West?), but I understand there are only 18 members in t branch."

At 8.45pm, t meeting continued. At this stage, about 130 people - t accepted delegates-were sitting together to t left of t platform. About 200 others sat on t right of t platform. T Africanist disputed delegations were in this group.

Tambo said: "We know more or less where we stand. I know where my problems are and I want to tackle them tonight if I can. On my left there are delegates from various branches. In t case of t delegates from Orlando East, there is a problem tt I will sort out tonight - tt there is another delegation from Orlando East. Another problem is tt in one of two cases we have more delegates from a branch than they entitled to. For example, She Dhlamini has two instead of one. At t back, we have people, all are members of t ANC, some may be not. But they have not created any problem at all. T only complaint is tt they have been disciplined and have behaved in an exemplary manner. It is good to have members of t organisation at t conference being behaved about things and listening to what is said. "Some of t presents will have bad dreams. I know many of them came to photograph you in a fight, and they have gone home with their cameras empty. "To my right, we have several headaches. I do not know which is t proper delegation from Orlando Fast, Western Native Township and Newclare.

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"We shall have to decide with everybody's cooperation which is t proper delegation. There can only be one. There may or there may not be members. It may be tt some aximum members do not represent any branches. It may be tt they do not even come from branches. I do not know - will have to sort all tt out. But what I want to ask everybody here - we must help each other - nothing will come right if we do not. "T sorting out of t problem can be done tomorrow, but if feasible and

practicable, we should like to go as far as possible this evening so as to leave tomorrow free. I will not be bound by your views, but can anyone help me out in this matter?"

1) Elonzi suggested a special committee to go into t matter while conference continued to sit, and to report t next day.

2) A woman - from t non-delegates side - supported t idea, but said tt t committee should be elected and not appointed by t chair.

3) Taele: "We have come to discuss t affairs of t counsittee, but I want to xnocest oppose an adjournment, and suggest a committee be appointed to sit with t similarizatives assistance of t administrative counsittee."

4) An Africanist (name unknown to me): "Instead of retrogressing t progress of this conference, we should have a committee to go into our grisvances."

5) A woman spoke in t vernacular.

6) Luthuli: "personally, I am quite used to all-night sittings and if delegates wished to remain all night, I would not stand in their way at all. If Mr Chairman, you feel tt t delegates on t left const tute t conference, you can take a vote, provided tt you are satisfied with these delegates."

7) Africanist: (on apoint of order): "Here is t president general - from NE Natal - suggesting tt t watter be left to t leadership. I think t president-general is out of order." (kaughet (laughter).

8) Leballo: "There are certain delegations here like Alexandra and Newclar " (NE He began to argue t merits of t case - choked off by Tambo pointing this out - he Leballo tried to continue - choked off again - Leballo tried again.) interrupted by Taele, on a point of order: "We are not dealing wit t merits.")

9) Molutsi: "We will not have a properly-constituted conference until t question of t delegations has been solved."

Several speakers came after this - I did not record - either because they spoke in t vernacular, or because they said nothing of interest. Also, by this time, I was damably tired. I also did not want to attract too much attention to myself, by appearing to take down every single word tt everybody spoke.) At 9.35 pm, xx Tambo spoke again. He said: "Where a vote has to be taken at this stage - to elect a credentials committee, etc - it has to be taken by those delegates who are recognised, if they constitute a quorum. T delegates on t left from t affected branches are also concerned." He told t members of t Newclare, Orlando East and Western Native Township branches toxxxix withdraw to t right hand side. Also t Maxi Dhlamini delegation. (NE Earlier t "loyal" delegates from these branches had been seated on t left. It was these people who were told to move to t right. This they did without a mursur. T Dhlamini branch was minor - it did not come into t conflict, being purely administrative.)

10) Medzunya challenged t right of t other Alex, delegates to vote.

Tambo replied: "T point about tt branch is (NB i.e. t ANC Alex branch t Madzunya crowd) is tt there is a query about t members of tt branch. You, will be given an opportunity to explain t position to t credentials committe

11) Madzunya: "I cannot agree to mAy monkey-trick which has been carried out year after year. No further, no further. Year after year, discussing about Alexandra. I say - no further. There is only one Alexandra branch t others are splinter branches who simply say yes. T conference of last year made a decision about Alexandra and you must stick it. I cannot stand monkey-tricks anymore."

12) One of t delegates on t left said tt t chair had been insulted. At this, confused shouts from all over.

13) Tabbo tried to speak. He was interrupted by Madzunya, who was screaming. He was completely incoherent, so tt although I was sitting quite near him, I was unable to make out a single word he said.

14) One of those on t right: "Normally, branches must report to a credenxtai tiels committee. I do not know why tt was not done."

15) Luthuli said something about "there are certain things a conference must do." (sorry, but his remarks were rathers iname).

At 10.20 pm, Tambo called for nominations ins for t credentials committee from delegates. (NE Atthis, interruptions from all over, especially t right. But he continued, nevertheless.) "T office will be represented by Mr Nkobi and Mr Nzo - they have t records of branches. I call for 3 nominations." (interruptions again - this had now developed into a constant thing, with t noise merely swelling to a higher pitch whenever Tambo made a fresh announcement.) Segale was nominated, but declined inmediately. Tambo called to Sobukwe to assist in t counting, and he came forward straight away.

16) An Africanist: "T people on t other side toe t line, and if t whole credentials committee f comes from tt side it will be bissed."

17) Madzunya: "What will you do if this house refuses to cooperate with your credentials committee?" (this screamed against a background of general disorder and confused shouting from all over).

Let me attempt to explain t situation at this stage, and what transpired from now on: People all over t hall were shouting and arguing. People kept jumping to their feet to shout soemthing. Sometimes one person was on his feet, sometimes several at a time. Madzunya kept popping up, screauing something intrik Unintelligible, sitting down and then doing t same again. Through all this, Tambo, calmiy proceeded with t calling of names and delegates put up their hands. There was a certain amount of disturbance from t delegates' side, but t bulk of it came from t right. Sobukwe was busy counting hands. After a couple of votes had been cast is was not more than about 2 or 3 - Madaunya stood up to shout again. Bob turned to apparenetly in an effort to quisten him. Madzunya, however, should momething at him, and within a moment, there was complete and utter bedlam. A crowd of people surged towrads Bob, and tried to pull him back. Everybody - as it seemed to me - was on their feet, and t hall was in wild disorder. I was certain tt a fight was about to begin. A group of 6 blanketed characters - "Russians?? - who had been sitting at t front of t people on t right, jumped up and ren to t be front door of t hall. (a few minutes later, I saw them skulking at t back of t hall, outside - i.e. at t door leading to t stage at t back of t hall.). In any event, feeling distinctly apprehensive, I retreated to t side door at t right of t platfor I want into t adjoining kitchen for a minute or so, and then came back into t hall. It was still in wild disorder. I climbed onto a chair at t door so as to have a better view of t proceedings. Someone - in t thick of t Africanist mob - pointed at me, and with a decidely unfriendly look on his face, pointed his finger at me and screamed; "Wet out! Get out!" I left again, bumped into t carataker and he rangestadoms escorted me round t side of t building to t front door. where

There I found Mathopeng, Sobukwe and about 3 to 4 other Africanists. They told me tt they had come outside because t atmosphere inside was too "tense" They went inside after about 5 minutes, and I followed them. By now, things had quistened down again, and Luthuli was speaking in t vernecular.

I spoke to t "Post " photographer. He told us he had tried to take pics of t proceedings, but two of t laadership people had threatened to assault him.. He advised us to leave. A few minutes after this, writers someone unknown to me, although I think he was an Africanist, rushed up to me and said: "Go peacefully now. We do not want to hurt you." This time I left for keeps - this was at about 11 pm. T first shouting and disturn bance had begun at 10.40 pm.

Not having a car, I had perforce to go to t Special Branch fellows across t road, and ask for their protection. They took me into their car, fed me with eighrettes, and at 11.40 pm, when t conference ended, drove me to my flat door.

T next day, I learnit - from a number of sources, each of which added to my information - tt after my forced departure t previous night, t election of t credentials committee continued, despite t undiminished opposition of t Africanists. Apparenently, however, there were no further disturbances. After t elections were completed, conference adjourned until Sunday, 9 am. I learned tt X Shope had taken Nzo's place on t committee. I was unable to learn t reasons for this. Nkobi was a member. T elected persons were: Magome and Modisane (from Randfontein). I was unable to learn t name of t third elected person.

Tambo, on t Sunday morning, told me tt on t previous night, he had heard tt a group of people wished to assault t Whites at t meeting. I was t only one there, and he had tried to get a message to me, to tell me to leave.

On t Sunday, I arrived at t hall at about 11.30 am. A crowd of about 400/460 was standing in front of t hall. T Africanists - still about 100 strong - were standing to one side (I have included them in t number 1st stated). I walked round to t back of t hall. Behind, under t trees, was a group of about 130 men, all of whom, as far as I could see, were bearing weapons of some kind - truncheons, lengths of wood, sticks, and lengths of iron. I saw David Mahopo among them, so I walked up to say hello. T men were standing around in little groups, and my purely subjective impression was tt they were being briefed. As I walked up, Mohopo waved me away, muttering something about being busy.

Lebello told me tt earlier tt morning, he, Madzunya and Molutsi had hed discussions with Tambo in an attempt to effect a compromise. T Africanist had not, however, been prepared to accept t credentials committee, had sed so flatly, and t discussions had come to nought. (NB This is what Lebello told me - I was unable to check its truth).

I also learned - from sundry sources, including Futini, Legwate and Leballo - tt t credentials committee had sat during t morning. Just when they began and ended, no-one secured to know. In t case of Western Hative Township's two delegations, a compromise had been effected, and five delegates from each side had been accepted, instead of t 22 10 from each side. Newclare (Africanist side) and Newclare South had been disqualified. After this, Orlando East and Alex. did not present themselves to t committee, as they felt they would stand no chance. (quote Leballo and Legwate).

Outside t hall, things meer were quist, but very, very tense.

Shortly before 12.30pm, everybody went into t hall. Me too. There were announcements - all in t vernacular - but I was told tt these dealt with t procedure to be followed for t rest of t day. At about 12.45, everybody left t hall again. I strolled out through t back way, and found **Example safe** aread guards (with sticks, ste) all over t place. One was stationed in t door next to t stage. Outside t kitchen, another was sitting outside a room leading to t stage. At t two entrances to t bricked-in back ensclosure, **Means** were 2 to 3 guards at each entrance. And a couple more were standing around inside t enclosure **Means** itself. Incidentally, t guard outside t stage-door called me a "bloody White bastard", and in no uncertain terms told me what he would like to do to me if I didn't get t hell out of t place. (I know him as a pro-leadership man from Alex.). Later, I complained to Putini about this, and he took me back to t fellow, who apologized - I think he was drunk. I did t rounds of t various guards in t enclosure, introducing myself as best I

could . They all seemed quite a crew of cut throats.

Shortly before 12.45, Tambo and others stood on t steps of t hall, and t delegates already recognized were called into t hall. As far as I was able to ascertain, (because they spoke in t vernecular) t name of each branch was called out, and t delegates then entered t hall. I was told tt there were about 200 satisfies delegates - this was told me later in t day by Putini.

T last of t delegates were admitted at about 1 pm. Tambo then accesting to t effect tt: "I would let you in as well if I trusted you." (NB This is Legwate's translation - he was standing mext to me at t time) - his word were addressed to all those outside. Besides t Africanists - still about 100 strong - some 200 to 300 others were left.

T Africanists moved off, and went to hold their own meeting several hundreds yards away. They were out of sound and practically out of sight of t hall. During t course of t afternoon, I was kept informed of their doings by Legwate and Mkoana. Both told me tt t Africanists had decided to break with t ANC, and tt they would not be returning.

Exacting and just sitting. Now and again, someone energed from t hell, and I spoke to Putini several times. Always non-committal, however. Now and again, one could hear clapping from inside t hall.

At a few minutes after 5 pm, a group of about 22 25 to 30 Africanists approached t hall. They did not enter t grounds, but stood at t fence. People who had been at t front of t hall tended to move round to t side so as to watch t Africanists, who were also on t side. About 80 -100 gathered in this way.

Excent told me tt t Africanists had decided to break and tt they had sent two measangers with their letter addressed to t chairman of conference. I am not too sure what happened at this stage. It seems tt, however, tt t two measangers came into t grounds, but were not permitted to go to t front door of t hall. On t other hand, they m ght have gone to t door, and been refused entry. (sorry, but it was extremely difficult to make out what was happening.). In any event, after a short while, t 2 measangers came back. They went to t door, were refused admittance, and a scuffle developed. I had stationed myself about 15 yds in front of t door, with t main gate of t grounds about 15 yds immediately behind me. I saw t scuffle, and one of t leadership types seemed to pull something from his pocket. T next thing was tt one of t Africanist measangers was running for dear life, with about 80 people close on his heels. He came straight towards me, heading for t gate, and I am afraid I cannot say what happened during t next few minutes as I left in a hurry, and did not stop till I was in t RDM car, and safe on t other side of t road. I then saw t Africanist on t outside of t fence, and walking away from t hall. I do not know what happened to t o ther measanger.

Nkoans told me later tt t messengers had been told by one of t officials outside tt they could go into t hall to deliver their latter. At t door, however, they had been told to leave, and t scuffle had then started. T latter had been taken away from them. He said tt t messenger who was a ttacked was R. Nzibg. He and t other fellow were Mofolo delegates. They had been inside t hall as delegates, had come out and had gone to t Africanist meeting.

I thought tt t Africanists would now return in strength, but Nkoana, who went to see what they were doing, told me after his return, tt t few who were still hanging around when t messengers retrined, dispersed immediately they learned what had happened.

Shortly after 6 pm. I left to see Sobukwe at his home. I therefore missed t end of t conference, which came at about 6.30 pm.

Sobulawe gave me t following statement on behalf of t Africanists:

"When we went yy, we enticipated violence would be used against us. We were ready to defend oursalves. But conference got off to a fine start, parti cularly with appeals from both mining Tambo and Luthuli. These speeches set t tone of t conference. We were able therefore to debate freely without fear of assault. It is now our belief tt t majority were supporting us. Webelieve tt it is because of our victory last night in t debate tt events took t trum they did today. We understand tt tleadership brought membership of t a geng today (Speilers or Maomi). All of them were armed - with firearms. Inductions had been given to these people to shoot three fellows in partirair cular. (and not for publication: Molutsi, Madzunya, Leballo). Turee people were at detailed for each victim."

NAMES OF COLUMN

He continued: "On t Saturday night, we refused to accept t credentials committee because we had not been given t opportunity to assist in its election. We voiced our protest last night. We didnot recognise t committee - we felt it would be biased. For this reason, some of us did not enter into t coumittee's discussions today. When only delegates recognized by t leadershiware were somitted to t hall we saw no point in remaining, and therefore left."

Bob said tt their meeting tt afternoon had lasted about 2 hours.

He also gave me t text of t letter sent to t chairman of t conference. He had drafted it. He could not remembergone or two phrases, but here it is.

"hir Chairman, Sir: We have consistently andvocated African Nationalida and whenever we have stepped ontp a political platform, we have expounded tt doctrine. In 1949, we got t African people to accept t nation-building pro-gramme of tt year. We have stuck incomer honestly and consistently to tt programme. In 1955, t Kliptown Charter (was adopted). We thought it was in irreconciabble conflict with t 1949 programme, and for tt reason, many opposed it. In numerous conferences of t ANC, we have put across our case. On Nov. 1, at t provincial conference, we again put xxxmax our case across logically and peacefully. It has, however, come to our notice tt armed thugs have come to t conference today at t invitation of t leadership for t sole purpose of murdering certain Africanists who are thought to be t leadin personalities in t movement. Wours is a political battle, simed against White domination. We are not a

para-military clique engaged in t murder of fellow-Africans. We therefore

wish to notify this conference: 1) We are not a party to any decisions the 2) We have come to t parting of t ways. at this conference. 3) We dissociate ourselves from t ANC in t Transval as it is at present constituted.

Jake.

We are Launching out on our own as t custodians of ANC policy as formula ted in 1912, and purshed up to t time of t Congress alliances."

signed: S. Mgendane, Secretary, Africanist group.

After leaving Sobulawe, I went to Luthuli's place, and saw Tambo for a few minutes. He was very tired, and not willing to say much. He did, however,

He said there had been about 200 delegates from about 80 branches. They had discussed t report of t credentials coumittee, t financial statement and had had elemetions. He said it had been a "quiet, orderly conference."

I asked him about Africanist ellegations tt supporters of t leadership had carried armax. He replied: "I have no such information." He also said: "I think t future is hopeful."

Luthuli did not want to say anybing at all. I asked ministromentioness what had happened to t Africanists' letter. Tambo said it had been read to t conference, and t contents were "noted". I asked what was what t reaction of delegates to t letter. Tambo said there was no reaction. I gathered - this more subjective than anything else - tt both most he and Luthuli were not altogether displeased about t Africanists' leaving.

While shoring doing this report, I have is had to omit one or two points so as not to disturb t continuity. Let me now these lists these:

1) On t Saturady evening, I chatted to Luthuli. Nothing of interest or value in this - it was all general stuff - except tt he showed me & copy of the 1957 ANC constitution, and pointed to t disciplinary section. This stated clearly tt any national or provincial exec. had t power to suspend or expel any member of t ANC where thought necessary.

2) Taele was at t conference on t Saturday, and again on Sunday morning. He left just before t delegates went into t hall, telling me tt he had to fetch some most for t conference. I did not see him again, however, and I believe tt he did not reizza reizzar return.

3) Both Legwate and Nkoana were emphatic in stating tt t leadership tough boys were carrying knives and guns. They said tt t room leading off t stage which was so well-guarded was t place where a cache of arms was being kept.

4) Gerry Mbuli was at t meeting on t Saturday evening, but took no vocal part. I did not see him there tt evening, nor on Sunday. (though he might have been present on at least t Sunday.)

5) On t Saturday affernoon, at about 2 pm, I spoke to Nkobi. He told me

tt t conference would begin by being an open session, and tt later, only delegates would be admitted. I asked him what would happen if t Africanist refused to go. In tt event, he replied, "t people will decide."

6) T Pressmen at t conference were: Nkoana, Nkosi and a photographer from "Post", "Eantu World" - reporter and photographer, myself - we were present throughout, except on t Sunday onwards, when none of t press were allowed inside. X A "New Age" African was also there - I do not know what happened to him on t Sunday. On Saturday afternoon, until about 5.0, Georg Clay, Henri Jonger (A.P.), Stanley Uys and Jack Halpern were also here. T latter was also present for about 15 mins. on Sunday afternoon. Also, on Saturday until about 6.30, there 2 people and a photographer from t "Sunday Times", and one reporter from t "Sunday Express".

7) In tweek following t conference, I met Segale several times. He told me tt he had declined nomination for t credentials committee because he felt t Africanists should be given t chance to state their case before t conference. He said tt Sibande had obtained either 104 or 105 votes for t presidency, as against 97 for Moritsela. Sophiatown people had nominated t latter. T other members of t executive were: D. Mahopo, A. Nzo, T. Nkobi (these apparently pushed by t Sophiatown people), and P. Mathole, Elizabeth Mtingoe, O. Motshabi and B. Hiapane (apparently pushed by t pro-Sibande people). In addition, P. Moritsela was elected treasurer, and J. Habede, secretary.

8) At t conference itself, Legwate told me tt t African Nationalists were not cooperating with Africanists at t meeting itself. He said tt this was due to t fact tt decisions had been made at t anti-Charterist Council, but immediately afterwards, t Africanists had gone theirwood own way without consulting their colleagues. When their own "inner circle" which this had happened because t Africanists had their own "inner circle" which took decisions independent of everybody and everything else. He also said tt t Africanists went too far in their views and demands. He said tt Madzunys - whom he preised as being a natural leader of t African Nationalistswas now lost. He said tt he would lose all his support and popularity as a result of having worked with t Africanists.

9) A few days after t meeting, Sobukwe told me tt he and t other Africanists had been taken completely by surprise at t suggestion for a special committee. He said tt when Tambo threw open t debate, he had put up his hand immediately, but had not been recognised. He had wanted to ask for a proper enquiry into t Africanist grievances. He said tt when t committee was becoming a fact, he thought it best to cooperate, and to wait until t committee's report was presented to t conference before attacking it. Tt was why he had agreed to assist in t counting. He had not been told beforehand tt he would be asked to do this. He said tt he did Aot know whether t 5 Africanist delegates from Western Native Township had gone into t closed session. He thought not, but was not sure.

COLUMNIS: (at long lest!)

1) I outstanding feature of t first day of t conference, was t quite remarkable cooperation and conciliation showed by Oliver Tambo. He was slawys leaning over backwards to everybody, t Africanists included. He thanked others when they were nice to him, and maximum made a point of saying tt it was possible tt he would make mistakes, and asking conference to forgive him if he did. Throughout t day, he was cool, calm and collected, and was never ruffled even when things were at fever-pitch, or when Madzunya was on his feet screaming at him. Frankly, at t time, I could not understand it. I also could not understand why it was tt there were most definitely no overt signs of organisation on t part of t leadership in response to t organized aspect of t Africanist camp - because obviously t africantisters leadership was prior to t meeting was fully aware of what was likely to happen. Even at this at stage, I am at a loss to explain this lack of preparedness on t first day. There were times when it seemed open warfare was about to happen within t next few minutes, and yet Tambo remained as calm as ever, and I am certain tt, on t first day at least, there was no group of toughs around.

On t second day of t meeting, I began to understand some of t happenings of t previous day. Xx With a group of obviously well-armed men at least 130 strong, Tambo was able to stand on t steps of t hall, allow only t delegates to enter, and in effect, to tell t Africanists either to get t hell out of it, or to be beaten to a pulp. And believe me, on t Sunday morning, t leadership was prepared. T extent of t ring of guards thrown around t back entrances of t hall was clear enough proof of this, and these men remained there throughout t day. T Africanists chose to withdraw. Sobukwe told me afterwards tt the did this because they wished to avoid bloodshed. I would tend to regard this as only half of t truth, as my feeling is tt they realised tt they well outnumbered - and out-gummed! and were therefore forced to retreat. In view of their oft-repared statements prior to t conference tt they accepted t probability of bloodshed with t proviso always a tached tt they also expected to win any such clash, I find it hard to believe tt they retreated purely from the feeling of abhorrence at t thought tt blood might be spilt.

To return to Tambo: at t conclusion of Luthull's speech on t first day, he said at first it he would allow only 4 speakers. Yet he accepted far more than this number, and in fact, t debate draged on for several hours. Later in t evening, after stating so frankly and beautifully the had several "headaches" in t shape of t various disputed branches (and how tactfully he stated it all, never once referring to Madzunyz and Lebello, for example, as not being members of t ANC, but saying instead theore people might not be numbers, and yet they might, he did not know!), he proceeded - to my complete astonishment at t time - to invite t 400 present to assist him in solving t problems. Not only tt, but he sat quietly in t chair, making comments only meaning comparatively occasionally, while t debate dragged on and on. And jet, looking back, one can see t picture so clearly. I do not know me whether t proposal for a special committee, made so promptly after inviting assistance, had been deliberately arranged. Sobukwe tells me tt as far as he knows, Mlonzi is not one of t very proleadership people. Yet it was so quickly proposed, and was so much in line with what must obviously have been t general plan, tt one cannot help wondering.

At t same time, it is interesting to note tt, at first, it was mersly a "special committee" to go into t matter and to report back to conference. It was only after a fairly lengthy debate tt t phrase " credentials committee" was used - and t first to use it was Tambo himself. Also, until Tambo rose to state flatly tt only those already accepted as delegant tes would be able to vote for t committee, it was merely a committee whose functions and membership no one really understood.

Another feature of Saturday evening was t fact the although there was streamous opposition from t Africanists to t committee, both in its initial mebulous form and later also, t ides of t committee was accepted, and elections were held for it. This was solely and purely Tambo's work. And he did it in a very simple way: he let t Africanists say practically as much as they wished to, but after each speaker, he would simply rise again and get on with t job. In other words, while allowing them to express themselves, he ignored them completely. There was fully possibly they had t feeling to they were getting summare somewhere - in they failed utterly even to expose what Tambo was doing. I do not think they were aware of it themselves.

In reprospect, therefore, I would say to on t first day, for reasons unknown, Tambo slipsedst africantstssallstociusstingocantedradiession reasons unionsense was not organized. He therefore allowed t Africanists canuch time as they wanted. This gave them a feeling of boundless confidence in themselves. They thought they had "wiped up" t leadership. Meanwhile, Tamboy was morely stalling t meeting so, as to get to t end of t day. At t same time, he ensured tt t organizational the wanted was set up legally and properly. Overnight, he organized - if this had not a lready been done in advance of t meeting. On t second day, he stepped in, stopped t Africanists from going any further than he wanted, and forced them to retreat with their tails between their legs.

This might, of course, be an over-simplification. Without detailed knowledge of what happened inside t ladership caucus, however, I do not think I can take it any further. It might be tt I have given Tubbo too much credit for shrewdness and adaptability. I must say though, tt t conference has left me with a tremendous feeling of admiration for what - in my view - he accomplished.

2) I think it important to note the when delegates were "screenid" on the Saturday evening, this was hardly they it is normally done. It was allows far as I could see - very easy and informal. As so much hinged later on who was a proper delegate, this initial piece of skulldug ery was smoothly and cleverly worked. There an is a course, did not take up there as in the static for the point as in the static for the source of the second screening was to and nothing upre. In view of the surrounding circumstances, however, I tend to reject this view.

As I have mentioned, states and also falt on Saturday evening, t africanists were jubilant. They were certain they had scored a major victory in t debate on L thuli's speech, and also falt to they were making their views falt in t debate on t committee. Several of them - Sobukwe, Rabaroko and he thopeng included - have since told me to they were certain to a fair no. of people were parameters persuaded to their view during t debate on Luthuli's speech. Extriner, Sobukwe has even told me to a number of people came up to him after t debate and told him this - people he says, who were proleadership.

But I am not so sure about this. My own impression was very few indeed - if any at all for tt matter, were talked across by t Africanists. My reason for saying this is tt my overwhelming impression on t first day was tt people w had come to t meeting because they wanteds stable ANC. They did not want trouble. True enough, there were more Africanist xxxxxxx speakers than on t other side - but these speakers - with t notable exception of Sobukwe who unde a strong but balanced speech - ranted and should. And I don't think this went down too well with t vast majority of t people, who in event I think, have been conditioned to t ides tt t Africanists always try to make

trouble. Thus I think tt people's backs were put up when a succession of Africanists rose to declaim furiously and loudly. Added to this was t fact tt from t first moment - when Mathopeng apoke - it was obvious to all tt t Africanists were present in strength and tt they were organised. Their shouts of support for their men was too obviously in concert. I do not think this went down well with t mass of those present. Then too, when this same group heckled and booed t speakers opposed to them, I think they antagonised even more people. My purely subjective impression was tt Africanist lost more in t debate than they gained.

I wonder whether it is stretching conjecture too far to say tt perhaps t leadership deliberately kept their strong are boys out of t conference on t first day? Perhaps they realised t Africanists xistx would make a lot of noise, and perhaps they were shrewd enough to bank on this upsetting t ordinary mass of delegates? Perhaps they thought: let t Africanists come right into t open. From what we know of them, they are sure to over-play their hand. If we then bring in our toughies on t second day, we will have ample right and justification on our side, and everybody will breather sigh of relief, and say thank goodness those noisy, masty men are not disturbing t orderly progress of this important conference anymore. Is this too much of a phantasy? Is it crediting Table and Co, with more shrewdness than they have? Perhaps not - perhaps it depends on who is involved in "and Co." ?

4) I was atruck by t utter disrespect shown to Luthuli by t Africanists. They couldn't have cared less about him. I might add tt I myself was not over impressed by him. By view was tt he had a certain amount of shrewdness, but tt basically, he is simply a gost. On t other hand, who knows what part he played in t behind-t-scenes organisation. He sat k next to Tambo throughout, a d must obviously have been involved to none extent at least.

5) T Africanists I would say mobilised theer total resources for this conference. A fair proportion of their 100 people were toughs. T remaining portion does not represent a very significant section of t total ANC membership in t Transval, does it ? I think they are pretty such a spent force.

Robert Sobukwe Papers

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