

NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

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The fundamental principles of the programme of action of the ANC are inspired by the desire to achieve national freedom. By national freedom we mean: freedom from the white domination and the attainment of political independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship or white leadership which are all, in one way or another, motivated by the idea of white domination, or domination of the whites over the Blacks. Like all other people the African people claim the right of self-determination.

With this object in view, and in the light of these principles, we claim and will continue to fight for, ^{the} political rights tabulated on page 8 of our Bill of rights:

1. **POLITICAL.** We claim the right of direct representation in all the governing bodies of the country (National, provincial and local) on a democratic basis. And we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies specially created for Africans, e.g. Local or District Councils, Advisory Boards, NRC and the present form of Parliamentary representation. This means the adoption for active application of the policy of boycotting.
2. To achieve these objectives the following programme of action should be adopted:
 - (a) The creation of a National Fund to finance the struggle for national liberation;
 - (b) The appointment of a Committee to organise an appeal for funds and to devise ways and means therefor.
 - (c) **NATIONAL PRESS** : to be established for the purpose of disseminating our ideas and for the regular issue of propaganda material. We recommend that in the meantime the ordinary Press be utilised.
3. Appointment of a Council of Action whose function must be to carry into effect vigorously and with the utmost determination the programme of action.
4. As a programme of emergency for the current year
 - (a) organisation of protest meetings against the refusal of the Minister of Education to provide funds for the feeding of African school children on the farms;
 - (b) boycott of the Education Commission appointed by the present Govt.
 - (c) boycott of the forthcoming Native Provincial Elections in the Cape Province;
 - (d) boycott of the NRC bye-election in the Cape rendered vacant by the death of Councillor Xiniwe.
5. **ECONOMIC** :
 - (a) Establishment of peoples' co-operatives in both urban and rural areas;
 - (b) consolidation of the industrial organisation of the workers as a wing of the National liberation movement.
6. **EDUCATION** :
 - (a) Raising the level of education of the peasants in their co-operatives and workers in their workers' organisation and providing a common educational forum for a united stand by intellectuals, peasants and workers. Raising the standard of political and national consciousness.
 - (b) The founding of national centres of education to train and educate African youth and the provision of large scale scholarships tena in various oversea countries.
7. **CULTURAL**: To unite the cultural with the educational and national struggle.
Establishment by the National Congress of a National Academy
(See Memorandum on "African Academy")

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