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THERE IS NO GOING BACK FOR WE ARE ON THE RIGHT ROAD

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED  
BY  
ALBERT J. LUTHULI

PRESIDENT-GENERAL: AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE  
PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE  
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, CAPE PROVINCE  
AT UITENHAGE ON JUNE 26, 1954

Bewysstuk No. 1  
Gekry by: U. Jeyani  
Deur: Sers. A. H. Raman  
T: Ngqalambesheath 15, 17B 17C  
Datum: 27. 9. 1955  
Verwysings No. 3

Mr. Speaker: Sons and Daughters of Africa:

MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE!  
INKULULEKO NQESIXATI SETHU !!!!

It was with much pleasure that I accepted the kind invitation of your executive to come and open your 4<sup>th</sup> Provincial Conference. I regarded the invitation as conferring on me an honour and privilege I am deeply conscious of, and which I realise placed on me a great responsibility of acting always in a manner to merit this honour and privilege.

Your executive, in its usual wise planning, chose "June 26", as the opening day of your conference.

In my Presidential Call last year to have us commemorate this day and rededicate ourselves to the cause of Freedom I said, inter alia, "a year ago on this day the African National Congress in conjunction with their allies launched the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws - a campaign whose significance lay, not alone in the fact that thousands of Africans and their allies made the sacrifice and paid the price called for by it, but also in the fact that an even greater number chose the path of Freedom and having put their feet on that road ARE RESOLVED NOT TO TURN BACK."

In keeping with the spirit and significance of the date of the opening day of your conference - "JUNE 26", - I was led to make the story of our struggle for freedom my general theme with the emphasis on the words, "ARE RESOLVED NOT TO TURN BACK", found in my message of last year quoted above. It helps to clarify our vision and to strengthen our determination to have significant occasions such as June 26, when individually and collectively we may rededicate ourselves to a cause we believe in and re-affirm our faith in its soundness and its ultimate realisation. With this object in view I invite you here and now to re-dedicate yourselves

to the cause of making the Union of South Africa a true democracy and re-affirm your faith in the justice of our cause and so , say after me :

" THERE IS NO GOING BACK FOR WE ARE ON THE  
RIGHT ROAD - THE ROAD TO FREEDOM .

THERE SHALL BE NO SLACKENING UNTIL VICTORY  
IS WON

AFRIKA ! APRIKA ! MAYIBUYE !

INKULULEKO NGESIKHATHI SETHU ! "

Another justification for my theme - the story of our struggle for Freedom - is that I am privileged to open a conference of Congressmen and Congresswomen in the Cape Province where it was that our campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws reached its highest level in all respects . Without doubt , the Defiance Campaign marked the highest level to date in our Liberatory Movement's efforts . With a deep and warm feeling of gratitude and thankfulness I would assure you , friends of the Cape Province , that the Fighters for Liberation and the Non-European people generally shall always be everlastingly indebted to you for the effective way in which you prosecuted the Defiance Campaign .

We realise that your magnificent success could have come only as a result of much sacrifice, determination, courage and thoroughness. But , let me remind you also, friends, that your grand success in the campaign not only brought you well-deserved honour but also increased your responsibility to see the struggle through. Should tiredness and dependency ever assail you take courage and comfort in the fact that the unseen spirits of Hintsa , Sandile, Ntsikana - of Dingana , Cetshwayo - of Mosheah , Khama and others - who resisted aggression and invasion of their respective countries urge us to resist oppression whatever the cost.

WHY THERE SHOULD BE NO GOING  
BACK OR SLACKENING .

There should be no going back because ours is a just and noble cause for Freedom - is the divine goal of Humanity . Pericles of old observed correctly when he said : " Freedom is the most ineradicable craving of human nature ; without it peace and contentment and happiness , even manhood itself are not possible. " We, of this generation , have the honour and privilege of carrying on the work of liberation so well begun by heroes of Freedom in all ages and climes . Despite some setbacks here and there the history of humanity is one of moving from slavery to Freedom : "Up from Slavery" and not back to slavery is the mood of the world .

It is only in our little Union of South Africa that we find efforts being made by the majority of the ruling Whites to push non-white, especially Africans , back to slavery . It is our divine duty to resist this effort . This pushing back is done mainly by legislative and administrative enactments of a repressive nature which place obstacles in our way . Vain efforts are often made to have us believe that these laws are in our interest and for our protection. Sometimes we are pushed back subtly, such as when we

are advised to develop along our own lines ignoring the fact that civilisation is the common possession of humanity and is indebted for its growth to many sources, both ancient and modern .

We are facing a people determined to keep us in subjection as only, "hewers of wood and drawers of water. "

We should match their determination with our determination to attain freedom during our lifetime . We should take courage in the fact that all over the world forces working for Freedom and Peace are on the march hence the violent and ruthless reaction of selfish , self-centred rulers everywhere who realise that their doom draweth nigh . This explains the fascists tendencies and practices of the Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan in our country. They would rather scuttle the ship, of state and so bring ruin to our common country than share democracy with non-Whites.

The Minister of Justice Mr. Swart was truly expressing the mind and attitude of his people when he said in the House of Assembly on February 12, 1953 :

"If you want to keep power in your hands you have to keep it by force of legislation. "

Is it any wonder that , more often than not , by unfair means they keep us out of the parliamentary machinery ! Is it any wonder that the Nationalist Government of Dr. Malan impervious to progressive world opinion madly pursues its course of enacting the most repressive and ruinous laws designed to implement their evil policy of Apartheid so aptly referred to by the Archbishop of Canterbury , Dr. Fisher as " a sort of slavery"

In the face of this determination to ruin us " WE CANNOT GO BACK" for " WE ARE ON THE RIGHT ROAD " . Our duty at home and abroad is to reinforce and consolidate the forces of FREEDOM AND PEACE AND UNTIRINGLY INVITE THOSE WHO TRULY LOVE AND CRAVE FOR FREEDOM to join our liberatory Movement through the African National Congress .

SOME REVEALING PRACTICES, ATTITUDES  
AND UTTERANCES OF SOME LEADERS OF  
WHITE PUBLIC OPINION.

Some of our people , either through ignorance but mainly through fear of taking part in our militant programme, since this calls for much sacrifice of self and one's possessions, counsel our community to entrust its future unreservedly to a White government. In all seriousness I ask: How can we entrust our future to people who by their practices, attitudes and utterances have shown that in all things for them it is " EUROPEANS ONLY" ?

As clearly shown in the Separate Reservation of Amenities Act in all things shall be "Separate and Unequal" and not "Separate but Equal" as some had believed segregation or apartheid to mean. Let us examine so of the basic needs of man in a modern state and see how Africans fare under white rulers whose chief concern is "EUROPEANS ONLY" .

(1) LAND: In this fundamental basic need 8 million Africans are allocated only about 13% of the land surface of the Union

whilst.../

two and a half million Whites enjoy approximately 80% .

Here is what the 'Natal Mercury' of February 13, 1954 , had to say in its leading article on some aspect of the African land question :

" A Promise not Implemented: Eighteen years have elapsed but in that time successive governments have purchased for the Natives only 4,562,534 morgen which represents some 63% of the land promised to them as part compensation for the loss of their franchise rights on the common roll in the Cape Province .... It is hard to believe that if the Natives had been in a position to bring pressure to bear on successive governments through the ballot box that the full area of land promised them in 1936 would not have been secured long ago " .

Let me ask in passing: " Who would deny that the vote is the fundamental and key issue in any democratic state ? " In this vital matter of the Franchise , Africans have been losing rights until now we have a token dummy representation .

(2) WAGES AND INCOME: The disparity between the wages and salaries of white workers and non-White workers, especially Africans , is notoriously great . By means of repressive legislation and a reactionary white public opinion non-white wages and income are kept low. According to official figures whites, who are only 20% of the population enjoyed in 1951 about 80% of the National income of one Billion, 214 million, one hundred thousand pounds. Is it any wonder that the whites in the Union are one of the richest communities in the world ?

(3) EDUCATION: In this most basic need in a modern state state support for the education of 8 million Africans is to be pegged at 6½ million pounds per annum, when for the Whites with better economic opportunities education is free and compulsory up to high school standard . We, in the African National Congress will not be guilty of counselling the non-whites to entrust their future to so partial a people.

HERE ARE SOME REVEALING UTTERANCES  
AND ATTITUDES OF LEADING GOVERNMENT MEN:

(1) Dr. Malan supported by his minister of Native Affairs Dr. Verwoerd , has declared against total territorial Apartheid as advocated by the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church and the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs. The effort of these people was to make Apartheid fairer, but Dr. Malan rejects this attempt as impracticable . For entirely different reasons , we, of the African National Congress, are entirely opposed to the partitioning of the Union of S.A.

(2) Dr. Malan and his government promise us self-rule in our so-called natural home - "the Reserves " , and constantly advise us "to develop along our own lines". Such a development must be free from tribalism to Nationalism and yet, he, Dr. Malan and his government, seem not to favour African Nationalism not only in the Union but in other parts of Africa, as shown by his constant castigation of the British government, for giving the Gold Coast African a limited measure of freedom . On the other hand Dr. Malan advocates a united front of all white governments at present ruling in Africa.

(3) The Minister of Native Affairs, who in practice seems to look after European interests more than ours, does very little to get us even the limited additional land promised us in 1936, but is busy driving us away from urban centres by declaring that no African shall have freehold land in an urban centre. In other words he supports the system of Native Migrant Labour which is so ruinous to African family life morally and economically.

(4) Just to quote one of the utterances of the Minister of Labour, Mr. B. Schoeman:

"The Native must not progress at the cost of the European.... The correct policy is that unskilled work should as far as possible, be confined to non-Europeans". On another occasion he said "Let me say this again categorically that I am not in favour of throwing open the doors of the skilled trades to Natives..." White South Africa as represented by its Governments and Parliament will have to radically change from what it is before we can entrust our future to them. We are grateful to the few whites who support us in different ways in our efforts to gain freedom in our land of birth.

WHAT WE STAND FOR IN THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

We believe in the dignity of man and in the brotherhood of man from which flow the equality of man. We fully accent to the famous declaration of Abraham Lincoln that "All men were created equal". It is this belief which makes us, not only oppose by verbal protest, but by action also all actions and utterances of individuals and Government in our land and elsewhere which perpetrates indignities on other human beings and treat them on a basis of inequality. So, friends, in declaring this 42nd Conference of the African National Congress, Cape Province, opened I would remind you that God's plan for Africa is great and noble. He never meant us to be hewers of wood and drawers of water but we have to be up and doing to fit ourselves into God's plan and purpose.

Let us not fail God so that as in the case of King Saul he may say: "I regret I created an African". Let us cheerfully sacrifice for the cause of AFRICAN LIBERATION and like the nobles and commons of Scotland in the arboath Manifesto to the Pope in 1320 say:

" WE FIGHT NOT FOR GLORY NOR FOR WEALTH,  
NOR FOR HONOUR  
BUT FOR THAT FREEDOM WHICH  
NO GOODMAN WILL SURRENDER  
BUT WITH HIS LIFE.

AFRIKA !    AFRICA !    AFRIKA !  
MAYIBUYE !    MAYIBUYE !    MAYIBUYE !  
INKULULEKO    NGENKATI SETHU .

ALBERT J. LUTHULI  
PRESIDENT - GENERAL    A. N. C.

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# African National Congress

(Cape Province)

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## 43rd ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

KABAH LOCATION, UITENHAGE

26th JUNE, 1954

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AGENDA PAPER & MINUTES OF  
CONFERENCE

held at

CRADOCK, 1953

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

FORTY THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE CAPE PROVINCE :  
HELD AT THE KABAH LOCATION HALL : UITENHAGE ON THE  
26TH & 27TH JUNE ( SATURDAY & SUNDAY ) 1954.  
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A G E N D A :

SATURDAY JUNE 26TH :

9.00 A.M. DEVOTIONS.

9.30 A.M. SPEAKER'S OPENING REMARKS:  
PROF. Z.K. MATTHEWS.

10.00 A.M. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES:

(A) CREDENTIALS.

(B) FINANCE.

(C) RESOLUTIONS.

(D) PRESS.

10.00

10.30 A.M. OFFICIAL OPENING OF 43RD ANNUAL  
CONFERENCE OF THE CAPE A.N.C.  
BY:

A.J. LUTULI, F.S.Q;

PRESIDENT - GENERAL A.N.C.

12.00 NOON. MINUTES OF 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE  
HELD IN AUGUST 1953 AT CRADOCK.

1.00 P.M. ADJOURNMENT FOR LUNCHEON.

2.15 P.M. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO CONFERENCE

BY:

DR. J.L.Z. NJONQWE.

ACTING + PRESIDENT CAPE A.N.C.

3.30 P.M. TEL.

4.00 P.M. DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

6.00 P.M. ADJOURNMENT OF CONFERENCE.

8.00 P.M. DINNER AND RECEPTION.

END OF CONFERENCE BUSINESS FIRST DAY.

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SUNDAY 27TH JUNE 1954.

9.00 A.M. REPORT OF THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR PERIOD AUGUST 1953 - JUNE 1954.

DISCUSSION OF REPORT.

11.30 A.M. FINANCIAL REPORT.

DISCUSSION.

1.00 P.M. LUNCHEON.

2.00 P.M. NATIONAL SERVICE.

4.00 P.M. RESOLUTIONS.

5.00 P.M. ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS.

6.00 P.M. CONFERENCE CLOSES: DEPARTURE OF DELEGATES.

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WRITTEN MATERIAL AVAILABLE FOR REFERENCE BY DELEGATES:

1. OPENING ADDRESS: CHIEF A.J. LUTULI.
2. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: DR. J.L.Z. NJONGWE.
3. CONGRESS "BILL OF RIGHTS".
4. 1949 "PROGRAMME OF ACTION".
5. "WHERE THE DEVIL DRIVES" A SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS' VIEW OF THE VERWOERD BILLS.
6. RESOLUTIONS OF 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE CAPE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: CRADOCK.



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MINUTES OF ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD AT CRADOCK IN  
AUGUST, 1953, 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE A. N. C. (CAPE).

PROFESSOR Z. K. MATTHEWS PRESIDED.

1. DEVOTIONS : Conducted by Rev. J. A. Calata.
2. ELECTION OF COMMITTEES :
  - (a) Credentials Committee : Messrs Matji, Taho and Mhlaḁa.
  - (b) Resolutions Committee : Messrs G. X. Tshume, D. D. Siwisa and A. S. Gwentshe.
  - (c) Finance Committee : Dr. Bokwe, Messrs T. Tshume and E. Mfana.
  - (d) Press Committee : Messrs Matji, D. D. Siwisa and G. Taho.
3. REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE : 122 delegates representing 32 Branches were present and were entitled to be members of Conference.
4. RULING ON PRESENCE OF KORSTEN YOUTH LEAGUE DELIGATION : Korsten was already represented by 10 delegates of the A. N. C. and could therefore not have a further deligation from its Youth League Branch.
5. RULING ON MESSRS QIKO AND KEPE'S CREDENTIALS : These two were members of the New Brighton Branch who alleged that they represented the Richmond Hill Branch. It was ruled by Conference that only members of a Branch could represent such a Branch. The credentials of these two men were then not valid.
6. REPORTS : Branches read reports of their activities which were elaborately discussed by Conference in Committee.
7. RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING FROM THIS DISCUSSION : These were noted by the Resolutions Committee.

S U N D A Y.

Conference elected an Appeals Committee to consider the appeal lodged by Dyanty and others of New Brighton on their expulsion from the A. N. C.

8. SECRETARY'S REPORT TO CONFERENCE : The Secretary read the Executive Report to Conference which was unanimously adopted.
9. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : Given by Professor Matthews was also unanimously adopted.
10. POINTS RAISED BY REPORT AND ADDRESS :
  - (1) Professor Matthews' thankfulness to A. N. C. leadership which had carried on the work of the organisation in his absence.
  - (2) Legislation affecting the Africans - Administration of the ANC and vigilance by its officers.
  - (3) Role of the Volunteer Corps in the ANC.
  - (4) Suggestion for the calling of the Congress of the People of South Africa to frame a Freedom Charter.
  - (5) Suggestions for the conduct of the Economic Boycott Campaign.
  - (6) Dismissal of Dr. Njongwe as Volunteer - in - Chief and appointment of Mr Mhlaḁa in this capacity which it was ruled by Conference was unconstitutional.
11. NECESSITY FOR THE CREATION OF A FUND FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE RESERVES :
12. FINANCIAL REPORT : Unanimously adopted.
13. REPORT OF APPEAL COMMITTEE : Recommends the reinstatement of Dyanty and others and Conference approves.

...../ 14. ELECTIONS.

14. ELIMINATION OF OFFICE BEARERS : Professor Z.E. Matthews.  
M. Matji.  
Dr. Njongwe.  
Dr. Bokwe.  
Rev. Calata.  
Mrs Matomela.  
Mr Owentshe.  
Mr. Molema.  
Mr Sigwani.  
Mr Jibiliza.  
Mr Mhloba.  
Rev. Gawa.

The President thanked delegates and the people of Cradock and thereafter Conference closed.

MAYIBUYE!!! MAYIBUYE!!!!

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

1. That this Conference reaffirms its belief in the Programme of Action adopted by the African National Congress with all it implies and in all its phases; it therefore recommends that positive steps should be taken with a view to implementing the remaining phases, and to this end urges that all necessary steps be taken to intensify the organisation of the African people in all areas, including the reserves, in accordance with the directive of our National Headquarters.
2. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the regimentation of African Youth through the establishment of so-called "Youth Camps" on the lines indicated by the Central Government, whether with or without the collaboration of Provincial or Local authorities. The sinister motives behind this move may be gathered from, among other things, the systematic exclusion of representatives of the African National Congress from Conferences convened to discuss the need for such "Youth Camps" as was the case in the recent Conference held in East London under the sponsorship of the City Council.
3. That this conference is strongly opposed to the proposed transfer of the control of African Education to the Native Affairs Department. The terms of the proposed Bill are sufficient proof that far from being intended to serve the Educational needs of the African child, this measure is calculated to entrench the Apartheid Ideology to which the A.N.C. is uncompromisingly opposed. The divorce of the education of the African people from that of other sections of the population in order to facilitate their further regimentation by a Department entrusted primarily with the enforcement of oppressive measures and with no experience of educational problems is deplored and condemned.
4. That this Conference views with alarm the proposed Bill for the Settlement of Disputes between African workers and their employers which is calculated to deny African workers the right of collective bargaining and the right strike in defence of their rights as wage earners. The denial of these legitimate and democratic methods of working for the improvement of their conditions of employment, far from leading to peace in industry, will leave African workers no alternative but to search for other methods of defending their rights.
5. That this Conference urges Branches to make use of the Boycott weapon to compell individual firms, business undertakings and Government enterprises operating among the African people (a) to make available employment opportunities for Africans, (b) to accord proper treatment and service to their African customers, and (c) generally to recognise their dependence on African purchasing power. The use of this method in farming areas as well must be explored.
6. That this Conference urges Branches to take greater responsibility in participating in the struggle of the African people against local difficulties in different areas in connection with the various disabilities under which they labour. Congress must be in the front rank of the struggles of the people wherever they occur.

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7. That this Conference considers the establishment of a Congress News Paper as an urgent necessity, in order to make it possible for the message of Liberation to be carried to the people in their own languages, especially in the rural areas. The Provincial Executive is urged to make every endeavour to bring this about.
  8. That this Conference notes, with interest, the remarks of the President on the need for the establishment at the instance of the African National Congress and under its leadership of a Congress of the people in South Africa to draw up, inter alia, a Freedom Charter or Constitution embodying a vision of the future South Africa as we in Congress see it. Conference instructs the incoming Executive to make specific recommendations in this regard to the African National Congress Headquarters. Such a Congress of the people would serve to unite all democratic forces in South Africa among all races into a front against the dangers of fascism, and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems of the country.
  9. That this Conference instructs all Branches to study the Draft Constitution submitted to this Conference for consideration and report, and to submit all suggestions, comments or criticisms to the Provincial Executive by September 30th, 1953. This will enable the Executive to present the views of the Cape on the Draft Constitution to the National Conference at the end of the year.
  10. In order to expedite business at future, Conferences especially in the matter of consideration of Branch Reports, Branches will be required to submit their annual reports at least 2 months before the date of Conference in order to make it possible for a summary of the main issues raised in the reports to be circulated to Branches before Conference for the benefit of their delegates.
  11. That this Conference is strongly opposed to the removal of Coloured Voters from the common roll with or without the two thirds majority. The extension of the system of separate representation which has already proved a failure in the case of the African people will confer no benefit either on the Coloured people or on the country as a whole. This Conference welcomes the proposed establishment among the <sup>coloured</sup> people of a National Organisation to protect and promote their rights as citizens of South Africa.
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## NATIONAL PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

The fundamental principles of the Programme of Action of the A.N.C. are inspired by the desire to achieve National Freedom. By National Freedom we mean freedom from 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 White over the Black. Like all other people, the African people claim the right of self determination.

With this object in view, 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, such as :-

- (1) The right of direct representation in all governing bodies of the country - national, provincial and local, and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies created for Africans, namely, representative councils, local and district councils, advisory boards, present form of parliamentary form of representation.
- (2) To achieve these objectives the following Programme of Action is suggested :-
  - (a) The creation of National Fund to finance the struggle for National ( freedom and ) liberation.
  - (b) The appointment of a committee to organise and appeal for funds and to devise ways and means therefore.
  - (c) The regular issue of propoganda material through :
    - (i) the usual press, newsletter or other means of disseminating our ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness
    - (ii) Establishment of a National Press.
- (3) Appointment of a Council of Action whose function should be to carry into effect, vigorously and with utmost determination, the Programme of Action. It shall be competent for the Council of Action to implement our resolve to work for;
  - (a) The abolition of all differential political institutions, the boycotting of which we accept, and to undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue and in addition to employ the following weapons ; immediate and active boycott, strikes, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations.
  - (b) Preparations and making of Plans for a National stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the government.
- (4) Economic :
  - (a) The establishment of commercial, industrial, transport and other enterprise in both urban and rural areas.
  - (b) Consolidation of the industrial organisations of the workers for the improvement of their standard of living.
  - (c) Pursuant to paragraph (a) herein instructions be issued to Provincial Congress Branches to study economic and social conditions in the reserves and other African settlements and to devise ways and means for their development, establishment of industries and such other enterprises as may give employment to a number of people.
- (5) Education : It be an instruction to the African National Congress to devise ways and means for:
  - (a) Raising the standard of the Africans in the commercial, industrial and other enterprises and workers in their workers' organisations by means of providing a common educational forum wherein intellectuals, peasants and

workers participate for the common good.

- (b) Establishment of National Centres of education for the purpose of training and educating African Youth and provision of large scale scholarships tenable in various overseas countries.
- (6) Cultural :
- (a) To unite the cultural with the educational and national struggle.
- (b) The establishment of a National Academy of Arts and Science.
- (7) Congress realises that ultimately the people will be brought together by inspired leadership, under the banner of African Nationalism with courage and determination.

MAGASI HALL,  
BLOEMFONTEIN.  
December, 17th, 1949.

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( NOTE THIS )

( AFRICAN NATIONALISM is the dynamic liberatory creed of the oppressed African people. Its fundamental aim is :-

1. the creation of a united front out of the heterogeneous tribes;
2. the freeing of the African people from foreign domination and foreign leadership;
3. the creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to progress and happiness.

The African has a primary inherent and inalienable right to Africa which is his continent and Motherland, and the Africans as a whole have a divine destiny which is to make Africa free among the people and nations of the earth.

In order to achieve Africa's freedom the Africans must build a powerful National Liberatory movement, and in order that the National movement should have inner strength and solidarity it should adopt the National Liberatory creed - AFRICAN NATIONALISM, and should be led by the Africans themselves. ———— Extract from Basic Policy - Congress Youth League).

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT UITENHAGE, JUNE, 1954.

1. My first duty is to welcome the delegates who have come from different parts of the Cape Province to attend this annual conference. Owing to the size of the area for which we are catering and the meagre resources at the disposal of our clientele, attendance at conferences of this kind is a major undertaking for our people, involving a great deal of sacrifice in both time and money. The number of delegates present here bears eloquent testimony to the determination of our people and their devotion to the cause for which the A.N.C. stands - the total liberation of the African people from every form of oppression, both overt and covert. During your stay here I have every confidence that you will make your contribution to our deliberation and will receive the inspiration which comes from association with those of like mind to yourselves and will return to your different stations refreshed in mind and in spirit and with a renewed determination to work for the achievement of freedom in our lifetime.

2. My second duty is to welcome to our midst the distinguished visitors who have come to us from beyond our Province, first place in this regard goes to our honoured President Chief A.J. Luthuli. In us he will never cease to be Chief Luthuli, because his claim to that title does not rest upon recognition by the Governor-General, but upon the place which he occupies in the hearts of our people. We are glad that because of his temporary freedom, it has been possible for him to visit us and feel honoured that ours should have been the first Provincial Conference for him to visit since his temporary liberation. We do not know how long he will retain his freedom of movement does not rest in his hands, but while he is free, I am sure that he will make good use of that freedom. We welcome you, Sir, and grant you the freedom of our Conference and pledge you the loyalty of every corner of the Cape Province.

As for the General Secretary, it is hardly necessary for me to welcome him here. He is a son of the Cape Province and he was with us quite recently. During his recent Cape tour he was instrumental in taking the A.N.C. right into the heart of the Transkei, that area which is supposed to be surrounded with an Iron Curtain. During his brief sojourn there, they sought him here, they sought him there, they sought him everywhere, and where he had already returned to headquarters, they were still seeking. He will soon have to be known as Mr. Walter "Scarlet Pimpernel" Sisulu, the ubiquitous General Secretary of the A.N.C.

3. I must say a word of welcome, too, to the representatives of the law who have been detailed to attend our meetings. It will be recalled that we obtained permission to hold our meetings in Uitenhage on condition that we agreed not only to allow the police to attend our meetings but also to permit them to take notes. I suppose these conditions were really intended to be accepted. It was probably fully anticipated that we would reject them. But we accepted. Firstly because we will not allow ourselves to be intimidated by the presence of the police. The stand we take on the policies of this country is well known to all, police or non-police alike. We are neither an illegal or a subversive organisation; our constitution is a public document and all our activities are public. The only information which we would keep from the police is that which we keep from all non-members of our organisation. All organisations have their legitimate private affairs which they do not disclose and I need hardly say that as far as such matters are concerned, we shall not disclose them to non-members of our organisation, whatever their official positions may be. The fact that Africans cannot forgather today without having to be surrounded by police and detectives is a sad commentary on the relations that exist between the Government and the African people in this country. That means that for all

practical purposes the policeman and the constable constitute the main link between the Government and the African people. The Government must go to the police to get the views of the African people on matters affecting their welfare. I am aware that there is another new substitute for direct contact between the Government and the African people and that is the so-called Information Officers of the Department. Those who have seen these officers at work will admit that they are a very poor substitute for direct representation. Anyway seeing that the police have now become the channel through which our views may be brought to the attention, we can only express the hope that they will give a faithful and accurate account of what they hear and see. We would like the Government to know what we think and how we feel about what is happening to our people and we are prepared to use the only channel that is open to us to transmit our views to the powers that be.

4. It is usual on occasions for us to be told that we are passing through critical times. As far as Africans are concerned there can be no other times for us except critical times until we achieve our liberation. It is therefore unnecessary for me to repeat that threadbare expression. You know as well as anybody else that everywhere in this country the African people are in a state of insecurity. It is not only in the Western area of Johannesburg that the African people are confronted by the problem of removal. Both in the urban areas and in the rural areas there is no place where the African can say to himself "this is my own, my native land" "here I intend to remain." "Here I will invest all my hard-earned savings knowing that I will not overnight be faced with a total loss of my earnings because someone would like to displace me." I say there is no place where the African can lay his head in safety from arbitrary interference. This applies not only in the matter of residence. In the field of employment, unlike other sections of the population the African cannot freely choose, the type of employment in which he is going to engage in accordance with his natural aptitude. All over the country we can see able-bodied and able-minded Africans compelled to waste their talents on unskilled jobs while the country is suffering from a serious shortage of skilled labourers. The industrial development of the whole country is held because ideological considerations prevent us from tapping the human resources available in the country to the full. In the field of education we are confronted with the Verwoerd resolution which purports to be designed to stream-line African education to make it serve the needs of white South Africa. In the political sphere the so-called Bantu Authorities are expected to exercise authority on behalf of their white masters and the system of separate representation is to keep the non-whites scrambling for the crumbs of office while the white political machine goes on grinding out its wanted output of discriminatory legislation.

The question that arises from all this is what is to be the reaction of the African people to this situation? There are several attitudes which may be adopted. One is the attitude of resignation, that of accepting the situation. That is of course what our enemies would like to see us do, but for that attitude is not deserving of a moment's consideration. We have not been created to serve or to surrender or to worship ordinary mortals like ourselves. No tin gods for us, only the Almighty God whose sovereignty we acknowledge. Therefore no resignation and no surrender is our minimum policy.

Another line that may be taken is that of blind aggressiveness, a kind of wild hitting out at any and everybody in the hope of finding a target somewhere. That kind of emotional outburst may give temporary relief to sense of frustration, but it gets those who indulge in it nowhere. On the contrary such outbursts are apt to be followed by deeper fits (?) of depression and despair. You cannot beat a well-organized foe with that kind of unorganised and unco-ordinated reaction.

There is a third kind of attitude which may adopt and that is the search for scape goats within our own ranks, people who may be blamed for the situation in which we find ourselves. The people who indulge

in this witch hunting generally adopt a kind of self-righteous attitude. They themselves have never done anything either right or wrong, but they are very skilful in picking out the contributors to our downfall. The African Chiefs, the missionaries, the liberals, the members of the Native Representative Council, the members of the Advisory Boards - these are the people on whom all blame must be laid for the disabilities under we labour. The result is that instead of getting on with the struggle against our main foe, our time is taken up with dog fights among ourselves. All of which is not only entertaining but very helpful to our enemies. The situation was very well ~~summed~~ summed by members of the C.I.D. who were asked by a member of Congress why they seemed to pay no attention to the activities of a certain organisation, but concentrated all their attention on the A.N.C. Their reply was that there was no need for them to direct any attention to that organisation because it is fighting the A.N.C. It is clearly recognised by the police that any organisation or individual fighting the A.N.C. is part of the arm of the police.

This brought me to what I consider to be the right attitude for us, namely the building up of a well organised fighting force. That fighting force is the A.N.C. The A.N.C. as an organisation stands for the political independence of the African people. The programme of action which was adopted by the A.N.C. in 1949 states this quite clearly:- "The fundamental principles of the programme of action of the African National Congress are inspired by the desire to achieve National freedom. By national freedom we mean freedom from 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 ??? by the idea of white domination or the domination of the white over the black. Like all other people, the African people claim the right of self-determination."

There we have our goal set out for us. Nothing that is done to us should make us deviate from that goal. The passing of laws or the drawing up of schemes by the government which are designed to defeat our objectives must and will be regarded by us as merely temporary setbacks, which will be overcome by one thing and one thing only - the building up of a mighty A.N.C. The spirit of the A.N.C. must be instilled into every man, woman and child, whether they are members of the A.N.C. or not. This means that we must put all our energies not into parrying temporary blows directed at us, but into building for the future which we know to be ours. It means that we must not become panicky and jittery. We must not lose our heads because everybody assured us ? losing. It means that we must take everything which is supposed to be for our downfall and correct it into an instrument for ? our liberty. It means that we must face the future without fear and with our plans to counteract the schemes that are intended to thwart our struggle. We must pick up the gauntlet and meet the challenge of our day and generation.

It is in that spirit that we must enter into our deliberations at this Conference. Our conference must be devoted not to discussing the latest laws passed by a Parliament in which we are not represented, but to considering how we can make the A.N.C. our parliament - into a more effective instrument for mobilising the forces of liberation in this country.

The forces of liberation in this country are not as weak as is generally supposed ? all sections of our population - Europeans, Coloureds, Indians and Africans - there are people who believe in equal citizenship rights for all. But their principal weakness lies in the fact that they are not only unorganised but are frequently disorganised by a tendency to go off on tangents.



En 1923 (3)

Chapter I.

MINUTES OF THE CAPE PROVINCIAL  
CONFERENCE

HELD AT Uitenhage

ON  
THE 26<sup>TH</sup> - 27<sup>TH</sup> JUNE, 1954

PRESIDED OVER BY

PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS FORT HARE

ALICE

CAPE PROVINCIAL PRESIDENT OF THE

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS:

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (C.A.F.E.)

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL C.A.F.E. PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE HELD  
AT Uitenhage ON THE 26<sup>TH</sup> & 27<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 1954 UNDER  
THE PRESIDENCY OF PROF. Z. K. MATTHEWS.

1. Conference was opened with a dignified prayer by our Provincial Chaplain the Rev. W. L. Jansen at 10 o'clock A.M. His speech was based on the words, "Let us look up not down for we are surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses".

2. The Chairman then welcomed the following visitors of importance who were present at this Conference:

- (i) Chief A. J. Lutshuli, President-General of the A.N.C.
- (ii) Mr. W. M. Sisulu, Secretary-General of the A.N.C.
- (iii) Members of the South African Congress of Democrats
- (iv) Others who were present as observers.

3. The Chairman then made his opening remarks saying, "This conference aims at the liberation of the oppressed peoples. We know very well that hatred will never build a people; but we all hate evil and oppression and we shall therefore continue our struggle against oppression until we have achieved our freedom." The President proceeded with his speech outlining the misery victimising us in the country of our birth up to the end.

After this the Chairman intimated the President-General Chief A. J. Lutshuli with the fact that the Cape Province was very fortunate to be honoured with the visit by this son of Africa immediately after the expiration of the order served on him by the government banning him from addressing meetings and limiting his movements, and went on saying to Chief Lutshuli, "Sir, we are looking upon you as a leader of the African people both

those who are members of the African National Congress and those who are not. We <sup>sincerely</sup> believe and hope that you will lead us into the right path and we pledge ourselves to obey you and love you always."

Turning to Mr. Sisulu, the President referred to him as a man who was always shadowed by the police, a man who had <sup>dedicated</sup> given his very life to the service of his people.

4. OPENING OF CONFERENCE BY CHIEF LUTHULI: The Chair thereupon requested Chief Luthuli to open the Conference officially. The words of this eloquent son of Africa will ever remain indelible in our memories.

"THERE IS NO TURNING BACK, FOR WE ARE ON THE RIGHT PATH, - THE PATH TO FREEDOM. WE SHALL NOT TIRE UNTIL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED."

The President-General went on revealing many things for the enlightenment of the silent and attentive audience.

5. CONGRATULATIONS BY MR. R. M. MATJIE ON THE PRESIDENT-GENERAL'S SPEECH: - The Chair suggested that the Cape Provincial Secretary should congratulate the President-General for his address. Mr. Matjie did this with marvellous eloquence since the Chief's speech had been more than convincing.

7. MR. W. M. SISULU'S ADDRESS TO THE YOUTH: After this the President moved an adjournment for a short while after which the Secretary-General Mr. Sisulu was due to deliver his address to the Youth who were present under the auspices of the Congress Youth League. After the adjournment Mr. Sisulu delivered his remarkably advanced address to the Youth

outlining their role in the struggle. The Secretary-General was congratulated by the Cape President in person, who also supported Mr. Resulu's views on the part to be played by the youth in the liberatory struggle.

7. ELECTION OF COMMITTEES: In the afternoon immediately after the lunch adjournment, the election of the usual committees was undertaken, namely:-

(a) Presidentials Committee: The Cape Treasurer and Cape Secretary.

(b) Finance Committee: The Cape Treasurer and Mr. D. Mpetha.

(c) Resolutions Committee: Messrs. Noyekiso, Mfasa and Ugotyana.

8. DR. J. Z. L. NJONGWE DELIVERING HIS PRESIDENTIAL

ADDRESS: Then Dr. Njongwe who had been Vice-President since the 1952 Defiance Campaign gave his address. Dr. Njongwe's speech really moved the whole house judging from the interjections made by the audience in the course of his address when he referred to the miserable conditions of which we are victims in the country of our birth.

9. DISCUSSION OF MATTERS ARISING FROM DR. NJONGWE'S

ADDRESS: - The Chair congratulated Dr. Njongwe for his address and thereafter discussions on the matters arising from his speech took place, namely:

(a) The miserable treatment of African workers in the Boer Farms.

(b) The victimisation of Africans in the Reserves and other rural areas.

(c) The evil treatment of Africans on the Mines.

⑦ 71  
(d) Our main aspirations as human beings and other matters.

These and other subjects were carefully discussed and it was decided upon that all the African people in the whole country should be called upon to join the African National Congress so that means could be devised whereby they could be led more efficiently.

10. REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: When the Credentials Committee gave its report it stated that <sup>the</sup> 49 Branches were represented by 167 delegates.
11. THE <sup>MINUTES</sup> 1953 OF THE 1953 CONFERENCE were read and accepted. Matters arising herefrom were discussed and done with.
12. TREASURER'S REPORT was delivered by the Treasurer and accepted by the whole house. The President thanked the Treasurer for his trustworthiness in handling the Peoples money.
13. THE SECRETARY'S REPORT: When the Secretary delivered his report of the previous year. The Secretary went deeply into the work of the Branches their successes and shortcomings and the work of the Provincial Executive Committee. This was warmly accepted by Conference as it stood.
14. MATTERS ARISING FROM SECRETARY'S REPORT: The following are matters which arose from the Secretary's report:-
  - (a) Mkokajeli's Memorial Stone at Peadie.
  - (b) Intensification of the Economic Boycott.
  - (c) Confusion in the Western Cape Region.
  - (d) The 1949 Programme of Action.The last subject was heatedly discussed by Conference

for 5 hours argument being between those who proposed amendments and those who wanted it to stand as it was. After discussion the Chair put the matter to a vote with the following results:

(i) Those who favoured an amendment were 12.

(ii) Those who were opposed to amendment were 89.

The motion for amendment was therefore defeated by 77 votes.

After this matters relating to advisory boards and other similar work bodies were discussed as to the action to be taken against those who were members of such bodies.

At this juncture the Secretary had to intervene in order to appease the heat of the argument between opposing sides by stating that such a matter could not be decided upon by the Provincial Conference alone but would be referred to the National Executive on account of its delicate nature. However a decision was finally reached <sup>to his effect</sup> that the Cape Province would not allow any African National Congress members of the Province to participate in the activities of these bodies. Branches were therefore warned to pay particular attention to this matter and not to allow Congress members to participate in Parliamentary elections. That, therefore, was the decision of the Provincial Conference.

15. ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR 1954-1955 JUNE: The following were elected to the Cape Provincial Executive Committee:-

1. Prof. L. K. Matthews, President Alice
2. Dr. J. L. L. Uzongwe New Brighton
3. Dr. L. I. Bokwe, Middelburg
4. Mr. L. M. Matjie New Brighton
5. Rev. J. A. Kalata Bracken

6. Rev. W. S. Isaacs, Durban
7. Mr. G. J. Hayles, New Brighton
8. Mr. B. M. Jack, Lorton
9. Mr. Matomela, New Brighton
10. Mrs. S. Matomela, New Brighton
11. Mr. J. Ngobana, Cape Town
12. Mr. J. Selley, Grahamstown

6. READING OF RESOLUTIONS: Thereafter the Chair called upon the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee to read the Resolutions which resulted from the discussions of the Conference. The resolutions were read, seconded and unamously adopted.

6. PUBLIC MEETING: Just after the lunch adjournment on Sunday, Dr. Ngongwe announced that a public meeting would be held outside the Hall where all were welcome as Chief Lutheuli was due to address the African people whose leader he was. The doctor appealed to all the volunteers to keep the peaceful atmosphere as the people proceeded to the place where the <sup>national service</sup> meeting was to be held and the President-General's address delivered. After all this the Chairman congratulated all the participants in the deliberations of this great conference ~~and~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~for~~ they had played in rendering it a success, and concluded by the words, "I close this conference peacefully: go ye therefore and work according to your decisions." The National Anthem was sung and this concluded the 1955 Conference.

AFRIKA! AFRIKA! MAY BUYE!!!  
MAY BUYE IN OUR LIFE-TIME

These minutes compiled by: I. E. Ichumenqwe  
Conference Recording Secy.  
Approved by Cape A.N.C. Provincial President

(11) Since these minutes have not been approved by our President, although complete those with them should hand them to the President for his approving signature in the space provided above)

Thank you  
J. E. Ka' Ishungwa  
Provincial Secretary.

18/6/55

RESOLUTIONS OF THE LAST CONFERENCE:

I beg the pardon of this Conference for my not being in possession of the resolutions which were adopted at the last Conference. It so happened that when I moved from Queenstown they were mislaid amongst my possessions and I cannot find them now.



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**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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