

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 the other 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 those 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 the governing bodies of the country - national, provincial and local - and we resolve to work for the abolition of all differential institutions or bodies specially created for Africans, viz. local or district councils, present form of parliamentary representation.
- (2) To achieve these objectives the following programme of action is suggested :-
 - (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) The regular issue of propaganda 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 functions should be to carry into effect, Vigorously and with the 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 undertake a campaign to educate our people on this issue and, in addition, to employ the following weapons : immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realisation of our aspirations :
 - (b) preparation 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 and industrial, transport and other enterprises 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 Congresses to study the 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
as may/...

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 Africans in the commercial, industrial and other enterprises and workers in their worker's 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.

ADOPTED IN BLOEMFONTEIN, THIS 17TH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1949.

SIGNED:

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SECRETARY-GENERAL.

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PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

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Robert Sobukwe Papers

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