

IWS 60 (6)

JMK. 27/9/55

Never before has the leadership of our country been as challenged by the present historic events at home and in the world, to give an unequivocal answer as to how ~~ambitious~~ best they are to solve <sup>the</sup> almost unique and unbearable situation in South Africa, created by the policy of ~~apartheid~~ <sup>have</sup> ~~been~~ <sup>such</sup> so closely watched with great great interest by their people and peoples of other lands. For how long are we going to tolerate this ~~unpleasant~~ <sup>2</sup> position, <sup>1</sup> or what do they propose doing about it. <sup>2</sup> To this ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> leaders reply, "the FREEDOM CHARTER points the way." Yes, we all agree, but not so easily <sup>and</sup> friends. ~~The~~ <sup>Political</sup> <sup>and</sup> organisational problems have long blocked the way to freedom. <sup>what</sup> do we say to ~~that~~ <sup>those</sup> ?

The time has come for a thorough re-examination of grave organisational problems in the liberatory movement, so long ~~been~~ neglected, if we are to succeed in our task of liberating the broad masses of the people from the yoke of nationalist oppression. These organisational problems in our struggle do not seem at all ~~insignificant~~ <sup>to grow less</sup> but on the contrary they are becoming more complex as the <sup>people grow more</sup> ~~conscious~~ <sup>conscious</sup> and impatient with the slave system.

The entire leadership is confronted with this serious situation of putting their ~~responsibilities~~ <sup>responsibilities</sup> organisational machinery on a higher plane capable of carrying out the great task before the <sup>e</sup> country, the implementation of the Charter.

The organisational problems are dangerously <sup>shaking</sup> ~~shaking~~ the foundations of our mighty force, which can only be invincible if these incorrect, wrong and primitive and feudal ideas are removed and not perpetuated by the leaders from time to time. If these undesirable methods which harm the struggle are not immediately attended to; the masses will not wait for a solution to be found, they will go ahead and the leaders will follow in the tail of the masses. A graver situation will then arise and be taken an advantage of by the enemies of the people. Fortunately for us we are in a position to correct these things, discard the old and useless methods which have hitherto been out let. The Freedom Charter creates a clear vision <sup>in</sup> ~~from~~ which the true meaning of freedom has been explicitly expressed, and for which our political propaganda and organisational machinery should be prepared. It is true that the A.N.C. Secretariat report submitted last year to the annual conference made serious attempts to draw the attention of delegates to this very disturbing organisational problem

most emphatically and made specific suggestions. But to solve these problems require more revolutionary methods than the report was able to show. The fundamental causes of the general weaknesses should be properly analysed, they must be sought in the set-up of the country and in the general living conditions of the people.

What sort of country do we live in? And by whom is it populated?

We live in a country of varying degrees of cultural and ~~social~~ social development in a country of different nationalities and of different colours. We have rich and poor people, the oppressor and the oppressed. The European population of our country commands economic and political power but has also different social cultural and economic divisions. The non-European population is also divided into social, cultural and economical groups with no economic and political power. It constitutes the most backward and poorest section. This is especially true of Africans. We have industrialists and industrial workers - the urban population. We have the farmers and farm labourers - rural population. We have Indians, Coloured, Europeans and Africans all living together and inter-dependent but the people are superficially divided, into racial groups and some into water-tight compartments in the reserves, locations and compounds. Others live in what is known European areas, Coloured Indian or Chinese Areas. All these people <sup>and</sup> South Africans. The majority of them have a common objective, irrespective of the racial groups they may belong to. They wish to live a free and peaceful life. We have in this structure of our society remnants of past and backward economic systems, and especially feudal systems. If these systems appear to be obscured by the present ~~(advanced)~~ present capitalist system, the past in very much in the <sup>people's</sup> minds and influences many in their actions and outlook.

Therefore, Our organisational difficulties and indeed all our political problems should be examined <sup>against</sup> from this background. The background of unequal development ~~is~~ the background of master and servant without which no clear picture could be drawn.

It is only from an objective clear analyses, frank and honest critical examination that a lasting solution based on the realities of the situation can be found. You asked me, "Why have we not found the solution ~~before~~", was it because no capable leaders could analyse this situation

objectively? No not because of that, we have had and still have some of the most outstanding political thinkers, ~~and~~ who have profound knowledge of political science. But they are no machines, these things have to be raised and discussed with them. They might see it differently but only from these discussions <sup>can</sup> that we ~~then~~ learn ~~and be able to~~ correct ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> impressions or mistakes. Although this article deals more with the organisational problems of the A.N.C. I am inclined to think that it is no longer possible today to deal this or that organisation in isolation from others. Some of the problems which face the A.N.C. are similar to those of sister organisations in the national political front. What then are the causes of the organisational problems in the A.N.C.? The organisational problems of the A.N.C. are a product of the system under which we live and are more fundamentally due to the backward ideology, backward methods of organisation inherited from the organisational structure of the A.N.C. of 1912 - which was probably at a time suitable but no longer corresponds the political development of the present day. The A.N.C. constitution for instance was inspired and based on the French parliamentary system. The conference of the A.N.C. itself is even to the present day regarded as an African parliament. The elementary debates, therefore, influence the outlook of some of our people, we then consider these conferences as a mass debating centre. This also has an unhealthy influence on the leadership and even the provincial systems are a copy of the same structure, ~~a sort of~~ autonomous governing provincial bodies. The leaders begin to have an <sup>exaggerated idea of the</sup> ~~exaggerated~~ importance of <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ positions. They behave as if they were kings or chiefs whose authority can hardly be questioned and whose functions are merely to address big gatherings arranged by other people for them. How the branches are organised, how the funds are raised are matters which they merely <sup>hear</sup> of in conferences. The national leaders for instance have no access <sup>to</sup> for the branches or to the rank and file except ~~or~~ <sup>by</sup> arrangement with the provinces. This has introduced too much formalism which is used by leadership in all levels as an excuse of blocking or dogging check on the work and sometimes giving <sup>rather inaccurate</sup> reports in conferences ~~not very~~ accurate. The spirit, therefore, of unreliability on the officials comes in. In some cases instructions are given without regard to their practicability or otherwise, or taking into account the local condition. From this lack of systematic style of work suitable for the advancing masses arises.

of systematic style of work suitable for the advancing masses, arises a spirit of officialism or commandism. the duties of officials of the Executive members are not properly defined. There is another aspect which requires a bold approach, the inferiority of superiority complex which manifests itself in different forms and at different times with devastating effects in our movements. Sometimes it takes the form of racialism. From it arises sectarianism, provincialism, <sup>ism</sup> ~~organism~~ originalism. This has been more noticeable in the joint campaigns. Some friends in the struggle do not examine the correctness or otherwise of policies. Their line is to investigate the sources from which an idea originates, the question of whether the idea is bright or not does not concern them. The powerful propaganda machinery of the country based on the policy of basakapism divides and rule policies have for long been the most powerful weapons which the rulers use. This propaganda usually throws confusion and brings <sup>about</sup> conflict in the organisation. Then factionalism, unpolitical and unprincipled criticism begins to penetrate throughout the organisation. This affects all sections who constitute our political organisation. It affects particularly the less developed leaders who begin to be their criticism on personalities. Some of these people consciously or unconsciously <sup>by</sup> undermine the struggle. their friendship is usually based on whether they like an individual or not. Then small cliques of faultfinders spread <sup>vague rumours</sup> gossip and slander becomes the order of the day and the entire work of the movement suffers. Lack of team work in the executives, irresponsibility of officials who do not consider the organisation but consider themselves are some of those things which <sup>harm</sup> ~~have~~ the progress of our organisation. These things combined with the fact that as we have got to combine political knowledge with business technique ~~to~~ to be able to create an efficient machinery and administer the affairs of the nation with dignity, respect, enthusiasm and understanding

These things are possible only because we have also not attended to the political education of our people. There is an alarming low level political understanding even in some quarters you ~~must~~ at least expect this. The position has become worse as a result of the banning orders, but that in itself is a serious weakness for which the leaders banned or not must take full responsibility. It is clear that no machinery was properly created before these banning orders and that is why people today find themselves in a more confused position. The leaders depended more on the personalities, their infl

and their agitational speeches which has to some extent been responsible for some of the conference resolutions which are product of emotional speeches and not based on concrete situations.

Can these things be stopped, can they be corrected, can we solve these problems? Yes, but not by mere analyses of the situation however, accurate it may be but by positive well <sup>c</sup>considered realistic methods by <sup>raising</sup> raising the ~~high~~ political level of our cadres, by means of political education. We can solve them by fostering interest in theory and theoretical problems and by exposing these people who are contemptuous of theory, those people who believe that only practise can bring us freedom. But more than all these things it is high time we learn that the development of society that the development of the struggle depends fundamentally on criticism of ~~the struggle~~ and self-criticism based on political principles.

One of the main tasks of the leadership both in the political and ~~and~~ economic spheres is to give vigorous education to the oppressed and exploited masses of our people about the intricate interdependence of the political and the economic struggles. This fundamental truth emerges more sharply in all colonial and semi-colonial countries; wherein people suffer dual forms of exploitation and oppression, as workers and as national groups.

My immediate task, however, is to deal with the National liberation movement and trade unionism in Africa. Africa as you know, is the only continent which is still entirely dominated by the Imperialist powers, even South Africa with its so-called independence status, has within itself imperialist features. In other words the non-Europeans are oppressed as a national group as well as an exploited working class ~~as~~ <sup>as</sup> cheap labour force. All the ~~the~~ political and economic power is constrated in the hands of few Europeans.

\* This evil of imperialism our country is further shown by a determined plan to extend this white domination beyond the borders of the Union of South Africa

The Union Government is a full partner in the exploitation of the material resources of Africa and its indigenous people, with such countries as U.S.A

Great Britain, Belgium, <sup>France, Spain</sup> and Portugal. <sup>It is the</sup> leadership in Africa <sup>would imperialism</sup> ~~is~~ that ~~the~~ victory, <sup>cannot</sup> against Imperialism can only be <sup>uprooted</sup> by forging strong ties of alliance between the workers' movement and the national liberatory

movement? Yes, since ~~the~~ world war <sup>II</sup> ~~the~~ efforts in many parts of Africa have <sup>been developed directed</sup> ~~begun~~ to grow along these lines, and especially in French colonies North

and ~~West~~ West Africa. <sup>The</sup> same can be said of British colonies West, East and central Africa. South Africa, although the most advanced industrial country in Africa, <sup>and having</sup> and has therefore the most enlightened leadership has not made <sup>much</sup> progress in the

field of trade union <sup>movement</sup>, as compared for instance with the <sup>For North Africa,</sup> ~~Rhodesias~~. <sup>It is</sup> due to the fact that the white workers who have had <sup>union facilities</sup> in the last few years, however, the liberatory movement has grown both <sup>that</sup> numerically and politically. Its leadership definitely accept the fact, unless

much attention is given to the building <sup>up</sup> of powerful trade union movement, A.N.C. itself ~~is~~ not likely to make headway. The president-General of the A.N.C

Chief Luthuli, has asked Congress not only to organise trade unions as their duty but also to find money <sup>to</sup> ~~and~~ assist those <sup>financially</sup> weak trade unions <sup>financially</sup>.

The African National Congress for the first time <sup>has</sup> included a demand, on behalf of the workers of a minimum wage of one pound a day. Unfortunately this has not been followed up both by the A.N.C. and the trade union movement. The coming into being of a real workers' federation of trade unions led by Piet Ryleveld and Leslie Masina, both fore-front leaders in the liberatory movement, and the fact that the S.A.T.C.U is a national body consisting of all races, open another <sup>era</sup> in our struggle.

This article has ~~only~~ dealt with broad principles on the subject of the <sup>alliance between</sup> liberatory and trade union movements. In the next issue ~~we~~ shall deal with the position on a regional basis.

Senegal  
Mali  
Mozambique

This is  
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hand in hand  
with their  
fellow  
non-European  
workers

the

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Walter Sisulu. Typewritten article undated  
organisational problems.

- 1) The F/C points the way to solving the problems  
in SA. created by "baasbaasism".
- 2) ... to succeed in liberating the broad masses  
of the people from the yoke of nationalist oppression.
- 3) ... feudal ideas perpetuated by the leaders ...
- 4) The true meaning of freedom is expressed in the F/C.
- 5) ... what sort of country do we live in?
- 6) We have rich and poor, the oppressor and the oppressed.
- 7) We have remnants of feudal systems in our society structure
- 8) ... the present capitalist system ...
- 9) ... raising the political levels of our cadres ...
- 10) solve problems by fostering interest in theory ... and  
by exposing those who believe only practice can bring  
freedom.

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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**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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