

"IX. As representatives of the Non-European oppressed people, we have come together in the full recognition of the above, in order to lay the foundation for real unity amongst the Non-Europeans. As the purpose of this Unity is to fight against Segregation, discrimination and oppression of every kind and to fight for equality and freedom for all, such a Unity Movement cannot and must not for one moment be considered as directed against the Europeans (an anti-European front). It is an **anti-Segregation front** and, therefore, all those European Organisations and Societies which are genuinely willing to fight Segregation (as distinct from those who profess to be against Segregation but in reality are only instruments of the ruling class) are welcome to this anti-Segregation Unity Movement."

It is impossible to over-emphasise this point. It is impossible to repeat it too often to European workers and Non-European oppressed. We, the Non-European oppressed, must never confuse the European worker, aristocrat of labour though he may be to-day, with the European ruling class. It may not be very apparent at the moment; it may be a very difficult lesson for the majority of us to learn, but nevertheless the irrefutable fact remains that the European worker must ultimately become the ally of the Non-European oppressed, for economic exploitation and national or colour oppression spring from the same root, even though the branches of the tree seem to point in entirely different directions. The agencies of the White rulers within the ranks of the White working class will go out of their way to use the Unity Movement to increase the existing racialistic feelings between black and white workers; they will spread the poison that we are anti-White, that we want to replace the White Herrenvolk by a Black Herrenvolk. But the more they do this, the more we must insist and the more we must show in practice that we are not racialist: we are not anti-White, but anti-Segregationist.

Within our own ranks we will have trouble on this score, too. I do not merely refer to the Non-European Segregationists who will try to incite race hatred, but also to those people who, blinded by so many decades of oppression by a White ruling class with the acquiescence or support of the majority of the White working class, have become chauvinists who believe that everything white is wicked. These people will be able to point to dozens and dozens of so-called Radicals and Socialists and Communists who paid lip-service to the emancipation of the Non-European, while they rode into Council or Parliament on his back, or grew rich at his expense by organising trade unions which were more interested in collecting subs and being on friendly terms with the bosses, than fighting for increases for the workers. Names of persons and organisations will be mentioned, and we will be told that "All these.....Whites are the.....same." It is going to be difficult, but we shall have to do battle with these chauvinists in our own ranks; we shall have to teach and teach and teach them, until they understand that with the growth of a powerful Unity Movement and with the increasing frequency and depth of the economic crises facing S. Africa to-day, the White worker will be forced to find his way to his real ally, the Non-European worker. Let us not be so blinded by the poisons from the cancer of Segregationism that we shut the door to the White worker. For come he must and will—on the basis of full and equal citizen rights for all in this country, on the basis of a 10-Point Programme.

Points XI and XII, the final points of the preamble, contain the very core or heart of the programme and of the Unity Movement. They state a truth which will be hard for many to learn and **to carry out in practice**, namely, that because our disabilities flow from the lack of political rights, the political struggle must be the central point around which our struggle revolves. We shall have to make a break with our past in this respect. For we shall have to put an end to the dissipation of our energy in a thousand and one different directions. We shall have to learn to conserve our energy and concentrate it upon the main fight—the struggle for full democratic rights. The rulers emphasise what they call "social welfare" and the Liberals emphasise "charitable

work and social uplift" for the very reason that they wish to keep us from the main struggle, the struggle for citizenship rights. We must learn, however, not to turn ourselves into small change but to keep ourselves big money. We must learn that if you hammer at the key-stone, the arch must fall. If you go for the big thing, the little things will come your way; but if you fritter away time and energy on the myriads of little things, you will never reach the big thing at all. That is why we have to learn points XI and XII by heart.

"XI. Indeed, all Non-Europeans suffer under the same fundamental disabilities—the lack of political rights. This lack of political rights is the main cause of the poverty of the Non-Europeans, the main impediment to their progress and future. It is through lack of political rights that laws were passed, Land Acts were passed, depriving the Non-European of his land, prohibiting him from buying land and forcing him to stay on the land as a semi-labourer and semi-serf. It is through lack of political rights that laws were passed making it virtually impossible for a Non-European to become a skilled worker (the white labour policy, Apprenticeship Acts, etc.) and keeping unskilled and semi-skilled labour on the very lowest plane and even below the minimum subsistence level. It is through lack of political rights:

- (a) that his education is deliberately starved;
- (b) that he is starved of medical facilities, hospitals, maternity homes and clinics;
- (c) that he is forced to live in locations, bazaars, hovels and sheds;
- (d) that he is forced to carry passes and cannot move freely;
- (e) that the system of taxation is unjustly applied against him;
- (f) that he is not allowed to form Trade Unions.

XII. In view of the fact that all the above disabilities, economic, educational, social and cultural, all flow from the lack of political rights, the struggle for full democratic rights must become the pivotal point of our struggle for freedom. But while recognising that our struggle is chiefly a political struggle, we must not neglect any other form of struggle so long as it serves the cause of liberation. Thus it is the duty of every organisation attached to this Unity Movement to unfold to the people the meaning of the following programme, a programme not for bargaining but representing the minimum demand and fundamental needs of all sections of the people."

All these points of the preamble together comprise a whole outlook, a new outlook, for the overwhelming majority of both the mass and the leadership. It is with this new outlook that we wish to build the Unity Movement. **Only when you ignore this preamble do the actual 10 points named in the Programme appear to be something that everyone can accept**—collaborator and non-collaborator C.A.C. or N.R.C. men and genuine fighters. Only then can you speak of a long-term policy or a distant, nebulous goal. The preamble lays down a complete change of orientation in the present and not at some future, unknown and unknowable date. This is why acceptance of the Programme implies something more than merely reading the 10 points and agreeing to them. The 10 points flow from a definite attitude towards the oppression of the Non-European and prepare the way for a definite type of struggle—a political struggle.

I shall not enter into any discussion on the actual 10 points themselves, other than to say that these 10 points cover the fundamental needs common to African, Coloured and Indian oppressed, and state their minimum demands. If we mean what we say when we lay claim to full citizenship, then we cannot possibly demand less. Many, perhaps, would go further in their demands. But here in the Unity Movement we are not much concerned with those; we are concerned with the finding of a minimum basis upon which to unite and in the 10-Point Programme we have it.

At the same time, there is a further reason why we must insist that Unity can only be built upon a Programme and upon this Programme: it is necessary as concrete evidence to all sections of the oppressed, who are suspicious, that one section is not trying to use the other as a means of obtaining concessions for itself. Any section and any organ-

isation not accepting the letter and the implications of the Programme immediately becomes suspect and is unacceptable in any Unity Movement. **No matter how slowly we may thus be forced to build**, we must be sure that we are building solidly. The time is more favourable now than it has ever been for laying the foundations of real Unity. That is why we must build carefully, for the greater the promise the greater the set-back if the promise does not materialise. We have not travelled far, but we have travelled farther than any previous attempts at Unity, so we must tread very warily. If we fail, we make it much more difficult to begin all over again; we increase despair and suspicion.

Furthermore, we may add that this Programme of the **needs and demands** common to all sections, and active political work on the basis of such a Programme is one of the most powerful means of breaking down the racial-barriers between one Non-European and another.

To sum up, then, these are the main reasons why we have to reaffirm the 10-Point Programme as the basis upon which Unity has to be built. But let us assume for one moment that this Conference does reaffirm the Programme. **What do we do about it then? What do we expect all the people here assembled, and those whom they represent, to do about it?** Very briefly, we shall attempt to answer these questions.

First, as a Unity Movement, we have to take the Programme to the people, we have to **explain** it to them, we have to **activise** and **lead** them upon its basis.

Second, we must see to it that the members, all the members of our respective organisations, understand the Programme and work towards its attainment.

Third, upon the basis of the 10-Point Programme we have to declare war upon the Segregationists and other reactionaries within our own organisations and within our own particular racial group.

Fourth, we must see to it that we, personally, fully understand all its implications and the responsibility it places upon us and the new direction it gives us.

Fifth, we must realise that it is **our task**, organisationally and individually, to see to it that the spirit and the letter of the Programme are assimilated by the mass and the leadership and translated into political practice. We have already called the 10-Point Programme a Charter of Liberty. We will have to do a great deal of hard work to ensure that these words obtain a real meaning in the history of this country.

On behalf of the Continuation Committee, I move:

**"That this Conference reaffirms the 10-Point Programme as the basis upon which Unity is to be built and the fight for full democratic rights prosecuted; it thus urges upon all organisations and members of organisations not only to make known to the people throughout the country the principles and implications of the Programme, but to wage the fight for Unity and full citizenship upon this basis."**

**Mr. Jaffe** (4th International Group, Cape Town) seconded the Resolution. He replied to those critics who wanted adjustments and concessions in order to draw in certain organisations. The 10-Point Programme was the barest minimum of Unity. To destroy that would be to destroy real Unity. The force against which we were wielding this Programme was a world-wide one with colossal power, i.e., British Imperialism. The fate of future generations depended on the way we translated the 10-Point Programme. The O.B. and the Malanites also claimed to be anti-Imperialists, but we were the only real anti-Imperialists, the only honest fighters for freedom.

**Mr. Amra** moved the adjournment of the discussion so that Mr. Chowdree, who was in the hall, could explain the absence of the South African Congress. He said that according to Mr. Chowdree, the S.A.I.C. had accepted the 10-Point Programme and alleged that the minutes of the 2nd Unity Conference were incorrect.

**Mr. Sobrun** seconded this motion.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** on a point of explanation drew the attention of Conference to the fact that the S.A.I.C. did not accept the 10-Point

Programme. In fact the 2nd Unity Conference broke down on the first point, i.e., the franchise. The Natal Indian Congress now wanted a restoration of the franchise held prior to 1896, which was based on property and educational qualifications. We on the other hand wanted adult suffrage on the same basis as the Europeans.

**Miss J. Gool** (Cape Anti-C.A.D.): Is Mr. Chowdree an accredited delegate of the S.A.I.C.?

**Mr. Amra** replied that he was a visitor, but it was necessary to clear up the situation.

**Mrs. Z. Gool** supported Mr. Amra in the interest of Unity. She said she had received a letter signed by the official Indian delegates to the 2nd Unity Conference, in which they had alleged that there were certain mis-statements and inaccuracies in the minutes of the 2nd Unity Conference.

**Mr. Stewart** felt it was unnecessary to adjourn. Mr. Chowdree should be allowed to state his case and we could discuss it.

**Mr. Koza** (All-African Convention & African Distributive Workers' Union, Johannesburg) warned the Conference not to be led into a trap. At the 2nd Unity Conference in Johannesburg Mr. Chowdree had been an accredited delegate, but now he was merely holidaying in Cape Town and his organisation could repudiate any statements he might make at this Conference in his personal capacity. Unless he came as an official delegate we could not discuss with him. He strongly protested against the back-door entry of the S.A. Indian Congress.

**Mr. Rahim** supported Mr. Koza.

**Mr. Sondlo** objected to the methods used by the S.A.I.C. It was not proper that letters should be sent only to certain individuals when there were the proper official channels.

**Mr. Sobrun** felt that Mrs. Gool was the only sane person at the Conference. He thought Mr. Chowdree could make a constructive contribution to the Conference.

**The Chairman** announced that he was in possession of a letter from the S.A.I.C. addressed to Prof. Jabavu.

(Conference adjourned for tea.)

**Mr. Fataar** moved an amendment to Mr. Amra's resolution, that instead of adjourning to hear Mr. Chowdree speak in an unofficial capacity, Conference should hear the official correspondence between Prof. Jabavu and the S.A.I.C.

This amendment was seconded by **Mr. Sondlo** and carried by 73 votes in favour, with 16 against.

**Mr. Koza** moved that the correspondence be left over for the next day.

**Mr. Sondlo** seconded. Conference agreed.

**The Chairman** ruled that discussion be resumed on "The Basis of Unity."

**Mr. Malunga** said that Mr. Kies had given an excellent explanation of the meaning of the 10-Point Programme. But he felt that ours was an economic struggle. He moved the following amendment to Mr. Kies' resolution:

1. To affirm the 10-Point Programme as the objective of the Non-European in the struggle for full democratic rights.
2. To propagandise as widely as possible the 10-Point Programme and Non-European Unity.
3. To recognise the primary importance in any step towards the achievement of Unity, of the building and strengthening of existing national liberatory organisations of the three sections.
4. To strive to bring together these national liberatory organisations for the purpose of formulating a plan of Unity on urgent and burning issues affecting the three sections of the Non-European people.

In order to give effect to the above, this Conference resolves to appoint a new Continuation Committee which will work for the calling of a further Conference at the earliest possible opportunity based on representation from all national organisations representative of the different sections of the Non-European people."

After some discussion the Chairman appealed to Mr. Malunga to postpone his resolution to the next item on the agenda, "The Building of Unity," to which Mr. Malunga agreed.

**Mr. Sobrun** said that the 10-Point Programme was an ultimate ideal. The Non-European's problems meant an age-long struggle. Meantime he wanted a short-term policy. The Coloured people were against the C.A.C., the Africans against the Pass Laws, and the Indians against the Peggung Act. That was quite enough as a basis of Unity.

**Mr. Gamiet** (Fourth International Group, Cape Town) could not understand why people still said the 10-Point Programme was a distant goal. The 10-Point Programme is the only Programme on which we can base our struggle. We need a large co-ordinating movement; we are past the age of sectional struggle. That manner of fighting dissipated our energies and played into the hands of the ruling class.

**Mrs. Z. Gool** agreed with Mr. Kies. We have too long accepted the master and slave ideology. Those who have taken up local work must not feel that that precludes working in their own particular political sector, but there must be a powerful organisation. Let Mr. Amra and Mr. Arendse take this message to their organisations and to the masses. Her experience after seven years in the City Council was that without direct representation the people got nothing. Why be afraid of the 10-Point Programme?

**Mr. Stewart** moved as an addendum to the resolution moved by Mr. Kies,

**"That it be the special duty of the Executive, allocated to special members if necessary, to co-ordinate the activities of all the constituent groups whenever any specific and immediate danger covered by the Ten Points arises against any local group, and to receive reports from these groups on such dangers, and inform all groups of the necessity for action on a national scale."**

**Mr. Caldecott** seconded.

**Mr. H. Wilson** (Anti-C.A.D., Cape Flats) felt the addendum was redundant.

**The Chairman** ruled that it fell under the item, "The Building of Unity."

**Mr. H. A. Dudley** (Genadendal Farm Workers' Union) said Mr. Kies had given a very clear exposition of the 10-Point Programme. Our Movement would be vague and obscure if we could not use it as a measure in every situation. It was not a distant ideal, but fulfilled our immediate needs and demands.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** said we must be clear on the real meaning of the 10-Point Programme before we affirm it. People had come together from all over the country because they are bound together by political issues. The 10-Point Programme was by no means idealistic and abstract; on the contrary, it was highly concrete and practical. To interpret it correctly was to know how to tackle the problems of the people. He demonstrated this by describing a number of instances where the people had already shown Unity in action. A Cape Unity Co-ordinating Committee supported the Goodwood Action Committee in their campaign against the expropriation measures under the sub-economic housing scheme at Goodwood-Acres, which meant putting the Coloured people into locations. These meetings had proved highly successful and the people had rallied together in defence of their rights. He also referred to the attempt on the part of the local authorities to wreck Unity by raising among the Coloured people the bogey of the "influx" of Africans into towns. Here again the Unity Committee had exposed the aims of the Government and declared that every man, African, Coloured and Indian, had the right to sell his labour power to the highest bidder. This would be denied to the Africans if labour depots were established. In the same spirit the Coloured people had rejected the Coloured Advisory Council because they understood what it meant. In the same spirit, the slogan of "equal pay for equal work" (in the 10-Point Programme) was fully supported by the Teachers' League of South Africa. On the question of medical facilities for Non-Europeans, the Medical Students' Vigilance Committee had taken

a firm stand on the lines of the 10-Point Programme, and they had been able to do this precisely because they had correctly interpreted it.

**Rev. Abrahamse** supported Dr. Gool. The Anti-C.A.D. had translated the 10-Point Programme and had shown the way. He deeply deplored the inter-segregational outlook of the Non-Europeans. Segregation was a home-grown product and must be fought here in S. Africa.

**Mr. D. Neethling** (Elsies River and Goodwood Vig. Socy.) said the Non-Europeans in the northern suburbs of the Cape Peninsula had already accepted the 10-Point Programme and are working on that basis. It appeared to him that the squabbling was only amongst the leaders. Not the people. The people were already translating the 10-Point Programme into practice. In the Goodwood Municipal Elections the united efforts of the African, Coloured and Indian voters returned the three Non-European nominees of the Vigilance Society. In the present fight against expropriations the people were firm in their rejection of the present segregation housing schemes. The bogey of the "influx" of Africans raised by the local authorities in an attempt to incite the Coloured people against the Africans, fell flat. They stood shoulder to shoulder with the Africans. "Touch the African and you touch us!" was the slogan of the Coloured people in the northern suburbs.

**Mr. Balaj** (S.R. Old Boys' Club, Durban) said the Anti-Segregation Council was merely a handful of Indians. Conference could not accept the 10-Point Programme as the Indians were not represented here. We must have the support of the S.A. Indian Congress.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** said his own experience in Natal had shown it to be otherwise. He read a letter from the Anti-Segregation Council, wherein they claimed that they represented 28 organisations (mostly trade unions) and at a conservative estimate, 15,000 people.

**Mr. Andrews** (Paarl) speaking as a trade unionist, accepted the 10-Point Programme. It was our duty to explain it in person and in action.

**Mr. R. E. Viljoen** (Nat. Anti-C.A.D.) said he disagreed with those who said the 10-Point Programme was something for the distant future. Every point in the Programme reflects our lack of elementary rights and embodies our needs.

**Mr. Tsotsi** (Lady Frere) said that while the Unity Movement is Anti-Segregationist, the ultimate aim is to get rid of exploitation. Racially exclusive organisations paid only lip-service to Unity. People must break down the Segregationist tendencies within themselves and in this way Unity would be built all along the line from the smallest organisation to those on a national level.

**Mr. Sobrun** asked if it was fair to accept the 10-Point Programme in the absence of the S.A.I.C.

**Mr. N. P. Naicker** (Anti-Seg. Council, Durban) said the Anti-Segregation Council was quite competent to speak for the Indian people.

**Mr. Layne** (New Era Fellowship) said a programme was something which defined a political attitude. It was something from which there was no departure. The value of the 10-Point Programme was that it allowed of no compromise. It was on this question that the Johannesburg discussion broke down. For the Non-Europeans any compromise on principles was a thing of the past.

The resolution moved by Mr. Kies was carried unanimously.

Conference adjourned at 6.15 p.m.

#### THURSDAY, JAN. 4th: EVENING SESSION.

**Chairman: Rev. Z. R. Mahabane.**

Telegrams were read from Chief Majeke and from Vice-President and Director of Research of National Union of South African Students.

The Chairman ruled that Mr. O. Caldecott's resolution be now discussed.

**Mr. Caldecott** formally moved his resolution:

"This Conference directs the incoming Committee to open negotiations personally as well as by letter with the African National

**Congress with a view to drawing them into the Unity Movement on the basis of the 10-Point Programme."**

In his speech he emphasised the need to make the A.N.C. see the urgency of Unity based on the 10-Point Programme.

**Mr. Stewart** seconded. He said the personal contact should be made with the A.N.C. leaders.

**Mr. Ngubeni**, supporting the motion, said that the people in the platteland had sent him in the belief that Conference would give them guidance as to what to do. The question was how the sections of the Non-Europeans could be united. The absence of representatives from the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. was a danger to the Movement.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

After a long discussion **Mr. Koza** moved that the correspondence from the S.A. Indian Congress sent to Prof. Jabavu and now in the possession of the Chairman, should be read.

**Mr. Fataar** seconded. Agreed.

**Mr. Ramsdale** (Joint Secretary) at the request of the Chairman, read the letter (dated 22nd Dec., 1944); it was signed by Adv. Godfrey, Messrs. W. S. Seethal, C. I. Coovadie, M. S. Abed, M. Jajbhay and A. Chowdree, who together with Mr. A. I. Kajee and Mr. K. Thambi, formed the official S.A.I.C. delegation to the 2nd Unity Conference. The gist of the letter was that a leaflet entitled "Kajee Speaks," issued by the Anti-Segregation Council, was based on extracts from these Minutes purporting to be the official Report of Proceedings. They claimed that the Conference had been an "informal meeting" to discuss, without commitment, and to ascertain whether there were any points of common interest on which representative Non-European organisations can take joint action. They declared that certain statements in the Report were erroneous and misleading.

**Mr. Dudley** inquired to which Minutes the letter referred.

**Mr. Ramsdale** replied that it referred to the Minutes of the 2nd Unity Conference held in Johannesburg on July 8th, 1944.

**Mr. Amra** wanted to know if the Secretaries agreed that the Minutes were correct.

**The Joint Secretaries** gave the Conference the solemn assurance that, in drafting the Minutes, every possible care was exercised to ensure that the Minutes were correct in every detail. The draft was submitted to the Cape Town members of the Continuation Committee of the Unity Movement, who were authorised at the Johannesburg Conference to issue any publication necessary in the interests of the Unity Movement. They stated categorically that to the best of their knowledge the Minutes are a true and correct record of proceedings at the Conference. The draft was not submitted to the S.A.I.C. because, as far as the Continuation Committee was concerned, the Congress had broken with the Unity Movement, and therefore no responsibility devolved on them to submit the draft to Congress.

**Mr. Jayiya** (Joint Secretary) called the attention of Conference to the behaviour of the S.A.I.C. officials prior to the 2nd Unity Conference (July, 1944). He pointed out that some time after the 1st Unity Conference (Dec. 1943) the local members of the Continuation Committee in Cape Town held a meeting in which the President of the S.A.I.C., Mr. Ismail, and the Secretary, Mr. Kajee, were present by invitation. At the conclusion of a long discussion they requested that the Minutes of this meeting be shown to them before being forwarded to the Chairman of the Unity Movement, Prof. Jabavu. This was done. But the S.A.I.C. officials neither returned those Minutes, nor forwarded them to Prof. Jabavu, nor did they reply to any communication sent to them by the Joint Secretaries.

**Mr. Sondlo** said that if the S.A. Indian Congress had taken Unity seriously they would have been officially represented at this Conference.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** said that the S.A.I.C. had adopted delaying tactics. To all the correspondence from the Continuation Unity Committee from Dec. 1943 (when the 1st Unity Conference met) up to July, 1944, the S.A.I.C. had sent no replies. Their delaying tactics were not an accidental thing. There were political reasons for it, and it would be

necessary to go into those reasons. At their Conference in June, 1943, the S.A. Indian Congress had passed a watered-down Unity resolution to the effect that they were prepared to co-operate with the other sections of the Non-Europeans only on specific issues. The resolution had merely been a manoeuvre to force the hand of the Government to withdraw the Pegging Act. They made no attempt to give expression to their resolution, but kept it in cold storage. They would not come into the Unity Movement because they did not want to jeopardise their case with the Government. But the Government was not taken in by Mr. Kajee's threat and was in fact coming out harder against the Indians. Mr. Kajee's position is becoming more and more difficult and untenable. The Indian masses are waking up to the rotten leadership, and the policy of compromise.

Dr. Gool regretted the methods employed by the S.A.I.C. of corresponding with individuals on the Unity Committee instead of with the Joint Secretaries.

Mr. Amra asked if it was an insurmountable difficulty to get the S.A.I.C. into the Unity Movement. The Anti-Segregation Council was a temporary body which had joined the S.A.I.C. and he considered it too immature to wage a successful fight against Mr. Kajee at an early stage. As Dr. Gool had pointed out, the delay on the part of the leaders of Congress had been political jugglery. This reflected the particular mentality of the Indian capitalist class. But compromise was not leading them to progress. It was to the interest of the Indian capitalist class to support Unity. Are we to close the door to them? No. Dr. Dadoo, who had now joined the S.A.I.C., could assist by forcing the hand of the S.A.I.C. in the Transvaal; similarly Councillor Ismail in the Cape. Kajee had given only lip service to Unity, but Kajee is not the Indian people. There are progressive forces in Natal who are aware of the necessity of forming a new organisation if necessary. The door must not be closed against the Indian people.

Mr. Koza said the Unity Movement should not be used for pulling chestnuts out of the fire for the Indian merchants, whose position was not only untenable but precarious. The onus rests with the Indian leaders to explain why they are not in the Unity Movement. It is not for us to take it upon ourselves to explain. Let Kajee come out openly and state unequivocally to the Indian masses whether they are for Unity or against Unity on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. The masses will be in order in removing the leaders if they do not make their position clear.

Mr. Gamiet said that we are not here as tools of the Indian leaders. Mr. Amra had pointed out that there are other representatives of the Indian people. Negotiations with the Indian people must be on the basis of the 10-Point Programme.

Miss J. Gool said that the Unity resolution of the S.A.I.C., namely, that they were prepared to co-operate only on "such specific issues," had never been brought to the Indian people. It was simply a manoeuvre to threaten the Government. The Government fears most of all the Unity of all Non-Europeans and the Indian leaders tried to capitalise on that fear. The basis of Unity must be the 10-Point Programme.

Mr. Rahim said it was necessary to refute the allegations in the letter from the S.A.I.C.

Mr. Fataar said we should rather pass a resolution accepting the assurance of the Continuation Committee that the Minutes are correct.

Mr. Van Schoor urged Conference to come to a decision. Delegates had come here to accept the 10-Point Programme. The S.A.I.C. had stayed away deliberately, and we should not get excited over the absence of Mr. Kajee or of Dr. Xuma. We should go to the Indian masses with the 10-Point Programme either through Mr. Kajee, or without him.

Mr. Fataar moved that "Conference accepts the assurance of the Continuation Committee that the Minutes of the 2nd Unity Conference are correct."

Mr. Tabata seconded Mr. Fataar's resolution. He said that it



covered the matter.

**Mr. Amra**, while supporting the resolution, did not consider that it went far enough. It should be elaborated in the form of a public statement, since the S.A.I.C. elections were coming on in Natal.

**The Chairman** said that a resolution would be drafted and presented for adoption the following day.

Conference adjourned at 10.20 p.m.

**FRIDAY, JAN. 8th, 1945: MORNING SESSION.**

**Chairman: Rev. Z. R. Mahabane.**

**The Chairman** announced that at the end of Conference the Minutes would be circulated to all organisations, after he had approved of them.

Arising out of the previous evening's discussion on the communications from the S.A.I.C., the Chairman asked **Mr. B. M. Kies** to read the re-drafted resolution. Mr. Kies then formally moved that:

**"This Conference, after due consideration of the allegations by the South African Indian Congress delegation to the 2nd Unity Conference, that the Report of Proceedings of that Conference contains certain mis-statements, accepts the solemn assurance of the Continuation Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement that the Report is a true reflection of the proceedings of the Conference. Moreover, this Conference is of the opinion that most effective means whereby the leadership of the S.A.I.C. may remove any alleged misconception of their view upon Non-European Unity, would be by joining the other two sections of the Non-European oppressed in the Unity Movement on the basis of the 10-Point Programme."**

The resolution was carried unanimously.

**The Joint Secretaries** presented the Credentials Committee's Report. This showed that 214 delegates, representing 102 organisations, attended the previous day's session. The organisations were made up of the following: 30 political organisations, 11 trade unions, 12 civic and rate-payers' associations, the Central Executive and 25 branches of the Teachers' League of South Africa, the Central Executive and seven branches of the African People's Organisation (A.P.O.), 1 Church and 1 Ministers' Organisation, 4 sporting bodies, 5 benefit societies, 4 cultural societies. The total number of people represented was about 59,520, but it was pointed out that several organisations were federal bodies and some trade unions did not state their membership. Also some organisations had sent in registration forms but their delegates did not register. These were not included. The figure therefore should be regarded as a very conservative estimate.

**Mr. Amra** moved and it was unanimously agreed to adopt the report.

**Mr. I. B. Tabata** (All-African Convention) opened the discussion on **"The Building of Unity"** and delivered the following speech:—  
**Mr. Chairman and Members of Conference:**

Yesterday you listened to a long speech on the Basis of Unity. I do not intend to take up half the time. It is my task to introduce the discussion on the Building of Unity. Judging from what took place yesterday there is going to be a good deal of discussion. Yesterday it would have seemed that there could be no two opinions on the subject under consideration, yet there was a good deal of controversy. To-day we are faced with one of the most contentious problems of Conference. Yesterday Conference accepted a new policy, a new outlook, but it is no use accepting this new policy unless we are prepared to put it into practice. We have to create channels, we have to create a vehicle through which to carry this policy to the masses. It is the nature of this vehicle, the **organisational form** of the Unity Movement, that we are now called upon to discuss.

Controversy will be inevitable. In a big Conference of this nature there will be differences of opinion, which must be expected, for the

people represented belong to many different schools of political thought. We shall anticipate a few of these. First of all, there are those who do no work and only wake up when they come to Conference. They take it upon themselves to defend imaginary masses against imaginary misleaders. They confuse their own feelings with those of the masses, and they are the most vocal. But as they have no programme we need not worry about them overmuch. Their only danger is to create a confusion, and Conference must take care not to allow itself to be confused by them.

Then there is a second group who have political ideas. They have read a lot of books on politics, have followed the activities of political parties overseas and have a lot of political theories which they would like to try out in practice. But they have not the organisation to practise their ideas on. Their task is to create an organisation which will give them a home. They take themselves seriously and they have suggestions to make to Conference. They have to be watched pretty carefully.

There is a third group which is politically immature. They are the young hot-bloods who see the Unity Movement as already powerful and irresistible, ready to sweep away oppression. They visualise a single national organisation springing up overnight, brushing aside everything and settling scores immediately with our oppressors. They are inclined to skip stages and fail to realise that it is necessary to take cognisance of the different stages of development of a people and their struggle.

There is a fourth group which may be divided into two sections: (a) They do want Unity, but they do not want this particular Unity. They are afraid that this organisation will swallow up their own organisation, which they have taken years to build up; (b) there are those who really do not want Unity. You may ask: how can a Non-European in South Africa not want Unity? Last night a member of Conference mentioned that amongst the Indians there is already crystallised a bourgeois class. While he mentioned this, he failed to draw the proper conclusions from it. This class is afraid of the Unity Movement because it is a threat to its own economic position. This is the Indian merchant class. Now it is important to know who are with us and who are not with us, so I propose to say something more on this subject.

Since before December, 1943, the idea of Unity was being discussed throughout the country and federal bodies were expected to come to Bloemfontein on that date to the Preliminary Unity Conference. The one group not represented was the South African Indian Congress. When we speak of the S.A.I.C. we do not speak of the Indian **people**. The Congress is in the control of the Indian merchant class. Why have we not been able to draw in this class? Because our aspirations are totally different from theirs. For us, Unity is a means to our liberation. That is why we want to put it on a sound programmatic basis. But for them, for the Indian merchant class, Unity is a weapon with which to threaten the Government, something to be used for striking a bargain with the Government, for gaining concessions for themselves. That is why they were the first to come out with the idea that it was time for the Non-Europeans to unite. But when it came to the actual Conference of the S.A.I.C. held in June, 1943, the Unity Resolution was watered down. "This Conference of the S.A.I.C."—thus ran the resolution—"resolves that the time has arrived for this Congress and its affiliated bodies as representing the Indian community of South Africa to co-operate on such **specific questions** which the Executive of the S.A.I.C. or its affiliated bodies may deem fit and proper, with representative Non-European organisations, with the object of safeguarding and promoting the political, economical and educational interests of the Non-European peoples of South Africa."

The important point is, this resolution was not carried to the Indian masses. It remained a dead letter. When the Pegging Act was passed, the Indian merchant class played with Unity, and the Government recognised that though they spoke of Unity, they too were afraid of it. Smuts played for time and came out with the Pretoria Agreement.

Meantime other sections of the Non-Europeans had been taking definite steps to put Unity into practice and the Second Preliminary Unity Conference was held in Johannesburg in July, 1944. There, the S.A.I.C. broke with the Unity Movement on the basis of the 10-Point Programme. This was a signal to Smuts, who came down on the Indians with the Natal Segregation Ordinance.

We have looked into this subject with some detail, because it is necessary for us to know our forces. Before we start building we must know our resources. We must know what materials we have at hand. We must know who are with us and who are not with us. No section must use the Unity Movement as a pawn in the game for its own benefit. The Indian merchant class want room to play about and use Unity for the purpose of bargaining. **But the 10-Point Programme shuts out all possibility of bargaining.** The Indian merchant class, like all bourgeoisie, is mortally afraid of the working class. They are fully class-conscious and clear-sighted; their vision is not blurred by the colonial issue; they transcend the demarcations of colour, see the real class issues and take up their position alongside of their class-brothers. The time is past when we could have a bourgeois that is progressive and revolutionary; at a crucial moment they will turn against the working class. This holds true of the bourgeois throughout the world.

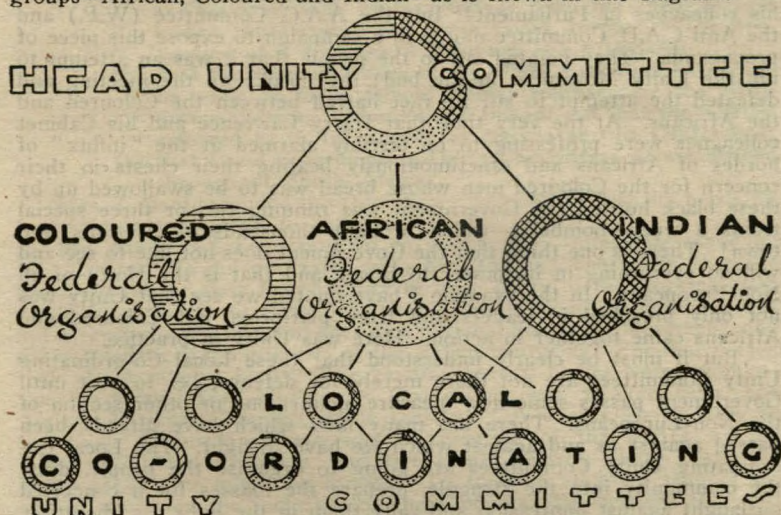
But what about the Indian people, who still belong to Congress? We want them! I must here remind delegates that this Conference does not in itself constitute Unity, but marks the beginning of a long struggle for Unity. We are prepared to try and get in all those elements whose interests are with us, who through the Unity Movement are helping themselves and the Non-Europeans as a whole. We shall go out and fight along with them, but **only on the basis of the 10-Point Programme.**

Added to these groups we have discussed above, there is yet another. This is a little group within a section. Conference must watch out for those elements here present who will be expressing the sentiments of the absentee opposition. This group will try to put obstacles in the way of Unity at Conference.

We must next consider the problem of how to carry out the programme we agreed upon yesterday. After 300 years we have only now adopted the 10-Point Programme, only now have we decided to change our whole outlook, only now have we grown to full maturity. But we must be careful of trying too hard to make up for our past slowness. The decisions made yesterday have still to be taken to the country and still to be understood, for it takes time for an idea to become part and parcel of a human being. Again I issue a warning against those who will propose an all-embracing National Organisation all at once. At the present stage we are all organised according to separate national groups; each is trying to create its own federal group, its own voice for the people. This form of organisation is in the order of the day. There is the All-African Convention and the Anti-C.A.D. and the Indians too have their federal body. **We must view the whole struggle in motion.** We cannot skip stages in development. We must realise that, so well have we imbibed the ideas of the ruling class that our segregationist outlook has not been and cannot be overthrown overnight. In order to create a vehicle which will carry our new outlook, we must know what we have at hand, namely, various nationalist bodies. First we must keep these bodies and not abolish them. Let us not create a new body at every Conference. What we have to do is to give **a new function to the existing federal organisations** and make them more powerful. For example, the Anti-C.A.D. has plenty of work to do, fighting segregation, spreading the new outlook among the Coloured people; and the other federal bodies likewise have to build up their organisations and organise people on the basis of this new outlook. I repeat that this Conference does not constitute Unity; it is only the first step, which is, to give a new function to existing organisations, namely, co-ordination and co-operation among the different organisations.

I suggest that the Conference shall agree to the creation of a Central Unity Executive Committee which shall be made up of repre-

sentatives of the three federal organisations representing the three racial groups—African, Coloured and Indian—as is shown in this diagram:



This Central Unity Executive Committee must rest on and draw sustenance from the three federal bodies representing the three racial groups. As I said before, in order to understand the situation as it is to-day, we must view things in motion. There is no use having a static picture of the situation in our minds and on that building something artificial. Most people make just this mistake of regarding things as static and therefore fail to understand their real nature. We must take into account the constant process of change, the continuous motion. The tendency to-day, then, is for each social section to form a federation of all organisations within that section. We must strengthen these existing federal bodies, and they must take root amongst the people. Already the Anti-C.A.D., for example, has formed **local committees** all over the country, and all Coloured organisations in a locality are represented in these committees. The All-African Convention is also building up local committees whose primary task is to work among the Africans so that not a single organisation is left out of the committee.

In this way the Anti-C.A.D. and the All-African Convention are attempting to find roots among the people. In the same way the Unity Movement must find roots among the people by creating a **new function** for those local committees. It **must teach them co-operation**, and they must come together in Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees.

(Mr. Tabata made use of a large diagram to illustrate the interrelation between the Central Executive Unity Committee, the three federal organisations and the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees.)

Supposing a measure is passed by the Government against any one section of the Non-Europeans, then not only the local committee of that section will take up the struggle, but also the local committees of the other two sections shall be asked to join in the fight. This co-ordinating function rests with the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee.

What I have been trying to describe has already been demonstrated in Cape Town, the only place in which the Anti-C.A.D. Local Committee and the All-African Convention (W.P.) Local Committee exist side by side. When the Government raised the bogey of the "influx of Natives" into towns and painted a lurid picture of Africans pouring into towns to take the bread out of the mouths of the Coloured people, the Government propaganda machine was set in motion amongst the Coloured people to stir up feeling against the Africans. This scare went so far that the European Ratepayers' Association of Maitland invited the Coloured people to come along with them to discuss this "Influx," and

the Government Minister Lawrence was prepared to lead a deputation on their behalf. A Crown Minister, mark you, leading a deputation to his colleagues in Parliament! But the A.A.C. Committee (W.P.) and the Anti-C.A.D. Committee united in a campaign to expose this piece of propaganda. They pointed out to the people that it was an attempt to nip the Unity Movement in the bud; they broke up the meeting and defeated the attempt to stir up race-hatred between the Coloured and the Africans. At the very time that Harry Lawrence and his Cabinet colleagues were professing to be terribly alarmed at the "influx" of hordes of Africans and sanctimoniously beating their chests in their concern for the Coloured men whose bread was to be swallowed up by these black hordes, the Government was running two or three special trains a week—bombelas—which brought thousands of Africans into town! There is one thing that the Government does not like to see and will do everything in its power to break, and that is the Unity of all Non-Europeans. In the example I have quoted we see that Unity was not only preached in leaflets and from platforms, but Coloured and Africans came together in action. Here was Unity in practice.

But it must be clearly understood that these Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees are not there merely for defence, i.e., to wait until Government passes some new measure against one or other section of the Non-Europeans. There are many laws which have already been passed against us and against which we have to fight. The Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees are going to organise the people, draw the community into the struggle, prepare the masses for a concerted onslaught against oppression and rally them in the fight for liberation.

From what I have already said it will be seen that our task at this juncture is to teach co-operation to the people. This is in itself a step towards complete Unity. But we must be careful not to break Unity by trying to go too fast. We must recognise the problem of the various stages of development that history presents to us. It is not that we wish to see each group separated; this is how we find it. If we try to ignore historical processes we shall break our necks. We cannot in one day rid the people of the prejudices that have been part of their whole outlook all their lifetime. We have not destroyed those prejudices by adopting the 10-Point Programme at this Conference. We have still to go to the country and teach the people its full implications and we have to do this not only in words but in actual practice. The theory and the practice, i.e., the actual struggle on the basis of the 10-Point Programme, will teach the people to forget about their racial groups and think only in terms of their common oppression. When that stage is reached there will be no more need to perpetuate sectional organisations, which will be out-dated. Then we shall be able to talk in terms of Unity Committees and not Co-ordinating Unity Committees. I repeat, at this present stage of our development we must have Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees.

I therefore have much pleasure in moving the following resolution:

**"In view of the fact that the Non-European people of South Africa have for generations accepted the Government's policy of 'divide and rule,' and have become steeped in the segregationist outlook, so that to-day they find themselves organised according to their separate racial groups, and in view of the fact that this policy of racial exclusiveness and segregation, carried out by the Non-Europeans themselves, has led to the weakening of our forces and made it possible for the oppressors to attack each section of the Non-Europeans in turn, until to-day all are reduced to a position of virtual slavery, this Conference, after full realisation of the disastrous effect of the policy carried out by each section in the past, now decides:**

- (1) To reject segregation, not only between black and white, but also within the ranks of the Non-Europeans themselves.
- (2) That the prerequisite for an effective struggle against oppression and for liberation is the establishment of Unity of all oppressed peoples of South Africa. To give effect to this, this Conference resolves:

- (a) that a Central Unity Executive be established, consisting of a Chairman, 2 Vice-Chairmen, 3 Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer, with representatives from the three federal bodies representing the three racial groups, in the proportion of 8 Africans, 4 Coloured and 4 Indians;
- (b) that the representatives of the Unity Executive be elected by each of three federal bodies representing the three groups, African, Coloured and Indian, and that the officials referred to in (a) above, be elected at this Conference;
- (c) that Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees be established throughout South Africa."

Mrs. Z. Gool seconded the resolution. She emphasised the necessity for creating machinery to carry out Unity.

Mr. Amra said he wished to correct certain statements made by Mr. Tabata. He did not agree with Mr. Tabata's conclusion that the Indian merchant class feared Unity because Unity of the working class would be a threat to their privileges. The 10-Point Programme was not a revolutionary one, but that of a national liberatory movement, and did not endanger the interests of the Indian bourgeois. For that reason they would support Unity. The existing federal bodies were organisationally weak. The All-African Convention was weaker than The African National Congress, while the Anti-C.A.D. was known only to the Cape Peninsula. There was no mention of the A.P.O. or the African National Congress, and this would destroy Unity. Another Unity Movement might be formed. To forestall such an attempt we should work for the inclusion of these bodies. He believes that five bodies should be represented. He suggested an amendment to clause 2 (a) of Mr. Tabata's resolution, namely, to substitute the word "five" for the word "three" (before "federal bodies") and in place of clause (c) to substitute the following:

**"That the Unity Executive Committee be instructed to form local co-ordinating committees throughout South Africa."**

He also suggested an additional clause (to be called (d)):

**"That the Unity Executive be instructed to call Provincial Unity Conferences."**

(Mr. Amra later withdrew his amendments and supported Mr. Malunga's resolution. (See pp. 21 and 10.)

Dr. G. H. Gool on a point of explanation said that a number of A.P.O. officials were on the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, so that in effect the A.P.O. was already represented on the Unity Committee.

The Chairman pointed out that we were dealing with the three racial groups and were not now concerned how the three federal bodies within those groups would be constituted.

Mr. Andrews (Paarl) supported Mr. Amra.

Mr. Stewart rejected Mr. Amra's suggestion to have five organisations instead of the three federal organisations. There would be no end to the number. There should be only one federal organisation for each group and all national bodies should go into the existing federal body. He was sure it was far from Mr. Tabata's intention that the All-African Convention should exclude the African National Congress.

Mr. Stewart emphasised the importance of taking up any issue on a national scale; the matter did not rest with the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee. He therefore suggested the following addendum to the resolution put by Mr. Tabata:

**"That it is the special duty of the Unity Executive to co-ordinate the activities of the three specific groups whenever any danger arises in connection with the 10-Point Programme."**

Mr. Caldecott seconded.

Mr. Malunga then moved his amendment to the resolution. (See page 10.)

He claimed that the masses did not know of the Federal Organisations. The All-African Convention did not at present embrace all organisations. The African National Congress represented the masses. He congratulated the Continuation Committee for having taken so much pains to draw in the S.A. Indian Congress. He wished they had

done the same with regard to the African National Congress.

**The Chairman** called Mr. Malunga to order and referred him to the resolution, and asked him not to discuss the internal affairs of organisations.

**Mr. Billy Peters** (Anti-Segregation Council) seconded Mr. Malunga's amendment.

**Mr. Amra** supported Mr. Malunga.

**Mr. Lakey** (Calitzdorp A.P.O.) said that the African People's Organisation (A.P.O.) was definitely left out of the Unity Movement.

**The Chairman** said that impression was not correct.

**Mr. Lakey** said he could take no report back to his organisation. He said that the Secretaries' Report stated that the Anti-C.A.D. represented the Coloured people. Are we to accept such a statement? The A.P.O. was 42 years old and the strongest body to-day, and yet it had been set aside.

**Dr. Gool**, rising on a point of order, said that while he agreed that Mr. Lakey should speak his mind, he felt that Mr. Lakey did not understand the Secretaries' Report. He read from the relevant passage in the Report which showed that the Anti-C.A.D. did **not** claim to be 100 per cent. representative of the Coloured people. It said: "The All-African Convention and the Anti-C.A.D. are **sufficiently** representative of the respective groups they represent to **enable us to gauge** the effect of the Unity Movement or these groups."

As Mr. Lakey continued to speak on the internal differences of organisation, several delegates objected. **Mr. Kies** moved that Mr. Lakey be allowed to continue, provided that other delegates were given the opportunity to correct him.

**Mr. Tabata** seconded this motion, which, put to the vote, was carried. But Mr. Lakey declined to continue.

**The Chairman** appealed once more to the delegates to refrain from discussing the internal affairs of their organisations.

**Mr. Van Schoor** disagreed with Mr. Tabata's proposal in regard to the different stages before a Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee would be formed. It was not necessary that people should be organised in their separate racial groups before forming a Unity Committee. He felt that local organisations should send their delegates to the Head Unity Committee where no federal organisations existed. We should strive for one National Organisation.

**Mr. Tsenvego** (East London) supported Mr. Tabata and showed how in East London the various groups had co-ordinated their efforts on certain common problems and met with success.

**Mr. Sondlo** supported Mr. Tabata's proposals for the Building of Unity.

**Conference adjourned for lunch.**

#### **FRIDAY, JAN. 5th: AFTERNOON SESSION.**

**Mr. Sondlo** (continuing) rejected Mr. Malunga's proposals.

**Mr. Billy Peters** was not satisfied with Mr. Tabata's organisational plans. He felt this path would lead to disunity.

**Mr. Rahim** supported Mr. Tabata. Our task is to strengthen the Movement through the Local Committees. He felt that Mr. Van Schoor was premature. The time was not ripe for a National Organisation.

**Mr. Roberts** (Nat. Anti-C.A.D.) explained in greater detail Mr. Tabata's organisational plans for the building of Unity, with special emphasis on the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees. Generally the people of the various groups were still antagonised towards each other. We want them to get together politically to work together for full democratic rights. This would be done through Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees.

**Mr. Koza** said it would be wrong of this Conference to discuss matters of internal conflicts in different organisations. Unity should be based on the federal organisations of each group. The federal organisation would provide a springboard for each national group. But more than one for each group would spell ruin. We who belong to one

or other of the federal groups will see to it that as many bodies as possible will be drawn into Unity. Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees are all-important. Only in common political action can we find a proper way of fighting. As a trade unionist he could say that the lack of political rights hampers the struggle in the Labour Movement.

**Mr. Jaffe** supported Mr. Van Schoor's proposal for direct local Unity Committees, instead of Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees. He moved an amendment to clause 2 (a) and the deletion of 2 (b) of Mr. Tabata's resolutions, to the effect that:

**"The Central Unity Executive Committee be elected directly from the body of the Conference and consist of a Chairman, 2 Vice-Chairmen, 3 Joint Secretaries, a Treasurer and 10 others; and that this Executive have power to co-opt 6 additional members."**

**Mr. Kies** spoke on the various amendments. Mr. Malunga's amendment was full of the twists of a legal mind. His proposals for a new Continuation Committee were most dangerous. He wanted us to start from scratch and ignore the federal bodies. To stress each national organisation would be a retrogressive step, as we have already reached the stage of federation within the respective groups. In dealing with Mr. Jaffe's amendment, he showed that Mr. Jaffe was in the same boat as Mr. Malunga since he advocated a loose decentralised organisation. He stressed the fact that the nucleus of the three organisations existed. By strengthening these we could get greater co-ordination and centralisation.

**Mr. Ellman** (Heidelberg T.L.S.A.) felt that the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees should affiliate direct to the Central Unity Committee.

**Mr. Dudley**, supporting Mr. Jaffe, said we must seek for Unity of the masses and not of the tops. Local organisations much learn to unite and form units. The federal organisations would impede Unity. These units should work instead of the various racial organisations.

**Mr. Gamiet** contended that the organisations as envisaged by Mr. Tabata were clumsy and cumbersome. To do away with a large mass of duplication it was necessary to have local organisations united straight away.

**Mr. Amra** moved as an additional clause: "That a full-time paid organiser be appointed and an office opened in Cape Town."

He said that no organisation with a large membership should be excluded from the Unity Movement. Only the refusal to accept the 10-Point Programme should be grounds for excluding any organisation from the Unity Movement. He urged that the incoming Executive should as a matter of urgency make personal contact with the African National Congress to bring them into the Unity Movement.

**Mr. Tabata**, replying to the debate, said: We must view the struggle in motion. We must start from where we are to-day. At the moment we are organised according to our existing national groups, and federation is in the order of the day. We are not going to destroy existing organisations. We want to strengthen the idea of co-operation. The federal organisations of two committees have demonstrated that they can work together; they are responsible for the Conference to-day. We will not rest until the Indians are working alongside of us. Our own particular organisations have much to do; it will require time to break down existing prejudices and teach people to work together. We must not go too fast or we will break Unity.

The discussion was then closed and votes taken. The results were as follows:

Mr. Malunga's amendment was defeated by 16 to 90.

Mr. Jaffe's amendment was defeated by 24 to 79.

Mr. Stewart's addendum was defeated by 16 to 79.

Mr. Amra's addendum was carried unanimously subject to the addition of the words: "As soon as funds permit."

**The Chairman** declared the resolution, as moved by Mr. Tabata, carried.

**Mr. Jaffe** moved the following resolution on behalf of the Fourth International Group:

**"That these Unity Committees form centres in such areas; meet**



regularly; organise and draw in the masses to struggle against segregation, race-oppression and all reactionary measures; hold public lectures and meetings to propagandise the 10-Point Programme and Non-European Unity; issue regular bulletins; and prepare the people for the building of a mass National Organisation."

Mr. Tabata said that "the devil who had been driven out of the house was now entering by the chimney." There was a dangerous twist in the last part of Mr. Jaffe's resolution referring to a mass National Organisation.

Mr. Kies said the crux of the amendment was in the last line. He pointed out that Conference had assured the people that existing national organisations would be preserved, and now Mr. Jaffe's resolution contradicted this. He (Mr. Kies) was opposed to different bulletins coming from every local Committee. He therefore moved as an amendment: that the following words be deleted: "issue regular bulletins and prepare the people for the building of a mass national organisation."

Mrs. Z. Gool seconded.

The Chairman wanted to put the resolution and the amendment to the vote, but

Mr. Ernstzen (T.L.S.A., Port Elizabeth) protested that he wanted a full discussion on this resolution.

On a vote of 55 to 46 it was agreed to have this discussion.

Continuing, Mr. Ernstzen said that Unity Bulletins would be an important means of contact. We must prepare the people for one mass organisation.

Mr. C. Ellman supported Mr. Ernstzen.

Mr. Tsotsi said Mr. Kies did not say that he was against the issue of bulletins, but that he was against local bulletins being issued. There must be proper control of bulletins. A local committee might issue bulletins in contradiction to the Central Unity Committee's policy.

Concerning a national organisation, the people themselves will decide when the time is ripe for forming a national organisation.

Mr. E. Kroneberg said that the Unity Movement must remove barriers, not create them; only local bulletins working for one mass organisation could do this.

Mr. Z. Gamiet said that he was aghast at the lack of perspective and leadership of the Unity Movement leaders. They are encouraging conditions which are no longer existent. Were they afraid of the people? The tendency to-day was for a single national organisation.

Mr. Grammer, agreeing with Mr. Tabata and Mr. Kies, said that local committees cannot immediately issue their own bulletins. National responsibility should rest upon headquarters.

Mr. J. Marais felt that it was his painful duty to correct Mr. Kies. The resolution spoke for the preparation for a national organisation, not the immediate building of one.

Mr. A. Fataar maintained that this resolution was redundant.

Mr. E. Viljoen, replying to Mr. Marais, said that there was no better way to prepare people for mass organisation than the way pointed out by Mr. Tabata.

Mr. Sobrun supported Mr. Gamiet. He felt that the Committee feared the people and that was why it rejected the idea of local bulletins.

Mr. G. H. Gool pointed out that unless there was some sort of cohesion, there would be anarchy. The press service of the local committee must work in co-ordination with the head committee. Unless there was centralisation, there would be complete chaos. He stressed the fact that local committees have a most important part to play and much work to do.

Mr. E. C. Roberts felt that Mr. Jaffe's resolution was in conflict with Mr. Tabata's.

Mr. H. Jaffe, replying to the debate, denied that the resolution was redundant or that the question of national organisation had been smuggled in. He stated that this resolution had been sent in long ago

to the provisional committee.

On being put to the vote, Mr. Kies' amendment was carried by 62 votes to 44.

At this stage Dr. G. H. Gool took the chair to enable the Rev. Mahabane to introduce a resolution dealing with the subject "Non-Europeans and Peace Problems."

**Dr. G. H. Gool** paid a tribute to Rev. Mahabane and recalled that it was he who in 1927 wrote to the late Dr. Abdurahman urging him to try and bring the Non-Europeans together. This resulted in the calling of the first Non-European Conference in Kimberley, in 1927. Dr. Gool said that it was cause for special gratitude that Rev. Mahabane was still with us to-day to further his contribution.

In introducing the discussion on the "Non-European and Peace Problems" Rev. Mahabane said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The task that has been assigned to me by the Organising Committee is perhaps the most difficult of all:

### NON-EUROPEAN AND PEACE PROBLEMS.

Certain questions forced themselves to the minds of those who care to think about the future or about the coming peace settlement when the present World War comes to an end. How is the world going to be re-shaped, re-formed, re-built? The situation created by this terrific world shock, this tremendous upheaval, this world tremor, calls for a rebirth of nations, re-grouping, re-organisation of nations? Is a re-drawing of the map of the world an inevitable consequence of this shaking of the present world order? Will there arise from the ashes of the present world order a new order? Almost all over the world people have been dreaming and speaking of a new order.

Now the question before the Non-European races of this country is: will there be a place, will there be room, for them in the new social structure, the new political organisation, the new international order, that will come into being? If there will be room for the Non-European races in that new order what will be the dimension and character of that place? Is there any hope of the eight points of the Atlantic Charter being made applicable to him? Is there any intention on the part of the present rulers of the country of applying the four (4) Freedoms propounded by President Roosevelt to the Non-Europeans? Freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, freedom from fear.

In the coming Peace Settlement it is problematic whether the position of the weaker races of mankind, the so-called undeveloped peoples, the oppressed peoples will receive any consideration.

During the first half of this century, the 20th century, a number of peace settlements and constitutional adjustments and re-adjustments have been made, and on all these the Non-European races have either been ignored or relegated to a dark corner of the structure that may be created. They have been denied a place in the political organism of the country. In South Africa the ruling races have adopted and vigorously applied the principle of segregation, with all its disastrous consequences to the Non-Europeans.

1. After the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 a peace settlement was arrived at in Vereeniging, in May, 1902, between the Representatives of the British Government and those of the Boers of the late two South African Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The Black people were excluded from this settlement.

2. At the conclusion of World War No. 1 a peace settlement was forged at Versailles, in Paris, in France, in 1919. An International Labour Conference was provided for as one of the outcomes of the war. The Non-Europeans were excluded from this arrangement. The Black races of the Continent of Africa and other parts of the world which were formerly under German rule were treated as children, or minors, and a system of trusteeships in the form of mandates was instituted for their supposed tutelege. No place was found for them in the political systems of the countries of their respective habitations,

nor was any provision made for their direct representatives at the International Labour Conference which holds its meetings at Geneva, in Switzerland.

3. As a result of deliberations of the several Imperial Conferences of the Prime Ministers of the British Commonwealth of Nations the Union of South Africa became a sovereign state on a footing of equality with any of the member states of the Commonwealth. This culminated with what is called "The Statute of Westminster of 1932," whereby any member state in the British Commonwealth of Nations has the right to decide its own destiny to determine its own fate, to say whether or not it desires to remain in the British Commonwealth or to come out, the right also to cut the painter with the Empire and declare itself a Republic, the right to negotiate on its own with any foreign Government in the world and to make laws for the Government of the country without reference to Great Britain.

This arrangement has placed the Non-European races in a most dangerous place, dangerous by reason of the fact that the Non-European groups are excluded from the Governing Councils of the land, and they have no voice nor vote in the determination of the fate of the country if a major issue be raised, whether it be in regard to the form of Government of the country, i.e., whether it shall be like the form of a Republic, Monarchy, a Dictatorship, Fascism, Nazism, Communism or any other "ism", the Non-European Communities are not at all consulted; they are treated as so many children in a family whose opinions or wishes or likes or dislikes are never consulted when the father decides to transfer his domicile from one country to another. We must demand as necessary in any peace settlement the following fundamental requirements:—

1. (a) Re-introduction into the philosophy of Government in South Africa of the dictum "No taxation—without representation"; (b) the Rhodes dictum of equal rights for all civilised men South of the Zambezi; (c) the sacredness of personality of every member of the human race, white or black, civilised or uncivilised; (d) the right of every member of the human race, white or black, to all the rights, privileged duties and responsibilities appertaining to this means of citizenship.

2. Reversal of the policy of Segregation, the operation of which during the last fifty years or more has proved to be inimical to the interests of Africans.

3. Reversal of the policy of exclusion of the Non-Europeans from the political structure or organisation of the country which was adopted by the so-called National Convention of 1909.

Reconstruction of International Labour Conference provided for in the peace covenant of 1919 so as to make room for direct representation of Non-European labourers of all countries in conference.

4. Direct representation for Non-Europeans on governing and legislative councils of the land, national, provincial, local, municipal on public services of the country, on administration.

He moved the following resolution:

**"This Conference denies the right of the rulers of South Africa, the self-appointed trustees of the Non-Europeans, to speak on behalf of the Non-Europeans at any Peace Conference; and establishes it as the duty of the African, Coloured and Indian peoples, organised in the Unity Movement, to proclaim to the World that the Non-Europeans of South Africa affirm their right to the immediate enjoyment of full citizenship in a country which claims to be a democracy. This Conference is convinced that the voice of the Non-European Communities must be heard at the forthcoming Peace Conference."**

Mr. Mdatyulwa (African Democratic Party) in seconding the resolution said that already Roosevelt and Churchill had repudiated the Atlantic Charter. Further, Smuts had said that there would only be a military settlement at the end of the war. Other matters would settle of themselves. This would render a Peace Conference unnecessary. The Government does not consider the part played by the Non-Euro-

peans in stemming the Fascist hordes. We could not rely on the Government of South Africa to press our claim. In which case we have to declare to the world that the Europeans are not the proper people to represent us at the Peace Conference.

Owing to the late hour, it was not possible to have a full discussion on the resolution, which was unanimously accepted.

The Elections for Officers for the Unity Executive Committee took place and resulted as follows:—

Chairman: Rev. Z. R. MAHABANE.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. G. H. GOOL.

Treasurer: Mr. E. C. ROBERTS.

Joint Secretaries: Messrs. E. RAMSDALE and S. A. JAYIYA.

It was agreed that another Vice-Chairman and Joint Secretary should be elected by the Indian Section.

**Mr. Sobrun** said that we should elect the members of the Committee too.

**Mr. Senyego** pointed out that we had already agreed to the principle of giving each section the right of electing its own representatives to the Continuation Committee.

**Mr. Sobrun** wanted to know if the Joint Secretary representing the Indian Group should live in Natal. If not, he would nominate Mr. S. M. Rahim.

**Mr. Rahim** declined.

**The Chairman** pointed out that each federal organisation would appoint their own representatives; that would make it completely democratic. He also said that it would be best to leave the Indians to appoint those to fill the vacant posts.

**Mr. H. Dudley** wanted an immediate election, in open Conference, of the representatives of the Committee.

**Mr. A. Fataar** felt that this course would be in conflict with the letter and spirit of the resolution passed in the "Building up of Unity."

**Dr. G. H. Gool** felt that to force the issue now would be to slam the door in the face of other organisations, e.g., the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

**Mr. Amra** moved that the election of the Committee be left to the federal bodies of the different sections provided that in electing the African, Indian and Coloured representatives to the Central Unity Executive, we must bear in mind the Convention, African National Congress, Indian Congress, Anti-C.A.D. and the A.P.O.

**Mr. Kies** seconded, but added this addendum:

**"And that until a fully representative Committee be appointed, the present members of the Continuation Committee (12 in number excluding newly elected officials) continue to act."**

The Resolution with the addendum was unanimously accepted.

**Mr. Amra** agreed to accept this addendum.

**Mr. E. C. Roberts** submitted the Treasurer's Report.

**Mrs. Z. Gool** moved its adoption.

**Mr. Senyego** seconded.

The Treasurer's Report was unanimously adopted.

**Venue of next Conference:** **Mr. Ngubeni** moved that the next Conference be held at Durban.

**Mr. Amra** moved an amendment that it be held at Cape Town.

**Mr. Koza** had a further amendment that it be held in Johannesburg.

A long discussion ensued, during which **Mr. Amra** withdrew his amendment.

**The Chairman** said that he would leave it to the Conference to decide by popular vote, the venue. By a large majority vote it was decided to hold the next Conference at Durban in December, 1945.

**Mr. Ngubeni** moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried with acclamation.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee and their loyal helpers, to the young men and women who had carried out the tedious and thankless work of assisting the Secretariat, and finally to the hard-working Joint Secretaries.

**The Conference terminated at 6.40 p.m.**

## THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME.

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**THE AIM** of the Non-European Unity Movement is the liquidation of the National Oppression of the Non-European in South Africa, that is, the removal of all the disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and colour, and the acquisition of the Non-European of all those rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population.

Unlike other forms of past society based on slavery and serfdom, Democracy is the rule of the people, by the people, for the people. But as long as a section of the people are enslaved, there can be no Democracy, and without Democracy there can be no justice. We Non-Europeans are demanding only those rights for which the Europeans were fighting more than 100 years ago.

These Democratic demands are contained in the following 10 points:

- I. **The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.**
- II. **Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.**
- III. **Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.**
- IV. **Freedom of speech, press, meetings and association.**
- V. **Freedom of movement and occupation.**
- VI. **Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, colour and sex.**
- VII. **Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.**
- VIII. **Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.**
- IX. **Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.**
- X. **Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture.**

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## EXPLANATORY REMARKS ON THE PROGRAMME.

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Point

- I. This means the end of all political tutelage, of all communal or indirect representations, and the granting to all Non-Europeans of the same, universal, equal, direct and secret ballot as at present enjoyed by Europeans exclusively.
- II. This means the extension of all the educational rights at present enjoyed by European children, to all Non-European children,

with the same access to higher education on equal terms.

- III. This is the elementary habeas corpus right. The present state of helplessness of the Non-European before the police is an outrage of the principles of Democracy. No man should be molested by the police, nor should his house be entered without a writ from the Magistrate. The same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by the European should apply to all Non-Europeans. All rule by regulations should be abolished.
- IV. This point hardly needs explanation. It is the abolition of the **Riotous Assemblies Act**, directed specifically against the Non-European. It embodies the right to combine, to form and enter Trade Unions on the same basis as the Europeans.
- V. This means the **abolition** of all **Pass Laws** and restriction of movement and travel within the Union, the right to live, to look for work, wherever one pleases. It means the same right to take up a profession or trade as enjoyed by Europeans.
- VI. This means the abolition of all discriminatory Colour Bar laws.
- VII. The relations of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the **Land Acts**, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic State and Parliament.
- VIII. This means the abolition of feudal relations in the whole system of justice—police, magistrates, law-courts and prisons—whereby the punishment for the same crime is not the same, but is based upon the skin-colour of the offender. There must be complete equality of all citizens before the law, and the abolition of all punishment incompatible with human dignity.
- IX. This means the **abolition of the Poll Tax**, or any other tax applicable specifically to the Non-European, or discriminating between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There should be one, single, progressive tax, and all indirect taxation that falls so heavily upon the poorer classes should be abolished.
- X. This means specifically the revision of the Industrial Conciliation and Wage Acts, the elimination of all restrictions and distinctions between a European worker and a Non-European worker, equal pay for equal work, equal access to Apprenticeship and skilled labour. This means the liquidation of indentured labour and forcible recruitment, the full application of Factory Legislation to the mines and on the land. It means the **abolition** of the **Masters' and Servants' Act** and the establishment of complete equality between the seller and buyer of labour. It also means the abolition of payment in kind, and the fixing of a minimum wage for all labourers without distinction of race or colour.

# Organisations Represented at Conference.

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| <p>A.P.O. Central Executive<br/>         A.P.O. Branches:<br/>           Calitzdorp<br/>           De Doorns<br/>           Heidelberg, Cape<br/>           Kimberley<br/>           Lansdowne<br/>           Paarl<br/>           Soar<br/>         African Democratic Party<br/>         African Voters' Association, Claremont<br/>         African Voters' Association, Healdtown<br/>         African Voters' Association, Fort Beaufort<br/>         African Voters' Association, Western Province<br/>         African Commercial and Distributive Workers' Union, Johannesburg<br/>         All African Convention—Executive<br/>         All African Convention—Wes. Province<br/>         Anti-C.A.D. Committee—National<br/>         Anti-C.A.D. Local Committees:<br/>           Cape<br/>           Cape Flats<br/>           Kimberley<br/>           Paarl<br/>           Wellington<br/>         Anti-Segregation Council—Durban<br/>           (representing 25 Natal organisations)<br/>         Atlone Wedadig Genootskap<br/>         Bantu African Teachers' Union<br/>         Caledon and District Vigilance Assoc.<br/>         Cape African Voters' Assoc.—Kimberley<br/>         Cape South Western African League—George<br/>         Cape Sawmill Workers' Union<br/>         Claremont Political Study Group<br/>         Combined Elsies River Ratepayers' and Vigilance Society<br/>         Combined Organisations of De Aar<br/>         Concron Players<br/>         Co-op. Workers and Burial Society—Central<br/>         Co-op. Workers and Burial Society Branches—<br/>           Claremont<br/>           Langa<br/>           Queenstown<br/>         Co-operative Society—Glen Adelaide<br/>         Council of Non-European Trade Unions, Port Elizabeth<br/>         Dairy Workers' Union—Cape Town<br/>         Diep River Welfare Association<br/>         Dowerville Emergency Committee<br/>         Flagstaff African Teachers' Association<br/>         Fourth International Club<br/>         Garage Workers' Union—Cape Town<br/>         Garment Workers' Union (No. 2 Branch)—Johannesburg<br/>         Genadendal Ratepayers' Association<br/>         Genadendal Welfare Association<br/>         General Building Workers' Union—Cape Town</p> | <p>Gleemoor Civic Association<br/>         India League<br/>         Kenilworth Table Tennis Club<br/>         Kensington People's Action Committee<br/>         Kroonstad Ministers' Association<br/>         Lansdowne Moravian Church Congregation<br/>         Left Club—Durban<br/>         Livingstone High School Past Students' Union<br/>         National Liberation League—Cape Town<br/>           Kensington<br/>           New Era Fellowship<br/>           People's Action Committee—Goodwood, Vasco, Elsies River<br/>           People's Club—Cape Town<br/>           Porterville Welfare Association<br/>           Public Organisation—Aberdeen<br/>           S.A.R. and H. Non-European Workers' Union<br/>           S.R.S. Old Boys' Club—Durban<br/>           Stellenbosch Vigilance Association<br/>           Students' Socialist Democratic Party<br/>           Students' Socialist Party<br/>           Sweet Workers' Union—Cape Town<br/>           Tea, Coffee and Chicory Workers' Union—Cape Town<br/>           Teachers' League of South Africa—Central Executive<br/>           Teachers' League of South Africa—Branches:<br/>             Athlone<br/>             Beaufort West<br/>             Bellville and District<br/>             Bredasdorp and District<br/>             Caledon District<br/>             Cape Town<br/>             Claremont<br/>             Ceres<br/>             East London<br/>             George and District<br/>             Goodwood-Vasco<br/>             Heidelberg-Riversdale<br/>             Langeberg<br/>             Maitland<br/>             Oudtshoorn<br/>             Paarl<br/>             Port Elizabeth<br/>             Saron<br/>             South Peninsula<br/>             Stellenbosch<br/>             Uniondale<br/>             Vredenberg and District<br/>             Willowmore<br/>             Worcester<br/>             Wynberg<br/>           Textile Workers' Industrial Union—Cape Town<br/>           Durban<br/>           Johannesburg<br/>           Workers' Civic League—Mossel Bay<br/>           Young Kokney Moslem League</p> |
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Politics - General

30/9/54

# The Capricorn Movement



## Its Aims, Objects and Programme

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*Prepared by the  
President of the Capricorn Africa Society*

*September, 1954*



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