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SUGGESTED PROGRAMME .

The Congress of the People is over and the Freedom Charter is now the basic law of the whole Congress movement in South Africa .

Significance of Freedom Charter .

(a) For the first time we have a declaration of basic principles and beliefs uniting all the people of South Africa . In its conception and also in the manner of its organisation this was a common effort by all national groups in South Africa and that is reflected in the Freedom Charter which is the voice of progress and peace for All South Africans . Such a South Africa as is envisaged in the Freedom Charter is the only hope for a multi-national community such as exists in South Africa .

WHAT MUST WE DO WITH THE FREEDOM CHARTER .

1. We must carry the Freedom Charter into every home in S.A. We must push it into every area. We must get individuals and organisations to proclaim their support for the People's programme . Copies of the Freedom Charter in the African languages , in English and Afrikaans must be printed and sent to every person in the Union . For this we require an authorised edition of the Charter which bears a short introduction explaining the background to the Freedom Charter - its origin , manner of its compilation etc. This must link it with the four sponsoring organisations which comprise the Congress Movement. In the education of the membership of the democratic organisations and also the Freedom Volunteers the Freedom Charter must serve as a fundamental basis . At least every member must know thoroughly the contents of the Freedom Charter with each item explained . This is particularly essential in view of the possible banning of the whole Freedom movement . The aims expressed in the Freedom Charter must become mass property . Once this has been achieved nothing the fascists can do ~~EAR~~ to the leaders or the people's organisations will succeed to stamp out the freedom urge among the people .

BANTU EDUCATION ACT .

Despite the initial false starts and hesitations with respect to this campaign it is still the one field in which we have the opportunity to deal the fascists their first Real defeat . In order for this campaign to make headway we must be clear as to the basic conception behind our campaign and we must really believe in and carry out in its entirety a campaign based on that conception . Our policy is to WITHDRAW all African children from Bantu Schools and in that way to smash the whole Verwoerd plot . We must not merely repeat the words "boycott" or "withdrawal" . WE i.e. the leadership must actually lead and effectively direct a campaign based on the policy of withdrawal. We must travel from place to place addressing the people wherever we can and encouraging them to participate actively in the campaign against Bantu Education . Our volunteers must be sent to all areas in the Union to carry the policy of struggle against this Act . Continuous propaganda material must be issued by the organisation explaining our point of view and getting the parents to understand why we must withdraw our children from school and how it will stop Verwoerd in his plans to turn the African Nation into passive labour units to be used by the Europeans Where , When and how they please . In conducting our campaign we must not think of it as something that happens in a sudden flash, with all African parents suddenly withdrawing their children from school in one day . Rather we should consider the campaign as one of "bleeding Bantu Education to death" until it finally dies and atrophies from anaemia . Even if in an area we only get a few parents to withdraw their children the campaign will have begun and those few must be the nucleus around which a sustained and persistent campaign to discredit Bantu Education and open the eyes of the people to its evils can be conducted . The point is we must make a beginning in all areas particularly where the A.N.C. has branches . The campaign must be based on persuasion but we must not wait for that ridiculously imaginary day when all

African parents will see the light . We must begin . Let us not return to the days when resolutions were passed and not carried out . If the policy of withdrawal fails it must be because it was carried on sincerely and failed and not because of hesitations, vacillations and downright dishonesty of purpose within ourselves.

As to the possible results of blitzkrieg or guerilla boycotts no one can tell for certain . But certain possibilities suggest themselves : -

(a) The Bantu Schools structure and system from the top to the bottom could be smashed or sufficiently undermined to render the machinery of the Act unworkable .

(b) The government in the face of a tough unrelenting attitude on the part of the African people might be forced to beat a retreat . This is a definite possibility if we consider the fact that no ruling class in the world can tolerate a situation in which it does not "educate" some of the governed to assist in the tasks of government and administration.

Every government even a fascist government requires thousands from among the oppressed to run the oppressor system - civil servants, police , clerks , semi-skilled labourers etc. Furthermore "education" of some sort enables the ruling classes to maintain an ideological contact with the governed . The present <sup>government</sup> as representative of the ruling classes in this country might prefer to retreat rather than see the Africans completely out of their ideological grasp and therefore a "prey to subversive influences" .

(c) The government might be strong enough to resist even a successful struggle by the people against Bantu Education , thus placing on the people's movement the responsibility of maintaining for an indefinite period such instruction and discipline as may be required to meet the situation.

As regards alternative means of education it is beginning to become clear that there will never be organised alternative means of instructing children unless people actually

begin to withdraw their children from the Bantu Schools . It must be remembered that there is today little security in being on the side of the National movement . The government has patronage on its side and has an apparent stability and security as compared with the National Movement . This tends to make people , even when they know the truth , hope that they might be able to get something out of Bantu Education which the National Movement will not be able to give . Hence the paradoxical situation according to which our people who feel they are advancing their cause for freedom through education and are thereby prepared to accept an "education" intended to oppress them .

The sight of even a few who are prepared to give up the doubtful plums that can be got through Bantu Education, gives a shaking to the Bantu system from which it cannot recover even if the majority continue to take their children to these schools . In much the same way as just over 8,000 volunteers were able to shake the country , so thousands of children in the different areas whom we can get out of this system will give a death blow to Bantu Education . That is why it is so important to move from the realm of mere verbal opposition to the Bantu Education Act to actual withdrawal . The activities of a political movement are not alone significant because All the people participate in them . They are significant also because they are activities that represent the best ideas and feelings of the Mass of the people even where they do not take active part in them .

It is essential too that we must not forget that we are politicians and not sentimental individuals full of this non-political nonsense that talks of the "poor children" as if they are separate from their parents . The African children have no separate destiny from the African Nation . If Verwoerd is oppressing the African people with passes ,



low wages , lack of land , removal schemes , etc. he is oppressing the entire African nation children included . He cannot be an oppressor of the parents and a benefactor of the children . Fundamentally the government is pledged to a policy of "white Baaskap and all its schemes in whatever phase of life they occur are intended to foster and ~~xxx~~ protect that policy . It is therefore very funny when people start talking so mournfully about the "poor children who are out of school as a result of the boycott" . The fact is that we are at war and the enemy is employing weapons intended to hit at ~~xxxx~~ civilians including women and children. It is only fair to remove the children from the area of battle and to force Verwoerd to return to the adults .

In order to be effective our campaign must rely on persuasion and logic plus any other weapons that can be ~~xxxxxxx~~ employed but largely on these . The campaign must also be linked with our campaign to recruit 250,000 paying and regular members and streamline our organisation . In order to have meaning the division of the big branches into more manageable units and the establishment of contact with the masses must be linked with a programme of "huisbesoek" or house to house canvassing designed to explain the attitude of the Congress on the Bantu Education Act and the reasoning behind the boycott campaign. In this way we will get the parents gradually-first in little trickles and then in a sudden flood to withdraw their children from the schools . Eventually they will swing round particularly as they see from day to day what the new system means . Some teachers are already discovering to their cost what the Bantu Education Act means and so will it be with the people as a whole. But the beginning must be made . What are all the other areas waiting for ? We must not hesitate , we must lead the people boldly and wisely if they are to follow .

The statement of the National Executive on this campaign must be translated and sent to all the branches . Instructions must be issued to branches to begin the boycott campaign at once. We cannot wait for each branch to make up its own mind otherwise we will wait forever . The branch leadership in many centres does not yet have complete confidence in itself to initiate such important and difficult campaigns as this . The leaders at National and Provincial level must lead and must in fact carry out the campaign .

Regarding the alternative plan for cultural and educational facilities for the children withdrawn from Bantu Schools we must wait on the educational Council at national level if we are to have uniformity . The New Brighton branch has however begun to implement the plan enclosed herewith as an interim measure . Our suggestion is that provincial leaders must not send copies of this plan to branches but must in fact visit the different regions and give explanations on the plans . Immediately branches begin the boycott the alternative plan (interim) becomes necessary . We must emphasize that it is useless to attempt to set up the alternative scheme before the boycott is actually begun , for the obvious reason that there are no children to give alternative instruction as they are all still wasting time in the Bantu Schools . we must try and get the campaign in the <sup>main</sup> ~~main~~ centres of the different regions in full swing . The Bantu Education system must not be allowed to nestle comfortably , but must be kept on the run. In that way ~~through~~ we will build up an attitude of keen vigilance among the people that will enable them to recognise all and every step taken against their interests and in that way strengthen our hand .

### III. ORGANISATIONAL .

The Executive report presented to the Annual National Conference of the A.N.C. carried a searching analysis of our organisational problems . The fact must be faced that for an organisation of its size and tremendous influence the A.N.C. is very badly and inefficiently run . And there is no excuse for it although one can find many reasons for it. But reasons are not excuses . The excuses with which we comfort ourselves are getting stale and indeed boring. There is just a plain lack of seriousness in this matter evinced by conference delegates who merely pass the reports in a hurry in the desire to get to the more exciting political debates . The power of an oppressed people lies in their organisation and firm discipline . That is what will bring the A.N.C. to power in this country no matter what method we may have to free ourselves. Organisation is the key to power . Therefore this is not merely a matter concerning organisational routine . It is an important political question . Organisation is always bound up with politics . There is need for a new outlook on the problems of organisation in the national liberation movement. The Executive report of last year pointed the way.

One of the main defects is of course in our respective outlooks towards the liberation struggle . It is still a hobby or something for the week-ends only . We have not yet developed to the full the leadership that regards the question of liberation as a life's work , with our respective businesses as mere necessity to assist us in our main task. But even apart from this much can and should be done to solve some of our organisational problems .

7.

In our campaign for a more efficient organisation - a more disciplined fighting force we have to aim at producing a cadre organisation i.e. one whose members are capable and possess political understanding and initiative . Secondly we must achieve a certain amount of financial balance.(not in the business sense of a big bank balance which merely serves to attract crooks ) But we must be able to have from year to year a certainty of an income that will enable us to perform our political work . Thirdly we must have a definite system of political education .

In the executive report at the annual conference the point was made that our membership fluctuates alarmingly and furthermore our membership is financially valuable only once a year , and is too big for proper management.

#### MEMBERSHIP .

As far as the membership in the big areas is concerned we must divide it into small manageable units . Up to now we have failed to create cells under a leader . This type of organisation requires a bigger trained group than we have in our movement at present . Therefore we suggest that for the urban areas at any rate the units should be based on the Streets . i.e. we should create units of all members of Congress in a particular street . In rural areas there will naturally have to be a different system . To maintain complete unity of management and to check up on activities of the different units a series of regulations for the running of the ~~different~~ units should be drawn up and an Organisational Bureau should be established in each branch , Province and <sup>even</sup> Nationally, whose task shall be confined entirely to this matter of ensuring efficient administration in the movement . The Organisational Bureau shall consist of persons appointed by the Executive and co-opted members and their duties will be confined entirely to administration . The



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Organisational Bureau shall have nothing to do with policy etc. but shall be charged with the specific task of ensuring that the Congress administrative machinery is efficiently run and the subscriptions and levies are regularly and properly collected. To assist the Organisational Bureau a system of card indexing must be implemented (steward cards) which serves as a check on the Street committees in so far as the collection of levies and subscriptions is concerned. The above ideas are ~~not~~ already in process of experiment at the New Brighton Branch of the A.N.C. and already it is clear that the system will revolutionise Congress work by bringing the leadership closer to the masses and making each member ACTIVE and ensuring efficient administration in the movement. (Further elaboration if required)

At provincial level we strongly suggest the organisation of a school for Secretaries and Chairmen to be run for a week during December holidays preferably. The aim of the school being to ~~xxxxx~~ give instructions to officials on how to run the organisation. Treasurers could also be included.

#### POLITICAL EDUCATION.

This is recognised by all to be a vital necessity. The lectures issued in connection with the C.O.P. campaign were excellent. There were no lectures with a specifically rural ~~xxxx~~ emphasis. These must be supplied. We suggest too that the Freedom Charter be made the basis of education for all members. If we can ensure that each member at least knows all the points contained in the Freedom Charter and can explain each point we will have gone a long way. It is important to ensure that members have work to do. This is of great assistance to their political education as it retains interest in political work and encourages study.

In our education of members we must encourage the willingness to learn from others. A bumptious and arrogant attitude of not being willing to Learn leads to disaster. Our leadership both actual and potential (i.e. Youth) must study intensively. This is done by combining a serious study of advanced political literature with the practice gained from participation in the day to day struggles of the people.

The adoption of the excellent draft constitution of the A.N.C. and the approval of new constitutions for the Youth and Womens League in line with the draft constitution of the A.N.C. is essential for the completion of our organisational work.

The question of the organisation of the Volunteer Corps on a proper basis is an urgent necessity. Apart from a few areas this is not being done. New volunteers are not being recruited and even where they are, the corps is not run as a closely-knit working organisation. Its effectiveness is utterly nullified by the/wrong idea of turning the volunteer corps into a policy making body that discusses ~~the~~ the correctness or otherwise of A.N.C. decisions. This practice is so dangerous that it led to great disturbances in Port Elizabeth which the A.N.C. had to put down by force. The task of the Volunteer Corps is to carry out in the most efficient manner the decisions of the mother body without question. It is a disciplined body of men and women who are in the vanguard of the struggle by reason of their spirit of devotion and sacrifice. We must aim at achieving a working group of 50,000 volunteers of all races over a period of, say, 1½ years. A trained group of this size can enable us to accomplish much both in ~~this~~ the near and remote future.

With respect to membership we must carry on constant recruiting at every meeting no matter what it is called for. No meeting or rally of the A.N.C. however small should pass without

arrangements being made for recruitment of members. There is nothing more important in our organisational <sup>work</sup> than getting persons actually to join the movement, and the members must be paid up i.e. the subscriptions must be actually paid and the quota for each member sent to the provincial treasurer. We must aim at a membership throughout the country of 250,000 over a period of about two years. The membership should if possible be concentrated over key urban and rural areas and should be spread out fairly evenly throughout the country.

### FINANCE .

With respect to finance the position has become so ridiculous as to be a disgrace to a movement such as Congress is.

The idea begun in the 1953 Annual Conference at Queenstown whereby the Treasurer-General presents a budget of the expected income and expenditure <sup>for the year</sup> of the National Treasury was an extremely good one. But naturally the success of the plan depended on the co-operation of the provinces. This has not been forthcoming. The whole manner of financial administration is a clumsy, dreary, inefficient and disgraceful affair. Every year we go to Conference and feel ashamed of the administration of A.N.C. finances but nothing is done. The unfortunate thing is that the chronic but unnecessary lack of funds of the A.N.C. is encouraging the idea that only people with money must be in the leadership of Congress. It is impossible for a man without a good income to carry the burden which national executive members and others have to bear. This is politically very dangerous. Hence the light-hearted attitude to finance cannot be tolerated any longer in Congress. As a people we have no large private means to enable us to sustain, individually, big financial burdens on behalf of the <sup>liberation</sup> movement of the whole nation.

There is the question of membership cards. They should be printed

at national level in order to ensure uniformity . The present position is really confused and uncertain . Also the fees charged to members are not certain . In the Eastern Cape members pay the 2/6 membership fee and a levy of 1/- a month . This incidentally does not prevent the membership from rising . In Natal the membership fee is 3/- etc. This kind of thing is unsatisfactory . Experience seems to indicate that 2/6 a year is not sufficient to cover the expenses of the movement. The figure paid in the Eastern Cape members is quite adequate . In the draft constitution the membership fee is put at 6/6 with a joining fee of 1/- . I feel this is confusing . It would be better to maintain the subscription at 2/6 but to make the monthly levy a part of the constitution . The rural areas might not appreciate the increase of the membership fee from 2/6 to 6/- And yet ~~xx~~ they would pay the membership fee of 2/6 and a levy of a 1/-. The comment of many of the rural leaders at the suggested change was " Ingaba abantu baseDolophini baqala ukufuna imali ngoku ? " .

The financial relations between the mother-body and the auxiliary bodies the Youth League and Womens League must be gone into . In view of the fact that the draft constitution is expected to be passed in ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ <sup>YouTH</sup> December this year I feel it is imperative that the League and Womens League constitutions should be presented to the Conference this year as well for adoption and approval . It should not be difficult to have the draft constitutions of the auxiliary bodies completed soon, as they would merely follow the line of the A.N.C. draft ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ . The question of the financial relations between the mother-body and the auxiliary bodies must be clearly indicated .

We suggest in this connection that there should be special membership cards for the Youth League and Womens

League . These could be ~~the~~ identical with the ordinary A.N.C. membership card except that they should have in brackets "Womens League" or "Youth League" just under the ~~words~~ words "African National Congress" on the card .

These cards must be printed and issued by the mother body the auxiliary bodies in order that a check should be exercised and to ensure a safeguard to the mother-body's finances . Thus the mother-body at national level would print these cards and send them on order to the ~~Provincial~~ Provincial Committees of the mother -body . The Youth League branches must then obtain their cards from their local senior Congress Committee . Similarly with the Womens League . But the fact is that there must be special cards for the auxiliary bodies if we are to build real mass Youth and Womens Movements .

#### NATIONAL CO-ORDINATION OF A.N.C. AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATIONS .

1. The task of co-ordinating the efforts of all freedom fighters in South Africa has been tremendously advanced by the fact that all are now bound by the same basic creed and programme as enshrined in the Freedom Charter .
2. Some kind of permanent machinery should be set up to coordinate the effort and strategy of the different sections of the democratic camp . In ~~the~~ present stage of development of our movement and as a result of the crisis caused by the activities of the fascists this machinery would have to consist of a confidential committee composed of members of the Congress Movement including representatives of the SACTU and Peace Congress . Thus we would have a National Freedom Council which would be charged with the task of co-ordinating the different campaigns decided upon . This would be a body for making , also, recommendations to the Joint National Executives of the organisations in the democratic camp . We do need a kind of Supreme Allied headquarters to plan a unified strategy for the short and long-term struggle, internal and external .

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The object of setting up this machinery will be to ensure an avoidance of wastage of resources . The absence of a large body of trained leaders makes it necessary for the democratic groups in the country to pool their resources . Furthermore it is now clear that liason that is confined merely to securing the objects of a particular campaign is no longer sufficient . All the national organisations that sincerely accept the Freedom Charter should be brought within the framework of a unified strategy even if each retains its seperate command and organisation .

We suggest the setting up of a National Freedom Council consisting of persons appointed by the National Executives of the different organisations . The number does not matter as this will not be a policy-making body but one for making recommendations on strategy and planning . The personnel must , if possible be the best representatives of the different organisations (whether banned or not) , In this matter We believe the A.N.C. should take the initiative as this would get rid of suspicions etc.

In line with this suggestion we suggest the calling of an early meeting of the National Executives of the A.N.C. , S.A.I.C. SACOD SACPO & SA PEACE CONGRESS , SACTU . The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss the above proposal and other related questions . Although a meeting of this kind will require some preparation , it must be remembered that time is not on our side .

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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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