

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION HELD AT PIETERMARITZBURG
FROM 14th to 16th DECEMBER, 1958.

It is once more my pleasant duty to address the delegates and visitors to the Annual Conference of the All African Convention 1958. When at our last Conference in December, 1956 I suggested that we might not be able to meet in conference again, some people might have thought that I was a pessimist. The failure of the All African Convention to hold its Annual Conference last year, owing to Herrenvolk interference, must indicate to us that we shall not always be able to meet as we like. There is no reason to hope that the virtual ban on meetings imposed by the ruling class on the majority section of the population in the rural areas, will not eventually be extended to the organisation which is representative of that section. The awareness of this fact must surely impress on us the urgent necessity of using the vital opportunity afforded us by this Conference as profitably as we can, bearing in mind that we might be prohibited from meeting in future. We must never forget that the whole African, indeed the whole Non-European population of this country looks to this Conference of the A.A.C. for leadership and guidance in the period of crisis immediately ahead of us. I would appeal to all the delegates here to conduct themselves in the deliberations at this Conference with the grave seriousness and restraint consistent with the dignified status of the All African Convention.

The two years which have passed since our last Conference have seen the rapid implementation of the recommendations of the Tomlinson Report, that the blue print for the preservation of the so called "Christian Capitalist Civilization" for the Herrenvolk, which amounts to the prevention of the ~~development~~

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extension of a free modern capitalist economy among the Non-Europeans by placing them in a Procrustean bed of tribal backwardness. In order to fill up the yawning gap which is thus being created in the country's economy, the ruling class embarked on a form of state Capitalism for Non-European only. With brutal frankness the rulers give as a practical justification of their policy the reason that the Europeans will not willingly concede the political rights which an educationally and economically advancing Non-European population would rightfully demand, with consequent danger of conflicts between the two groups.

The Herrenvolk states that poverty of the African people, the irregularity of their employment, their lack of technical knowledge, capital, organizing skill and initiative in business are "attributable to their culture background and are susceptible to change", but instead of encouraging this change the ruling class seeks to entrench the very tribal culture background on which it blames the backwardness of the people. Instead the Government through the South African Native Trust is by far the largest private owner of Non-European occupied land; through its labour bureaux the largest recruiter and controller of Non-European labour and one of its largest employers. Very soon through its projected Development Corporation the Government will be the largest financier of the African enterprises. This Development Corporation will be a huge concern "for promoting capital formation through commercial institutions". It will establish a "Bantu Commercial Bank" a "Bantu Savings and Credit Bank", a "Bantu Insurance Company", a "Bantu Building Society" etc. And all this under the shameful pretence of a new economic trusteeship which asserts that "the Bantu must be guided to construct their own economy in their own soil, in their own milieu and out of their own

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spirit and energy and to move forward along the path of their own civilization according to the tempo of their own ability to develop".

The deus ex machina which has been set up to convert the African section of the non-europeans into a valuable asset in the Verwoed & Co. Development Corporation (Pty.) Ltd is the Bantu Authorities. It will be the function of these Authorities to crush the rising African professional and business class which demands a share in the economic power based on capitalist democratic rights, and to create a new African intellectual and business man who will submit to "traditional Bantu Principles" in all his professional and commercial dealings. In other words a quisling type of African teacher and trader will be mass produced through the Bantuised Schools which will be strictly controlled by the Government through its Native Commissioners, policemen-intellectuals, policemen-chiefs and headmen etc. The stage has been set for a vital clash between a Herrenvolk-tribal bureaucracy ~~on the one hand~~ on the one hand and representatives and organisations of the people on the other. We will see presently that while the bureaucracy is rapidly consolidating its forces and has even fired the first shots, the people's organisations are wavering and even breaking into pieces. The ruling class relies on its economic development programme, which holds out attractive plans to the quisling type of intellectuals and aspiring bourgeoisie, to entrench disunity in the liberatory movement and so weaken the demand for full equality. These so-called progressives who stress the fight for economic welfare of the non-whites at the expense of the fight for the franchise are playing right into the hands of the Herrenvolk-tribal bureaucracy. More about this later.

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The basic reason why the ruling class is determined to exclude the Non-Europeans from sharing in the economic wealth of the country, is that the Non-Europeans as a section must be made to produce that wealth for the Herrenvolk. In other words their role in society is that of beasts of burden. The impoverishment of the Black man is an important feature of this policy. The poverty of the people is a necessary instrument of the Herrenvolk policy; for rather than to starve to death the people will go out to seek work and will accept a mere pittance for wages in order to preserve life.

Let us consider briefly the methods and extent of this impoverishment. I shall refer only to the more glaring instances. It is generally known that the creation of land hunger is one of the chief methods employed by the Herrenvolk for the exploitation of Non-European labour. The details of the application of this policy are too shocking for words. The ruling class has now passed laws designed deliberately and directly to turn the Africans into homeless wanderers, the better to enslave them. For example no African may now reside on any land outside the reserves unless he is the registered owner of such land or else in employment. No male child of such owner or employee over the age of 18 years may reside on his father's land or at his ^{own} home. In the so-called "Bantu Areas" no person may sell, lease, or transfer, except with the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs, any portion of land, whether it is his own freehold property, which has been partitioned or sub-divided since 1936. The Minister may grant his consent subject to such conditions as he may impose in regard to the use and occupation of the land in question. These conditions must be inserted in the title deed of the person to whom transfer is effected.

The conditions stipulated include the right of the Minister of Native Affairs to order administratively the prevention of soil erosion, the limitation and control of livestock, the entry of trust officials for the purpose of carrying out rehabilitation measures. Except with the approval of the Native Commissioner

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the land may not be used or occupied by any person other than the registered owner, his wife or his child not being a male over 18 years. It will be noted that no allowance is made in the case of the African farmer for residence of servants on his farm. Apparently the African farmer has no right to employ servants since he is himself a prospective servant. The Native Commissioner may give directions as to how the land should be cultivated. Moreover the African farmer must give a written undertaking that he will subject himself and his farm to control and regimentation by the Bantu Authority for the area.

The laws of succession and the consequences of marriage in so far as they affect proprietary rights have also been altered to suit the master-servant relationship of Black and White. No more than one heir may acquire the right of use or occupation of any land notwithstanding anything contained in any will or consequence of succession on intestacy or marriage in community of property.

By far the largest extent of land in the reserves is Crown land and the African people who occupy it are Government tenants subject to payment of an annual rental. Less than 50% of the African males in the reserves have been allotted small residential sites and arable land, with little or no security of tenure. The vast majority of the men and practically all the women have no land which they can own or occupy except as dependants or sub-tenants. By means of the Betterment Areas Proclamation which is being applied piecemeal the Government has terminated all rights of occupation of Crown land including the grazing of stock except on approval by South African Native Trust officials. The Trust has virtually seized the land and is busy redividing it. In terms of the Tomlinson Report, "a revision of the system of land tenure is regarded as one of the pre-requisites to the stabilisation of the land in the Bantu Areas and the full economic development of their potential". To achieve this aim the land in the reserves is being

redivided. The vast majority of those comparatively few
peasants

peasants who occupy any land at all are being deprived of their land which is to be re-allocated as "economic units" under conditional title to a few African farmers on a full-time basis. The vast majority who constitute a landless population are to be shifted to so-called rural villages which will have all the evils of urban locations with no prospect of a living wage to off-set them. In the meantime the landless are not even allowed to keep stock in the "Betterment Areas". I know of a case in the Queenstown District where, at this very moment, the peasants have been deprived of the land which they have been tilling for years and they have been forbidden to keep any livestock or to build any new houses or repair those huts which are falling down, until they can be settled in some rural village still in the process of being planned.

It must be observed here that in terms of the white paper on the Tomlinson Report, "The Government is not prepared to do away with tribal tenure of rural land and to substitute individual tenure based on purchase nor does it propose to give preference to individual acquisition of land above tribal and Trust purchase in the released areas."

The landlessness and homelessness of the African population is no better in the urban areas than it is in the rural areas. The ~~rural~~ class has steadfastly set itself against the permanent urbanisation of the Africans in the industrial and mining areas - the so-called European Areas - even though the economic interests of the country demand it. The result is that the African in these Urban areas is not made to feel at home. A large ~~proportion~~ of the African workers is migratory. Those who are relatively permanent are inadequately housed and have no security of tenure. Many merely lease sites on Municipal land. Influx control measures and pass laws have turned life into a daily nightmare. The application of the iniquitous Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act has turned a large number of the African city dwellers into haunted animals. In terms of this law no African may enter into and reside in a proclaimed urban area without permission unless he was born/...

born and permanently resides there, or has lived there continuously for a period of 15 years or has worked without a break for one employer for 10 years. Male children over the age of 18 years cannot live with their parents without permission. Loss of employment for a maximum period of 14 days makes the African Urban worker liable to eviction. I know of cases in Naauwpoort where African men who have lived there with their families for years are being ejected because of temporary loss of employment or old age although they have no other homes to go to. The ridiculous situation that has arisen is that the wives of some of these people are in employment and are therefore entitled to remain in the urban area while their husbands must go!

Even the city-dwellers will soon be subject to Bantu Authorities. The recent announcement by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development that legislation will be introduced at the next session of Parliament authorising the appointment of Bantu Authorities in the Urban areas to serve as a link with the Government on the one hand and the rural Bantu Authorities on the other came as no surprise. The ethnic grouping in the Municipal locations is obviously a preparation for this step. One of the chief functions of these city Bantu Authorities will be to prevent strikes and to help break them when they occur. The whole scheme is not only fantastic; it is devilish.

We must realise that all the landlessness, poverty and homelessness of the African people which I have described above has been possible because of the exclusion of the Non-Europeans from the Government of the country. Because of their lack of political rights of their non-citizen status, the majority section of the population has been outlawed and foredoomed to a life of perpetual servitude. It is for this reason that the fight for the full equality occupies a central position in the 10-Point Programme of the N.E.U.M.

It is therefore much to be regretted that there has arisen

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of late, within the Unity Movement, a tendency to minimise the importance of the demand for the full franchise. This tendency has been the chief cause of the development of internal theoretical differences within the Movement, differences which have now reached a climax and can no longer be concealed. As early as 1954 in my Presidential address to the A.A.C. I warned the Movement against this development in the following words:-

"In such periods of comparative inactivity that solidarity within the ranks which is engendered by the prospects of immediate battle is often lacking. Differences of opinion assert themselves and temporary ideological groupings begin to appear. Although such differences and groupings are unfortunate and sometimes undesirable they are as inevitable to the growth of a healthy political movement as toxins in the life of the human organism. The transformation of the groupings into organised and closed factions is an evil which must be avoided at all costs. The art of leadership consist precisely in preventing such a development.

Ideological differences within the movement may be inevitable and may even constitute a necessary part of its dialectic, but petty jealousies and rivalries for power and positions are quite unnecessary and intolerable and those who indulge in such mean practices do not deserve a place in our leadership and must be ruthlessly cast out of it. It is the duty of all of us in the liberatory movement to refuse to be party to the squabbling of rival groups and to expose those who do not scruple to indulge in personalities and cheap gossip in order to feather their own nests. Unless we perform our duty in this regard the movement is bound to suffer.

In the period of open fascism which we are now entering it is convenient to find a substitute for real political work in literary bravado and pedantry. Boldness in words and timidity in action is a danger against which we must guard. The unity for which we strive will be forged not by pontifical utterances and irresponsible bureaucratic bluster from the

comparative safety of anonymity, but on the anvil of political action in the course of the daily life and struggles of the people. The Ten-Point Programme must cease to be a shibboleth; it must be a manual of action." The warning apparently fell on deaf ears and the present unpleasant, unhealthy situation of division and strife within our organisations has developed. The position cannot be allowed to continue as at present and a quick solution has to be found if the health of our organisations is to be restored. As it will be the duty of this Conference to contribute to the resolution of our present difficulties, I have deemed it wise to give a broad analysis of the political differences as I see them.

First of all, I wish to state that the division has arisen as the result of the fact that certain individuals and groups within the movement are dissatisfied with the 10 Point programme of the N.E.U.M. They consider that this programme is very inadequate for the solution of our political and social problems in South Africa. What creates confusion is that these opponents of the 10-Point programme, instead of condemning the programme outright, pretend that their views are consistent with it. To denounce the 10-Point programme would put them beyond the ^{reach} ~~reach~~ of the N.E.U.M. and render them without a political home.

The tendency to revise the 10-Point Programme has been called Jaffeism after its chief embodiment. Since this term tends to upset certain members of the cult and evokes a defensive emotionalism which obscures clear thinking I will not use it here. Rather will I describe the tendency as revisionism. In order to underline the fundamental implications of this tendency I shall quote extensively from a remarkable pamphlet written by a spiritual member of the group who is an avowed enemy of the N.E.U.M. There is this added advantage in quoting from this publication, namely that it is written under a pen name. The identity of the author is therefore presumably unknown to all of us and there is less danger of the cry of "Informer"

being raised by those who are richly endowed with a persecution complex. I refer to the ~~renewed~~ pamphlet "It is the time to Awake" by R. Mettler which purports to be a criticism of I.B. Tabata's "The Awakening of a People", a book that is recognised by us in the Unity Movement as correctly setting out our political ideas.

R. Mettler makes no bones about attacking the 10-Point Programme from many angles. Basically his criticism is that "The existing programme of the N.E.U.M. expresses the aspirations of the African Middle Class." He criticises the resolutions on the programme passed at the 1943 N.E.U.M. Conference to the effect that all our disabilities economic, educational, social, cultural flow from the lack of political rights, and that our struggle is therefore chiefly political. R. Mettler asserts that this attempt to separate political subjugation from economic exploitation "runs throughout the documents of this movement and leads eventually to the false positions they take up in all situations. Surely our lack of political rights flows from the ownership of the means of production," he profoundly concludes. Then again Mettler states: "A liberatory movement that is not firmly based on the working class must base itself on a middle class programme and from this can only come confusion, adventurism and eventually betrayal In so far as the N.E.U.M. is not firmly based on the working class its ideology must lead it into the political emptiness that characterises its past history." It will be observed that Mettler's strictures as quoted above are identical with those of the revisionists within our ranks except that the latter substitute the "existing leadership" for the former's "existing programme" of the N.E.U.M. Another fact which must be noted is the belittling of the demand for political rights which the N.E.U.M. regards as pivotal in its programme.

R. Mettler is very outspoken in his condemnation of the demand for the Franchise which we consider to be the most

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important of the 10-Points of our programme. He says, "We must state without equivocation that in the alliance between the middle class and the workers in the liberatory movement a programme that is based on the vote as the first point denotes the ideological hegemony of the petty bourgeois politicians, for the programme that puts this in the fore-front and subverts the demands of the seizure of the material wealth represents the reformist aspirations of this class..... In no way will democracy be achieved around the demand for the franchise."

Mettler again states, "It is a fact that the National Movements throughout Africa are stressing these political claims.

Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was fond of saying, "seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added to you"

The people of India, Indonesia, Ghana and others have been given the vote and yet these countries are still based on exploitation and the basic struggles continue."

R. Mettler attacks not only the first point of the 10-Point Programme but also the other points as well. For instance he condemns Point 3 which demands that the same right to inviolability and privacy at present enjoyed by Europeans should apply to all Non-Europeans. To this, Mettler says, "We know of no such "inviolability" in an oppressive society and certainly aspire to a better society."

The revisionists within our ranks consider that the 7th Point justifies their so-called leftist interpretation of the 10-Point Programme. On the other hand R. Mettler finds this point equally obnoxious. "It is also no accident that the N.E.U.M. proposes the re-distribution of the land (even if by vote in Parliament) and yet will not dare to mention the factories and the mines. The former, radical as it is, is still consistent with the building up of a capitalist country while the latter would imply a conflict with Capitalism... The authors of the 10-Point Programme have not told us how they will achieve this

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democracy if the rural workers do not first seize the land.... There has been no clear cut programme put forward that demands without equivocation, the re-allocation of land. To talk about the vote when the problem is the re-division of land is futile."

Even at the risk of being called names, such as "Herrenvolk hirelings," we have to point out to our enemies whether within or without the Unity Movement that the seizure of land and its re-division are not part of the 10-Point Programme. When we talk of the "acquisition" of land we mean and have always meant lawful acquisition within the framework of the capitalist society of which we are part.

The whole basis of the attack on the 10-Point Programme is the denial of the reality of colour oppression in South Africa and consequently the denial of the necessity for a National liberatory movement. On the contrary the National problem is viewed as simply a class problem thinly covered over with a colour wash designed to conceal its identity. The expressed aim of the N.E.U.M. is to liquidate the National oppression of the Non-Europeans in South Africa, that is, "the removal of all the disabilities and restrictions based on grounds of race and colour, and the acquisition by the Non-Europeans of all these rights which are at present enjoyed by the European population." Mettler scoffs at this idea and says, "But of significance here is the fact that points one to five and point 9 explicitly, and the other points implicitly want the same conditions for the Non-Europeans as are enjoyed by Europeans today i.e. to enter into the present white exploitive society." According to R. Mettler, this is a detestable objective worthy only of "a movement that is afraid of the power of the people to stand up and take over a state which it will shape to suit its own requirements."

If the revisionists within our ranks were sufficiently honest and had the courage of their convictions, they would come out openly against the 10-Point Programme of the N.E.U.M. as

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R. Mettler unreservedly does. The Movement, particularly the youth, would then be saved from the theoretical confusions which appear to be current. For instance, instead of the stupid attempt to identify capitalism with Herrenvolkism, the revisionists could just say that the non-Europeans should not fight to end the colour bar, but should engage in the class struggle to end capitalism. Instead of denying the factual existence of the various non-European sections except as entries in the Herrenvolk population register; instead of saying that "the very idea of Non-Europeanism is chauvinistic," the revisionists could more appropriately say the attempt of the various sections of the non-Europeans to unite in a common struggle to liquidate their national oppression and achieve full equality with the Europeans is reactionary and must be abandoned. For according to Mettler the Unity Movement has had to find an answer to the dual nature of oppression in this country, that of class and that of colour and in so doing "it has fallen into the trap of racialism that faces all liberatory movements in Africa a liberatory movement that is not firmly based on the working class must base itself on a middle class programme and from this can only come confusion, adventurism and eventual betrayal."

Mettler asserts that the distinction between colour differentiation and class division leads to confusion, namely to the failure to see the clash of interests between the black middle class and the black workers. To ensure success the working class must take control of the liberatory movement and impose its own programme on it. "The struggle will have to be orientated to fight exploitation in all its forms ... in the factories, on the farms, in the reserves and in the townships ... for a general improvement in living conditions, for higher wages, for the right to employment for freedom of movement. We will have to struggle against pass laws and the myriad oppressive measures that tie us down ... We must counter-pose (1) the working class programme to that of the middle class and we

we must struggle for working class hegemony in the liberatory movement The most urgent task is the preparation of the working class for the eventual control of the liberatory movement We can place no reliance on the middle class elements who mouth the ideology of capitalism ... As long as the middle class maintains its ideological control of the liberatory movement, the movement must remain ineffective and continue on the vacillating course that it has followed over the last 50 years... Either the worker organised on class grounds will eventually take control of this national movement or else he will have to be prepared to set up his own independent movement that can enter into temporary alliance with this national movement*.

Little wonder that our frustrated and bitter intelligentsia-worker revisionists have embarked upon a vituperative bourgeois witch-hunt within the Unity Movement for they see prospects of their personal advancement when the "working class" should achieve "eventual control of the liberatory movement". It is our sad but inescapable duty to remind these young turks that the bourgeois has as much right to membership and leadership of the N.E.U.M. as the worker always provided that he fully subscribes to the 10-Point programme. The attempt to paint the present leadership of the N.E.U.M. as bourgeois and therefore reactionary is not only mischievous but is creating unnecessary division and strife within our organisation.

The implication of the identification of Herrenvolkism with capitalism cannot be fully understood except in the light of the liberal concept of "White capital and Coloured labour". Expressed in other words the idea is that in South Africa the Whites are the capitalists and the Non-whites the workers. R. Mettler states this idea as follows:- "The ruling class resident in South Africa is generally speaking white. Equally in broad outline the non-white people are predominantly workers. The exploitation of the working class has been covered up by colour oppression". Although Mettler does say that "There is an overlap of classes which transcends the racial barriers" it is clear that his whole

outlook on the class struggle in South Africa is not free of racialism particularly in the light of his other allegation that in isolated cases the (read: the Black) can support the right instead of the left and the capitalist (read: the White) can support the left. Mettler lends support to this contention by the following statement "The white intellectuals are completely isolated from the working class by both class and colour differences and thus tend to lean over heavily towards the ruling class. The non-white intellectual on the other hand is in close physical contact with the worker and feels the brunt of oppression himself. He thus leans more towards the people". In other words Mettler sees the class struggle in South Africa as the struggle between Black and White. The same attitude of damning the White working class as Herrenvolk and therefore capitalist is apparent in the statement of the young so-called leftists in our movement. Basically this idea springs from the influence of African nationalism. This theoretical mistake is inevitable if we seek to deny the bourgeois character of our national liberatory movement on the fatuous ground that "We already have a capitalist society and thus are not struggling to make a new capitalist society".

The correct theoretical analysis of the position is set out on page 5 of the awakening as follows:- "But in the conditions pertaining in South Africa the clear cut class divisions have been obscured. The Herrenvolk have elaborated a means of re-inforcing economic exploitation with all the vicious machinery of racial oppression". The correct deduction from this statement is not that we should ignore racial oppression because it is an instrument of class oppression. That would be as foolish as to say in warfare we must ignore the bomber and concentrate on the bomb. Rather must we fight racial oppression and strive for political equality for, to quote from the Awakening once more, "Without political equality it will never be possible to speak of working class unity, and without working class unity it will never be possible to fight exploitation The truth /

Union question in South Africa presents itself primarily as a national (political) question and only secondarily as a class question. The second cannot be solved independently of the first".

We have to accept the concept of stages in the liberatory movement otherwise we will continue to confuse Herrenvolkism with capitalism and thereby create unnecessary theoretical misunderstanding. But R. Mettler is so hostile to this idea that he does not scruple to distort it. He says, "our perspective is not the mechanical one of stages in which we will first achieve the 10-Point Programme and build up a state wherein we can start a new struggle based on a new Trade Union Movement". We need only state that there is nothing mechanical about the concept of stages. We have to view the struggle in motion and where and how one stage ends and another begins cannot be predetermined in a mathematical fashion. It will depend on the dynamics of the situation and the relationship of forces.

Our view of the trade Union question as primarily a national political question has already been stated. The revisionists have attempted to confuse the issue by falsely stating that we do not want to see the trade Union Movement built up and strengthened. It is certainly not our task as a political movement to form trade Unions. This would be sheer economism. After all even Mettler realises the true function of trade Unions because he says: "The trade Union movement will have to be built up in the coming period.... We must clearly state that the trade Union's primary purpose is to fight the economic struggle (our emphasis). That is, it has to fight for improved conditions in the factory... But the trade Unions are not a substitute for a political movement, and as the workers need a political party to serve their own interests to put forward their aspirations a mass worker's party must be formed." If this is what the revisionists

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want, let them say so openly. A workers' political party will be welcome to affiliate to the liberatory movement just as the ex-communist party was, provided that it accepts the 10-Point Programme and all that it stands for.

Mettler is very forthright in his attack on the federal structure of the N.E.U.M. "When the N.E.U.M. called for inter-racial Unity" he says "the slogan was progressive. Today the needs are for a movement without racial barriers, and a name such as "non-European Unity" no longer serves the needs of the liberatory movement. A movement that ties itself in advance to a specific organisational form runs the risk of ossification - and to have made the federal structure as constituted today an article of faith in the N.E.U.M. is a sign that ossification has indeed set in. Mettler adds that the federal structure would be permissible if it allowed for a federation on class grounds which must today be rejected. Mettler then goes on to advocate the formation of a unitary organisation "in so far as it is opposed to the current cumbersome racial division.

I have quoted extensively from R. Mettler not because I consider that his views are in themselves worthy of consideration but firstly because he is obviously hostile to the N.E.U.M. and its 10-Point Programme and secondly because his views are identical with those expressed by certain individuals and groups within the movement. The inference which I seek to be drawn is that these individuals and groups are also enemies of the N.E.U.M. If they deny this accusation the onus is on them to show how their views differ from those of Mettler.

Revisionism is, of course, a political tendency which has arisen as the result of the influence of Herrenvolk ideas notwithstanding the fact that it couched in pseudo-leftist

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language. Fundamentally it amounts to a plea for the retention of the status quo. It demands the cessation of the struggle for the abolition of Herrenvolkism and for full democratic rights allegedly because such a struggle even if successful will not result in the elimination of the exploitation of the workers, but rather in the strengthening and consolidation of the bourgeoisie. Verwood also wants the retention of the status quo. What does it matter that his reasons are different since the objective result is the same? We must never forget that Mettler's views are the views of the petit-bourgeois white intellectual neo-liberals whose role in society I attempted to describe in my 1956 Presidential address. It is therefore significant but not surprising that Mettler defends the liberals. He says, "To assert that the liberals are conscious of their role in society is nonsense. This assumes falsely that these people are homogenous, are deliberately making oppression work, are in fact stooges for the ruling class They (the liberals) come into conflict with the ruling class we cannot agree that they are part and parcel of the Herrenvolk*.

Let me forestal the argument that in drawing out the revisionists to state their views in open Conference we are informing against them. In order to protect these timid souls I would suggest that these matters be discussed in a closed session of the Conference. We must make it clear, however, that we have no intention of protecting renegade individuals and groups at the expense of the movement which we have so painfully built up over a period of 15 years. It is a strange and ~~blasted~~ kind of reasoning that allows wreckers of the movement to publish their disruptive views surreptitiously and anonymously even in the so-called organs of the Unity movement, but will conceal the identity of these individuals at our Conferences and condemn their exposure as "informing". We have to state categorically that anonymity is the right of those who are building up the movement and not of those who are wrecking it.

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We have to appreciate the danger to the movement of giving the revisionists a free hand to propagate their views from our platforms and our organs. It is not merely a question of creating division and strife within our organisations, bad enough though that is. Much more serious is the betrayal of the organisation to the Herrenvolk fascists. To give the 10-Point Programme a leftist interpretation, no matter how cockeyed, is to bring the whole movement within the definition of statutory communism and to run the rest of it being declared an unlawful organisation within the meaning of the suppression of Communist Act. It is difficult to resist the inference that this is a consummation which many of the revisionists would devoutly wish as offering an easy method of escape from the hazardous tasks which presently devolve on them as members of the liberatory movement.

The lessons of the Treason Trials do not appear to have been sufficiently learnt by some of us. It is well known in liberatory movement circles that the majority of the persons who are members of the organisations involved in the Treason Trials are simple workers or peasants to whom the idea of mock elections could never have appeared subversive. Yet a few of these people have to stand their trial on a charge of High treason precisely because a false coloration of leftism was imparted to their organisation by a few politically advanced petit-bourgeois intellectuals. All of us know that the tribalists of A.N.C. and the merchants of the S.A.I.C. are incapable of demanding the "liquidation of capitalism, equal distribution of wealth, common ownership of the means of production, land mines and factories," and yet the record would appear to indicate that this was part of the programme of these organisations. This sort of thinking inevitably happens when a few leftist theoreticians
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seize control and leadership of the people's organizations and proceed to spout ideas which are inconsistent with the aims and objects of the organisations and are far in advance of the standard political consciousness reached by the generality of the membership. The result is that in times of crisis the progressive facade breaks away and the political fraud is exposed. Then begins the splitting up of the organisations into respective political groupings of its membership from the extreme right to the extreme left.

It was in order to avoid such an eventuality that the N.E.U.M. adopted a minimum programme and a federal structure. Mr. I.B. Tabata correctly states the position on page 46 of "The Awakening of a People" when he says:- "The Problem was to create a mouthpiece of the whole of the African people, a forum from which their voice could be heard. It was obvious that no single party could fulfil this task. A single political party cannot represent a whole community or race, for the mere fact of belonging to the same race has nothing to do with a man's political affiliations. In any given community people share different political ideas ranging from the extreme left to the extreme right --- Any attempt therefore to form a unitary political organisation or party was doomed to fail. Further no one party could claim to represent tribalists, nationalists, internationalists and liberals and at the same time integrate and attend to the specific tasks of industrial workers, farm labourers, peasants, professional classes etc. Yet the very crux of the problem was to find a form of organisation which would meet the demands arising out of twofold oppression - National oppression and class exploitation."

The tragedy of the situation is that the internal differences should arise at a time when the need for the unity of the oppressed is greater than ever. At this ~~is~~ very

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moment when the rest of Africa is beginning to awake and to to cast away the imperialism and colonialism which has held it in through for centuries, when the cry for the independence and self-determination is ringing with ever-growing insistance throughout the length and breadth of the "dark continent". Just at this time, moreover, when in our own country the most down trodden of all, the African peasants and workers are beginning to show fight. Just at the moment, I say, when the influence of its leadership should be felt throughout the continent of Africa, the N.E.U.M. must be rent asunder by divisions inspired by a few ambitious people in and around its leadership. This is a situation which we must try to remedy at all costs. If at this conference we cannot achieve a unity of ideas we must achieve at least a clear demarcation of differences.

Those whose politics consist of stereotyped slogans and cliches will no doubt raise their eyebrows when I say it is our duty to guide and not to condemn categorically the emerging African nationalism. We have to recognise that in so far as it is genuinely anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism African Nationalism is a progressive political force. It is only when African Nationalism is anti-white, anti-coloured, anti-Indian and when it is tied to the apron strings of imperialism and is the latter's agent for the economic exploitation of the colonial peoples that it has to be condemned and fought. Many who support the 10-Point Programme will find little fault with the reported statement by Gersher Collier, the Sierra Leone delegate to the All African Peoples Conference now sitting in Accra, that:- "Self government as set out in constitutions cannot be all we seek or desire.

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It will be meaningless unless it is accompanied by the real emancipation of the people from the hold of foreign economic domination". While this statement is progressive in so far as it is anti-imperialist, for us in the N.E.U.M. it is an incomplete statement of policy since it does not rule out the possibility of exploitation through the indigenous hands men of imperialism, like the Nkrumahs. To safeguard against such a development we have to implant in the minds of the poor peasants and workers who constitute the majority, the desire for an effective say in the control and direction of the destinies of their countries which can only come about as the result of the extension of full political equality to all. Political history has shown no other method of ending economic exploitation except through political control by the majority section of the population who, in a capitalist society are inevitably the workers and the poor peasants. Once the importance of political rights has been driven home to the common man, he will take the necessary steps to achieve these rights, and, armed with this new power he will proceed to put an end to exploitive relationships in society.

These are some of the theoretical implications of the 10-Point Programme which this conference has to clarify for the benefit of those members of the movement who are genuinely seeking political enlightenment. For those who have deliberately set themselves the task of wrecking the movement from within more drastic action will have to be considered.

In conclusion let me express the hope that theoretical discussions, important though they are, will not take up too much of the Conference's time. The more vital questions affecting the practical struggles of the people against political emasculation.....

emasculation and economic ruin, must take precedence. The large delegation of peasants present at this conference must not be allowed to go away feeling that their attendance has not been worth the trouble and expense which it has entailed. Let us therefore settle down to the business of this conference ~~namely to build up a movement~~ which will be resilient and powerful enough to withstand and finally overcome Herrenvolkism, and so change this beautiful land of ours from a prison camp to a free society where all may live with dignity and justice.

No liberatory movement has ever been able to get rid of enemies and spies altogether from its midst. It would be utopian to expect that it could, especially as we know that the strength of the system rests largely in its insidious power over the mind and its power to corrupt and poison the very individuals we want to see liberated. But if we cannot prevent the presence of such people, we can at least try to minimise their disruptive influence. This, then, calls for a new attitude of mind. A special responsibility falls on us to protect the movement against the new dangers. It is no longer enough simply to declare belief in and acceptance of the 10-Point Programme and the principle of Non-Collaboration. To-day we must demand something more from our members. People must ^{earn} ~~have~~ the right to participate in the deliberations of our conferences. Once a man or woman has been in the movement for some time, we should be able to ask him or her what have they done ^{concretely} to benefit the movement? In the last six or twelve months, for instance what organisations have they brought within the All-African Convention? What individuals have they brought into their organisations? And in general what have they done to propagate the ideas of the movement and take its programme to the masses? Anyone who cannot give us ~~some~~ concrete proof of his bona fides should not be in a position to use our platform to put forward his pet theories or to trammel the discussions of Conference and prevent it from getting down to the vital tasks that face us.

In the dark days that lie ahead of us it will be necessary to close our ranks and keep a vigilant eye on our enemies from every quarter. It is no time for the expression of facile hopes. Each new day brings new evidence of the tribulations of our people. More than ever before, the times demand from each and every one of us the utmost resolution, clarity of thought and tenacity of purpose in our struggle for liberation.

Dec. 1958