

Non-European Unity Movement  
(UNITE FOR FREEDOM)

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Minutes of the  
Fourth Unity  
Conference

HELD IN  
CITY HALL, KIMBERLEY  
ON  
19th & 20th December 1945

Issued by the Non-European Unity Committee.  
Joint Secretaries: S. A. JAYIYA & E. RAMSDALE  
P. O. Box 3479, CAPE TOWN

## WEDNESDAY, 19th DECEMBER, 1945.

### MORNING SESSION.

The Chairman, **Rev. Z. R. Manabane**, opened Conference at 10.20 a.m. and called for one minute of silent prayer.

**Mr. S. A. Jayiya** (Joint-Secretary) read the notice convening Conference.

**Professor D. D. T. Jabavu** took the chair and Rev. Mahabane delivered the presidential address after welcoming the delegates.

"We must regard this Conference as the most momentous, in view of the fact that the consequences of the decisions that will be arrived at here will be far reaching. They will affect not only the three racial groups in the population of South Africa—African, Coloured and Indian, but also the European section as well as races beyond the borders of Southern Africa.

I crave your permission to make just a cursory review of the most staggering events that have taken place during this eventful year, 1945. Since we last met in January we have seen and heard of the following mighty happenings:—

1. The Assemblage in conference at San Francisco, U.S.A., at the end of the first quarter of the year, of representatives of more than 50 of the nations of the World, to hammer out an instrument for ensuring the security of the world. There and then these statesmen drafted and adopted what they described as the Charter of World Security in the preamble of which are enunciated fundamental principles which give recognition to the sacredness of human personality, the equality of nations, small and great, and the equality of human rights for all mankind, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

2. The invasion, at the end of the first half of the year, of Germany and her subsequent defeat and her capitulation to the military forces of the Nations that were allied for this purpose—the triumph of so-called Democracy over Nazism. The collapse of Japan came in the second half of this year.

3. The disappearance in the most ignominious circumstances of the two tyrants of the modern World—Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini; the death of the latter at the hands of his own people is an undisputed fact, while the fate of the former is shrouded in mystery. Yet the fact remains that the virtual effacement of these two men who had terrorised the whole so-called civilized world is an accomplished fact and the mighty countries they had ruled are now under the military occupation of the allied nations. Hitler and Mussolini have disappeared from the scene unsung, unhonoured, unwept.

4. The emergence of Russia as a mighty power, as a colossus of the world.

5. The rising in revolt of the Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese against the domination of the Dutch and French in the Far East and the declaration of Republics.

6. The clash not only of colour but of interest between the Jewish and the Arabs in Palestine, in other words, the struggle for supremacy between white and Non-white in that doomed land.

7. The discovery of the latest and most destructive weapon of war, the Atomic Bomb, and the use of the bomb in destroying Japan.

8. Last but not least, the appearance all over the world of a latent atmosphere of dissatisfaction, disaffection, discontent of the oppressed races of mankind. Note the "Quit India" cry of the Nationalists of India, the revolt of the Indonesians and the Annamites, the industrial strikes in the United States.

A glance at the present world situation reveals the fact that a new world order has been created. The map of Europe will be re-drawn, re-made and re-coloured; new systems of Government in many parts of the world will take the place of old ones; Monarchies in Europe will be replaced by Republics; in Great Britain Labour Party Socialism is gradually attacking Capitalism; a new Organisation has come into being, known as the United Nations of the world and the machinery for running it has been created, the object of which is to ensure world security to out-law war in our time.

A panorama of the world situation shows us new conditions, new ideologies and new weapons of war. In Europe and Asia world-shaking events are taking place.

In Great Britain, the greatest of all individualistic countries, a political party that believes in the rule of the common man and in the political ownership of certain enterprises, industrial and commercial, as opposed to private ownership of the necessities of life, has been given the reins of government by the populace, and sits "in the seats of the mighty". In Russia, Communism is the law of the land, this communism that is dreaded by a large section of the ruling race in Southern Africa. In France, Socialists and Communists scored big victories in the elections.

With changes going on all over the world the question naturally arises:

### **WHAT IS THE PLACE OF THE NON-EUROPEAN IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

(I). At the present moment his place is determined by the policy of **segregation** of the White and Black races, the old policy that was laid down in the "Grond Wet" of the old S.A. Republic.

And, secondly, the position of the white Herrenvolk, as voiced by responsible representatives of the land, has furthered the segregationist outlook. This has made S.A. a white man's country and established the paramountcy of the interests of the white man. Translated into practice this hideous policy has had far-reaching consequences; it has reduced the Non-White to a position of political helotry. He has no voice nor vote, no seat in the governing, administrative or legislative councils of the land; he has no hand in the making or unmaking of laws for the good and orderly government of the country. He has no vote or hand in the shaping of the destiny of the Country, in the determination of its fate. The Act constituting the Union of South Africa expressly stipulates that to be eligible for membership to the Parliament of the Country the candidate must be a British subject of European descent (vide Section 26 (a) and 44 (c) of Chapter IV of the South Africa Act of 1909). And this Act was accepted by British statesmen in spite of the pleas of the Non-Europeans of South Africa.

No Non-European is found on the Administrative Staff of the Country, i.e. in the Public Service, Police Force, Railway Administration, Postal establishment, except only as messengers and police-boys. Even in the nationhood of the country he is excluded; only two million Europeans are spoken of as the population of South Africa while the eight million Non-Europeans are excluded.

(II). The segregation policy of South Africa has reduced the Non-European to Industrial serfdom. The African is excluded from the definition of the term employee. He is a labourer, not in the sense applied to the European labourer. In South Africa the Non-European labourer is the servant of the European labourer. He is excluded from European Trade Unions. A European Trade Union which admits Non-Europeans in its membership runs the risk of being refused official registration as a Trade Union. This registration carries with it the right of collective bargaining, the right to strike, etc. Exclusion from participation in Trade Unionism carries with it as its natural corollary, exclusion from the right and benefit of Trade Unionism. Vide the recent judgment of the Supreme Court on this question.

(III). Segregation has meant economic slavery for the Non-European. The Land-distribution as between White and Black is most unjust. Over 80 per cent. of the land belongs to the Europeans who number two million, and 20 per cent. to Non-Europeans who number eight million.

A close study of the trend of European opinion in this country will reveal the fact that there is a move towards the re-making of the map of South Africa, or even Africa, so as to ensure a uniform policy of segregation.

Territorial segregation between White and Black, residential segregation, separation between White and Coloured and Coloured and African or Indian, economic separation between European and Asiatic—these would result in the creation of:—

- (a) Reserves as permanent homes for Africans, a labour reservoir;
- (b) Reserves for Coloured people;
- (c) Reserves for Indians and other Asiatics to counteract and kill commercial competition between European and Asiatic.

Is this policy of creating separate water-tight compartments of the racial groups of the Union not going to produce consequences that will be detrimental to the spirit of peace and engender a spirit of hatred and antagonism?

(IV). **Social ostracism** is the outcome of this policy of segregation. The white man has developed a spirit of hatred towards the Non-European, Colour prejudice of the most virulent kind, a veritable psychosis of a dread nature.

The Non-European, more especially the Black man, is regarded as an outcast from society, a foreigner, an "alien" from the Commonwealth of grace, an untouchable to be shunned and avoided, an uncircumcised Gentile, so much so, that any white man who may be seen shaking hands with him or admitting him to his front door or in any way showing a liberal attitude is branded as a negropholist, a "Kaffir-boetie". It would be said of him as was said of St. Peter of Sacred History: "He went in unto men uncircumcised."

The Non-European is regarded for all practical intents and purposes as a sort of sub-human, an "amper mens", undeveloped human being or as an entity outside the human species, as an unassimilable quality.

It makes one ask why he is sneered at, spat upon, frowned on? Is it because he is black? Is he responsible for this hideous "crime" of the possession of a black skin?

The end of World War II has brought in its train new ideologies, new concepts of statecraft and a re-orientation of policies, as I have said before. It has brought about a redistribution of populations and a re-arrangement and a re-alignment of peoples and races. But to us in South Africa, it may mean something vastly different from what it may mean elsewhere.

Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party, calls the attention of the white races of the land to what he regards as a threat to white civilisation, the coming up of the non-white peoples. He, therefore, proposes that they, especially the Black man, be placed somewhere by themselves and that they be given a character to themselves—an African Charter.

Professor A. C. Cilliers, speaking at the annual meeting of English-speaking South Africans held at Cape Town on the 10th of February, 1943, suggested the establishment of a Bantu National Home in Central Africa. But much more threatening are the words of Senator the Hon. A. M. Conroy, Minister of Lands in the present Smuts Cabinet. Speaking to United Party supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 13th November, 1945, he visualises "Bechuanaland as the home for millions of Natives in South Africa if the waters of the great Okovango River are harnessed." He expressed the opinion that "Bechuanaland will be the home of the Native of South Africa".

General Smuts, the Union Premier, is looking forward to the eventual incorporation into the Union of South Africa of the present High Commissioner Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland as well as the mandated Territory of South-West Africa. The whole idea underlying all these plans for creating native Reserves to serve as labour Reservoirs is in the interests of the White Aristocracy.

In giving official notice at the San Francisco Conference in May, 1945, of the intention of the Union Government to demand later at the Peace Conference the incorporation into the Union of South Africa the territory of South-West Africa, the Union delegation, headed by General Smuts, claimed that the Union had introduced a progressive policy of Native Administration including a system of local Government through Native Councils giving the Natives a voice in the management of their own affairs.

Ladies and Gentlemen, this system of so-called local Government is a camouflage of the worst possible kind. It throws into bold relief the viewpoint of the White man concerning the Black man here. They think he can be like a child fobbed off with a dummy when he is crying for the breast of his mother. This substitute is good enough for "Skepsels". In the judgment of white South Africa the end of World War II affords a glorious opportunity for the extension and intensification of the policy of segregation to the Coloured and Indian races of the land.

For example, the series of administrative measures that aim at expropriating the Coloured people from their homes in the Cape Peninsula, in Kimberley, etc., and the creation of a Coloured Affairs Department, with its Coloured Advisory Council,

at this most unpropitious time in the history of the country. For the Indians of Natal and the Transvaal there was the introduction of the Peggging Act, the objective of which is to remove the Indian for residential and commercial purposes into zoned Asiatic areas. The time is opportune for the Non-European to assert himself and claim his rightful place as a member of the human race, as a member of the Household of God, as a son in the family of mankind. With this end in view the Non-European must claim:—

- (a) The unreserved application to him of the principles in the Preamble to the World Charter of Peace adopted at San Francisco in May last by representative Statesmen of over 50 nations of the world, the principles of justice, of respect for human rights, of the sanctity of the human personality and the self-determination of peoples, of fundamental freedom for all without distinction of race, language, creed or sex.
- (b) His rightful place in the political sun of the country of his birth or adoption, equal franchise rights, his rightful seat—not by proxy—in all the legislative councils of the land, his rightful place in all the administrative bodies of the land and in the public service of the country.
- (c) His rightful place in the industrial organism of the country, in the legislative machinery that regulates the relationship between employer and employee.

In a word, the recognition of rights and privileges embodied in the Ten Point Programme of the Non-European Unity Movement. Ladies and Gentlemen, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the whole foundation upon which the system of government is based in South Africa is the source from which all the disabilities of the Non-European spring. This is the Colour-bar in the political machinery of the country which specifically, deliberately and expressly denies him the Franchise. Whoever is excluded from the political home of the country, from Franchise rights, is doomed. The colour bar in the political system of South Africa is the pivot upon which revolves all sundry acts of colour discrimination, all oppressive and suppressive measures directed against the Non-European. It is the power-station from which the White man derives his strength to rule.

In the new age, in the hour of general reconstruction, general re-orientation of ideologies, the political system of South Africa must be declared to be fundamentally wrong and unsound from every ethical point of view, unchristian in conception, undemocratic in principle, uncharitable in practice, indefensible in the eyes of the modern world, untenable as a political tenet. The time has come when Non-Europeans in South Africa must declare and proclaim to the whole world that the political faith accepted by white South Africa is not that of democracy. It is a Government of the white races of the land for the benefit of themselves at the expense of the interest of the Non-European races of the country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the hour has struck when we must venture out on a road different from that which we have been following in the past—the road to Unity, Unity of the Coloured, Indian and African peoples of South Africa to join hands in the grim struggle for freedom.

“There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

We must be up and doing, we must revolt against this hideous system. Africans, Coloureds and Indians must march together as a unified force. Let us adopt the slogan from the Chinese National Anthem:—

“Our aim shall be  
To found a free land,  
World peace our stand,  
One heart, one soul, one mind, one goal.”

**Professor D. D. T. Jabavu** (in the chair) invited discussion on the address.

**Mr. I. B. Tabata** (All African Convention, W.P.) moved a vote of thanks for an inspiring address and said that the tone and level set by the Chairman would be followed by all.

**Rev. D. Wessels** (Nat. Anti-C.A.D. Comm.) seconded. Speaking in Afrikaans, he said that they had noble plans which would gladden the hearts of our oppressed people in the darkest corners of South Africa.

**Professor Jabavu** (African Voters' Association, Cape) said that the Unity Movement had made known to the world our needs and ideas in a Document entitled “**A Declaration to the Nations of the World**”, which had been sent overseas as well as distributed in South Africa. It was a pleasure to convey the thanks of Conference for the Rev. Mahabane's address.

**Rev. Mahabane** resumed the Chair and called for the adoption of the printed Minutes of the January, 1945, Conference which had been circulated to all delegates at Conference.

**Councillor R. E. Viljoen** (Nat. Anti-C.A.D. Comm.) proposed the adoption of the Minutes, seconded by **Mr. B. Groep** (Workers' Civil League, Woodstock Branch).

**The Joint Secretaries** read the roll-call which revealed that the delegates present came from all parts of the Union, from Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Fraternal delegates from Basutoland were also present. They were accorded the right to participate in the discussions, but not to vote.

**Professor Jabavu** welcomed the fraternal and accredited delegates and visitors. He was specially pleased to welcome delegates from Rhodesia and Nyasaland who had come in order that they might take the message of Unity back to their homes outside the Union. A telegram from the Eur-African Service League of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, was read. They regretted being unable to send a delegate, but were keenly interested in the activities of the Unity Movement.

**Mr. Rousseau** (Coloured Service League, Salisbury) said that he was happy to hear this message. It came as a result of his attempts to interest the Eur-African Service League in this Conference. They represented the section of the Coloured people in Rhodesia who wished to be known as Eur-African and not Coloured. Although the leagues had no programmatic differences, yet each functioned separately.

**Professor Jabavu** advised the Rhodesian delegates to attempt the reconciliation of the two leagues and also to unite with other Non-Europeans in Rhodesia.

**Telegrams** were read from the following: Chairman, Workers' Civic League, Woodstock Branch; Mr. K. Mtshishwa, Whittlesea; Mr. Malek Rasool, Kinross.

**Fraternal Delegates from Basutoland** gave a report of conditions in Basutoland. They indicated that the people were now

experiencing the harsh conditions already familiar in the Union. They were being forced off the land, from the fertile mountains into the barren plains. Taxes were being imposed to force them to come into the Union to provide an extra supply of cheap labour. They expressed strong objections to Basutoland being incorporated into the Union and they hoped that the Non-European Unity Movement would support them in that stand.

**Resolution:** "This Conference welcomes the Rhodesian and Nyasaland United Movement to the Unity Movement. We send our greetings to the oppressed people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and declare our solidarity with them in the common struggle for full democratic rights."

#### **THE SECRETARIES' REPORT WAS READ BY MR. E. RAMSDALE (Joint Secretary).**

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Since we met in Conference at Cape Town last January, much has happened to warrant a sober confidence that the Unity Movement has come to stay. We have safely overcome the most difficult period of any Movement, namely, that of launching it. In this Report we shall present to Conference what may be described as a balance sheet. The first All-in Unity Conference was held in Cape Town on the 4th and 5th January, 1945, and one of its major tasks was to give the Movement a **Programmatic Basis and an Organisational Form**—something we never had before.

To this end the following resolution had been passed: **The Basis of Unity:**—

"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."

The Executive took all possible steps to explain to the people the implications of the acceptance of the 10-Point Programme as a basis for the Movement. Tours were undertaken by members of the All African Convention to the Ciskei and the Transkei; by members of the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee to Natal, Northern Cape, South Western Districts and the Eastern Province; by members of the Teachers' League of South Africa to the Kalahari District. Members of the Executive also held a series of meetings immediately after the Conference in various parts of the Western Cape Province, in Kimberley, and during July in Johannesburg and other parts of the Reef. The Chairman addressed public meetings in Kroonstad and Colesburg. The Anti-C.A.D. fortnightly and the All African Convention monthly bulletins also helped considerably to explain the programme and other decisions of Conference to the people. But it was also necessary to place a great deal of reliance on the organisations represented at Conference to propagate the Programme.

#### **ORGANISATION.**

Having adopted a sound basis for the Movement, the next step was to find an organisational form. This was the crucial test for the Conference, because a false step in our approach to the organisational form would have been disastrous. After full consideration of all the factors involved, the Conference very wisely decided that the organisational form must be based on the stage of political development reached by the various groups,



and so adopted 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 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:

- (i) To reject segregation, not only between black and white, but also within the ranks of the Non-Europeans themselves.
- (ii) 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 the three federal bodies representing the three groups, African, Coloured and Indian, and the officials referred to in (a) above, be elected at this Conference;
  - (c) that Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees be established throughout South Africa.”

It will be seen that the cardinal principle of our organisational form is that an Executive Committee, representative of each federated group, rests on **Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees**, which in turn are composed of branches of the federal groups in each area. With respect to the Executive, the resolution was put into effect as far as it was possible to do so with our limited organisational resources. The Coloured section is already fully represented with its various organisations, but representation on the part of the Africans has still to be completed and the Indians are absent.

The full Executive held one meeting—in Johannesburg on the 7th July, 1945. In the interim the Cape Town members of the Executive acted on behalf of the full Executive in carrying out the decisions of Conference.

In regard to the formation of Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees the progress has been very unsatisfactory. Only in the Western Province has a Committee been established and is functioning very well. It has held 11 public meetings and has also translated the 10-Point Programme into practice when issues arose affecting the Non-Europeans in the Cape, particularly the Windermere Expropriation issue and the Pass Regulations. One thing emerges clearly from the success of the W.P. Local Co-ordinating Committee, namely, that such a system is eminently workable in practice.

## NON-EUROPEANS AND PEACE PROBLEMS.

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It will be remembered that the following resolution was passed:—

“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 Committees must be heard at the forthcoming Peace Conference.”

The latter part of the Resolution said that we had to make our voice heard at the Peace Conference, but, as is well known, there was very little possibility of a peace conference or of peace either. After weighty consideration it was resolved to carry out the wishes of Conference by issuing a **Declaration to the Nations of the World**. In every respect the document is a historic one for the Non-Europeans of South Africa. Firstly, we had never before presented our case to the world without our rulers dictating how the case should be presented. Secondly, we had never spoken with the clear voice with which we spoke on this occasion, for the underlying theme is one of equals speaking to equals and not of wards begging for a few more privileges from their “trustees”. Thirdly, it was the first complete exposure to the outside world of the hypocrisy of the rulers of South Africa and showed up the hollow protestations of General Smuts at San Francisco. The world now knows that while he was brazenly speaking about “the equal rights of men and women”, he himself was the living embodiment of a system of Government where those lofty principles meant nothing if a man or woman happened to be born with a skin that wasn't white.

Copies of the Declaration were sent to all parts of the world, to political parties and organisations, to the press of the four Continents, to individuals, particularly authors known to be progressive. All the recipients were asked to give the widest possible publicity to the Document. Every consul also was sent a copy to transmit formally to the Government he represented. We have been informed that the organisations represented at the Pan African Congress held in Manchester in October, 1945, made the Declaration the core of their reports and discussions on South Africa. The International Secretariat of the Pan African Congress also asked our sanction to reproduce the Document for circulation in England and the U.S.A., which was immediately granted. We have received many letters from overseas and, what is important, established overseas contacts.

In South Africa, the Declaration was printed with an explanatory preamble in five languages spoken in the Union. The response was literally staggering. From every corner of the Union, the Protectorates and Rhodesia came requests for more copies. When it is remembered that hitherto the oppressed Non-Europeans knew no other method of struggle save petitions, deputations, memoranda, the reaction to the Declaration bears testimony to the distance we have travelled along the new road.

## THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

It will be recalled that Conference gave the Executive a very definite instruction when it passed the following resolution:—

“This Conference directs the incoming Executive 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.”

Immediately after the conclusion of Conference our Chairman, the Rev. Mahabane, went to Johannesburg to interview Dr. A. B. Xuma, the President-General of Congress, but the latter declined to meet our Chairman. The Secretariat then sent the above resolution to Dr. Xuma by registered post on the 1st February to which we received a formal acknowledgment dated 1st March. We wrote again (on the 17th May) to Dr. Xuma and asked for a communication to our letter of the 1st May and pointed out the urgency of the position. We also appealed to the President to use his influence to draw Congress into the Unity Movement. At the same time we wrote in similar strain to the Secretary of the Congress. No replies were received to these letters.

On instructions from our Chairman we invited both the President and the Secretary of the Congress to attend the Executive meeting held in Johannesburg in July, but the reply was that as “they were not members of the Executive” they could not attend. At the Executive meeting the whole matter was discussed and it was resolved that a further effort should be made so a committee was appointed to seek and interview with Dr. Xuma at Johannesburg. But once again, the President refused to discuss Unity with us. And there the matter rests, except for the fact that we again invited the Congress to attend this Conference.

## THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS.

It will be recalled during 1944 many unsuccessful efforts were made to draw the S.A. Indian Congress into the Unity Movement on the basis of the 10 Point Programme. In consequence of our report to the last Conference, a great deal of discussion took place on the position of the S.A.I.C. in relation to the Unity Movement. It will also be recalled that at the Conference a letter was read from the S.A.I.C. which contained certain allegations against us in regard to the Minutes of the Johannesburg meeting held in July, 1944. Arising from the discussion, the following resolution was passed:—

“This Conference, after due consideration of the allegations by the S.A. Indian Congress delegation to the 2nd Unity Conference, that the report of the proceedings of that Conference contains certain misstatements, accepts the solemn assurance of the Continuation Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement that the report is a true reflection of the Conference. Moreover, this Conference is of the opinion that the most effective means whereby the leadership of the S.A.I.C. may remove any alleged misconceptions of their view upon the 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 text of the resolution was sent to the Congress and handed to the press. The upshot to this was a lengthy statement issued by the Congress officials and published in the press. The statement not only reiterated their earlier allegations that the

Minutes of the Johannesburg Conference were incorrect, but made further allegations against the Unity Movement. This statement called for a reply which was drawn up and issued to the press. As the press only published extracts from our reply, we cyclo-styled the full reply and issued it to the Country.

### EXTENSION OF PASS LAWS TO CAPE PENINSULA.

The year under review brought forth a further attack on the Non-Europeans in the form of draft regulations providing for the extension of Pass Laws to Africans entering or residing in the Cape Peninsula. This dark plan, which was obviously hatched while the war for "freedom and democracy" was still being waged, came up against a force which no previous oppressive measures had to contend with—the Unity Movement. The Western Province Local Co-Ordinating Committee immediately took the matter up and, with the permission of the Executive, issued a leaflet explaining the implications of the regulations, and simultaneously the Committee convened an emergency Conference, the purpose of which was to rally all organisations around the Committee and thus ensure a concerted attack on the regulations. The Conference passed a resolution supporting the Local Co-Ordinating Committee in the fight and since then 17 public meetings were held under the auspices of the Committee to protest against the regulations. We regret to report that subsequent to the emergency conference referred to earlier, certain organisations went back on the Conference and launched a counter campaign under the "United Anti-Pass Committee". This split was unfortunate, but was in the circumstances, unavoidable because the Local Committee quite correctly found themselves bound to fight the issue strictly on the 10 Point Programme, viz., that this attack on the Africans should be viewed as an attack on the Non-Europeans as a whole and that no compromise should be accepted or entertained.

The latest position in the campaign is that the responsible committee of the Cape Town City Council has decided not to recommend the acceptance of the draft regulations, but will recommend the **tightening up of the existing regulations and their extension to areas adjacent to the Cape Peninsula.** Thus the usual shoddy compromise is affected at the expense of the fundamental rights of citizens. We may rest assured that this move will only serve to strengthen the resolve of the Co-Ordinating Unity Committee to continue relentlessly the struggle against the regulations, because to us a pass is a pass, by whatever name it is called or whatever method is used to force people to carry it.

Taking the position as a whole the idea of Unity appears to have taken firm root among the people. There is no denying the fact that the impact of the Unity Movement is having a far-reaching effect on the whole political outlook of the Non-Europeans. In a word, the little fires that are springing up in different parts of the country may be caused by sparks from the main fire of the Unity Movement.

E. RAMSDALE,

S. A. JAYIYA,

Joint Secretaries.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

**Rev. Mahabane** took the Chair.

**Mr. S. A. Jayiya** (Joint Secretary) gave an analysis of the representation at Conference as follows: Political bodies—31; educational—19; social welfare—9; trade unions—11; religious bodies—7; benevolent societies—2.

There were also fraternal delegates and visitors.

Altogether there were 81 delegates representing 54 organisations.

### **Discussion on the Secretaries' Report.**

**Dr. G. H. Gool** (Vice-Pres.) said that the Indians were not present, yet the Executive was optimistic that they would come in. Towards the end of last year he had toured Natal and spoken on the Unity Movement at many places to very enthusiastic gatherings. The people realised the need for a firm stand and for Unity with the other groups. Within the S.A.I.C. grave internal struggles had been raging for some time. The Nationalist bloc or progressive section had now unseated Kajee & Co. in the Natal Indian Congress, but not in the S.A.I.C. yet. The Kajee group had rejected Unity on a programmatic basis at the Conference in Johannesburg, July, 1943. The S.A.I.C. Conference would meet soon and then the situation would become clear.

**Mr. Dudley** (T.L.S.A.) felt satisfied with the Secretaries' Report. The wide representation at Conference was good, only it was important to have the other organisations with us. Teachers from Rhodesia had come, but no representatives of the African or the Indian Teachers were present. Efforts should be redoubled to rope in the organisations still outside. He moved the adoption of the Secretaries' Report.

**Mr. B. Mokgeledi** seconded. The report was unanimously accepted.

**Mr. Jayiya** read the following message from the All African Convention, signed by Professor Jabavu who had to leave to keep another engagement.

### **To the Joint Secretaries, Non-European Unity Movement:**

I have been instructed by the Conference of the All African Convention held in Bloemfontein on 14th and 15th December, 1945, to convey its greetings and wishes of successful deliberations of the Non-European Unity Conference to be held in Kimberley on 19th and 20th December.

The Convention expresses its urgent hope that the Unity Conference will impress upon the delegates the urgency of the formation of Co-ordinating Unity Committees throughout the Union as was decided at the last Unity Conference. These local Committees will serve as defence Committees against the concerted onslaught on the remaining rights of the Non-Europeans.

(Signed) D. D. T. JABAVU.

**Mr. B. M. Kies** introduced a discussion on THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD SITUATION. He spoke as follows:—

### **THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE WORLD SITUATION**

Mr. Chairman and Delegates,

It may well be that some of the delegates assembled here have wondered why this subject, The Unity Movement and the World Situation, is on the agenda. Or it may be that other

delegates have asked themselves why such a subject should be so high up on the agenda paper, and even before the discussion on the 10 Point Programme in action. Perhaps some of us have even asked what the world situation has got to do with us here in South Africa. Perhaps they may have taken up the attitude that "it is very interesting to hear about the troubles and struggles of other people, but what have their troubles to do with us? Goodness knows that we have over-sufficient worries of our own without being depressed or burdened by those of other peoples thousands of miles away. We in this country are different. The people are different and the problems are different from those of other oppressed countries. Those people can't help us and we can't help them, so why should be indulge in fruitless discussion which can advance neither their cause nor ours?"

This is a very wrong attitude. More than this. It is most dangerous. And it is the main purpose of this discussion to show that it is vitally important for us to understand the **nature** of the world in which our struggle is taking place. We must understand the times in which we live or otherwise we will not get a true perspective; we will make false decisions, out of touch with the realities of the situation; we may lose opportunities; we may set out on adventuristic ventures; we may go slow when we should go fast or fast when we should go more slowly. What goes on elsewhere is our business, not merely as a matter of interest or sympathy, but because it is one of the main guides to an understanding of our own struggle here in South Africa. The conditions prevailing in the world to-day have never at any time in history contained so many lessons for us and for every exploited and oppressed people in every country. So let us take a glimpse at the world situation to see what we can learn in the interests of our own struggle.

When an ordinary man or woman looks at the world to-day, he or she is puzzled by the hundreds of strange things going on everywhere. G. K. Chesterton once called the earth the mad-house of the planets. And when you listen to the news or read the newspapers or just look around at the things going on in your work, or in your dorp or town, it does really seem as if the world has gone mad. **Yesterday** they decorated people with V.C.s, D.S.O.s, the Iron Cross and the Croix de Guerre for murdering their fellowmen in large batches. **To-day**, they are hanging people as criminals for murdering their fellowmen one at a time. **Yesterday**, they spoke of the fanaticism and bestiality of the Nazi troops. **To-day** Britain and the U.S.A. keep whole armies of Nazi troops under their own officers, goose-stepping and preparing for action on behalf of the peace- and freedom-loving democracies. **Yesterday** the Japanese were cannibalistic heathen. To-day, under British officers, and sometimes officering British troops, they are shooting down the Japanese because they believe in democracy. **Yesterday**, Cabinet Ministers attacked the Pass system. **To-day** they are extending it to new areas. **Yesterday**, Britain, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union were the closest of friends: Truman played the piano for Stalin and Churchill; Stalin was uprooting whole lemon trees for his friends' tea, and Churchill was solemnly proclaiming the eternal friendship of the Big Three. To-day, the Big Three do not meet—the Foreign Ministers meet instead. Yesterday's friends have become foreigners. And when the Foreign Ministers do meet, it is in an atmosphere of suspicion and war, while the world holds its breath as it used to do when ever Foreign Ministers met before World War No. 2; Truman condenses Hitler's policy of world-

aggression and domination into 14 points and announces them to the world as the policy of American democracy. **Yesterday**, Britain and U.S.A. were as inseparable as Siamese twins. **To-day**, Britain is deliberately crippled beyond recovery by her former ally. One day the "civilised" world praises the discoveries of penicillin because they have saved so many lives. On another day, God is thanked for the atomic bomb which saved innumerable lives by shortening the war!

What is it all about? It doesn't seem to make sense. Has the world gone mad? Is it the end of our times? Is this the end of civilization? How do all these things hang together? **How do they affect us in our struggle for liberty?**

Naturally we cannot answer all these questions in the short time at our disposal. All we can, and do, propose to do is to give a few pointers which will help to explain the connection between all these things: to explain the meaning of all these seeming contradictions for us here in South Africa.

The first thing to understand about the world situation to-day is that the whole globe is not merely in a state of crisis, but in a permanent crisis. This crisis is caused by the struggle going on everywhere for two different worlds: one set of forces is struggling to retain the old world with its inequality, its insecurity, its exploitation and oppression and colour-bars, its profits for the few and poverty for the many. The other set of forces is everywhere working for the **new world** where there will be an end to unemployment and slums, racial and colour and class distinction, an end to periodic wars and that nightmare of anxiety and torture which has come to be known as peace. The old world is in its death throes, but is struggling violently to prevent the new world from being born. In every country the common people, people like us, people of every colour and speaking every language, people in widely differing stages of development are **all** struggling valiantly for fundamentally the same things as we are striving towards, for the new world in which all men and women will be free and equal and where every man and woman has a chance to develop his or her talents for the good of all.

**Nothing can reconcile these two worlds:** one means decay and the other means new birth. There will be no peace until the old world has died. This is the background against which we must see all the news of revolts and wars, cabinet crises and strikes, which leap out at us every time we open the newspaper. The fate of world civilization—and the fate of man—depends upon the outcome of this crisis and this life and death struggle.

The second thing to understand about the world situation to-day, is that we are witnessing the Decline and Fall of the British Empire. It is a grand moment. Greater and grander than the fall of the Roman Empire. The British Empire has been the greatest stumbling block in human progress. Out of 725 million colonial oppressed, the British Empire has enslaved almost 500 million and, in the interests of British industry and profits, has for centuries deliberately kept them from developing. Then, too, it was the British Empire which smashed the Great French Revolution. And ever since the fall of Napoleon in 1815, British Imperialism has kept Europe divided and at war, under her policy of the Balance of Power. Britain has been at the back of every attempt to crush the emancipatory movement in Europe. She has the most criminal record in all history, but has always concealed this under, a mantle of hypocrisy and deceit. Only now

in her decline, do the masses see her in her true colours in Java, Indonesia, Indo-China, India, Palestine and Egypt. And it is a known fact that Britain is the most hated country in Europe to-day.

Moreover, it is an ironic thing that Britain's back has been broken by the very thing which made the Empire: the might of industry and the doctrine of free trade. Only this time there is a difference. This time it is being used against her by her rival and aspiring-heir, American Imperialism, which is taking over the British Empire financially. The U.S.A., as Truman clearly stated in his 14 points, is aiming to take over the British Empire and dominate the world. This is Hitler's dream americanised, and is as great a menace to world peace and freedom as Nazism was. Let us have no illusions about the nature of Yankee Imperialism. Sometimes we find Non-Europeans who, because they see a few prosperous-looking Negro bishops and hear of Negro business-men, artists and international sportsmen, are deceived into thinking that the 10 million Negroes in the U.S.A. have full democratic rights. So they hope that they will be liberated by America's taking-over of the Empire. It is a dangerous illusion, for the voracious nature of the Imperialist beast is the same, whether it springs from Britain, Germany or the U.S.A.

But what precisely does the decline and fall of the British Empire mean for us in South Africa? It means that Britain has now become junior partner to the U.S.A. It means that Britain will cling to what is left of her Empire as long as she can. It means that she must cling mercilessly to India and Africa. She cannot hold India very long now, at least, not in the old way: so she will concentrate her fury on Africa in her struggle to save herself from being crushed too soon by American Imperialism. This very morning's "Diamond Fields Advertiser" provides some evidence of this, for we read that "Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) has announced the formation of a new corporation to assist the financing of economic development of the Colonial Empire, to be called "Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, Limited." ("D.F.A.," 19/12/45.)

Economically, the U.S.A. could have crushed British Capitalism completely. But for two reasons she did not—political and not economic reasons. The fact is that the U.S.A. needs Britain to keep Europe divided by forming a Western bloc against the Soviet Union. The second is that the U.S.A. is using Britain as the policeman of the world to do the dirty work of crushing the liberatory movement, as she is doing in Greece and Java and Indo-China and India. This combination of the British and American Empires is aimed at more intensive exploitation in the mother countries and more rigorous enslavement of the colonial world. **If it succeeds**, it will plunge the world into a new Dark Age which will be blacker than anything produced by the Middle Ages or by Hitler.

It is in such a world that we are raising our banner for freedom. It is in such a world that we are trying to unite the oppressed people. Against this background our struggles in this country are being conducted. And the struggles of the colonial peoples of Africa, Asia, as well as the struggles of the workers in Europe, China, in Britain and America themselves must be understood in this context. Everywhere it is the struggle for two different worlds. Naturally, we are all at widely differing stages of the struggle, and some of us have much longer to travel than others. But it is really the same struggle everywhere:



**against tyranny and exploitation between man and fellow man.** We are not alone on the road and this we must know. We do not fight alone, and this we must know. The battle-fronts and fighters for the new world may be widely spread: but it is **one common** struggle.

But there are a few more things that we must know about this world in which we, together with the rest of mankind, are working out our destiny.

We must know that these dark forces which threaten to swallow up mankind are not nearly as strong as they seem to be. They are rotting on their feet and they are being eaten up from the inside by internal decay. Before U.S.A. Imperialism can enslave the world economically, with Britain as the gaoler, she must stabilise Europe and the colonial world. Without a stable market you cannot sell goods. And to-day, with France in the West, China in the Far East, the Soviet world in between, and revolts in the colonies, it is impossible for Imperialism to obtain stability. Internally, the U.S.A. has its own industrial troubles with the workers. But more than that: the more her industry produces without being able to export at a profit, the quicker and deeper the crisis throughout the world. Moreover, inside the womb of the old world has developed another force which must kill it more quickly than it would have been killed otherwise. This is the recent discovery of **atomic power**.

The bomb that fell on Hiroshima sounded the death knell not only of half-a-million Japanese, but of those who manufactured and used the bomb. It is the end of the industrial age which was begun by the Industrial Revolution. We are now in the **Atomic Age**, and the world is now entering into the greatest period humankind has yet seen. The atomic bomb, about which the Foreign Ministers are alleged to be meeting, is nothing at all. It is not the real danger to Imperialism. It is **atomic power**, the harnessing of atomic energy in order to produce in abundance the things which men and women need, which is the real danger for the forces of the old world, the forces of darkness. The old world and the forces which are trying to maintain it CANNOT and DARE NOT use atomic energy for the production of goods for human needs.

But the **new world** CAN use atomic energy, because it can solve for all time the problem of poverty and want and it can reduce human labour and drudgery to the barest minimum. It can give mankind the leisure and the opportunity for educational and cultural advances such as the world has never seen. It makes possible the greatest Renaissance of all times. But if it is used, it would plunge the old world into its grave in six months. We may be sure, moreover, that the Soviet Union **already** has the secret of atomic energy and that this must hasten the coming of the Third World War. It has started in China in any case. But the old world must go to war very soon, not only to crush the forces which are working to bring about the new world, but also to prevent the U.S.S.R. from using atomic energy in industry.

The Third World War is on the order of the day, and it concerns us more vitally than the Second World War. That was chiefly to wipe out the Nazi business competition in the struggle for world markets and control. This will be to crush all the forces working for freedom. South Africa will be in the thick of it. We, the Unity Movement, staking our claim for liberty, will **inevitably** be in the forefront. Unless we under-

stand what is going on; unless we can enlighten and organise in time, they will use our own people or other colonial and exploited people to shoot us down as the Indian mercenary troops are shooting down the Javanese, and as the British workers shot down their Greek fellow-workers. We must **understand** or we will blunder. We must have **vision** or we will miss our opportunity. We must organise or we will lose.

But we need something which is greater than anything we have yet mentioned. We need to develop that **fierce spirit of liberty** which inspires the workers of Java and China and Europe.

So much has been mouthed about liberty and freedom, especially during the past six years, that it seems sometimes as if the words have been drained of all meaning and have become empty catchphrases. Our attitude is often so pious. We look upon the liberatory movement as a hobby on a par with other hobbies like cards or sport. We put on our political attitude for meetings or conferences, as we might put on special boots to climb a mountain. When we descend from the mountain we take off our boots and go about our usual affairs. After meetings or conferences, many of us peel off our political attitudes and jog along in the same old paths as before. And as long as this remains our approach to our own emancipation we shall never be free and we will not deserve to be free either.

We will have to learn to re-shape our lives, to live for a purpose and for a cause which is greater than ourselves, to put aside our petty jealousies and ambitions. Those who come to the Unity Movement must come for one thing and one thing only: to educate and organise the people for the realisation of their freedom. All sorts of people are attracted to movements of this type. Cranks and bigots and scoundrels, opportunists and careerists are attracted along with the honest men and women. Many who come to the movement are only fellow-travellers: they will get off when they cannot get positions or when they get tired of the struggle. Many people are bribed. Many fall by the wayside for one reason or another. But we shall have to learn, we must learn, not to be upset by the shortcomings or defections of this individual or that one. We must not lose heart because of these surprises or set-backs. We must so steel ourselves for the struggle that every defection makes our determination to win through stronger than it was. We must learn to live for a cause which is greater than the personal and which is too profound to be shaken by the weakness of individuals.

Before we will achieve freedom, before we will be able to build a free and democratic South Africa and before we will be able to play our part towards the emancipation of the whole of Africa and of humanity in general, we shall have to learn a new way of life. The flame of liberty must burn within us so that a whole new generation grows up with these ideas. We must learn a way of life in which there will always be one to take the place of one who falls, to clutch the torch before it falls to the ground. We are soon going to be tested much more sharply than we have been. We must learn to stand up to these tests until we have the whole of the oppressed imbued with that fire and spirit which inspires the forces of liberty throughout the world, that high resolve which led men to die on the barricades with the cry of "Freedom" on their lips, to go into battle with the same courage which made men unafraid of being blown to bits as long as their dust could blind the tyrant's purpose.

We of the Unity Movement will have to learn the lesson which the ages have taught to all who would be free. We must learn to prize liberty above life . . . .

**Mr. Kies**, on behalf of the Executive, moved:—

“That this Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement, held in Kimberley on the 19th and 20th December, 1945,

- (a) expresses its unreserved support to the people of Indonesia, China, India and all the oppressed peoples of the Continents of Asia and Africa in their heroic struggle for independence and full democratic rights;
- (b) sends fraternal greetings and declares its solidarity with all peoples in every country who are fighting for a world free from exploitation and tyranny.”

**Mr. E. M. Gordon** (T.L.S.A. Executive) in seconding, thanked Mr. Kies for his inspiring address.

**Mr. B. Lewis** (Workers' International League, Johannesburg) moved an addendum, seconded by **Mr. Hirson** (Workers' International League), as follows:—

“This second all-in Conference of the Unity Movement declares its solidarity and support to the struggle for National independence and against Imperialism of all the oppressed colonial people of the East.

- (a) This Conference supports the struggle of the people of India for their independence from British rule; supports the people of China in their fight against Imperialism and native oppressors; greets the heroic and uncompromising battle waged by the militant people of Java and Indo-China for their national independence and fundamental human rights. This Conference condemns the brutal intervention of British, Dutch and French Imperialism, calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops and for the democratic right of the people to decide their own destiny.
- (b) This Conference of the Unity Movement declares its solidarity with the workers of Nigeria who have heroically conducted a general strike of 150,000 workers in the teeth of British Imperialism opposition.

This Conference congratulates the workers of Nigeria in their success in winning all their demands, and pledges its full support to all the struggles of the awakening of Africa. This Conference stands unconditionally for the National self-determination of all the subject colonies of Africa from the yoke of foreign Imperialism.

(The Workers' International League.)

### WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION.

**Rev. Mahabane** resumed the Chair. After a long debate the following resolution was adopted:—

#### World Situation:

That this Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement held in Kimberley on the 19th and 20th December, 1945,

- (a) Expresses its unreserved support of the people of Indonesia, China, India and all the oppressed peoples of the Continents of Asia and Africa in their heroic struggle for independence and full democratic rights.

- (b) This Conference supports the struggle of the people of India for their independence from British rule; supports the Chinese of China in their fight against foreign Imperialism and native oppression; greets the heroic and uncompromising battle waged by the militant people of Java and Indo-China for their national independence and fundamental human rights; it condemns the brutal intervention of British, Dutch and French Imperialism; calls for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops, and for the democratic right of the people to decide their own destiny.
- (c) This Conference sends fraternal greetings and declares its solidarity with all peoples in every country who are fighting for a world free from exploitation and tyranny.

**Dr. G. H. Gool**, in moving the following resolution, said that Conference had gone beyond the artificial barriers:—

“That this Conference of the Unity Movement instructs the Executive to endeavour to contact the liberatory movements in all other States on the Continent of Africa with a view to establishing fraternal relationships as a step towards the eventual unification of the struggle for equality and full citizenship.”

(The Cape Anti-C.A.D. Committee.)

**Mr. Rousseau** seconded.

Resolution passed unanimously.

## THURSDAY, 20th DECEMBER, 1945.

### MORNING SESSION.

Fifty-four Organisations were represented by 81 delegates. **Rev. Z. R. Mahabane** was in the Chair.

**Mr. B. Hirson**, on behalf of the Workers' International League, introduced the following motion. He asked leave to do so on a question of national emergency:—

“This Conference condemns the racial hatred stirred up by the Press on the so-called Rand crime-wave which is designed to raise anti-African sentiment.

“This Conference condemns the ‘lynch-spirit’ raised by all segregationist parties (Labour, Dominion, Nationalist and United Parties) against all sections of the Non-Europeans.”

**Mr. J. Motau** (African Gas and Power Workers' Union) seconded.

**Dr. G. H. Gool** referred to the pronouncements by the Minister of Native affairs which were designed to put the Africans and Coloureds against each other. In the Cape, the “Coloured Skolly Menace” and the “Uncontrolled Influx of Natives” were cries calculated to break the growing unity of these two groups, while incidentally providing cheap labour for the employers of labour. In the Cape, the Government, through the City Council, had thought the time was ripe for introducing Pass Laws into the Peninsula. The Local Co-ordinating Committee had been enlarged and tackled it with the aim of defeating it and aborting racial riots. The Committee had explained the Pass Laws to the Coloured people. If we did not forewarn and forearm the people against racial antagonism, we would witness the disasters witnessed in India—Hindu-Moslem riots, which are deliberately instigated.

The Resolution was reframed and read:—

“This Conference condemns the racial hatred stirred up by the Press on the so-called crime-wave in the Union and the so-called ‘Influx of Natives into Towns’, which is designed to raise anti-African sentiment.

“This Conference condemns the ‘lynch-spirit’ raised by all segregationist parties against all sections of Non-Europeans.”

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

**Mr. I. B. Tabata**, for the Executive, introduced a discussion on the 10-Point Programme. He spoke as follows:—

### THE TEN-POINT PROGRAMME IN PRACTICE.

My task is an easy one. We are not here to thrash out a new programme and a new form of organisation. The Unity Movement has a programme and has an organisational form over which we spent two days to discuss and formulate at our last conference. What we are called upon to-day is to examine them in practice. While doing so we have to underscore and emphasise certain aspects of this programme in practice. We ourselves have to be quite clear in our own minds why we adopted this particular programme, the Ten-Point Programme and not any other. And following upon that, why we adopted this particular form of organisation and not any other. The two things are closely connected, one with the other. The form of organisation flows from its programme. If we find differences on the organisational plane we must know that those differences go deeper than that. If we look closely into the question, we shall find that they have their origin in the programme. That is to say, our differences on the organisational plane are only a reflection of our differences on, or different attitude towards the programme.

I do not intend to-day to deal with the theoretical aspect of the Ten-Point Programme with all its implications. That was fully dealt with in our last conference.

In order to illustrate my point, on the connection between the programme and the form of organisation, I shall deal with two extreme tendencies or attitudes amongst the Non-Europeans of South Africa—the attitude of those on the extreme right on the one side, and the attitude of the extreme left wing on the other, towards the Ten-Point Programme. Both these groups also accept the Ten-Point Programme. **But How?** The first group, i.e. the right wing says with a shrug of the shoulders: Yes, we accept the Ten-Point Programme. There is nothing new in it. It is merely the enunciation of the rights of man. It is an ideal worth putting before the people. There is no harm in it. This is lip service to the Ten-Point Programme. Against this we say: No, it is not an ideal to be realised at some distant date by some future generations, but a living programme, a political programme on which we base our political activities here and now. We guide ourselves in our political activities by it. Our very lives now are determined by the Ten-Point Programme.

On the extreme left we find the group that reads the Ten-Point Programme and accepts it with ease. For them there is no difficulty about accepting it. Their difficulty is to know why we do not go further. They are used to reading revolutionary programmes and seeing in them, “tough” programmes for countries far in advance of our own. They have seen programmes drawn up by revolutionary parties for revolutionary situations.

They are so attracted by them that they forget the given conditions for which these programmes are drawn up. These gentlemen want something much "tougher" than our Ten-Point Programme. Against this group we explain that we are not a revolutionary party in a revolutionary situation. The Unity Movement is a national movement in its embryonic stage. It is a movement for the eight million Non-Europeans in South Africa; people who are politically backward, the vast majority of whom are peasants only now emerging from tribalism and who have not a vast heritage or tradition in political struggles. The Unity Movement is catering for these people, the vast majority of whom have still to accept the simple idea of equality between Black and White, the simple and elementary idea of democratic rights.

Let us now examine these two tendencies, these two groups, and see where they lead to and where they land. The first group on the extreme right was typified by the old leadership of the South African Indian Congress who paid lip service to the Ten-Point Programme. They did not accept it in the same way that we did. For them the Ten-Point Programme was an ideal for which we should struggle, some day in some distant future.

Last conference I had the honour to lead a discussion on the Building of Unity. At that time I received sharp criticism from a number of people in conference because I pointed out that the then leadership of the S.A.I.C. would not join the Unity Movement because their ideas about the Ten Point Programme were totally different from ours. In fact they did not want the Unity Movement. They were afraid of it. All they wanted was to use the Movement for their own particular sectional interests, to use as a bargaining power for the benefit of a few rich Indian merchants.

We have seen the same leadership using the Indian Congress for the interests of the merchant class even at the expense of the mass of the Indian workers. Then they wanted to extend their activities to cover the whole Non-European population. They wanted to use the Unity of the Non-Europeans as a bargaining power for the benefit of a clique—the Indian merchant class. How did they set about doing it? At their conference in 1943, the S.A.I.C. passed a resolution to the effect that they were prepared to co-operate with representative organisations on such "specific questions" as the Executive of the S.A.I.C. considered fit and proper for the purpose of safeguarding the political, economic and educational interests of the Non-Europeans of South Africa. Meantime the leadership of the A.A.C. and the Anti-C.A.D. had agreed on the necessity of establishing a Unity Movement on a programmatic basis—the Ten-Point Programme. When representatives of the A.A.C. and Anti-C.A.D. met the officials of the S.A.I.C. at a preliminary conference in Johannesburg on the 8th July, 1944, the S.A.I.C. leadership rejected Unity on the basis of the Ten-Point Programme. They insisted on "co-operating" with the other Non-Europeans sections only on "specific issues". Thus the disagreement on the Ten-Point Programme—i.e. the differences on the political plane, lead to a difference in the form of organisation. The leadership would not pledge itself to the whole-hearted support of the Non-European Unity Movement which the acceptance of the Ten-Point Programme involved and they would not accept the organisational form which flowed from this programme. Thus we see that though the leaders of Congress were among the first to talk about Unity, to-day they are

conspicuous by their absence in the Non-European Unity Movement.

Now for the extreme Leftists. For them the Ten-Point Programme, as we said, is taken for granted. But they want something more, since to them it seems narrow and limited in scope. In their eagerness they speak as if we were in the midst of a revolutionary situation right now in this country. This attitude towards the Ten-Point Programme on the part of the leftists leads to their attitude towards the organisational form. They demand at this stage a single all-embracing Unity organisation in place of the present federal structure of the Unity Movement. This implies the wiping out of the existing organisations representing the different sections of the Non-Europeans. But their demand shows a complete failure to realise the present stage of development in South Africa. We cannot simply by saying so rid the people in a day of the prejudices that have dominated their outlook for a life-time. We are so steeped in a segregatory outlook that we still think in terms of separate national groups. The people have still to learn to co-operate and act together. Thus, in reviewing the two tendencies, the extreme right and the extreme left, we can see how a wrong attitude to the Ten-Point Programme leads to the wrong conclusions on the organisational plane. It leads to the rejection of the accepted federal form of Unity.

Now, the Unity Movement appreciates the actual stage of development in South Africa to-day. That is why we have our Ten-Point Programme to keep in step with the present stage of development. From this realisation flows the organisational form of the Unity Movement. It is the present organisational form of the Unity Movement that gives scope to the different sections to come together in face of a common attack and devise ways and means of resisting it. In this way they learn Unity not only in word but in deed. A fine example of this co-operation has been demonstrated in the Western Province. As a result of the decisions of the last Unity conference—January, 1945—the organisations under the A.A.C. (W.P.) and the Cape Anti-C.A.D. came together to form a Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee (W.P.). So that when in September a new attack was launched against the Africans in the form of Pass Regulations, it was the Committee which rallied all the sections of the Non-Europeans in defence of the Africans. It embarked on an intensive campaign, holding public meetings throughout the Cape Peninsula, in halls, in the open and outside factories during the lunch hour. Speakers from the Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee explained the full implications of the Pass System. They explained that the Pass Regulations would militate against all the Non-European sections and indeed against the working class as a whole, and that what seems to be an attack on the Africans in the form of Pass Regulations, is in fact an attack upon all. The result was that the sub-committee of the City Council, faced with this concerted opposition from all sections of the Non-Europeans, decided to reject the proposed draft regulations for the time being. With such examples before them the people will learn the strength of Unity in actual practice. It is this co-operation in the heat of the political struggle which will wipe out the racial prejudices that will make the people forget their racial groupings and weld them together. It is this which will lead to complete unity of the Non-Europeans. The Ten-Point Programme provides a principled basis for this co-operation. All our activities and all our approach to specific problems must

be in keeping with it. It must be used as a guide in approaching the daily problems in the struggle for liberation. Our present form of organisation follows from it and is in keeping with the demands of the present day. All the delegates here present should go home and intensify their work in building the Unity Movement and carry on the great task of putting into practice the Ten-Point Programme.

I have much pleasure in moving the following resolution.

**Mr. I. B. Tabata** then moved the following resolution:—

“In view of the increasing attacks upon all sections of the oppressed people during this post-war period, this Conference calls for the immediate formation of Local Co-ordinating Unity Committees in accordance with the decision of the last Conference, and impresses upon the Non-European people the extreme urgency for establishing Co-ordinating Committees in every city, dorp, town and district, as our only defence weapon.”

**Mr. Abrahams** (T.L.S.A., South Peninsula Branch) seconded. After discussion, passed unanimously.

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### AFTERNOON SESSION.

**Mr. F. G. G. Rousseau** (Coloured Community Service League, Southern Rhodesia) asked for the extension of the Unity Movement to Rhodesia and Nyasaland because there was considerable talk of amalgamation with the Union of South Africa. The Non-Europeans did not know what attitude to adopt; for if they were incorporated they would be reduced to the level of the Non-Europeans in the Union—and they were not strong enough by themselves to oppose incorporation. After some discussion **Mr. Rousseau** moved the following resolution, seconded by **Mr. S. H. Culverwell** and unanimously accepted:—

“This Conference instructs the Southern Rhodesia delegates to contact the various sections and their organisations of the oppressed peoples in Southern Rhodesia with a view to propagating the Non-European Unity Movement based on the 10-Point Programme and the subsequent establishment of a Local Co-ordinating Unity Committee.”

**Councillor R. E. Viljoen**, on behalf of the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, moved the following resolution, stressing the need for a larger representation on the Unity Committee:—

“That the representation of the Central Executive Committee of the Non-European Unity Movement be increased proportionally to 12 representatives for the Africans, six for the Coloured and six for the Indians.”

**Mr. B. M. Kries** seconded and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

**The Chairman** announced that a reply had been received from the African National Congress. In which they acknowledged receipt of our letter, they regretted very much that they could not attend Conference, but would place the matter in the hands of the A.N.C. executive for consideration.

**Dr. Gool** said it was obvious that Non-European Unity discussions did not take place at the African National Congress Conference.



**Mr. B. M. Kies** said that at last communications between the Unity Movement and the A.N.C. was established. This letter did not tie our hands. We must go to the people and explain the reluctance of the leaders of the A.N.C. to join forces with the Unity Movement.

**Mr. E. Tsenyego** associated himself with Mr. Kies's remarks. Contact should be established with the rank and file of the A.N.C.

**Mr. S. Jacobs** endorsed the remarks of the previous speakers and suggested that correspondence should be opened up again with the A.N.C. leadership.

**Mr. G. van der Ross** moved that we acknowledge receipt of the letter of A.N.C. and instruct the Executive of the N.E.U. Committee to resume negotiations with the A.N.C.

**Mr. A. E. Abdurahman** seconded. The proposal was unanimously accepted.

### **THE UNITY MOVEMENT AND THE TRADE UNIONS.**

**Dr. G. H. Gool** introduced the discussion. He spoke as follows:—

#### **The Trade Unions and the Unity Movement.**

Throughout Conference the one note that was struck time and again was the insistence upon the need to correlate every one of our particular problems to the general problem of the lack of political rights. The Trade Union question is an important one and it is essential for us to approach it in the correct manner. For without a correct understanding of our many tasks, all our work would be futile, purposeless and ineffective. It is therefore necessary to see the Trade Union movement as a part of our whole struggle, and thus gain a correct perspective so that our understanding of it will determine our activities in relation to it.

**The Unity Movement** approaches **Trade Unionism** as it approaches all other problems, from a point of view at once fundamental and wide. There is nothing narrow or sectional in its approach, and this is what distinguishes it from all liberal and pseudo-left policies. The Non-European Unity Movement is a broad, all-embracing movement which concerns itself with the problems of the worker in the town and country, with the professional, with the business man, and with the peasant. It has been established with the specific purpose of fighting National Oppression common to all Non-European groups, to Africans, Coloured and Indians. It bases its struggle for liberation on the recognition of the fact that **all our disabilities flow from a lack of political rights.** Because of our **political bankruptcy**, various laws have been passed against all of us on the arbitrary ground of Colour and Race and these vicious laws are responsible for the poverty and degradation of our people.

It is essential for us, therefore, to see the Trade Union question as **one facet** of the many-sided National Liberatory Movement which seeks to destroy oppression and remove all the disabilities, all the discriminations, all the restrictions suffered by the Non-European peoples.

The Non-European worker, whether on the mines, in the factories or on the land, carries a double load. He is oppressed first and foremost because he belongs to one of the oppressed groups of South Africa, African, Coloured or Indian, and, secondly, because he is a worker. A failure to appreciate this simple and yet basic fact is to be blind to the real position of the Non-European worker in our struggle for full citizenship.

The absence of a strong and a fully representative delegation from the Trade Union Movement as a whole confirms the fact that the latter still carries the blinkers of "pure" Trade Unionism—which is another name for sectarianism. Already it has been pointed out at this Conference that we must take pick and shovel to demolish the artificial walls of segregation that divide the various oppressed groups of South Africa. We have spoken at length on how our various groups are afflicted with the mortal cancer of segregation. We find that this dread disease has not escaped the Trade Union Movement. And this is not accidental because the Trade Union Movement is an inseparable part of the movement for National Liberation.

However, it is one thing to recognise racial oppression, but it is another thing fighting it and striking at the core of the economic starvation which is part of it. There are some individuals who have actually invented a means of "measuring" poverty, who draw imaginary "poverty datum lines", who go in for extensive—and expensive—social surveys and turn out impressive volumes of statistics. But while careers lie open to what are called social scientists, the immeasurable cancer of oppression with its many branches: poverty, starvation, disease and crime—spreads steadily and uninterruptedly through the body of the Non-European peoples. We need no artificial measuring rod to tell us how much we are oppressed; we need no fancy "poverty datum lines" to tell us all the things we haven't got. But neither do we need an artificial measuring rod to measure what we want—what we demand; **full democratic rights, equality of political and civil rights**, as embodied in the **Ten-Point Programme**.

#### **Early Trade-Unionism in Europe.**

Before looking into the Trade Union Movement in this country, let us see how it arose in England, the first industrial country. In the early period of industrialization in England, workers had long and arduous hours of work under the most appalling conditions. To protect themselves from brutal exploitation at the hands of their capitalist masters, they formed associations of workers, now known as Trade Unions. In this way they claimed the right of every man and woman for a living wage, to earn enough to buy nourishing food, to live in decent homes, to educate and clothe their children. Now it was the very conditions of life under which the English worker was forced to live and labour—the long hours, the pittances called wages, the grinding poverty, the slums and the disease, the child and woman labour, the heavy infant and maternal death-roll—all these had brought them face to face with the need, the absolute necessity to take steps to defend themselves. **It was the simple, primitive instinct for self-preservation.** So they formed their first Trade Unions. And at this stage they confined themselves exclusively to the **economic** field, to the question of hours of work, wages, etc. The strike was the only weapon that could force concessions from the master-class. But the fundamental question of **politics** was left to the two parties of the ruling class, the Tories and the Whigs, or as we know them, to the Conservatives and the Liberals. And even after a successful struggle was fought for the franchise, the Trade Unions still persisted in confining themselves to the purely Trade Union field.

More and more, this conservative attitude in the Trade Unions changed. It needed the first World War to shake the conservative working-class of England and compel it to take up a political line. This political tendency within the Trade Union movement had brought into being the Labour Party. That it

why we see the Trade Union movements in Britain interlocked with the Labour Party—the latter being dependent for its position on the Trade Union movement. This political tendency had become more marked with the end of the Second World War, when we witnessed the Labour Party in England as the ruling party. In France the present major political parties, the Communists and the Socialists and even the so-called Bourgeois Progressive Catholic Party, are dependent upon the Trade Unions for support. It is not our task to go into the policies and programmes of these parties. What is important to us in South Africa is to note the **political tendency** that has developed within the conservative European Trade Union Movement in these major imperialist countries. And this political necessity was again the result of bitter lessons that the working-class had to learn—because it had narrowed and restricted its activities to “pure” Trade Unionism. There is a slogan of that period which clearly reflects the purely **economic** approach to the Trade Union question: “A fair day’s wage for a fair day’s work.” It took the working-class many years, years of poverty and suffering, years of economic crisis and its inevitable unemployment, years of war and the experience of fascism, before it outgrew this deceptive slogan, before it realised the necessity to base **every** struggle on the **political struggle**.

#### **African Workers.**

Let us return to the South African scene. It was the same elemental instinct for self-preservation that forced the African workers to come together and form Trade Unions. And this, despite the fact that African Trade Unions are illegal and under the Industrial Conciliation Act the African worker is not recognised as an employee. Note that the **Law** dictates the illegality of the Trade Unions. In other words, the African worker is deprived of the most elementary right—protection against economic exploitation—**because of his lack of political rights**. To-day the Government can outlaw all these African Trade Unions precisely because **they** are the State, **they** are the executive of the ruling class and **they** have the **law** working for **them** against the African workers. As an example, we may mention a Judge’s ruling against the Sweetworkers’ Union (“Cape Argus,” 10th December, 1945) which declared that a Union cannot be registered if Africans become members of it. Here was an excellent opportunity for those political lawyers, Messrs. D. Molteno and H. Snitcher, who took up the case, to bring home to the people their complete lack of political rights, and to stress the political root of the whole Trade Union question. But instead of seizing this opportunity they evaded the whole issue by reducing the case to “a test of validity”. Such an approach to the Trade Union question by these so-called politicians merely confuses the oppressed workers and blinds them to the real issue.

The illegal status of the African Trade Unions at once exposes the political status of the African worker—which is that of a political outcast without rights of any kind. And it is not only the worker, it is the whole African race that is outcast, that has no political rights, no say in the laws of their country, and are therefore at the mercy of every form of oppression and exploitation.

How immediate is the impact between the Trade Union question and the political bankruptcy of the African! The Trade Union is no sooner formed than it comes up against the question of illegality. In this light, the absence of the leaders of the African Trade Unions from this Non-European Unity Conference

is an indication of the lack of political vision and political understanding on this most vital and fundamental question. I would even go further and say that their absence indicates an attitude of acceptance of inferiority and a complete lack of independence. It is the old road of passivity and of the acceptance of the segregation outlook of the ruling class, which so well suits the plans of the ruling class for the enslavement of all Non-Europeans. But the Non-European Unity Movement points the way to the **new road**, to the rejection of the policy of trusteeship and segregation, to the fight for our rights as citizens of this country and to the Unity of all Non-Europeans as the first step in our struggle for liberation.

#### **Recent Colour-bar Legislation and its effects on the Trade Union Movement.**

All these laws have one aim—to break the unity of the workers in the Trade Unions. Let us take the matter of the Coloured Advisory Council. It was hoped that the Coloured people would accept this as a boon. Also that the Coloured workers, now organized with the white workers in Trade Unions would be weaned away from these Trade Unions and come under the wing of the Coloured Advisory Council, as a preliminary to the formation of Coloured Company unions. If the Coloured Advisory Council had worked, these Coloured Trade Unions would have threatened organized labour in the Cape and would have reduced the standard of life not only of the Coloured workers, but of the White workers. Because there would have been no joint action on the part of the Coloured and White workers against their common enemy, the employing class.

#### **The Pass Laws in the Cape.**

Let us take again the question of the Pass Laws. The real purpose is the creation of labour depôts—or urban bottlenecks—which will supply the needs of the factory owners in the town. This cheap labour force will be a perpetual threat to organized labour in the Cape and the recent ruling mentioned with regard to the Sweetworker's Union is merely a cunning device to debar the Africans from joining the Unions, and to prevent the workers as a whole, White, Coloured and African, to see their identity of interests. It would be suicidal for the workers to allow division to enter their ranks still further and be deceived by this capitalist trick.

Many of us know that when the Trade Unions in the Cape were first organized by the European workers who came from overseas, all workers were allowed admission. The European workers came to South Africa with a militant Trade Union tradition and understood clearly the imperative need for unity of all workers. It was only later that discriminatory laws were introduced in the economic sphere, specifically directed against the Non-European worker. Because the ruling class could not see a United Trade Union Movement developing undisturbed. And it was necessary to use the State machinery to effect division within their ranks. Division having been created among the workers on the grounds of Race and Colour, we find a White Labour Bureaucracy growing up within the Trade Union movement in South Africa and taking over the Herrenvolk ideas of the White master race. No attempt was ever made by this White labour bureaucracy to fight the pernicious Industrial Colour-Bar Laws.

In the A.P.O. newspapers, 1919, we read how the late Dr. Abdurahman came out openly against these white labour bureaucrats and the lip-service they were paying to unity. He was fully aware of their real function within the Trade Union movement and advocated the formation of separate Coloured Trade Unions which would undercut the wages of the White workers. It was called the A.P.O. Federation of Coloured Unions. This policy failed because instinctively the workers realised the dangers ahead if they organized separately.

We have dealt with the Pass Laws and their establishment of labour depôts and the reason why they are being established. These labour depôts having satisfied the needs of the town, will have a further reserve of labour which will be dammed up in these urban bottlenecks. This reserve labour force will be sent back to the country and a scheme is on foot, known as the Rehabilitation Scheme, which will establish so-called village settlements—read, rural bottlenecks—which will receive this redundant labour force. According to Government spokesmen these village settlements will be near forests, and sites for rural industry and other unspecified areas. This is a gigantic swindle. There are, in the first place, no forests in the Transkei and the Ciskei. Nor is it the intention, or has been the intention of any government in South Africa to establish a rural industry with a permanent and a settled African population. The main purpose of the Rehabilitation Scheme and of these village settlements is to receive the redundant urban labour force and to send them to the mines and the farms.

In the event of these Machiavellian schemes failing to smash the existing Trade Union movement, another plan is under way. The Government intends forming a Utility Corporation which will recruit African youths between the ages of 14 and 19. These African labour youth battalions will be hired out to employers for five years and they will receive in the first year a tickey a day, in the second year, ninepence and the end of the fifth year 1s. 6d. These youth battalions are the Government's latest method of crippling the Trade Unions. These poor children will thus be economically cutting the throats of their fathers.

It is in this light that we want to see all trade unionist view the struggle. A law is introduced ostensibly against the African, but when we analyse the effects of the law we find it working against the working-class as a whole, Black as well as White.

#### **Weaknesses within the African Trade Union Movement.**

It is necessary for us to expose the weaknesses within the African Trade Union Movement in order to bring about a healthier political state of affairs. There are a number of adverse factors in the Movement. Consider first the professional careerists and parasites who use the trade unions for their own ends. They are openly cynical about it and they see that by means of an efficient espionage system they have no rivals and that no embarrassing political questions are allowed to come up—no questions such as **Unity**, for instance! To be sure they are not at all concerned with the welfare of the worker, and still less with the progress of the whole race. They are concerned only with themselves and their personal advancement.

Then there are the so-called left political parties who are deliberately bent on sabotaging the Non-European Unity Movement by keeping the Trade Unions which they control, outside the National liberatory struggle. Their arguments are cunning and subtle and cloaked with a great deal of leftist phraseology.

One hears them at conferences. They start off by agreeing with the political issues raised, but point out that the Unity Movement "should worry itself less about political problems," and pay more attention to "bread and butter problems" or "the day to day problems" of the workers. As a practical proposal they themselves urge a different minimum wage for the white worker, a lower minimum wage for the Coloured and Indian workers and a still lower minimum wage for the African worker. Note the sectional, segregationist approach to the economic question on the part of these so-called leftists, in other words, the same approach as that of the ruling-class to the Non-Europeans. That is the nature of their "practical proposals".

However, the same elemental driving force that moved the African workers to form trade unions in face of and in spite of illegality, will by the same logic break through the barriers of careerists and bureaucrats surrounding and suffocating the trade union movement. Signs are not wanting that there are honest and genuine African trade unionists who view the struggle of the trade unions from the fundamental point of view, against the background of the **broad national struggle** of the Non-European people. They see it as one facet of the many-sided National Liberatory Movement.

#### **The Coloured and the Indian Worker.**

With the Coloured and Indian worker there is a difference of degree. The trade unions that they are allowed to join are recognized by law. They are allowed to sit with the White workers at Industrial Councils. They are allowed Executive positions. They are even nominated for International Labour Conferences overseas—although they never get there! Such a situation is necessary because White labour in these mixed unions must give the impression to the rank and file of the Coloured workers that there is no Colour-bar in the union. And the Coloured bureaucrats are happy in their positions as mere stooges to the white labour bureaucracy.

The operation of Colour-bar legislation within industry, all political in character, have produced a sharp deterioration in the economic position of the Coloured workers. There is growing discontent within the rank and file of these mixed trade unions. The Apprenticeship Act, Industrial Conciliation Act, the Factories Act, etc., are all bars that restrict them to the semi-skilled group, with no future while they remain merely nominal members of this form of trade unionism. This type of union boasts of its non-racialistic and non-political policy. "We are impartial!" Both White and Coloured bureaucrats shout: "We don't introduce racialism or politics in our trade unions." But strangely enough when we analyse the political affiliations of these so-called impartial judges we find them members of the segregationist Labour Party, United Party, National Party and who knows, are not secretly wooing one of the fascist grouplets—O.B., New Order or Grey Shirts. This white labour bureaucracy has the full support of the State and it is its function to see that the Industrial Colour-bar Laws conform to the pattern of South African life—that of the White Brahmin and the Non-European Untouchable. With the leading members of the Non-European workers in these trade unions there is a sense of frustration and helplessness because they are unable to cope with this life of intrigues, and it leaves them baffled and bewildered. They must find an outlet for their pent-up energies. They realise their position as social outcasts. This eats into them, but there is no

way out in this blind alley of trade unionism. They are too tired to wage a prolonged struggle against these polished and glib-tongued bureaucrats. And within their own segregated community they look for compensation and solace. Many of them become prominent members of lodges, benefit societies, football or cricket clubs, churches, social welfare associations, ratepayers and civic associations, temperance and bridge clubs, etc., etc. (All, of course, only for Coloured or Indian membership.) They concern themselves less with trade union problems.

These varied organisations receive the full support of the ruling-class. It is the easiest thing to approach a John Orr of Kimberley or a Stuttafords of Cape Town for a donation for these worthy institutions of upliftment for our "poor Coloured folk". They are so solicitous about our welfare and go out of their way to encourage this development within our life. Because they know that it is an excellent means of diverting us from the main struggle—the political struggle for full citizenship.

While the father is caught up in this net, his son and his daughter refuses to live this life of sham and make-believe. That is why we find the Teachers' League of South Africa, representing the Coloured teachers, whose members are drawn from the Coloured working-class, throwing in their lot with the Non-European Unity Movement. They are sufficiently educated despite the barriers placed before them to realise that their struggle for an educational subsidy for the Coloured child and for a salary on the same basis with the European teacher is intimately bound up with their political struggle for full democratic rights. They have the sense to realise that the economic fight would be meaningless, and the slogan: "Equal pay for equal work" would be a slogan in a vacuum, unless it is related with the political struggle. It must be based on political reality. This has been a most healthy development. We have to ask how far have the trade union movement as a whole, come to this all-important realisation?—That all our disabilities flow from the lack of political rights and therefore the political struggle, the struggle for full democratic rights, must be the central point round which all the rest revolves. I am afraid the answer is that they do not realise it at all, or if they do, they act as if they did not.

It is the duty of the Non-European Unity Movement to point out the extreme danger of the isolationist, sectional, segregationist approach of the Trade Union Movement to its problems, and the short-sighted folly of divorcing the economic struggle from the political struggle. To dissipate the energies of the workers in the separate so-called "day-to-day" struggle is to deliver them into the hands of the ruling-class and is tantamount to a betrayal of the workers. For it carries out the old, old policy of "divide and rule". But the Non-European Unity Movement stands for the Unity of all the oppressed people; it sees oppression as a single phenomenon common to all Non-Europeans and the first weapon to forge against it is **Unity**. Every isolationist struggle on the part of different sections of the Non-Europeans is doomed to failure. We must realise the interconnection between every section, not only of the Non-Europeans, but of the workin-class as a whole, White as well as Black.

It is very difficult for the White workers at the present stage—forming as they do a labour aristocracy planted on the back of the oppressed Non-European—to realise their identity of interests with **all workers**. And this exactly suits the ruling-class, for it is to **their** interest to have the workers divided

amongst themselves. In a period of severe economic crisis, such as threatens to engulf the whole world at a period which is not far off, they will not hesitate to destroy by some means or other the workers' chief weapon of self-defence, the trade unions. And the White workers will not escape that crisis. The very existence of a mass of oppressed Non-European workers is a threat to their continuing security, for when it is a question of profits, the rulers are likely to pay short shrift to the colour-bar.

It is for the White workers, then, to realise while there is yet time their identity of interests with all workers. Now is the time to see the Trade Union question in its entirety, in its widest perspective, not simply as an economic struggle, but as fundamentally a political struggle. It must be seen against the background of the National Liberatory Movement of all oppressed peoples. One of the reasons why we stress the political aspect of the struggle is that one day we wish to see White and Black workers sitting together as political equals. But it is no use talking in the air about White and Black workers uniting in a political struggle. It is our firm belief that the slogan: "Black and White Workers Unite!" can only become a reality when we proceed along the lines of the Non-European Unity Movement for political equality.

To the White workers the Non-European Unity Movement poses the straightforward question: either with the oppressor against the Non-European (and ultimately against themselves) or with the oppressed Non-Europeans for the liberation of all workers and for the liberation of society as a whole!

Let me quote Point 10 of the Ten-Point Programme of the Non-European Unity Movement: Revision of the labour legislation and its application to the mines and agriculture. 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 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. But this right will never be achieved without political equality, without Point 1 of the Ten-Point Programme, which reads: **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.

I have, therefore, much pleasure in moving the following resolution:—

**Dr. Gool** then moved the following resolution:—

"In view of the fact that the interests of all workers, European and Non-European, are inseparable from the struggle of the Non-European oppressed for full citizenship rights, this Conference

- (1) calls upon the Trade Union Movement for the support of the Non-European Unity Movement;
- (2) calls upon all Trade unionists to work within their own Unions in order to win the support of the Trade Union Movement towards this end and to make provision for the federal representation of the Trade Union Movement upon the Unity Executive."



**Mr. E. D. Tsenyego** seconded. He pointed out how attempts were made by the Staff Associations to smash the S.A.R. & H. Workers Unions that embraced African, Coloured and Indian workers. During the early part of the war the Government had been prepared to grant recognition to African Trade Unions; but after 1945 they forgot about their promise and now openly refuse recognition. The Wage Board never investigated labour conditions in the rural areas, which was something the Trade Unions should tackle, but did not.

**Mr. S. Jacobs** (Hanover A.P.O.) emphasised the double nature of the oppression of the Non-European worker, racially and capitalistically. The Non-European workers were the spear-head of the Non-European liberatory struggle. Propaganda must be directed to the rank and file workers. The leadership of the trade union movement had fallen into the hands of opportunists and pseudo-leftists. We must expose these reformists. The workers must be shown how politics dominated their lives.

**Mr. A. Fataar** said that we must give the Trade Union a new function, to raise the Movement to a higher level. He deplored the apathy of the Trade Union Movement to the Non-European Unity Movement. When the S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union was threatened by Company Unions, the trade union leaders approached the Anti-C.A.D. for assistance and it suggested the formation of a non-partisan Defence Committee composed of other trade unions together with other progressive organisations. No attempt was made to conduct a struggle against Company Unionists along these lines. To-day the S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union was conducting an isolated struggle. It was the same with the National Distributive Workers' Union.

**Miss J. Gool** said that the British Labour Government intended nationalising the coal mines, which would lessen the profits of the bosses. They would, therefore, come down more heavily on the colonial workers.

**Mr. Kies** said there was grave political danger in the proposed new form of recognition for African Trade Unions. Both for external and internal reasons the Government felt that some form of recognition should be given. Internally they meant to keep the Trade Unions under the trusteeship of the Trades and Labour Council or under the S.A. Race Relations Institute. During the following week the C.A.C. would be discussing the problem of the S.A.R. & H. Workers' Union and the Staff Associations. This would mark the control of the Government. The African quislings of the N.R.C. wanted control of the African Trade Unions.

We must extend our hand to the White workers who are our natural allies. It was true they might bite our hand, yet it was necessary to extend the hand of fellowship. Remember what the Secretary of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council ("Comrade Bill") did when the I.C.U. applied for affiliation. It was rejected. To-day, as a by-product of the wind raised by the Unity Movement, for the first time the African National Congress had asked for complete equality. At the Congress of the Advisory Boards, Mr. Godlo, N.R.C. Quisling, also asked for direct representation. These old leaders realised that the Unity Movement was more in step with the feelings of the people.

The **Resolution on the Trade Unions** was carried unanimously.

## TREASURER'S REPORT.

The Treasurer's Report is presented by **Mr. E. C. Roberts.**

**Mr. G. van der Ross** moved its adoption, seconded by **Mr. B. Groep.**

The Report is unanimously adopted.  
**The Non-European Unity Movement.**

Financial Statement and Treasurer's Report: 6th January, 1945, to 20th December, 1945.

RECEIPTS.						PAYMENTS.
	£	s.	d.			£ s. d.
Balance B. Forward	14	4	9	Printing	204	5 5
Donations and Col- lections - - -	461	17	10	Postages and Sta- tionery - - -	57	10 5
				Advertisements - (Conference)	45	16 0
				Fares (July Exe. Mtg., Jo'burg) -	66	7 5
				Fares (Dec. Conf., Kimberley) - -	53	9 10
				Halls for Meetings and Conference -	16	1 4
				Incidental Conf. Ex- penses - - -	5	3 0
				Bal. Carried Frwd.	27	9 2
	£476	2	7		£476	2 7

Accounts outstanding as at 20th December 1945: £47 16s. 0d.

The funds needed for 1944 were £195, for 1945 this increased to £476, while in 1946 the estimated expenses will come to £2,000. As the Movement grows, the funds needed will progressively increase. So far only a small fraction of the work required by the Movement has been done—a small number of people have been reached with our propaganda, and the bulk of the masses have not yet been educated to the idea of Unity. The publication of pamphlets to meet present demands is not possible because of lack of funds, while organisers have not yet been sent throughout the land for the same reason. The great work of organisation of the campaigning needed has hardly been touched and the holding of meetings has been very limited. The Movement can only grow by means of spreading more propaganda all over Southern Africa.

The rapid growth of the Movement during the last two years in a limited field mainly the Cape Province reveals that the people are ripe for the Movement and with the extension to the larger field beyond the present limits, the cost will be proportionately increased. Financially, the Movement is not on a sound foundation and failure would result in the immediate future if the funds are not increased. It should be understood that for any widespread and powerful Movement affecting a large population considerable annual amounts of money are needed.