

*Minutes of*  
5th CONFERENCE  
*of*  
**NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D.  
MOVEMENT**

*held at*  
WOODSTOCK TOWN HALL

THURSDAY 7th  
FRIDAY 8th  
**JANUARY**  
**1954**

*Chairman:* DR. G. H. GOOL  
CONSTANTIA ROAD, WYNBERG, CAPE.

*Secretary:* Mr. F. G. GRAMMER  
BASSET ROAD, CLAREMONT, CAPE.

---

---

Woodstock Town Hall, Thursday & Friday, 7th & 8th January, 1954

---

A G E N D A

(Subject to Alteration)

THURSDAY, 7th January

Morning Session:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 9.30 - 10.30  | 1. Registration of Delegates                 |
| 10.30 - 12.30 | 2. Chairman's Opening Address: Dr. G.H. Gool |
|               | 3. Discussion                                |
| 12.30 - 1.0   | 4. Secretary's Report: Mr. F.G. Grammer      |
| 1.0 - 2.0     | LUNCH  |

Afternoon Session:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 2.0 - 2.30 | 5. Discussion on Secretary's Report                                |
| 2.30 - 3.0 | 6. The Franchise: Introduced by Cllr. R.E. Viljoen                 |
|            | 7. Discussion and Resolution                                       |
| 4.0 - 4.20 | TEA  |
| 4.20 - 6.0 | 8. The Coloured Affairs Department: Introduced by<br>Mr. A. Fataar |
|            | 9. Discussion and Resolution                                       |
| 6.0 - 8.0  | SUPPER   |

Evening Session:

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 8.0 - 9.0  | 10. The Coloured Education Commission: Introduced by<br>Mr. F. Landman |
|            | 11. Discussion and Resolution  |
| 9.0 - 11.0 | 12. The National Situation: Introduced by Mr. W.M. Tsotsi              |
|            | 13. Discussion   |

-----  
FRIDAY, 8th January

Morning Session:

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 9.30 - 10.0 | 14. Organisation, Reports, Finance   |
|             | 15. The Trade Unions: Introduced by Mr. E. Hassim<br>Discussion and Resolution |
|             | 16. The Group Areas Act: Introduced by Miss J. Gool                            |
|             | 17. LUNCH  |

Afternoon Session:

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 2.0 - 3.0   | 18. Organisation, Reports, Finance                               |
|             | 19. The International Situation: Introduced by<br>Mr. B.M. Kies. |
| 4.0 - 4.20  | TEA  |
| 4.20 - 5.20 | 20. Discussion on the International Situation                    |
| 5.20 - 6.0  | 21. Election of Officers. General                                |
|             | 22. Delegates (Representation)                                   |
|             | 23. Resolutions.   |

C O N F E R E N C E   M I N U T E S

1. Agenda
2. Chairman's Address
3. Chairman's Address - Discussion
4. Secretarial Report
5. Secretarial Report - Discussion
6. The Franchise
7. The Franchise - Discussion
8. The Coloured Affairs Department
9. The Coloured Affairs Department - Discussion
10. De Vos Malan Commission
11. De Vos Malan Commission - Discussion
12. The National Situation
13. The National Situation - Discussion
14. The Trade Unions
15. The Trade Unions - Discussion
16. The Group Areas Act.
- 17.
18. Finance - Organisational
19. International Situation
20. International Situation - Discussion
21. Election of Officers
22. Representation
23. Resolutions

FRIDAY, 8th January.

Morning Session:

- 9-30 - 10.0. 14. Organisation, Reports, Finance  
15. The Trade Unions: Introduced by Mr. E. Hassim  
Discussion and Resolution  
16. The Group Areas Act: Introduced by Miss J. Gool.  
17. Lunch.

Afternoon Session:

- 2.0 - 3.0 18. Organisation, Reports, Finance  
19. The International Situation: Introduced by  
Mr. B.M. Kies.
- 4.0 - 4.20 Tea  
4.20 - 5.20 20. Discussion on The International Situation  
5.20 - 6.0 21. Election of Officers. General  
22. Delegates (Representation).  
23. Resolutions.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS TO THE 5TH CONFERENCE OF THE  
NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D. MOVEMENT - JANUARY, 1954.

---

It affords me the greatest pleasure to welcome to the 5th National Anti-C.A.D. Conference the delegates from all parts of the Union, as well as members of the general public; and especially so, at this time when such dark clouds are gathering overhead and still darker ones are looming on the horizon. Many grievous and heavy blows have been struck at the oppressed and there is every indication that still heavier ones will be dealt them during the coming year.

Particularly gratifying is the number of new and young faces appearing among us to-day. It is most heartening to see in the last few years the youth swelling our ranks. This is a happy augury for the future. I am glad to welcome once more the many old stalwarts who have been with us since the crucial days of 1943. It is, however, a matter of grave concern to us that some who once stood with us in the heat of battle have become mere spectators. We see no valid reason why they should not once again assume their rightful place in the movement. To them we say: resume your places; they are vacant for you. Every position that remains undefended opens a breach in our flank and weakens the whole. In our struggle there is room for everyone, both young and old.

WE RESTATE OUR POLICY

We are meeting at a difficult and critical time. It is the task of this Conference to review and assess the position, both, in regard to the Herrenvolk plans and our own, and, on the basis of this, to draw the necessary conclusions for our future work.

Before doing so we feel it is necessary to reiterate our basic attitudes and ideas, particularly for the benefit of the new generation who are just entering the struggle. We cannot build a movement while our people still cherish false illusions and hopes. Events of the past year have rendered certain layers of the people more prone to catch at false hopes. I refer to that old and pernicious illusion of the "lesser evil". Last year we saw its hydra-head again raising itself, on the occasion of the Appellate Court decision, on the Separate Representation of Voters Act. Some misguided and deluded elements actually hailed this as a victory for the people. We totally reject this illusion of the Greater and Lesser evil. We must state once more that the Herrenvolk are unanimous in their purpose of placing ALL NON-EUROPEANS OUTSIDE THE PALE OF SOCIETY. Having thrown the Non-Europeans completely outside society, and stripped them of any political, economic or legal means of defence, they can the more readily carry out their exploitation to the full. On this score, there is not the slightest disagreement amongst the Herrenvolk. Of course it is feasible that a battle-royal can be carried on between two sets of robbers, as to when and how they should plunder their victims. But robbery, whether by day or night, is still robbery. These subtle differences of the robbers are no concern of the robbed. If to-day the Nationalists have decided to launch an attack on the Courts, because they consider the present legal machinery too cumbersome for the purpose of the Herrenvolk; and if, on the other hand, the United Party feels that the present legal machinery is still the most efficient for that purpose, because it provides the constitutional facade, behind which the deception of the people can best be carried out, these differences are irrelevant and immaterial to the Overall Plan of the Herrenvolk.

Again we say: their differences are no concern of ours. They do not lessen by one jot the vast plunder of the people. In case there may still be some people who have their doubts on this score, let me remind them of some pertinent facts. It was the U.P. Minister of Transport, Mr. Sturrock, who had the train-apartheid boards made in the Cape Peninsula. All that was left for the Nationalist Minister of Transport, Mr. Paul Sauer, to do was to take them out of the railway sheds and nail them onto the carriages. Again, it was the U.P. government that created in 1943 the C.A.C. and a Special Section in the Department of the Interior to deal with Coloured Affairs (C.A.D.), with Mr. Harry Lawrence styling himself "Minister Charged with Coloured Affairs". It only remained for the Nationalist government to continue where the U.P. had left off. All it had to do was to whip off the discreet coverings of Mr. Harry Lawrence and place the Coloured Affairs Department on its own for all to see, with a Commissioner of Coloured Affairs, Dr. I.D. du Plessis. The use of the word "Commissioner" has ominous indications. We are not deceived by the word "Commissioner". The other side of this "Commissioner" is probably the First Secretary for a C.A.D.

In 1943, when Mr. Harry Lawrence first came out with his schemes, many of our people thought we were extremists and were overdrawing the picture, because we pointed out that here was the embryo of a C.A.D., a counterpart of the N.A.D.; and still more so when we further pointed out that this must lead to the taking away of the last remnants of the Coloured Male Vote. It is not accidental that the activities of the Commissioner and his Department are given the widest publicity in the U.P. Press.

When you read the Parliamentary Reports of the last few years, you see that of all major repressive measures the U.P. "agrees in principle" with the Nationalist, e.g.; the Suppression of Communism Act, Group Areas Act, Public Safety Act, etc, etc. In fact when the Nats introduced the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, 1953, which is practically the last word in the Apartheid Policy, Mr. Harry Lawrence went out of his way to commend it, stating that it was "the traditional policy of South Africa". No doubt he meant white South Africa. Indeed who could know better on these matters than Mr. Harry Lawrence, the lineal descendant of the Rhodeses and the Milners, who dreamed of peopleing the earth with a God-chosen Anglo-Saxon "race" and no less of the Krugers and the Steyns, those fanatic upholders of "no equality between Black and White in Church and State."

In truth, their policies are indistinguishable. No wonder Mr. Lawrence refers to it as the "traditional South Africa policy." When they came together for the first time to form the Union of White South Africa in 1910, how natural it was that the very basis of this Union was the principle of Apartheid. They had met at Vereeniging after the British Boer War and they had met at National Convention prior to 1910. They had reached a unanimous agreement on their policy towards the Non-Europeans. The Masters and Servants Relationship of the Trek-Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the O.F.S. was perpetuated in the 1910 Act of Union, and no less was Rhode's policy of "A vote for every White man South of the Zambesi". Every subsequent Act since Union has been a continuation and a confirmation of this Herrenvolk policy. In the light of this, how ridiculous and absurd it is to think of a "greater and a lesser evil". Due to certain historical factors, and anomalous position was created at the time of Union, where the Non-Europeans in the Cape Province still had some semblance of political status, while in the other Provinces they had been reduced to political outcasts. This was an anomaly that had to be removed. One of the primary reasons for Fusion between the Smuts Party (S.A.P.) and the Hertzog Party (Nat.) was to effect a Union-wide uniform policy for All Non-Europeans. Under the 1910 Act a two-thirds Herrenvolk majority had been provided for. This prepared the way for the passing of the Native Representation Act and the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936.

With the passing of the 1936 Acts they had struck a mortal blow at the African people, the major section of the oppressed. Small wonder then that bon-fires were let up in the Trek-Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the O.F.S., thanks to Rhodes, Milner, Selbourne, Smuts and Hertzog.

Flushed with victory the minority groups were easy prey. It was merely a mopping up operation. They were dealt the Separate Representation of Voters Act and the Group Areas Act. Note the striking similarity of their aims with All sections of the oppressed. First to render them politically impotent and then land-less and property-less.

We have seen the consistency of the Herrenvolk in their approach to the problem of the enslavement of the Non-Europeans. They view their problem as a whole. In the respect it behoves us to take a leaf out of their book. We must view the problem of national oppression as one and indivisible. With the passing of the 1936 Hertzog Acts a major breach had been made in the ranks of the Non-European oppressed. It was only a matter of time before the next blow would fall on the other sections. The establishment of the C.A.C. in 1943 and the C.A.D. were the precursors of the disfranchisement of the Coloureds and the Indians in the Cape Province. With the coming into power of the Nationalist in 1948 the Herrenvolk plans were implemented with remarkable speed. They passed one law after another, each one more ferocious in its attack on the few remaining rights of the Non-Europeans. It is a striking fact that as each Herrenvolk party comes into power, it makes with unerring aim straight for our most vital part, namely, our political rights. Every Herrenvolk government directs its energy in a concerted effort at whittling away whatever semblance of rights we possess. Thus to-day we are in a position where the Africans have been stripped of every human right and

thrown outside the body-politic. Likewise the Indians and the Coloureds are facing complete disfranchisement.

1943: A NEW EPOCH OPENS.

In the face of all this, what have the Non-Europeans done, and how have they reacted? Prior to 1943 they had accepted the myth of the inferiority and had worked every Slave Act. But in 1943 they completely broke with this slave-tradition, rejected White Trusteeship, severed all connections with Herrenvolk parties and refused to be the instruments of their own oppression. They refused to commit political Hari-Kiri. They took an entirely new and independent road. The Anti-C.A.D. gathered together the organisations of the Coloured people and led them along this new road. There was a logic in this movement. Inevitably it led them into the wider unity of all Non-Europeans. Thus when the call to Unity came from the all African Convention in September 1943, inviting the leadership of the Anti-C.A.D. and the Indians to a preliminary Unity Conference at Bloemfontein in December 1943, the Anti-C.A.D. readily responded. This marked indeed a turning point in the development of the political consciousness of the Coloured people and of the Non-Europeans as a whole. The call for Unity laid stress on the fact that: certain immediate obstacles must be removed before the Unity Conference. First of all, that the three groups, African, Coloured and Indian, must come to the Conference with a genuine and sincere determination to effect real unity; that if each group came with all its old prejudices, suspicions and doubts, and that if each one was watching to see if it was being used by the other merely as a catspaw, then these plans must break down as all other previous plans had done. But if there was a realisation and an understanding that no effective unity could be built if any group attempted to dominate the other, to manoeuvre for position and publicity, to make political capital or even attempt to force the pace, then, and only then, would we be able to face the grave tasks that lie ahead. Secondly, that the open enemy, the Herrenvolk, would do everything in their power to discredit the movement, and, more important, would sow distrust and hatred among the three sections of the oppressed.

Note the remarkable accuracy of this prognosis.

I have deliberately avoided mentioning in my address the many bogus-unities that took place subsequent to 1943. The word Unity had caught on. They debased the work Unity. Conference must discuss this. It is important to bear in mind that these "Unity" pacts were made by the people who worked the Native Representative Council, and gave evidence at the Asiatic Land Tenure Board. Both were outside the N.E.U. M. They had accepted political segregation. They drew in many innocent and brave people behind them. They would not have dared, contemplated or precipitated these tragic adventures had our position been strong in the country.

Both the All African Convention and the Anti-C.A.D. were fully conscious of the step they were taking and the many difficulties ahead when they gave to the nation the Ten Point Programme, the basis on which Unity had to be built. These ten points should be known to every delegate here, so we shall not go into details. The important point to bear in mind is that it is not an accident that the franchise is point one of this programme. It is because we realise that it is precisely because of the lack of the franchise that we are landless and propertyless; that we receive slave education; that freedom of speech and assembly are being drastically curtailed; that we have no freedom of movement and occupation and that there is a continual violation of even our private lives by fiendish and nightmare raids. In other words, the very cornerstone of the Unity Movement is the battle for the franchise.

Now the Ten Point Programme was never intended merely as a fine formulation of our purpose on paper, but as a clear guide to action. The Anti-C.A.D. together with all the other organisations affiliated to the Non-European Unity Movement, had followed this programme consistently since 1943. It has fought every issue on the basis of this programme. For instance, there was the boycott campaign against the C.A.C. and the C.A.D. (1943); there was the exposure of the Herrenvolk machinations in their attempt to incite the Coloured people against the Africans with their cry of their so-called "Influx of Natives into Towns" (1944). Here was seen clearly the role of our political opponents, the C.A.C. men, who had rejected the Ten Point Programme. They were used as agents of the Herrenvolk to stir up race-hatred. The same agents are being used to-day to split up our

people / .....

people into separate antagonistic groups. Christian Coloureds must hate Moslem Coloureds, Griqua and Namaqua.

The African people must be split up into Xhosa, Zulu, Basotho and many other anachronistic tribes. Every member of the oppressed, whether African, Coloured, Indian or Malay must be placed in separate kraals and they must look upon one another as enemies.

It was inevitable that those who rejected the Ten Point Programme of principles and accepted inferiority, should find themselves in the camp of the Herrenvolk and acting as their agents. Thus since 1943, there has developed two diametrically opposed streams within the ranks of the Non-Europeans; on the one hand those who took the road of adventurism, compromise and capitulation, and on the other, those who have adhered to the Ten Point Programme and have engaged in a protracted, consistent and determined struggle. The Anti-C.A.D Movement is an integral part of this latter stream. During the past eleven years it has achieved a measure of success in drawing the Coloured people into the broad stream of struggle. It is due to its influence that the new ideas have penetrated ever widening layers of the Coloured population. It is to the great credit of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement that the Coloured people have steadfastly kept to the New Road despite the most intensified efforts of the Herrenvolk and its agents to wrench them from the Unity of all Non-Europeans. Our eleven years were not lean political years. The Coloured people refused to identify themselves with the U.P. sponsored C.P.N.U., the Liberal Party sponsored S.A.P.C.O., the Nationalist Party Kleuringsvolk bond. One and all of their attempts failed to disrupt the United Front of the Coloured people.

Now let me remind you that the movement of which you are a part has built a new, a noble and a great tradition. All of you, young and old, men and women, you of the town and you of the country must maintain that high tradition of nobility of purpose and action. The period now opening before us will be a stormy one. We shall encounter heavy seas and contrary winds will do their worst to divert us from our course. Every ounce of our energy must be mobilised to resist all forces. We must maintain an even keel. We, together with the rest of the Non-European oppressed must man the ship and bring it safely to port. The Ten Point Programme is our compass ..... For our goal is Freedom.

January 1954.



PROCEEDINGS OF 5th NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D. CONFERENCE HELD ON 7th  
AND 8th JANUARY, 1954, IN THE WOODSTOCK TOWN HALL, CAPE TOWN.

THURSDAY 7th: MORNING SESSION

DISCUSSION ON CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Conference agreed to have the Chairman's opening address roneod and copies distributed to delegates.

A telegram from Cllr. Bestenbier, wishing conference success, was read.

Mr. E. Hassim ( Coloured People's Congress, Johannesburg)

said that there was hardly anything he could add to what had been said, but he wanted to underscore the point that the Ten Point Programme was the compass which we used to reach the goal of freedom. Two streams could be found among the Non-Europeans: the one taking up a collaborationist role and the other the uncompromising stand taken by the Anti-C.A.D. People took up a non-collaborationist stand once they realised that as an oppressed people they were outside the pale of South African society. A failure to understand, and a refusal to accept this, resulted in the collaborationist stand. As a result of the latter, the oppressors had been able to treat us in the fascistic fashion experienced in South Africa.

Mr. V. Wessels (Cape Flats Anti-C.A.D.) felt it was possible Mr. Hassim might be misunderstood when he said that because we were outlawed, we were not part of South African society. He wished to say that we were members of this society but that the Herrenvolk treated us as outlaws. Our task, therefore, was to see that we were not treated as outlaws, but that the racial outlaws should be outlawed.

Miss J. Gool (National Anti-C.A.D.) said that the Chairman had been too modest in stating the achievements of the Anti-C.A.D. Before 1943 there had been one policy only amongst the oppressed in South Africa - a policy of complete subservience to the ruling class. There had been some anti-white feeling of a confused nature. Political leaders of those days, like the Dr. Abdurahmans, played the game of trying to wrest concessions from the rulers and people were completely swayed by this party or the other. After 1943 there came a new attitude and we could see this attitude all over the world to-day; the attitude that one man is as good as another. At once this idea of political equality became an idea that separated itself from this subservient policy. What did the Anti-C.A.D. policy do at that time? It injected into the people a new attitude. After all, it is the mind that rules a person and rules his actions. When he accepts inferiority a man shall always be a slave, but when he rejects it his whole attitude changes. We see that since 1943 the people have learnt new attitudes towards the problem of oppression in South Africa. When we came out with the new policy we were presented with an almost virgin field and had to contend against the various forces of oppression - the radio, the press, etc. What we have achieved in the face of these tremendous odds has been a tribute to the Anti-C.A.D. Movement. If you will remember, at the time when the C.A.D. was boosted, we came out with the new slogans and defeated the C.A.D. so that it became impossible for it to work, and we defeated the C.A.C., so that one by the C.A.C.-men dropped off like dead flies from a carcass. We remember how we hounded the Viljoens out of the T.L.S.A.; we hounded the C.A.C.-men out of all the organisations of the people, even down to the horticultural associations. The people rose up against the C.A.C.-men and threw them bodily out of their organisations. And as a result of that the C.A.C. was dropped and was never revived again by the United Party. That was no small success when every man and every organisation stood up on its feet and fought. That was a great moment in the history of the Coloured people. These are the moments when things develop and people grow to manhood.

The question of the boycott of the Tercentenary celebrations is another point we need not be modest about. Not a single Non-European stood on the benches and on the stands to watch the rulers celebrate. To have seen the failure of the Tercentenary, which was regarded as the greatest event of the day, was another

no mean achievement, because after all we got the whole population behind us. We got all the strata of the Non-Europeans in South Africa to boycott the Tercentenary, even the coons, with the exception of a few who are in du Plessis' Department, because I hear his Department is manned by a couple of coons.

Others in this hall will remember other instances. These are important things we had to do in the face of great odds and we need not be modest about them. We hear that in all the acts passed by the Nationalists the United Party would commonly use the point: "What support did you get from the Coloured people?", and the Nats. would fumble around and produce support from some Coloured person and some Coloured society, and I am very glad to say that on not one single act passed by the Government have they had any support from the Coloured people or from any bon fide organisation of the Coloured people. That is certainly a great achievement when the whole Non-European population stands together against the acts passed against the Non-Europeans. To what has that been due? To none other than the ideas of the Anti-C.A.D. movement. It has stood as a steady rock on which all Non-Europeans people have fixed their eyes. The thinking Coloured man to-day always wants to know, "What does the Anti-C.A.D. say?" whenever any issue comes up. The people have always looked with disapproval on them. It is this suspicion towards the motives, the acts of the ruling class, that is so important to-day. Before 1943 the people did not view anything with suspicion; they just accepted what the 'baas' said. This suspicion is no passive thing. It is an active thing held in suspension until we give the correct line and that correct line can only come from the Anti-C.A.D.

(At this point in the discussion the Chairman invited on to the platform Mr. C.M. Kobus, General Secretary of the All-African Convention, who had entered the hall.)

Mr. W.M. Tsotsi (President, All African Convention)

One thing that arises from the address of the Chairman is a consideration of how it is possible that so few of the Herrenvolk can dominate and rule so many Non-Europeans, and I think this gives an interesting study of the use of deception and even doercion and force as ruling class policy. It has been said that deception is an art of government, and we can see the truth of this statement in South Africa. I think that the Non-Europeans have at last discovered this deception, that they have now turned on to the new road and that the Herrenvolk now have to resort to adopting fascistic measures to stop the growth of the movement. The leaders of the intellectual class were formerly deceived into thinking that they were part of the body politic. They have now discovered that they are outside the pale of the law and this discovery has made them adopt new methods of struggle.

I also want to stress the fact that those chiefly responsible for the deception of the Non-Europeans were the leadership, the intellectuals, who were influenced by liberal ideas. Owing to the growth of the liberatory movement they have discovered this deception and are exposing the role of the Liberals in perpetuating this deception, this make-believe that the Non-Europeans are part of the body politic and have a chance of getting parliamentary representation. The bluff of the Liberals that the Non-Whites will eventually, after they have reached a certain standard of civilisation, get full political rights, has been called by the Nationalist Party. So that now the Liberals are also trying another stunt in order to deep themselves in employment. They are trying to give theoretical justification for the withholding of democracy from the Non-Whites. They say that democracy evolved in England where there is only one race and because South Africa is a multi-racial society, democracy is not practicable and must be adjusted to suit the conditions here; because of certain cultural differences and so on, there must be a loaded franchise and Non-Europeans must be very highly educated before they can qualify for the vote. We must watch this very carefully. We must realise that all along we have been deceived and made to think that we are part of society. We must pin the responsibility for this deception on the Liberals and be careful of their machinations.

Mr. B.M. Kies (National Anti-C.A.D.)

In his opening address the Chairman very carefully avoided the danger of reminiscing about battles fought long ago because that was not the purpose for which conference was called. But he did say that we should reiterate some of the fundamental principles for which we stand, and towards the latter portion

of his / .....

of his address he made mention of the contribution that we have made to draw the Coloured people into the common stream of struggle. I do think that in view of the fact that we have so many new, young people, that it would be worthwhile to dwell for a few moments upon the history that lies behind this very broad statement.

As Miss Gool has already said, the state of politics among the Non-Whites before 1943, and particularly among the Coloureds, was very pathetic indeed. Before 1943 if there were people who told the Non-whites in general that they were in no way inferior to any people and had to have direct representation, such persons were normally treated very intolerantly or laughed out of court. To-day young people take so naturally and readily to the idea of direct representation that they often wonder what the fuss is all about and do not realise what old folks are talking about. They do not realise the tremendous amount of struggle that involved in spreading these ideas to people throughout the land. I do not mention this because we want to blow our own trumpet but because it is not merely a catchphrase when the Chairman said that we have had to build up a new tradition. This had to be built up only after we had fought very bitterly to break the old tradition, and that was no easy matter. I do not mean to suggest that a complete victory has been established, but I do agree that we have helped to build up that new tradition of struggle and Non-European equality. We must never forget what the Anti-C.A.D. and other organisations have put into effect within the comparatively short space of time of eleven years. There must have been very many people at the first conference of the Anti-C.A.D. who, when we put forward the slogan, "Against the C.A.D. and for full democratic rights", thought the latter section very pious and could not see it as a realisable goal. We nailed up the banner in 1943 and we have had to go actively to work to teach the people to live up to these principles, and it is not the least of our achievements to say that in a short space of time we have by and large de-colouredised the Coloured people. I mean that we have broken the neck of the old tradition of the shuffling Coloured man, cap in hand, standing meekly at the back door waiting for bones and crumbs. It is no disgrace to say that that is by and large a true picture of a Coloured man traditionally, waiting at the back door and hoping that some day the "white man" would atone for the "sins" of his forefathers and recognise the "white" blood in his veins, though no-one to-day would take this version seriously. It is chiefly through our efforts in the Anti-C.A.D. that we have reached the present healthy position. It meant teaching the Coloured people that they were not this political appendage of the European population, that this was not our conception of democracy, of citizenship, and of the nation. To-day the Anti-C.A.D. meets as a section of the Non-White people of this country. That is something we have reason to be proud of because we had to battle for it - that the Coloured people are not an appendage of the whites but a section of the Non-white oppressed and stake their claim for full equality. When we ponder over the remarks of the Chairman, and particularly the remark that we have brought the Coloured people into the main stream of the struggle, this is the main consideration, the break with the appendix mentality and the acceptance of the idea of democracy as it is set out in the "Declaration to the Nation".

If we find it difficult to conceive the political development that has taken place, the reports in the papers this week give a small glimpse of what we were up against in 1943. I refer to the conference of burnt out shells in the B.E.S.L. This strange voice from the past I don't suppose will impress any one in particular and must have evoked many a smile from people young and old. There were persons pleading for increases in pensions. Many people must have taken this as a part of the lighter festive things that go around at this time of the year. But we could not have laughed at this sort of thing in 1943 because it was very much the substance of conferences of Non-Europeans before 1943. The B.E.S.L. has taken over the last remnants of Cape Coloured appendix politics. So that to appreciate the Chairman's remarks people to-day must look at that and remember why they laughed; because after eleven years of work of the Anti-C.A.D. they could laugh.

I will end on one point: an appreciation of the new tradition that led to the breaking up of the old. Members will have read the report that the C.A.D. is going to have some new school for the militarization of skollies, and attempt to train people not to hang around street corners. Years ago such a statement would have been hailed as progress at last. I don't think that this time many people could have taken du Plessis seriously or thought that this was any solution to the so-called skollie problem. It is a mark of the political progress people as a whole have made after the last ten years that the 'Cape Times'

had to / .....

dig up a statement from Siervogel that the Coloured people welcome this gesture. The Non - Whites used to take their views from the Herrenvolk and we had to struggle to break the ideological struggle that the Herrenvolk carried out against us through their press. To-day it is not so urgent a matter as it was ten years ago when every word uttered by the Herrenvolk had to be countered the very next day for fear of the tremendous effect it could have on the Coloured people. To-day because of the strength of the new ideological tradition we have built, people have learnt to differentiate between the ideas of the oppressors and the ideas of the movement. And I think that is no mean achievement in the short space of eleven years.

Mr. I.B. Tabata (All African Convention, WP.)

There were three points that struck me in the Chairman's address and three points that are very closely connected. All speakers who have spoken have dealt with and touched on these points. Naturally so, because they were the most outstanding points in his address. One point is the idea of the lesser or the greater evil. The second is the two divergent streams within the national liberatory movement, and the third point brought out was that we have built a new tradition. These three points are so connected that the one flows from the other. Once we have dealt with the first question and have come to the realisation that there is no such thing as a greater or a lesser evil, then we are in a position to strike out on our own, and then those not with us follow one course and we follow another, and then when we strike out another course, we create a new tradition. And we must remember how this has been created, how it arose, and what has been created in opposition to this tradition. It is fitting that in a conference of this nature we should talk about our achievements. The last conference was held in 1951 and a lot of things have taken place since then, and during this period we notice how much the Anti-C.A.D. has grown. I am not talking in terms of numbers but from the point of view of ideas. Throughout all the activities that have been taking place the members of the Anti-C.A.D. stood firm and used the Ten Point Programme as a compass to show our direction.

The question of the lesser or greater evil is an interesting one. How does it arise? It arises when people do not understand their own position. The Non-Europeans have for a long time believed or suffered under the illusion that they were part and parcel of the body politic of South Africa. They thought that even somewhere in the kitchen they had a voice. From 1943 onwards we pointed out to the Non-Europeans that the truth of the matter is that we have no say in the running of the state. Whether the Africans prior to that had some semblance of a vote, or after 1936 had three leader goats, or whether the Coloured male had to vote and had the right to cast his vote for one member of the Herrenvolk or another, there still remained one fact, and that fact is that all of us have no say in the government of the country. Once we understand this, that we have been cast out of the body politics of the country, then we begin to realise that the solution lies in one thing, and in one thing only: in uniting and in fighting to get into the government of the country. If, on the other hand, we believe that we are still part of the body politic, we will spend all our time trying to find out which policy of the Herrenvolk suits us a little bit. We will spend our time manoeuvring between one set of robbers and another. It is when people believe that they are part of this that the idea of the greater or lesser evil arises. When we look at the other stream we find these people still supporting one section of the Herrenvolk or another because they say it is their right. All their energies and time and brainwork are devoted to manoeuvring. But as soon as we understand that long ago we were thrown right out of the body politic, then we will realise that our energies must be spent in building a movement that will bring us right back into the society of South Africa, that we ourselves must become the society of South Africa together with the whites. And then we will be able to strike out on our own. The prerequisite was, first of all, the rejection of the idea of inferiority, and as soon as that was done we could stand on our own feet, cut adrift from the Herrenvolk parties and do our own thinking, and this was precisely what was one in 1943.

But there were still those who did not come with us: the Goldings, the Mathews', the Xumas and the Champions. What did they do and what did we do. This point we must emphasize and consider in the development of these two streams. It is because these people still accept the idea of inferiority, because they still look to the Herrenvolk for guidance in whatever they do, and because the Herrenvolk knows that these are its boys that it places at their disposal their press and assists them in trying to build their organisations; in order to get the Non-Europeans away from us, away from the main stream. Why do they do this? They in fact would deny it if we told them so. The truth of the matter is that these people still regard themselves as inferiors. If they did not, they would reject any bill brought to them

for the/ .....

for the oppression of the Non-Europeans. They would refuse to discuss with the Herrenvolk on the basis of inferiority and they would accept only the basis of the franchise for discussions. If they regarded themselves as human beings they would say: "Nothing less than the full franchise." It shows that the plain fact of the matter is that they still look upon themselves as inferiors.

Now then, these inferiors in their political actions are only working towards the betterment of segregationist institutions, the improvement of segregationist institutions. That is their only political function to-day. We, on the other hand, cut adrift, and our task is to destroy all institutions foreign to the democratic form of government. The Chairman said we have created a tradition and this is where we should show how far we have gone. Take our language alone. Our ideas are so powerful that our opponents cannot meet us on the basis of ideas, and so they begin to steal our language because they know that without using it they cannot get any support in the country. This is a new danger. We must recognise it as a danger, but at the same time we must also realise this as due to our strength. Consider 1943 when we first came out with the idea of boycott. Many people laughed at us, at the Anti-C.A.D. boycott of the C.A.D. and the Boycott by the All African Convention of the N.R.C. We came out with the idea of the unity of all Non-Europeans. I still remember that the President of the A.N.C. at that time jeered at the very thought of Africans uniting with Coloureds and Indians and did not consider it a matter to sit down to discuss. You will remember that Golding could come out and revile the Africans, calling them all sorts of names, and pointing a finger at the Anti-C.A.D. saying, 'These people want you to unite with Natives'. This then is the strength and progress and achievement of our movement, and the Anti-C.A.D. as a sector in the Unity Movement has participated in creating it. To-day they want to stab us in the back by talking about boycotting the N.R.C.s. But what did they say? They said, "We put up boycott candidates". How can you put up a candidate and at the same time boycott? This was trickery; because they were forced by the political climate to resort to such language. Another example. We forced them to talk about unity. But what kind of unity did they talk about? A unity of racialists. They had to use these terms because without them they could get no platform among the Non-Europeans to-day. This is a tribute to the Anti-C.A.D.

Since we met here in 1951 a lot of things have happened. We had a Defiance campaign, the unity stunts, the sham strikes, a one-day strike, days of mourning, and all sorts of things. But the interesting thing about it all is that although the Anti-C.A.D. held no conference during that time the Anti-C.A.D. organisations stood firm and followed the policy of the Anti-C.A.D. because they knew it. They took the Ten Point Programme and asked: "How does all this activity fit in with the Ten Point Programme?" And when they discovered it had nothing whatsoever to do with the Ten-Point Programme, they rejected it, though the United Party as a whole supported and boosted the defiance campaign. These things we must note down to-day. When it came to the question of the "strike" the Coloured population stood out, and when Malan invited the Coloured people to come and discuss on the question of the taking away of the vote, the Coloured people stuck fast and said they would have nothing to do with it and refused to discuss on the basis of inferiority. This would not have happened fifteen years ago. To-day no single Coloured man of repute dares to go there to Parliament to discuss because he knows that whoever goes there is going to discuss on the basis of inferiority. And this I consider one of the most important gains, and conference should go away feeling that even if there were not such tremendous strides organisationally, the ideas of the Anti-C.A.D. have captured the minds of the Coloured people. When they take their papers to-day and read, Golding says this and van der Ross says that, the first thing they ask is, 'What does the Anti-C.A.D. say?' This is the main thing; that the people to-day cannot live without the Anti-C.A.D. because they are part and parcel of it despite the fact that many of them have not paid their tics and their shillings to join the organisation.

W.P. van Schoor ( President, T.L.S.A.)

In moving the adoption of the Chairman's address I would like to convey on behalf of conference, our appreciation of the very fine way in which he set the tone for this conference. I have listened to speakers who have discussed the address, but I must agree with Mr. Kies when he said that the most significant statement made in the address is the fact that the Anti-C.A.D. has taken the Coloured people away from their pathetic Cape Colouredism, into the main stream of Non-European struggle for democracy. To my mind, this is a very important statement and we can readily understand its importance when we realise that the

present struggle to build up the movement for liberation as far as the Coloured section is concerned, is still a struggle against Cape Colouredism and petty reformism; that the struggle against the C.A.D. is also a fight against this petty Cape Colouredism; that our fight against quislings and collaborators is still a fight fundamentally against this Cape Colouredism.

I want to thank Dr. Gool for this contribution. I also share Miss Gool's view about the somewhat modest way in which the Chairman has slurred over some of our achievements because, as President of the T.L.S.A., I know what the Anti-C.A.D. has done in working among the Non-European intellectuals. It has played a very, very important role as far as the work of the T.L.S.A. is concerned and the T.L.S.A. is known to-day to be a very virile force in the struggle for democracy. With this I move the adoption of the address of the Chairman.

Mrs. Cylon (Goodwood-Vasco Ratepayers) seconded the motion which was passed unanimously.

Mr. A. Fataar reported for the CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE as follows:

Present were:-

National Executive: Chairman - Dr. G.H. Gool, Vice-chairman- Cllr. R.E. Viljoen; Secretary - Mr. F. Grammer; Assistant -Secretary - Mr. R.G. Taylor; Press Officer - Mr. B.M. Kies; Treasurer - Miss H. Ahmed; Executive members - Dr. F. Kay, Dr. N. Murison, Mr. H. Jaffe, Mr. I.B. Tabata, Miss J. Gool, Mrs. R. Bavasah, Mr. D. Neethling and Mr. A. Fataar.

Organisations:-

|                            |           |
|----------------------------|-----------|
| Political                  | 7         |
| Anti-C.A.D. Committees     | 5         |
| Civics                     | 6         |
| Trade Union                | 1         |
| Religious                  | 1         |
| T.L.S.A.                   | 20        |
| Parent-teacher association | 11        |
| Students, cultural, etc.   | 7         |
| Sporting                   | 1         |
| <u>Total</u>               | <u>59</u> |

SECRETARIAL REPORT.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

At this, the fifth conference of the National Anti-C.A.D. Movement, we will report on the progress made, since we last met in conference in January 1951 in the Banqueting Hall, Cape Town. At that time, the tide had already started to turn in our favour. We had emerged organisationally stronger. That conference also marked a development on the ideological plane. Instead of focussing almost all our attention on the struggle against the C.A.C. and the Coloured Affairs Department, the field of political education was widened.

Instead of working chronologically for the sake of convenience, we will classify our activities over the past three years as follows:-

(a) Organisational. (b) Political education - through the medium of literature, meetings, tours of the country, co-operation with other bodies. (c) Assessment of immediate tasks.

ORGANISATIONAL

At the last conference the report stated that the number of local committees had dwindled down to one; the Cape Anti-C.A.D. Committee. The position has improved. There are now five local committees. (1) The Cape Anti-C.A.D. Committee - working in the area extending from Wynberg to Cape Town. (2) The Northern Suburbs Anti-C.A.D. Committee - covering the area from Maitland to Belville. (3) The Cape Flats Anti-C.A.D. Committee - the area including Athlone, Gleemoor, Sunnyside, Hazendal, Crawford, Lansdowne, Wetton. (4) The South Peninsula Anti-C.A.D. Committee working in the region from Plumstead to Retreat and beyond. (5) The last local Committee to be formed is the Port Elizabeth Committee. This committee works in a large area - the second largest in the province, and regards the following places as its field of activity, South End, Port Elizabeth Central, Schaudertownship, Neavetownship, Korsten etc. Despite the fact that the committee was resituated only six months ago, it is an extremely active committee, and it has the region well-organised. Besides these committees, there are other organisations, while not local committees in name, carry out the same function. Thus the Kimberley Unity Committee embraces the major progressive Coloured organisations of the area, and is directly affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D. In the Transvaal, the Coloured Peoples Congress, keeps the Anti-C.A.D. flag flying. The C.P.C., like all other Anti-C.A.D. organisations, is for Non-European Unity and bases its work on Non-collaboration. Its field of activity is the Rand, where the Transvaal Coloured people are concentrated. In other areas, where there are no local committees or organisations like the C.P.C., the T.L.S.A. branches, the P.T.A.s and the Vigilance organisations carry on the work of Anti-C.A.D.

Before dealing with organisational work of the local committees, let us see how far the Anti-C.A.D. Movement speaks for the Coloured people. The Coloured people are mainly concentrated in the S.W. Cape, the P.E. and Uitenhage area, Kimberley and the Rand. Where there is a large concentration of Coloured people, there the Anti-C.A.D. is strongest. Thus it can be said, without fear of contradiction, that the Anti-C.A.D. Movement is the only organisation that can claim to speak on behalf of the Coloured people. The very nature of its organisation is such that it must bring the majority of the people into the movement, through the method of federating locally and nationally the wide variety of organisations which express the organised activities of the people. An examination of the organisational development of the various local committees will conference an idea of the progress made.

The Cape Committee.

The Cape Committee has the following organisations affiliated :-  
Silver Crowns Cricket Club, The New Era Fellowship, the C.T.-Woodstock P.T.A., C.T. branch T.L.S.A., Salt River T.L.S.A., Claremont branch T.L.S.A., Wynberg branch T.L.S.A., Salt River P.T.A., Claremont P.T.A., Wynberg Ratepayers, Cape Civic Federation, Municipal Tenants Association (Wards V, VI) Shmarocks W.H.C., Progress, W.H.C., Californians W.H.C. Woodstock Rangers W.H.C., Battswood Football Club.

The Cape Flats Committee

Athlone branch T.L.S.A., Athlone P.T.A., Cape Flats Educational Fellowship, Lansdowne P.T.A., Gleemoor Civic Association, Rylands Civic Association, Welcome Civic Association, Moravian Young Peoples Christian Association.

Northern Suburbs Anti-C.A.D. Committee

Goodwood - Vasco T.L.S.A. branch, Elsie's River T.L.S.A., Goodwood Vasco P.T.A., Elsie's River P.T.A., Goodwood Vasco, Raymond Ratepayers and Vigilance Association, Elsie's River Ratepayers, Belville T.L.S.A., Northern Areas Fellowship.

Southern Suburbs Anti-C. A.D. Committee

Grassy Park T.L.S.A., South Peninsula T.L.S.A., Steenberg Civic Association, Grassy P.T.A., Retreat Ratepayers Association, Grassy Park Ratepayers Association.

Port Elizabeth Committee

T.L.S.A. Algoa Bay branch, T.L.S.A. Port Elizabeth branch, P.E. South Central P.T.A., Schaudertownship P.T.A., Municipal Workers Union, Council for Non-European T.U.

The Kimberley Unity Committee

The Kimberley Ratepayers Association, Oriskany West T.L.S.A. branch, Kimberley P.T.A. Kimberley A.P.O.

The Coloured Peoples Congress

This organisation was originally started by the Liberals, but was taken over by the Anti-C.A.D. elements (supporters). It is an organisation based on individual membership. Experience has taught its members that if they wish to see the organisation grow, it will be necessary to develop on the federal basis. This development is taking shape at the present.

That there are still quite a number of local areas that have no suitable organisation, i.e. local Anti-C.A.D. Committee, the National Committee is well aware. Systematic attempts at establishing more local committees have been made, both through personal contact by members of the National Committee and by regular circular letters to the affected areas. That this work is bearing fruit is borne out by the fact that P.E. has to-day, one of the strongest local committees in the country. Oudtshoorn and Wellington areas are also becoming conscious of the need for closer organisation. It will not be premature to state that in the near future, more local committees will come into existence. However, this growth of local committees, is too painfully slow, when compared with the rapid development of Herrenvolk oppression. This slowness of development can be put down to (1) Lack of sufficient propaganda. It must be noted here that the publication of bulletins, has been drastically cut, due to lack of funds. (2) Lack of a sense of responsibility among local leadership. One can only come to the conclusion that the local leadership, coming largely from the somewhat economically better-placed and therefore more literate elements, have not yet come to the realisation of the seriousness of the position. The Committee trusts that as a result of this conference, the leadership in the local areas will take up their due responsibilities. The National Committee members are only too keen to assist any individual or organisation who wishes to advance the very important work of building local committees.

Political Education

During the last three years the National Committee has been responsible for the spread of political education, largely but not exclusively among the Coloured section of the population. One of the first tasks of the National Committee elected at the last conference was to give as wide publicity as possible to that conference. The minutes were published at a modest price of a shilling per copy. To make the decisions of conference known, 10,000 copies of the resolutions were printed and issued. Besides this, the committee also published statements on political trends and developments that affected the people. Early in 1951, when the details of the "representation of Non-Europeans" bill became known, the National Committee issued a "Rallying Call to the Coloured people". This



statement besides giving details of the "disfranchisement bill", also exposed its aims, and the elements who would profit at the expense of the Coloured people. Firstly it urged opposition to the whole bill. The Coloured people should not be party to their own disfranchisement. Secondly it warned the Coloured people to be on their guard against the "opposition" to the bill, coming from White "friends" and Coloured quislings. The liberal group will oppose temporarily, but will afterwards be the first to work the Act. To the Coloured people of the Transvaal and Natal, the National Committee pointed out, that the Act will throw them still further from their goal of the full franchise.

When the "Franchise Action Council", representing the former "Franchise Action Committee" and the Coloured Peoples National Convention", took the decision at a conference held in Cape Town on April 1st 1951, to stage a "political strike", the National Committee warned the people through pamphlets and from its platforms of the hollowness of this call ...Thousands of pamphlets ... in English and in Afrikaans were issued and distributed all over the country. The Anti-C.A.D. pointed out, how the F.R.A.C. in advance guaranteed the failure of the strike, by dividing the people into strikers and non-strikers. The question was also posed, "Are the people prepared for a strike" The National Anti-C.A.D. Movement will have nothing to do with persons who debase so powerful a weapon as the political strike. That the people heed the Anti-C.A.D. warning, is known from the fact that the political stunt did not develop into a national debacle.

The bulletin, "The Present Political Situation and the Coloured People" issued in December 1952, when the Appellate Court declared the High Court of Parliament invalid, analysed the position for the movement. It reiterated that the United Party had not shifted its position. It was still in full agreement with the Herenigte Party, in maintaining the system of exploiting and oppressing the Non-European. The people were asked to be on their guard against the moves of the Coloured Affairs Department, whose agents were desperately trying to get the people to accept this sub-department. In this pamphlet too, attention is drawn to du Plessis' attempts to create division between Moslem and non-Moslem Coloured. While this white-anting was going on, we must never relax. There is no time for smug self-satisfaction.

Early last year, the Herrenvolk held its usual WHITE General Election. After 10 years of political education, the mass of the Coloured people do not cling to the "appendix" idea. The Anti-C.A.D. statement, "The 1953 White General Election", printed in thousands, and publicised from our platforms, kept the majority of the Coloured electorate from the polls, despite the activities of paid Coloured creatures.

The third Klasjagersberg Camp is now open. On the occasion of the first camp, one or two misguided individuals found themselves in the N.A.V.A.C. .... a C.A.D. sponsored body, running vacation courses in various branches of sport. As a result of political education by the National Committee, the T.L.S.A. executive and the T.L.S.A. branches, the boycott of the second Klasjagersberg camp was almost a 100% success. The C.A.D. had to go the highway and byways to get some people to the camp. Du Plessis' guarded statement on the 3rd camp, which started last week, is indicative of the fact that the Anti-C.A.D. propaganda is having effect.

Contact with the public has also been maintained through the medium of public meetings. Besides meetings called by the National Committee, the Local Committees took up important issues, like the Malan - Havenga Agreement, the Non-European Representation Bill, the Public Registration Act, the Group Areas Act, the White General Election, and used them effectively to increase the political education of the people, and to strengthen the bonds of unity. The value of public meetings sponsored by the Local committees cannot be over-estimated. More people were brought into contact with the movement, and more organisations joined the Local committees. Where halls were procurable, open spaces were utilised. These local meetings also gave local speakers opportunities to make their contribution to the movement.

Tours conducted by members of the National Committee also form a valuable part of the work. During the third quarter of last year, Dr. Gool visited the Rand and did valuable work. He paved the way for Councillor Viljoen, who conducted a successful political tour of the region. Cllr Viljoen spoke at C.P.C. sponsored meetings, at Noordgesig, Albertsville, Coronationville and Benoni. He also made contact with the Indian and Coloured Teachers Association.

The result / .....

The result of that work is that the C.P.C. emerged stronger, the Transvaal Coloured people are closer to the N.E.U.M., and the possibility for collaborationist activities, is deminished. The "Pops" and Volksbonders are more than quiet. Cllr. Viljoen also travelled to Natal, and under the auspices of the Anti-Segregation Council of Natal, held a monster meeting in Dundee. The value of such tours cannot be over-estimated. We need more money and manpower to do work in that direction.

Since the last Anti-C.A.D. conference, which was held in January 1951, the National Committee has taken part in the N.E.U.M. conference which was held in the Rondebosch Town Hall in April 1951, and has also sent fraternal delegates to three annual conferences of the All African Convention. The National Committee is also pleased to report that an affiliated body, the T.L.S.A., in association with the Cape African Teachers Association, held a historic joint session in Cape Town in July 1952. This has done much to heighten the political consciousness of the Coloured section and to create a closer unity with the African teacher.

The Anti-C.A.D. also took part in the very successful Tercentenary Celebrations Boycott Campaign. In association with the A.A.C. (W.P.) it propagated the idea of the boycott so thoroughly that the Non-Europeans were conspicuously absent at the festival celebrations. The importance of this success cannot be over-estimated. It demonstrated the power of the boycott. It showed the people that here was a weapon that could be used effectively against the Herrenvolk. Reference to the boycott of the van Riebeeck celebrations leads naturally to the use of that weapon by the Anti-C.A.D. in the past, and the urgent to expand its use in the future. If the movement is to grow, then it is imperative that non-collaboration must be order of the day. The spread of the correct political ideas will therefore be followed naturally by the boycott of Herrenvolk and Herenvolk-inspired growths. This has been an important aspect of the Anti-C.A.D. work. When an adhoc committee was started in Lansdowne (Cape) in order to make representations to the Land Tenure Board, the Cape Flats Committee dealt with it effectively. At present there is only one G. van der Ross actively fostering Herrenvolk ideas. This arch-collaborationist ..., election agent during the 1953 White General election, must be expelled from the organisation of the people. We can rely on the people of Lansdowne to do so. The S.A.C.P.O., inspired by the Liberal section of the Herrenvolk, and at one time lead by R. van der Ross, has been routed because of the successful exposure of its collaborationist practices. The C.A.D.O.B. in the Cape and the Volksbond in the Transvaal have failed to attract and mislead the people, thanks to the spread of Anti-C.A.D. political ideas - by the T.L.S.A., the Anti-C.A.D. Committees and the C.P.C.

One of the important tasks that lie ahead of the National Anti-C.A.D. is the spread of the idea of non-collaboration and the uprooting of all quislings and quisling inspired organisations. Battles won against isolated quislings do not guarantee a successful outcome of a war against all collaborators. There can be no successful organisation of the people, unless the people are made to realise that they must always be on their guard against the fifth column, against the quislings, against the collaborators. It will be the task of the new National Committee to strengthen the existing local committees, to create new local committees where they do not exist, so as to guarantee the end of collaborationism - the arch enemy of political progress.

SECRETARY.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Thursday 7th January

Dr. G.H. Gool (Chairman)

I would like to make the announcement that we are having a Dance to-morrow night at 8 o'clock in the Woodstock town-hall. I want the Cape Town public to give our visitors a right royal welcome to-morrow night. It will also be in the nature of a send-off for them, as they will be leaving next day. We shall now open the Conference with a discussion of the Secretary's Report. We will allow half an hour for discussion.

Mr. Rusthoi (Lansdowne P.T.A.)

In referring to the C.P.C. Johannesburg, the Secretary mentioned its having been taken over by the Anti-C.A.D. "Elements". I don't like the word "Elements". It is not a word we would like to use. Could we use "supporters of something of that nature?"

Chairman

Yes, quite right. We so seldom see our country friends. We only see them through their writings and so on. We want to hear the views of the country. This is the time to bring all your troubles to conference.

Mr. F.A. Landman (Port Elizabeth Anti-C.A.D.)

I just want to correct the Secretary's Report on the situation of the Port Elizabeth Anti-C.A.D. Committee. We have many more organisations affiliated than the Secretary mentioned.

(He read out a list of affiliated organisations and said there were two or three others represented at the Conference who were not yet affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D.)

Chairman

Is there anything else you would like to say about organisational work in your area?

Mr. F.A. Landman

I don't know if we should give an account of our short life in Port Elizabeth. I must point out that Anti-C.A.D. has always been with us in Port Elizabeth. Ten years ago I helped to form the Committee there and at East London. We have always propagated the points of the programme. For several years it has been dormant. We have found the people responding to our ideas and clamouring for the Ten Point Programme. We find that opposition organisations are not existent in the Coloured group. The last one was the Erasmus Group, but that was just a flash in the pan. From the other side, we find the A.N.C. an influential organisation in New Brighton and at present we cannot penetrate that part of the town. In other parts we have touched in all areas and have found support for our ideas and there is no reason why our local Committee should not consolidate what we have done. That is all I have to say about Port Elizabeth at the moment.

Chairman

An important point that has arisen out of the Secretary's Report is that the Bulletins have not been circulated as regularly as they should be, due to lack of funds. We must discuss that matter and tighten up our press and inform the people throughout the country of what we are doing, as it is quite clear that we have a representative gathering here; except for the Orange Free State, the whole of the Union is here. To knit the unit together we must spread the Bulletins. This is indispensable. We must discuss this matter so that the whole country knows our ideas and can put them into action. It gives them food for political thought, especially in the coming year when there is going to be a tremendous activity in the various sections of the Non-European community.

(The Secretary read a telegram from Bloemfontein as follows:-)

"Wish / .....

"Wish successful conference. Demand equality - Myers".

Chairman

If there is nobody who wants to go into matters arising out of the Secretary's Report I think with your permission we must have the adoption of the Secretary's Report. Will somebody move the adoption of the Report?

Mr. A. Fataar (National Anti-C.A.D. Committee)

I would like to move the adoption with the proviso that we discuss this report, which gave us a great deal of information about the organisation, at a later time. We cannot discuss it very well now. We would rather discuss the organisational side to-morrow. We are very much interested in it and it would not be doing it justice to discuss it now when we have had so little time to think over it. I formally move the adoption of the Report. This was seconded by Mrs. M. Volkwyn.

Chairman

I put it to the Conference.

(It was unanimously resolved to adopt the Secretary's Report.)

We come now to the item "The Franchise", and this will be introduced by Councillor R.E. Viljoen.

THE FRANCHISE

Cllr. R.E. Viljoen, in introducing the discussion on THE FRANCHISE, said that ever since the formation of the Anti-C.A.D. in 1943, one thing that had stood out clearly was that, in order to become free citizens, we would have to aim at nothing less than the full franchise. Many difficulties would have to be faced while striving for the realisation of that aim. Apart from the Herrenvolk there were the traitors, quislings and collaborators.

I think, he continued, "That our greatest achievement to date has been to give political education to the people. However, after eleven years of campaigning, we still find people who think that the Vote, as we have it, is the Franchise. Because of ignorance or because of the poison injected into their minds by the Herrenvolk over a period of many years, the majority of the Non-Europeans still suffer from this poison of inferiority. Even certain teachers, during the last Parliamentary Elections showed that they had not rid themselves of the poison.

THE VOTE

The Cape Coloured Vote is at present enjoyed by about 5% of the Coloured people, i.e., 0.4% of the country's population. The Coloured male has to meet qualifications which do not exist in the case of the white voter, while the female has no vote at all! The only qualifications for the European are the age of 21 years and a white skin, and those conditions apply to both male and female. The Coloured voter has no say in the nomination of candidates because no Non-European may stand for Parliament, and hence those who wish to are forced to vote either for Baas Klaas or Baas Piet.

It was precisely because of that position that the Anti-C.A.D. decided upon the boycott of the Herrenvolk elections. It is, however, obvious that while we are naturally opposed to being struck off the Common Roll, we are not defending the status quo. We are demanding the Full Franchise for ALL as a fundamental and inalienable human right: Hence our slogan:-

"Nothing less than full political rights,  
Nothing less than the Ten Point Programme!"

### THE FRANCHISE

This status quo originated in 1910. It was then that, after 50 years of work, the British Government at last succeeded in settling the major differences between the Cape Liberals and the Boers of the North by bringing them together on the basis of the disfranchisement of the Non-European. They could then jointly oppress the Non-European People. The same thing is happening with the Central African Federation to-day.

The vote is part of the Franchise. The other part is the right to be elected. They are inseparable, and that is why we cannot accept anything less than the full franchise.

### DEPUTATIONS

In 1943 when we, in the Anti-C.A.D., warned that a Coloured Advisory Council meant 'double representation' so to speak (this from the Herrenvolk's point of view) and that one, probably the vote, would have to go, the C.A.C.-men protested that they would never have taken office if they thought that that were to be the case. But our prognosis has been proved correct. To-day, some of them directly through deputations, and others through ad hoc bargaining committees, are bartering about the price of the vote itself. They are as willing to work a communal roll and a Coloured Affairs Department as they were in those days.

We have seen how in 1951 the collaborators went on their knees before Malan and Havenga to beg for the retention of the status quo whilst to-day they are again on their knees in front of Donges and De Villiers Graaff begging for the retention of the 'skimmelbrood' or a Bremer version of the same thing. We have seen the so-called People's Convention, the Golding C.P.N.U., a Ganief Harris, the so-called Griqua deputation - Niemand, the Volksbond and even H. Moses all claiming to speak for the Coloured People, whilst everybody knew that these deputations represented nobody but themselves and a small group who wanted to cash in on apartheid and inferiority. But we retain the same upright posture that we have had since before 1951. We have taught the people to demand nothing less than the full franchise. We have taught the people to turn their backs on the Herrenvolk and to build their own organisations. We have taught the people the use of the boycott weapon, and through this medium made the C.A.C. and the C.A.D. unworkable. In the same manner we have to use the boycott weapon to make the proposed Separate Representation Act unworkable. While Dean, Collins & Co. were dragging the Act through the Law Courts on behalf of the United Party and were more discredited than the Act itself in the process, the Anti-C.A.D. prepared the ground to make the Act unworkable. We alone reject the Bill and refuse to work the Act.

"Our struggle is neither a short nor an easy one. As we are still in the infant stage of the boycott it is as well to learn, and to teach, how to use it as a weapon, particularly on this Act, so that it could then stand us in good stead for future and bigger boycotts. Our struggle against this Act is one step in our great march towards our goal which is, first of all, the full franchise for everyone over the age of 21, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

With these remarks I have great pleasure, on behalf of the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee, in moving the following resolutions:-

That this Conference of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement:

(1) Re-affirms its complete rejection of the Coloured Disfranchisement Act (i.e. the so-called Separate Representation of Voters' Act) with its proposals to disfranchise the Cape Coloured Voters by placing them on a separate roll with communal "representation" in the Senate, House of Assembly and the Provincial Council, and by substituting a dummy Coloured Representative Council for the defunct dummy Coloured Advisory Council.

(2) Repudiates all the deputations which interviewed the Government in connection with the Coloured Vote and brands them as unrepresentative, politically opportunistic and collaborationist.

(3) Declares that, inasmuch as the Selected Committee allegedly inquiring into the "question" of the Coloured Vote is in fact a continuation of the political

bartering/ .....

bartering between the Nationalist and United Parties on the method of disfranchising and is in now way concerned with the franchise rights of the Coloured People, all organisations and persons who have given "evidence" before this Committee have betrayed the interests of the oppressed Non-White people by providing a cloak for the disfranchisers and by assisting the Herrenvolk in their attempt to break the united opposition of the Coloured People.

(4) Re-iterates its demand for the full franchise, i.e. the right to elect and be elected, for all persons irrespective of "race", colour, creed or sex, and

(5) calls upon the Coloured People, in working for the realisation of this demand: (a) to continue to dissociate themselves from the political bargaining of the Herrenvolk, in Parliament and Select Committee, on the method of disfranchising the Coloured Voters, (b) to continue and to intensify the political struggle against the opportunists, collaborators and quislings with their deputations, ad hoc committees and spurious opposition to disfranchisement, (c) to prepare themselves politically and organisationally for the complete boycott of all elections under the Disfranchisement Act, and (d) to strengthen their organisations and intensify their struggle on the principled basis of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, which is an integral part of the Non-European Unity Movement, (e) to enjoin upon the teachers in particular their responsibility to the nation and the children of the nation, a responsibility which demands of them that they should strengthen, co-ordinate and unify their own organisations and that they should work in the closest co-operation with the people struggling, not only against the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Authorities Acts and the whole system of oppression, but also for full citizenship rights.

Mr. A.F. Slingers (South Peninsula Anti-C.A.D.)

I rise to speak on the subject of the Franchise and I recall the disgust which most of us felt a few years back when we were going through all the Government's stunts. They brought forward Moses and others to put forward their views and not the views of the Coloured people. We think that there is no more disgusting thing than that now after eleven years of hard work there should still be men and women amongst the ranks of the Coloured people still prepared to go on such deputations. I think this disgust was tempered by the realisation that came from the appreciation of the situation when we realised that now, more than at any other time, the Herrenvolk were relying upon the quislings, whom they had to manufacture. We realised then, as we realise now, that there is no need to worry because a Golding etc., goes on a deputation; because of the situation in which the Herrenvolk find themselves they are compelled to look for these men and these quislings become a necessary adjunct. Without these people the Herrenvolk would not be able to operate in the country. From our point of view we need not become excited because there are people like a Harris or a Golding etc., Mr. Viljoen has stated the fundamental demands which we make inside the Non-European Unity Movement and the Anti-C.A.D. movement. The Conference of the B.E.S.L. which met yesterday expressed the naive hope that the Government would drop its plans and schemes to remove the Coloured people from off the Voters' Roll, and they really seem hopeful that their request would be granted. They hoped that this request would be granted eventually. We inside the Anti-C.A.D. movement have come to realise that such requests are futile because we realise that the Herrenvolk to-day are trying to remove us from the Voters' Roll, not because they are uncharitable, that is the mistake they make. They are not unkind. We have come to understand that our political oppression is not something that flows from misunderstanding. If that were the case we could ask our "friends" of the Moral Rearmament to come and talk to Dr. Malan. It is not a question of Moral Rearmament or change of heart. It is not lack of charity, it is something they are compelled to do because it is the logical outcome of history which has forced them into that situation. The Herrenvolk are compelled to launch this against the Coloured Vote as in 1936, because they are forced by situations which are beyond their control. They are compelled to look for labour. In the same way they attacked the Native rights. We see that the whole situation is dictated by the logic of history, and to us it is clear that a plea for a change of heart is a futile and a ridiculous cry. It is not a question of change of heart; it is forced upon them, that is why we in this movement realise we must understand the whole process of our enslavement. Once we understand that we will be able to counter every possible measure, not in a hysterical theoretical fashion, but with our own counter demands such as we have made in our Resolution for Full Franchise. Section 4 states that this demand is made on the basis that it should be unrestricted, open to all persons irrespective of "race". We are making it not because

we are / .....

we are an appendage group, the poor children of the Whites. We make it on the right which we have, together with millions of other oppressed people throughout the country. It is a demand for Citizenship. Oppressed people throughout the world are beginning to understand the word "Citizenship". Up to now it has only been a word we have taught our children. It has not meant anything to them at all. We have a new meaning. A meaning which has been defined by the oppressed people throughout the world. We must see that this meaning become part and parcel of the South African way of life.

Mr. F. Landman (Port Elizabeth Anti-C.A.D.)

I think we should boycott the Elections when they come. The position is a great deal easier than in 1943 when we started. Then there were people who understood the position but there was no contact between the people. At the present stage we find the position easier because of the amount of political education that has proceeded to-day. We come prepared for the coming period, with a great deal more success because of the education of the people. Reference has already been made to the B.E.S.L., which has hidden its identity until now, but has now been revealed to us as Agents of the Herrenvolk. There is also the fact that Du Plessis has had to drop the idea of developing Klaasjagersberg and get on to the S.S. Battalion. We can now relate Franchise to every aspect of the people's struggle. I feel the task has become "easier" in the sense that we will be able to rally the people behind us as the time comes to boycott this franchisement of the people.

Mr. A. Fataar (National Anti-C.A.D.)

I have not very much to say on this subject. I want to say that there is sometimes criticism made and people say, "They issue a statement and pass a resolution and hold a conference and stick on one thing only ..... they do not do this and they do not do that ..... The boycott has been a negative weapon and one can sit back and do nothing, because "boycott" means having nothing to do with it. If we clear away some of this rubbish and see who the people are behind this sort of talk it is not a question of vote and franchise. The same creatures go cap in hand to Malan or de Villiers Graaff or the U.P. to save the Coloured Vote. In every instance they are different from the people who want Non-European unity. You find that they and their friends are quite prepared to work the separate representation for Africans. There are elements who support the Separate Representation of Africans Act of 1936. They support quisling organisations. At the Van Riebeeck Festival we find these people against the Anti-C.A.D. and participating with the Herrenvolk. These are the people who are given the Coronation medals from Malan. In other words, it is not only on the "vote question" but on everything affecting this separate form of representation that these creatures are always found either in the fore or somewhere at the back. One wonders when one sees a creature like a Harris in Cape Town. They reckon they are part of this 300 years of "civilisation". You get a type like a Golding, well-dressed and parading as a very "civilised" gentleman from the "civilised" part of the "dark continent". They want to remain a crumb of the vote. You then read about people who do not even wear a suit in the darkest part of this dark continent, say, for instance the Gold Coast. Some consider that these people must be "barbarians" and all of a sudden it seems now that they have got up from their bending position and there has been some movement afoot and the people have been granted a form of franchise. Golding can read and write, but in the Gold Coast we see that poor, simple people, apparently from the forests, are coming out and looking at placards and making a cross next to a snake or an elephant because they know that the snake or elephant represents a black man like themselves. Here there are simple, black people who want to make a cross against the name of the people for whom they can vote in a domestic assembly where laws can be passed in their interest. But here in 1952, 1953 or even in 1954, you can get these so-called gentleman, Harris and Golding, looking "civilised" and making the disgraceful statement that they do not want the franchise or the present form of Coloured male vote, and would be prepared to accept one or two dummies in Parliament.

The Secretary (Mr. F.G. Grammer)

Some of the delegates here quite certain that the visitors at the back will say that "You have been talking of the Franchise ever since the Anti-C.A.D. came into being, at the 1943 Conference, the 1948 Conference, the 1951 Conference and here again at the 1954 Conference - the Anti-C.A.D. is back again on its

old hobby horse, the Franchise. But let us put it this way. The Non-European people of South Africa, (and not only South Africa) suffer from a number of ills, but there is one cause of the many and varied ills. You get people thrown into housing schemes (the correct word is "locations"). You get the oppressed receiving an emasculated form of education, and even that, will be further impoverished under the de Vos Malan report. The Non-Europeans are denied the right to follow the profession and all the trades. You can think of every ill from which the Non-Europeans are suffering and the answer is "lack of Franchise". So if the delegates in conference and the visitors at the back, and those people who are not in conference, but are concerned, the mass of Non-Europeans who make up the majority of South Africa's thirteen or fourteen million people, stop to think they must realise that if they were to work for the full franchise instead of - now the "anti this campaign" and now the "anti that campaign", then there will be political progress. Why do we say that the Federation Scheme of Central Africa is a fraud and a swindle? Because the Africans who form the majority will not have the full franchise. You read in the papers this week how four or six Federal Parliamentary representatives will live in flats. These few people have been chosen to carry out the evil political plans of the Herrenvolk; they will gain a few crumbs, but the majority of the people will not live, they will simply exist. Let us not think half an egg is better than none. The people will become poorer and poorer as the Herrenvolk become more desperate. They feed not only on the mass of the people, but there is cut-throat competition between them, and the people to suffer are the Non-Europeans. Let us not hear again the expression: "You discuss the question of Franchise and nauseum." We must drive into the heads of every thinking man and woman the importance of the Franchise. Another point, why is it that you find in dealing with the question of the Mines that you have almost one-third of a million Africans in the mines. Why are they forced to take up that occupation? Why do these people, South Africans and other African people, find themselves forced to do labour at such a low price and why are they forced into compound? The answer is because these people are landless. Why have they no land rights? Because they have no Franchise. I would like to take this discussion from that particular angle. If we work for the Franchise, all the other ills will disappear.

Mr. A. Anthony (Grassy Park P.T.A.)

I would like to dwell for a short while on just a small aspect of full franchise and what full franchise means to many of us. Mr. Viljoen has told us of the proviso set for the white man, it is "21 and a white skin". It also means "education". For many years we in South Africa were sympathetic towards other Colonial people who suffered from the yoke of imperialism, without giving a thought as to what a sorry plight we were in ourselves. We never thought that we were in a worse condition than they were. Education has played a very important part in the enfranchisement of the Whites. To-day amongst the younger generation education has become a necessity and we find that without education there is no avenue in life open to us. Unless we have that full franchise movement and full education we will never be able to take our rightful place in society. Prior to 1943, because of the insufficient cry for education, the people were satisfied to accept a few crumbs, or stale bread as Mr. Viljoen said, but to-day education has become such a wide field to us, and because we are more educated to-day and see the avenues open to the White child and shut to us, it is our bounden duty to fight to get full franchise rights. We must thank the Anti-C.A.D. for opening the eyes of the people. We realise that the future will be a dark future unless we have the full franchise. It is therefore up to delegates at the Conference to take this away to their various branches: that we want nothing else but full franchise, if not for them, then for their children. South Africa is not only a Herrenvolk country but a country where everyone should live peacefully.

Mr. H. Jaffe (National Committee)

Tomorrow we shall discuss the international situation, and, in referring to other parts of the world, as I am going to do now, it is going to be only in connection with the franchise. I want to refer to the franchise in three other parts of the world, in order to help towards a fuller understanding of one statement which Mr. Viljoen made, when he said: "Nothing less than the full franchise, nothing less than the Ten Point Programme". I want to show the indivisibility of our programme, the inseparability of the franchise from the other demands in the Ten Point Programme.

From / .....



From the view-point of the franchise in Central African Federation, Non-whites have not got even the shadow of the vote. I believe there are only some 400 Non-European half-voters, against 60,000 European full-voters. Taking the relative populations into account, the colour-discrimination in the vote can be expressed as nearly 100,000 to 1 in favour of the Europeans! Furthermore, the form of representation for Non-Europeans is inferior, dummy and segregatory. The six African dummies in the Federal "Parliament" live in six segregated flats in a special compound for African M.P.'s. This is not direct representation in any sense, since direct representation means the right of All voters to send any one, irrespective of colour and sex, into a democratic parliament.

In the case of the Gold Coast it is not so easy to see the franchise fraud, because here the deception of racialistic "direct representation" goes hand in hand with the fraud of "indirect rule". The history of the Coussey Constitution shows that it is the product of collaboration and not of struggle, that it was forced on the people. The vote is largely tribal and symbols used in elections reflect tribal totems rather than mass illiteracy. The Ministers are controlled by the Governor and his veto, and not by the people through their parliament, and permanent secretaries schooled in and loyal to Whitehall and Westminster really run the Ministries. There is neither independence nor democracy for the Gold Coast under the Nkrumah regime.

In turning now to the third example, India, the franchise fraud is not easy to detect, because it is cloaked in universal franchise for all over 21, and by Dominion Status. In India there is a full franchise, on paper. If over 21 and not in a lunatic asylum or gaol you can vote. Despite this, everyone knows that the workers and peasants have not benefited one iota from this "full franchise". They still suffer exploitation. They still lack land. They remain illiterate. Their militant spokesmen are hounded into prisons. For 95% of the population is still a living hell, as it was under the open British rule, in spite of having a full franchise, on paper. Does this mean that there is a flaw in our demand for "nothing less than the full franchise", that our theory does not work out in practice? No! We do not say the franchise is everything, we say, on the contrary: "nothing less than the franchise". That is our minimum. It is not a panacea. It is the key to the other nine demands in our programme. It is the fundamental prerequisite without which the programme cannot be realised, but which, in itself will not automatically realise this programme without further efforts by the oppressed. For us, our programme is one and indivisible, and that is why we always couple the two slogans: "nothing less than the full franchise, nothing less than the ten-point programme". In India, Nehru split his "ten-point programme", isolated the franchise from the land and other questions, transformed the franchise from a means of solving these questions to a means of further oppressing and exploiting the people. That he did because India is still dominated by England economically, and England rules India through Dominion Status upheld by the Indian exploiters themselves. But in South Africa our national movement rests not on a middle class but on an impoverished, landless, rightless popular base. Herein lies one reason why things here will not easily follow the Indian path. In addition, the Indian franchise and Constitution was the result of collaboration with England, while our struggle is rooted in non-collaboration. Thirdly, our hope and guarantee that our programme will remain an integral whole, lies in our federal structure, which unites and penetrates the people, bringing principled ideas to all strata, and making a sell-out in the future difficult for the aspirant Nkrumahs and Nehrus in the national movement in South Africa. We shall continue to see that the franchise demand, which is Number One in our programme, shall remain our fundamental, key demand.

Mr. B.M. Kies ( National Committee)

Several of the speakers this afternoon have tried to show that the demand and struggle for the franchise is not merely a slogan that we repeat, something dead that we decided upon ten or eleven years ago and can leave at that, merely reiterating it for the sake of continuity. Various speakers have tried to show how the demand and struggle for the franchise runs right through the whole of our struggle and I would like to add one or two points to strengthen that argument, because I think that not only for us here in South Africa, the oppressed people, but also for the oppressed Colonial peoples throughout the world to-day the most live issue from the point of the Colonial oppressors and the oppressed people, the fundamental issue is the question of the franchise.

I would like to deal with two attacks upon the franchise that we here have

to deal / .....

to deal with. The attack that comes directly from the Herrenvolk, the Government and Opposition, and, secondly, the indirect attack that comes through the Liberal Party at the present time. Both of these are attacks against the franchise that we have to be aware of. It is not an academic question but a live issue which affects every aspect of our struggle. The direct attack is coming more strongly than we have known it for years. It is the argument that what the oppressed Non-whites need is not the franchise but economic betterment. It is an argument coming very strongly from the Native Affairs Department. It is the argument behind the Bantu Authorities Act. That this is really what the people need and that the Government in its wisdom wants to get people away from politics, it wants to get people on to the practical "bread and butter" questions and away from the franchise. In the Coloured sector we are finding a similar thing. All the while the Government were bargaining the Coloured Affairs Department were trying to dig in, here with a trading licence and there with "bettering" location conditions for poor Coloured people, and elsewhere with what they considered the "bread and butter" problem. The most recent attempt of the Coloured Affairs Department to bolster up this argument, which is coming back in full strength, is that what you want is betterment, i.e., the S.S.B., offering more jobs for people. They say "your children have not got jobs and we must look after them". It is an attack against the fundamental demand for the franchise and an attempt to bolster up the argument that it is possible to have economic betterment, more land etc., without the franchise. From their point of view we are trying to say that the franchise is essential. They turn it the other way round and say that jobs, land etc., are fundamental and leave the franchise alone. This is becoming a major attack against our front line.

The other attack against the franchise comes from those who are the indirect agents of the ruling class themselves. I refer to the Liberal Party and the Neo-Liberals. The Liberal party policy to-day reveals it self as the continuation of the Herrenvolk policy of discrimination, because this raising of the educational qualification for the non-White vote, that you should have passed Standard 6, or such like, is just continuing the discrimination that we have known since 1910. When we demand full franchise for everybody our enemies say: "Do you really mean that those fellows wearing blankets must really have the franchise?" "Can you be serious that alongside the elite you must have these people and give them the right to be elected?" Our own people began to ponder the idea as to whether there should be a "civilisation test". The basic idea behind this "civilisation test" is the preservation of the Herrenvolk status quo. It is not a new thing that the Liberal Party is raising now. It is the old song of the misleaders: "You can make the entrance qualification as high as you like but keep us on the roll". The present Liberal Party policy from the Herrenvolk side is putting forward exactly the same argument and it is an attack upon the fundamentals of the ten point programme, full franchise for everybody. It is a significant thing that the Liberal Party, for example, which is keen on a "civilisation test" for Non-Whites to be allowed on the roll, does not apply the same sort of test for people who can vote for the Liberals as "special representatives". For purposes of voting for a special Native representative the present qualifications will do. The same thing applies to the persons who are Neo-Liberals, people who claim to be progressive, who are among those who demand equality. Continuing their policy of the lesser evil as applied between the U.P. and the Nationalist Party, in the same way they are under-mining the struggle of the Non-Whites for the franchise because they are continuing to present themselves for office. We have, I think, to be harder with these people who pretend all the time in trades unions etc., to be in our camp while undermining the struggle. Some of us are a little bit shy when attacking the Neo-Liberals because, theoretically, they are supposed to stand for equality. All those who have discriminatory qualifications for Non-Whites are in fact making an attack upon the fundamentals of our programme. The franchise is the nerve that runs through our struggles. We find that as the struggle of the Colonial peoples develops you have almost a graded system of dummy franchise suited to the Colonial oppressors. It starts low and goes higher, until you have no Whites in parliament as in the Gold Coast, where the final fraud of the franchise comes under the question of Dominion Status for the Non-White peoples. There is a graduated scale which the Gold Coast and Nigerians are beginning. We must look upon the franchise question not as a dead thing that we are repeating and say we want. We must see the dynamic of the franchise question from the lowest form of dummy to the highest forms of dummy and the whole question as an interplay between the oppressed and the oppressor. It is a dynamic part of the whole question of liberation and we must foresee from what is going on in other countries possible future stages of our own struggle, as the movement develops. If we can treat the franchise aspect of other countries in a less academic way and see it as perhaps a possible future stage of the

I think we will be less prone to be pious about the demand for the franchise, and plough in the demand in all aspects of our day-to-day struggle.

Miss J. Gool ( National Committee)

I don't think I can add much to the points raised, but there is one point I would add on the question of the franchise in regard to India and the Gold Coast and our fight for the franchise here. As we know, the franchise which India is supposed to enjoy has been given to it by a process of collaboration tactics with imperialism. A bargain has been made between the two countries. The franchise has been granted to India on the basis of collaboration and the same kind of distortion of franchise has been granted to the Gold Coast and Nigeria. It is a bargain between two sets of partners, the Colonial boss and the Imperial boss. We know when we issue the slogan of the Anti-C.A.D. that the main strategy is based on the principle on non-collaboration and that makes all the difference. We have already protected our movement from any collaboration ideas. We have placed safeguards on our movement and guaranteed the correct stream in which our movement shall go. I was thinking of the clever propoganda of the Herrenvolk: the first point of the ruling class is to divide off the intellectuals. They inject them with the idea that there is a place for them by coming in and giving them the opportunity to trade, a special bit of property here and special bit of property there. They allow a little loophole for the intellectuals. Many have been taken in by that propoganda. We know that inroads have been made on the African people by the intellectuals. The idea of remaining neutral is already prevalent in the Transkei. Many are no more with us. In the outlying areas that will now be segregated areas, the intellectuals are already buying property and taking upon themselves to work the plan of the Herrenvolk and that is a great danger to us because they are taken in by the ideas of the Herrenvolk. Another point. They use other propoganda for the working class man. They say there is an anti-white feeling. I am not going into the question of whether it is designed or not. When a working man needs discrimination, a separate ticket box, different coaches, wherever he is insulted, he has a feeling of being anti-white. The Herrenvolk create an anti-white feeling and build upon it. Among Moslems there was no feeling against the Christian Coloured, but now they discover an anti-Christian Coloured feeling. Now they turn the Moslems against the Christians. They say there is a difference and you have a different separate culture. They play upon this feeling and then the Moslems feel they should have a separate area of their own. They have not yet gone so far as to ask for a separate group area. They are arousing tribalism in various sections of the Non-Europeans. They advocate giving these groups "Tribal Councils" in which they can work their own segregation. Du Plessis said a Non-European man could be boss in his own area. This business of being a "major of Athlone" is as dastardly a position as being the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast.

Chairman

We will consider the Resolution as read.

(The motion was moved by Councillor Viljoen, seconded by Mr. A.H. Nieweveld and carried unanimously.)

THE CONFERENCE ADJOURNED FOR TEA.

Chairman

I will now ask Mr. Fataar to introduce the discussion on "The Coloured Affairs Department."

THE COLOURED AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

Mr. A. Fataar introduced this section of the agenda on behalf of the Executive Committee. Following from the discussion on the Franchise, the proper thing to do to consider the formation and working of the Coloured Affairs Department. It has been shown from 1943 that the creation of a Coloured Advisory Council (first called the Cape Coloured Permanent Commission) and a C.A.D. must and will mean the removal of the Coloured voters from the common roll. There can not be two systems: members in parliament speaking for the Coloured and European people and also a C.A.C. and a C.A.D. making representations for the Coloured people. The former will become redundant.

According to the Herrenvolk the Coloured people do not need political rights, the vote. They only need certain material things which can be supplied by the Herrenvolk and which can be satisfied without political rights. A C.A.D. will see that the Coloured people have work, food, houses, health, schooling, recreation coons and choirs. Mr. Fataar quoted Neame ("White man's Africa") in this regard:

"Whatever their spokismen may say, the first wish of the bulk of the Non-Whites is not to be allowed to cast a vote in the White man's polling booth."

"It is to enjoy higher wages, and better housing, and to find more opportunities for improving their lot and that of their children."

"Their major complaint is not the denial of political privilege but the presence of poverty. What they want is not to get into Parliament but to get out of the gutter."

This rationalisation has led to a system of Herrenvolk rule in South Africa which gives what we might call Dominion Status to the European section and a slave or colonial status to the Non-European majority. The Herrenvolk philosophy of government is built upon this theory and, as Neame stated it, "Instinctively they (the whites) have gradually evolved a pattern of social and political life designed to ensure mastership in their own life."

This pattern has been worked out, perfected and put into operation on the major section of the Non-European people - the African people - ever since 1902: for 50 years!

It, therefore, becomes necessary to examine the working of the Native Affairs Department to understand what I.D. du Plessis is busy preparing for the Coloured people. Very few people are aware of what the N.A.D. means and is and what a C.A.D. will really be like. No one can be so naive as to believe that a Coloured N.A.D. can not come about. It is rapidly being brought into being. Hertzog is dead and with him his pacifying words and the Herrenvolk fairy tale that (in his own words): "The Coloured man is fundamentally different from the Native. He owes his origin to us and knows no other civilization. It was always clear to me that if we want to do justice to the Coloured person we shall have to include him among the whites industrially, economically and politically ..... It is very clear to me that it would be one of the most foolish attitudes the whites could adopt to drive the Coloured people into the enemies of the Europeans ....."

THE NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

The N.A.D. is a separate State Department with a Minister of "Native" Affairs, complete in itself and administering practically every aspect of the life of the African people. Whilst the Herrenvolk use the word "Administer" the right word is really "control", for the N.A.D. virtually controls the African person from before the candle to beyond the grave!

The history of the N.A.D. goes back 50 years, to 1902, when the South African "Native" Affairs Commission was created. (Mr. Fataar drew attention to the creation of the Coloured Fact Finding Commission in 1934, twenty years ago.) The S.A. "Native" Affairs Commission had members from the four Colonies,

Rhodesia / .....

Rhodesia and the Protectorates. It laid down as the main principle of any system of African representation that no African should vote in the election of any member or candidate for whom a European had a right to vote; separate voter's lists and separate candidates for Africans only. It led to the 1913 "Native" Lands Bill and, in 1920, to the "Native" Affairs Act.

Thereafter there followed a host of Acts and an army of Amendments intended to perfect the system of control and regimentation. To name only a few, there were: 1923 Urban Areas Act; 1935 "Natives" Trust and Land Act; 1951 Bantu Authorities Act; 1952 Urban Areas Consolidation Act; 1953 Bantu Education Act; placing education under the control of the N.A.D.

The N.A.D. functions through six chief "Native" Commissioners and many subordinate "Native" Commissioners, who are often European magistrates who automatically become chairmen of local councils. Chiefs and headmen control the internal administration of locations under the supervision of the "Native" Commissioners. The "Native" Commissioner is the pivot on which the entire administration of a district revolves.

Under the Urban Areas Act the life of the African people was rigidly controlled and regimented. According to Oliver Walker a "Location is an ugly work for an ugly condition of living". Some of the main features of location life were outlined by Mr. Fataar:

- (1) Rule by Regulation - any provisions of any other law re townships etc. do not apply; only the regulations framed under the Urban Areas Act (Coloureds in such locations are also subject to these regulations, e.g. at Queenstown, Uitenhage etc., until such time as they are placed under the C.A.D. with its own Urban Areas Act and regulations. In fact, the old C.A.C. had advocated the transfer of all Coloured Mission Stations and Reserves from the control of the N.A.D. to the Social Welfare Department (C.A.D.). This was done in April 1944.)
- (2) Rule by Proclamation - the Governor-General may make proclamations "whenever he deems it expedient".
- (3) (a) Thus the Governor-General may make regulations "not inconsistent with this Act;"  
(b) Then the Minister may do likewise and  
(c) then the Urban Local Authority may by resolution do likewise.
- (4) No African may acquire land outside a recognised location.
- (5) Any African or sections of African people may be forcibly removed from one location or ordered "to take their residence" in another location after 3 days notice. They may only remain in a location if they were born there, are permanently resident there (at least 15 years' residence) or are working there. If any African is forcibly removed to his home or last place of residence the cost is to be borne by him or the money found in his possession.
- (6) All Africans are forced to live 5 miles beyond the city boundaries. This limit may be increased to 10 miles by proclamation.
- (7) The minister may buy up schools and churches outside locations. No one may conduct an African school or church outside a location.
- (8) A curfew may be imposed by proclamation.
- (9) All meetings or assemblies of Africans within the urban area are controlled, supervised and restricted by the Local Authority.
- (10) The following Passes or "Permits", in the form of a book of passes, apply:
  1. A Residential or Site Permit - to live either inside or outside a location;
  2. A Lodger's Permit;
  3. A Night Pass after 11 p.m.

4. A permit to seek work, valid for 14 days;
5. A permit to be in a proclaimed area for purposes other than seeking work;
6. A Service Contract;
7. A receipt for Togat (or casual labour) licence;
8. A permit to brew beer for home consumption;
9. A permit to purchase sprouted grain;
10. A document of registration for male Africans following occupations not under service contract (Teachers etc.);
11. A temporary visitor's permit;
12. A registered voter's certificate;
13. A permit to attend school;
14. A pass to show he is exempted from carrying a pass ( a mere 3,000 - odd are granted annually.)

(11) Control

Under these various bodies and by means of these various agencies every aspect of the lives of the African people is rigidly and mercilessly controlled. Even the number and marks of every animal in the reserves are noted. There are more stock inspectors than doctors; more accurate statistics on cattle, sheep, goats and even dogs than on human beings.

(12) Further fascistic control under the Bantu Authorities Act 1951

1. Bantu tribal authority (local);
2. Bantu regional authority, which abolishes and replaces the "Native" Representative Council because the latter was not considered "tribal" enough. This regional authority appoints "chiefs" or "Headman" and councillors. Everyone holds his position at the behest and whim of the "Native" Affairs Minister. They really "policemen-chiefs" whose job it is to control the lives of the African people from below while the N.A.D. and its Chief Commissioners and Commissioners control affairs from above.

Thus we see that this regimentation through Acts, Amendments, decrees, proclamations, regulations and passes has been going on for nearly 50 years and is the very hall-mark of Herrenvolk domination. Now attention is being directed to mopping up on the Coloured front.

THE COLOURED AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

The so-called Sub-Department of Coloured Affairs, or the section of the Department of Interior is really the Coloured Affairs Department announced by Harry Lawrence (Minister of the Interior) on 27th March, 1943, in the following words:-

"The Government has at no time contemplated the establishment of a Coloured Affairs Department and the usual Department of State will remain responsible for all matters which affect the Coloured Community". Saying that it was established solely for liaison and co-ordination, he remarked:-

"Existing organisations will retain their present right of making representations to the Government".

But I. D. du Plessis in his first Report as Commissioner of Coloured Affairs (1951 - 52) makes it quite clear that nothing less than a Coloured Affairs Department is being brought into existence. For the first time a full-time "Commissioner" is busy all the time finding ways and means of making his C.A.D. palatable, workable and acceptable and also attempting to undermine all opposition to the C.A.D.

The ultimate purpose of the C.A.D. is expressed in a circular letter of the Secretary of the Interior to all Heads of Departments (12/6/51). It said, inter alia, that under the control of the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs a Sub-Department of the Department of the Interior had been established to handle "all matters concerning the Coloured and Malay Groups." "If found advisable that the C.A.D. should take over the affairs of the Government Departments then negotiations with the Department concerned should take place".

In a similar circular letter to all Municipalities and other local bodies (12/10/51) it was stated that the Commissioner would establish the requirements of any Coloured people under the control of a local authority. They were urged to invite the Commissioner and consult him on all facilities affecting the Coloured Community.

On the question of staff for the C.A.D. it is interesting to note the attractiveness in the offer of a huge salary. A certain Coloured "Research worker", a former principal of a large school, said his salary (£630 - 720) as a principal was £200 more than the pay he would receive as a "Research Worker". Although four graduates applied, it was requested that the Education Department concerned should release the school principal for the post of "Research Worker" on a special protected salary scale, equivalent to his salary as principal. Similarly, a Superintendent of a Reserve was appointed after being seconded by the Cape Education Department to the C.A.D. while he retained his personal salary scale as a principal teacher.

The Commissioner is chairman of the proposed Coloured Representative Council. The staff of the C.A.D. is being trained to be the Secretariat of the C.R.C.

It is almost humorous to notice how the Commissioner hopes to make the Coloured people accept his C.A.D. Prior to Union, he relates, when the Coloured people had the franchise their welfare deteriorated to an alarming degree. Despite the fact that Coloureds and Europeans had the same municipal and parliamentary vote, the Coloureds steadily deteriorated. Therefore, the interests of the Coloureds should be specially protected and promoted by his C.A.D.

On the question of labour du Plessis reports the hoary old myths about the Africans taking the bread out of the mouths of the Coloured people in the Western Province. This agitation of his will grow in order to replace African farm labour with Coloured labour as the drive is intensified to get all possible African labour to the mines.

In his Report du Plessis recommended the creation of Labour Camps (see his speech in this Tuesdays "Cape Times" on the proposed establishment of such a camp in the Peninsula in 1955). These camps will be established "to train foremen for farm labour". To hide these intentions, he announced the formation of the urban counterpart for semi-skilled labourers. In any case, Coloured labour will be the farms even from the urban camps.

Du Plessis's C.A.D. is also very busy implementing the Group Areas Act under the guise of housing. He constantly advises the Town Planning Commissioner and Land Tenure Advisory Board. He has had many dealings with Town and City Councils, especially the Cape Town City Council.

On the taking over of the Control of Reserves and Mission stations from the Departments of Lands and Social Welfare and the Native Affairs Department, the Commissioner had this to say:- "This was a healthy step and could be regarded as a foundation for any development plans to be instituted for Coloureds as a whole". In fact, since April, 1952 the C.A.D. has assumed complete control of all Coloured affairs. The C.A.D. was very interested in taking over the complete administrative control of the Labour, Housing, Health and, of course, the Education of the Coloured people.

The C.A.D. is also eager to take over Coloured affairs from the Dept. of Education, Arts and Science, especially Physical Education and Adult Education. The following organisations have received financial aid through the C.A.D. : Eoan Group; Coloured Boy Scouts Organisation of South Africa; Athlone Amateur Boxing; and Physical Education Club; St. Mark's Community Centre Gymnasium.

It would seem that a start is being made with the appointment of Coloured Commissioners. This is evident from the proposed appointment of Coloured Clerks at Magistrates' Offices where a large Coloured population resides, to deal with Coloured affairs. These clerks will be seconded from the C.A.D. and attached to the Magistrate's Offices and be under the supervision of the Magistrates.

There is the further statement in the Report that "That Sub-Department is virtually (egter feitlik) an independent (self-standing) Department".

On the advice and recommendation of the C.A.D. licences are issued to Coloured

marriage / : : : . . .

marriage officers.

According to du Plessis's Report the "biggest complaint" from the Coloureds in the Transvaal is the mixed attendance at school of Coloureds and Indians. Regarding the other two Provinces, he had not yet had the "opportunity" to pay "Special attention" to the matter. Of words with such sinister implications the people will have to beware.

Du Plessis is also in constant touch with Transvaal Town and City Councils. With his assistance these Towns and Cities are busy rationalising and centralising Coloured locations on the Rand. Already in 1951 - 52 two "White" Conferences were held on the matter. His anti-Indian prejudices are evident in the question of so-called trading rights for Coloured people. The worst instance is at Kimberley

Du Plessis has also recommended that all Coloured Groups (such as the Griquas) on Government ground be brought under the control of the C.A.D. This was accepted by the Government in April, 1952.

On the important matter of controlling the rural Coloured population, du Plessis had recommended the amendment of the 1909 Mission Stations and Reserves Act. A consolidated Bill is being prepared by the C.A.D. It is hoped to have the Bill passed as urgently as possible. In addition he is toying with the idea of taking over under the Act on Unprofitable Occupations of Farms certain lands owned or occupied by certain Coloured families and groups.

All mission Stations, and eventually all Reserves for Coloured people, will be controlled by the C.A.D. In 1952 there were 6 Mission Stations and 4 Namaqualand Reserves under its control. These settlements are governed by regulations no whit less merciless and undemocratic than the regulations controlling African Reserves. Some of these are:-

- (a) The election of a Management Board which is answerable for all its actions to the C.A.D. The Superintendent of the Mission Station or Reserve is an employee of the C.A.D. and becomes Chairman of the Board or Raad. Copies of minutes of the Board must be submitted to the C.A.D. within 21 days of every meeting of the Board.
- (b) The Board may use, with the consent of the Commissioner, some of its funds for educational purposes. It may also, with C.A.D. consent, erect schools if the Provincial Administration is not prepared or compelled by law to build schools.
- (c) There is complete control of all trading. The consent of the Commissioner is required for every form of trading or trading licence.
- (d) No one not acceptable to the Board and the Commissioner may occupy land in a Reserve or Mission Station. No occupier may allow people to live with him (tenants) unless he has the written permission of the Board.
- (e) If a son of 21 who is single wishes to continue to live with his parents he must inform the Board. Any other dependent persons may live with an occupier with the consent of the Board.
- (f) Every would-be occupier must first seek the permission of the Commissioner and be recommended by the Board.
- (g) An occupier may with the consent of the Board keep a servant.
- (h) The Board decides whether a visitor may stay longer than 7 days. He must leave within 24 hours when ordered to do so.
- (i) The Board levies a tax of 10/- on all occupiers, dependants and servants.

Thus, Mr. Fataar concluded, we can see how steadily, in both urban and rural areas, the Coloured Counterpart of the Native Affairs Department is being ruthlessly brought into being. It remains for this conference to discuss how we are to employ the boycott weapon against the C.A.D. and its agents. We shall have to be on the Alert to counter all efforts to split the Anti-C.A.D. movement by the



Formation of Moslem Teacher Associations, Onderwysersbonds, Klaaskampe and so on.

Mr. A. Fataar then moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive:

THE COLOURED AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

That this Conference:

- (i) Reminds the country at large and in particular the Coloured People of the warnings issued by the Anti-C.A.D. Movement when it was founded in 1943, to the effect that the formation of the Coloured Advisory Council was inseparable from the formation of a Coloured Affairs Department, from the disfranchisement of the Coloured voters and the institution of separate "representation" on the model of "Native Representation";
- (ii) Reminds the Coloured People of the great struggles which they waged in order to maintain the independence of their organisations, to conduct the political struggle on two fronts, i.e. against the Herrenvolk and against its Coloured agents or quislings, and to implement the policy of non-collaboration through the use of the boycott weapon;
- (iii) Impresses upon the Coloured People the urgent necessity for intensifying the struggle against the Coloured Affairs Department which, despite the collapse of the Coloured Advisory Council, the failure of its C.P.N.U. and T.E.P.A. to gain support for the C.A.C. and C.A.D., and despite the Government's technical setbacks in connection with the disfranchisement, is trying, directly through agencies such as the Kleurlingvolksbond, the Moslem Teachers' Association, the Onderwysersbond, the Klaasjagersberg Camps, and indirectly through the United Party - and Liberal-sponsored ad hoc bodies such as the Fr.A.C. and S.A.C.P.O., to gain control of every aspect of the life of the Coloured People in the same totalitarian way as the Native Affairs Department regiments the life of the African People;
- (iv) Exhorts the Coloured People to boycott the C.A.D. and also to counter in every possible way its schemes, through its Commissioner and its paid and unpaid Coloured and other lackeys, to undermine their organisations, to divide them on "tribalistic" (i.e. "Griqua", "Namaqua", "Cape Malay") or provincial lines and, in particular, to manufacture and exploit religious differences as between so-called "Christian Coloured" and "Moslem Coloureds", to incite racial pogroms of Coloureds against Africans, "Malays" against Coloureds, and both Coloured and "Malay" against African and Indian.

CHAIRMAN: You will all agree that Mr. Fataar is to be thanked and highly complimented for the very excellent way he has dealt with this very very serious problem. I am going to ask the delegates who are in the public, kindly to take their places among the delegates here. I want them to show a sense of responsibility to the people. We are discussing matters that will affect the lives of a million people, where their whole lives are going to be changed, regimented and controlled by this C.A.D. It is necessary that they should be clear of the implications of the C.A.D. and the N.A.D. and they must go back to the country and explain to the people that they must have nothing to do with the C.A.D. Our movement cannot grow except through its constituent bodies. I would urge upon the delegates to be quite clear upon this. It is a serious matter and they must exercise a degree of responsibility entrusted to them. I shall now open discussion on this very very important subject. Unfortunately we have only about seventeen minutes.

Mr. Claude Noble: (Johannesburg.) I would like to thank Mr. Fataar for his very exhaustive address. I found myself so impatient that I felt as soon as possible the minutes of Conference should be made available to everybody, especially in the Transvaal, where we need the information that he has given us today to take across our political ideas to the people there. For one thing he mentioned that a lot of the Du Plessis people complained that Indian people were allowed in Coloured schools. We have a Teachers' Organisation in the Transvaal, unfortunately because of the political atmosphere the Indians do not come into the Teachers' Organisation, but such information as Mr. Fataar brought out, I feel, must eventually bring these people into the Teachers' Organisation. I particularly want to raise two points. The first one is the fact that the Coloured Affairs Department, Du Plessis and his agents, are very timid about the way in which they are trying to get the Coloured people to support the Coloured Affairs Department. They are scared of us and here I shall have to touch on what another speaker will deal with under the Coloured Education Commission. We see that, as Mr. Fataar pointed out, the Government are interested in controlling every aspect of the Coloured people's lives. Morrison in the Transvaal spoke at a Teachers' Meeting in Johannesburg and said that the Coloured Affairs Department refused to send a memo to the Coloured Education Commission. Another member said it would be interpreted as a political thing. We know that in the past the attack on the Teachers' Organisation has been that teachers bring politics into education. Now this Coloured quisling says openly at a meeting that the Government was scared that their actions would be interpreted as political. We see then why the C.A.D. organised the Klasjagersberg for people interested in sports. They must look for loopholes into which they can draw the Coloured people. Every kind of organisation can join our movement. It is from these organisations, such as sports organisations that the Government will draw their quislings. They are looking for every means to get the people to get the Coloured Affairs Department going. With regard to the Liberals boosting of the C.A.D., in Johannesburg we had to go to a meeting and here a Liberal thanked Morrison and said at one time we would like to ask Dr. du Plessis himself to come along. The Liberals use the organisations they control to draw Coloured people into working the C.A.D. Mr. Fataar said Conference should consider means of boycotting the C.A.D. It is not a matter of boycotting it only, we must expose Liberals. Another way the Government are trying to get Coloured people to support them is that people on the Rand every day are being forced out of their houses and being shifted out of the town. These people are forced, they believe, to accept any houses available, and so they go to people in the Non-European Affairs Department etc., and ask them to provide them with houses. He refuses a definite guarantee and explains that they must go to the C.A.D. and get group areas for Coloured people and then sit down in a given area. On all fronts the C.A.D. are trying to control every aspect of Coloured people's lives. We must take up the struggle of the people on every front. We must stress the idea of looking at every aspect of affairs as a whole, and to fight as a whole.

Chairman: We shall have to come to the end of this part of our agenda. I think all of you have understood the meaning of the C.A.D. and I am sure that you agree with all the important points raised in the Resolutions. Let me emphasise three things. First that they have failed with the C.P.N.U. etc., etc., These are weak and they are fully aware of it.

They have not been able to draw the people behind them through their sponsored organisations such as the U.P. Liberals, Nationalists and quislings. They are now trying to penetrate the organisations that have associated with AntiCAD in the last few years. They will infiltrate into the people's organisations to draw the people behind their plans. This is a thing we must be on guard against. Your organisations must be purged of all quislings. You must be on guard against this inevitable development that will take place. George Van der Ross has been trying to work in Lansdowne and this is their new method of attack. The purpose of the C.A.D. and its agencies is to provoke and create the atmosphere of the pogrom spirit and look upon each other as enemies. I think you will all agree that you know what it means and will go back and report and deepen your work not only in the towns but in the country areas, everywhere. Mr. Fataar has moved this Resolution and I want to second it? Miss H.R. Luckay of Griqualand West seconds it and I put it to the Conference?

(The Resolution was unanimously carried.)

Before adjourning I want you to be sure to come early because we have two visitors, Mr. Landman, who will deal with the subject of education and the stunting of our children's minds and a discussion on the National Situation by Mr. Tsotsi.

THE MEETING ADJOURNED

---

THE DE VOS MALAN COMMISSION: BY MR. F. LANDMAN.

It is now ten years since I first heard the now notorious words of Langham Dale quoted at a T.L.S.A. Conference. As early as 1889 he had said: "The first duty of the Government has been assumed to be to recognise the position of the European colonists as holding the paramount influence, social and political; and to see that the sons and daughters of the Colonists, and those who come hither to throw in their lot with them, should have at least such an education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local modifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in the land". I recall this merely to indicate that all hitherto existing systems of government have always used education to ensure the continuation of the system. As a result of this understanding of the interrelation of politics and education and the clear political lead given by the ANTI-C.A.D. Movement eleven years ago, there was the combat between the old opportunist leadership of the T.L.S.A. and a group of young men who brought into the teachers' organisation a crystal clear conception of the role which an organisation of teachers of the oppressed should play in the liberatory movement. Thus was ushered in the New Road Policy of the major Coloured teachers organisation. The Coloured teachers have recently been joined by the African teachers in the Cape, and there are signs that teacher organisations in other provinces will soon reach an understanding of the politics of education.

For ten years we have taught that the disabilities from which education for Non-Europeans suffers are not the result of ignorance of our needs as C.A.C.-men tried to teach, but flow from a carefully conceived and executed plan. This plan is designed to enslave the minds of the Non-Europeans. That there has been even this measure of education, poor and miserable as it is, is the result of one of the contradictions with which the Herrenvolk has to contend. Modern economy demands a certain measure of literacy and this literacy they have sought to give us by the Langham Dale plan. Education for the Non-Whites in South Africa, as indeed for people everywhere, has always been a political matter which is in turn determined by the economic requirements of the rulers of the country. In South Africa the education is the result of the colour-bar economic structure and has aimed at the continuation of that structure of cheap super-exploited Non-White labour.

Since this has always been the case we must now ask ourselves why there has been created the need for a reorganisation of education, why there has

been in such rapid succession the three commissions, the De Villiers Commission to bring education for White children "to a first class democratic state system", the Eiselen Commission and the De Vos Malan Commissions to completely enslave the minds of the African and Coloured respectively.

To answer this question we must look at the background, national and international, against which the Commissions were called into being. The cessation of World War II called into existence unprecedented struggles by the colonial slaves to throw off the yoke of imperialism, struggles which raged in Asia, the Middle East, North and East Africa. At home the Herrenvolk have had equally great shocks. The past decade has seen significant changes in the political situation in South Africa. All over the Union the political awareness of the people has grown and some sections of the Herrenvolk, particularly the Liberals, have been particularly frightened by the patient, consistent and principled methods by which our movement has educated the people politically over the past decade.

Together with the struggles of the colonial peoples in other parts of the world, and the rising consciousness of the Non-Europeans in South Africa, there is a third factor which has made the Herrenvolk reorganisation of African and Coloured education necessary. That is the increased demand for cheap labour occasioned by the opening of the Free State mines and the uranium mines, plus the additional fact that, chiefly because of the preparation for intensified exploitation of the Africans further North, it has become necessary for the Federation countries to prohibit Africans from their territories from entering the Union to work on the mines. Another indication of how the Herrenvolk are seeking to satisfy this increased demand for cheap labour is the Du Plessis announcement of an SSB labour-camp for Coloured youths, which will ostensibly solve the "skolly problem", but which will in practise provide a reservoir and training camp for cheap labour.

It is interesting to note here what an important factor education has been in the imperialist exploitation of the colonial world. Because we in South Africa are chiefly exploited by British imperialism, the following UNESCO figures on illiteracy in Colonial countries ruled by Britain are given.

In India 85% of the population is illiterate, in Pakistan 80%, in Malaya 76%, in the West Indies 75%, in Kenya 94%, in Nyasaland 99%, in the Gold Coast 82%, in Nigeri 90% and in South Africa 92% (of the Non-European population.)

These figures show that our position is far from unique. Lest we think that educational starvation is a purely British device, it is as well to point out that in Italian Somaliland 99% are illiterate and in the Belgian Congo 97% of the people are illiterate.

With regard to the De Vos Malan Commission, its findings have already been indicated by its terms of reference and by the findings of the Eiselen Commission whose report has now become the Bantu Education Act. This Act we denounce as a vicious scheme for the tribalisation and ecomplete enslavement of the minds of the Africans. When the Eiselen Commission was appointed we knew from the established practice of the Herrenvolk to deal piecemeal with the Non-Europeans that Coloured Education would also have its Commission, just as the ANTI-C.A.D. warned in advance that the C.A.C. would lead to the Coloured Affairs Department on the pattern of the Native Affairs Department, and that the Coloured males would be disfranchised as the Africans in the Cape were in 1936. We have therefore no doubt that the De Vos Malan Commission will make recommendations for Coloured Education which will be almost identical with the infamous recommendations made for African Education by the Eiselen Commission. The De Vos Malan Commission is part of the master plan to regiment the Coloured community through the agency of the C.A.D. To quote the President of the T.L.S.A. (1) The De Vos Malan Commission will in the first place propose the transfer of Coloured Education from the Provincial control to the special sub-Department of the Central Government which was instituted solely for the purpose of directing and controlling every aspect of the lives of the Coloured People. (2) With the Disfranchisement of the Coloured people finally effected and the Coloured people completely removed from the body-politic of the country, I can envisage

the imposition for the Coloured Community of a similar system of special taxation (poll tax) to pay for their education and other social services, as is the case with African people. (3) The Commission in its zeal will discover 'Christian Coloured', 'Moslem Coloured', 'Slightly Coloured', 'Griqua', and 'Namaqua' all crying for recognition as aparte groups, each with its own 'Traditional' form of 'Cape Coloured culture', its own peculiar cultural needs and customs.

In regard to the content of "Coloured Education", Mr. Van Schoor, whom I have just quoted, had this to say: "... the terms of reference of the Commission leave no doubt in our minds as to the pernicious schemes which will be hatched out in the name of 'curricula' and 'Courses of Study' for Coloured children."

Professional Herrenvolk psychologists have excelled themselves in proving how far beyond the reach of the Non-European minds are the ordinary courses of study followed by the European child. Now the Commission will, in keeping with the Herrenvolk ideology which it serves, recommend a "Non-Academic, Non-technical, Non-vocational" "Course of study". To the traditional three R's, small in our case, will be added the Big R. for religious instruction, plus handwork, handicrafts, physical education and singing. In short, the type of education which the Commission will recommend will be one which will meet the minimum requirements of bare literacy, in accordance with the type of labour which the Coloured workers will have to supply.

Non-European education will therefore be so reorganised as to intensify the situation which has existed for many years, to split the people into tribal and ethnic and religious groups, to teach all sections to hate each other. The De Vos Malan Commission, like the Eiselen Commission, is a scheme to further a system of education for slavery, racial hatred and pogroms. Immediately, the Herrenvolk will attack and victimise militant teachers, as already indicated in the Bantu Education Act.

We have to some extent already created the machinery to combat the educational side of Herrenvolk oppression, through our Parent-Teacher-Associations, through the Federal Council of Non-European Teachers, and through the wider and ever wider spread of our ideas among the people.

Everywhere we pose our positive plans for education: A full, free, democratic, state education free from racialism, inferiority and the doctrine of racial superiority, an education for children in schools which all "races" can attend. We teach that the educational problem can only be solved through the solution of the political problem, that a full, free, democratic, state education can only come from full and equal citizenship.

We reject categorically all aspects of inequality, educational, political, social and economic. We reject in advance the De Vos Malan Commission Report. We demand full democracy in education, as in all spheres of our lives.

I take great pleasure in introducing the following resolution:

---

THURSDAY: EVENING SESSION:

Coloured Education Commission - introduced by Landman.

DISCUSSION:

V. Wessels (Cape Flats Anti-C.A.D. Committee)

From what Mr. Landman has said this evening and Mr. Fataar earlier, it is clear that Coloured education will be placed under the control of the C.A.D. An important statement was made by Mr. Fataar: that since du Plessis could not gain control of the urban areas, he turned his attention to the rural areas. It is not accidental that mission stations and reserves come in for his special attention because the people there have been under the domination of the missions for so long.

I was reading through an unpublished diary of one of the missionaries. The translation was begun but ceased and left in German, and it is not surprising because this particular missionary was very honest. The first point he made was that on the advice of the Duke of Caledon they chose a certain site in the western province and the said Duke selected a spot because some of the "Hottentots" in that area were inclined to be rebellious and he felt that the missionaries could improve relations. After he had been there for about 2 years a revolt broke out between the Khoikhoi tribes. A large section of the inhabitants of the mission station joined the revolt. He said that fortunately it happened that there was slight earth tremor and he used this to say that God was expressing his disapproval and in this way the rebellion was quelled. He was visited by the Duke and congratulated on his successful work. So we can see that right from the inception, the missionaries set about enslaving the minds of the people in these areas, and this tradition which the missionaries set up of demanding implicit subservience, du Plessis found very useful.

Before the Mission Lands and Missionary Reserves Act of 1909 was enforced the whole administration of mission stations was vested in the missionaries and they set up committees of residents of the station known as the "opsieners konferensie"; and it was apparent that for a very long time there was a lot of struggle against the missionaries because of the way in which they were regimenting the people and turning them into people who would bow and scrape, and this persisted until 1920 up to which time the missionaries remained the main force in control of the stations. In 1920 the administration was taken over by the N.A.D. and later, under Lawrence, by the Department of the Interior. Since 1952 they have been under the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs.

It is interesting to see that the churches who had the controlling influence in mission stations submitted evidence to the De Vos Malan Commission. They tried to be very clever but they cannot bluff anybody. They first of all say that the missions are the traditional and natural home of the Coloureds. Then they say that the Coloureds are in no way inferior to anybody and should have the same rights. But they agree that his education is too academic and they say that it would be useful to provide children with agricultural training. They say that they should increase the money given to churches for education. They suggest that they should have agricultural schools since the people live in rural communities. What they are saying, in fact, is that here you have rural group areas, and here are conditions which would justify this special education for Coloureds. These will, therefore be the first places where they will try to implement the recommendations of the commission. The fact that du Plessis has been very active in entrenching himself in the mission stations shows that they hope that here they will have the administrative machinery with which they hope to enforce the act. The effect of this will be to build up the segregation under which the people live, and through the tradition laid down by the missionaries, other schemes can be made workable.

It is time we made more consistent and more deliberate attempts to work in these areas. Some of our people have become too complacent in these areas. They have accepted these opsieners boards all the time and have never really taken notice of the Village Management Boards and the Superintendants appointed by du Plessis. They sneer at the people in these boards and take them as du Plessis' men but make no attempt to boycott them. We should point out to these people that they have a very important responsibility in exposing these schemes to the people.

#### A. Slingers ( S. Peninsula Anti-C.A.D.)

It has always been the proud boast of the Herrenvolk in this country that as far as education is concerned the system of segregation has always been complete. They claim that in all other spheres they have not been successful but in education they have succeeded in working out the pattern of apartheid which has been applied right throughout from primary to high school. But this time, despite their claim, they find it necessary to cut down even further and make more restrictions. The important question is: why? But the answer is not very far to seek. This afternoon we had some indication of the motive behind the de Vos Malan Commission. We have to view it as the converse side of the political attack being launched on the Non-European oppressed. We have seen it happening among the Africans. So we see that the whole thing forms part and parcel of the position in which the Herrenvolk

finds it self, compelled to seek cheap labour, compelled to go further than it has before, and to come out with the de Vos Malan Commission.

This morning and this afternoon speakers made reference to the S.S.B. . It is a point worthwhile mentioning that this S.S.B. is the first instalment of one of the recommendations of the de Vos Malan Commission. These labour camps will provide a training ground for labour which is to go out for the farmers and the mines. We, as non-white oppressed, have to understand that we have to counter the educational attack being launched on us, not merely by trying to put forward in our classrooms a different outlook, but by trying to link up outside with other sections of the people. We have to find an answer to the Commission and see that inside the organisations of the people where we work we give the lie to the de Vos Malan Commendations.

Dr. T.B. Davie said on his return from America recently that there is a tendency today among Negroes to enter universities in America and there have been no harmful results from internixture and there is growing evidence that people are beginning to lose their prejudices. What was he trying to imply? That Cape Town university would keep its portals open to Non-Europeans? He was merely trying to offer an apology for the way in which Malan blundered at Stellenbosch. For a long time they have been worried about the position at universities where they have not been able to enforce segregation. But they are slowly moving in that direction. And I think the danger of that has been pointed out time and time again. They will then try to create a type of intellectual after the pattern of Nkrumah and Nehru, who will be so steeped with Herrenvolk ideas that he will be completely divorced from the people. We must be aware of this attempt to extend segregation right through to the university level.

Anthony (P.T.A.: Grassy Park)

Mr. Slingers has harped for the second time on the matter of cheap labour. It has not really been a great problem to the Non-Europeans because they have provided cheap labour for so many years. I don't think the Commission is directed towards getting cheap labour. The Herrenvolk is perturbed by the great strides made by the Non-Europeans over the years. They find that the people are imbued with the spirit of freedom and the only way in which they can check that spirit is by a separate kind of education. They find that it is the only way in which they can safeguard white civilisation which they want to leave as an heirloom for their children. For this reason they have thought of the new educational commission because the present education will not serve as it has not checked the spirit of freedom. I am rather taken back to an illustration which a speaker used when he said that they wanted that the head of a Coloured person must be a little stripe (?) and the body must be big with muscles, and they want to give the kind of education that will bring that about. They are not so worried about cheap labour.

C. Pieterse (Cape Flats Educational Fellowship)

Mr. Anthony made the remark that Mr. Slingers was harping on one string but later in his talk he gave the lie to his own assertion when he said that the de Vos Malan Commission was there to devise a scheme which would turn the minds of the Non-Europeans from liberation. Partly, that is true, but when he uses the illustration of a small mind and a vast body he showed that that vast body is necessary for what Mr. Slingers said. The Herrenvolk constantly have in mind the question of labour. You could take the Langendale statement further right up to today to show that labour, vast reserves of cheap labour, is the main consideration of the Herrenvolk. Education is designed to prepare the European for a place in a dominant society and for the African, in an inferior, subservient society; plainly a masterservant relationship of worker and exploiter. In 1932 de Vos Malan said that education should serve one aim and that aim was to prepare the European child for his future position as master. And the present Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. Meiring, made the same statement about two months ago.

I was always a bit confused about the term S.S.B. Somebody suggested it meant Soldaatjies-sonder-baatjies. After what speakers have said I have/

I have come to the conclusion that it stands for studente-sonder-boeke. That is exactly the type of education which the Herrenvolk wants to deal out to the Non-European. The same enslavement of the mind that the missionaries started about 300 years ago is being continued.

The Non-European, despite the kind of education dealt out to them, progressed, and it is because of this and because of their labour requirements the the Herrenvolk have seen fit to devise a new system of education. But the whole thing is snowballing on them. And the momentum of the snowball is too great. The minds in motion have to be cut off from one of the sources of their motion. Never the less, the Non-European have progressed and still progress, and that is why the educational demand in the Ten Point Programme of the Anti-C.A.D. is the second point on the programme; and that is no mistake, as much as the franchise as the first point on the programme is no mistake. The resolution demands, full, free, state education of the Non-Europeans, but here we see something that might lead to some confusion. The education of the Non-European, which was to a large extent administered by the missionaries, will probably be transferred to the C.A.C. People will say: this is what you have been clamouring for. Why not now accept it? That would be to overlook the fact that the C.A.D. is a Herrenvolk department of state and not a department of state in a democratic society. The C.A.D. will dole out segregatory education in a much more efficient way than has been done by the missionaries.

What is being done by the Non-Europeans themselves to give battle to the Herrenvolk in their plans and their war on the education of the Non-Europeans? The Queenstown Teachers' Conference passed a resolution which reflects the way in which the progressive teachers see the battle and have decided to wage battle. In our communities much work is being done by the virile P.T.A.s. Because they have their sources in the progressive liberatory movement, they constitute some of the organisations which link the teachers and other people, which can constantly put forward the demands of the Anti-C.A.D. and Unity Movement and have been instrumental in defeating many of the plans of the Herrenvolk. Because the initial onslaught which was made on the teachers was to try to intimidate them. Teachers were dismissed on the most trumpery of charged and in all cases these were teachers in the progressive movement. But through the P.T.A.s we have found that it is possible to defeat the purpose of the Herrenvolk and that if we can give battle here we can successfully wage battle against the C.A.D. The recent examples when teachers were victimised in the Cape and Transvaal has shown what can be done by the P.T.A.s and the work of P.T.A.s in connection with school committees in which parents can still have some say in school affairs.

W.P. van Schoor ( President. T.L.S.A.)

I wanted to raise the question of the threat or promise of Dr. Malan to clear out Non-European students from the lily-white Herrenvolk universities and to establish kitchen universities, but as Mr. Slingers has already dealt with the matter I shall not go over it. I think though that we should voice our condemnation of this threat and I would like to propose a short resolution to be incorporated in the one already moved.

This conference further:

(a) condemns etc.

(Incorporation of this addition was agreed to by conference.)

Mr. van Schoor seconded the full resolution which was passed unanimously.

---



THE NATIONAL SITUATION

Introduced by: Mr. W.M. Tsotsi (President, All-African Convention.

I have to thank the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee for asking me to introduce this discussion to-night. Fifteen years ago it would not have been possible for an African to address the Coloured people at a conference like this. To-day, because of the work that the Anti-C.A.D. has been doing during the last eleven years, the position is different. I am able to stand before you to-night, not as a stranger, but as one of you, as a fighter in the common struggle against Herrenvolkism. For during the last eleven years we have evolved the ten-Point Programme as the only competent criterion whereby to judge friend or foe. I stand here to-night, therefore, on the basis of the Ten-Point Programme. The All-African Convention and the Anti-C.A.D. are the pillars on which the Non-European Unity Movement rests on the firm foundation of the Ten-Point Programme. I am, therefore, here as a constant reminder, perhaps even as a symbol, of the greater movement to which all of us belong.

The Anti-C.A.D. is not the army of liberation. It is only a division in that army. It is no doubt a very important division, but from the Herrenvolk point of view, the Coloured people are not the most important division, judging from the concentration of fire on the African section. I regard that as most important and for that reason, and because I am firmly convinced that the struggle of one section is also the struggle of the other sections, because I believe in the unity of the struggle and the indivisibility of oppression, if I quote instances from the African section, it is not because I have forgotten the nature of my audience. It is because the reverses of the Africans are equally the reverses of the other sections and the Africans' victories are also the victories of the other Non-Europeans.

The first question that comes to mind is: What is the National Situation? The Herrenvolk have a problem and that is how to dominate the Non-Whites for all time. The Non-Whites, on the other hand, have their problem and that is how to end White domination, and it is the conflict between these aims that constitutes the national situation in the political sense. It is important for us to study the schemes and laws of the Herrenvolk because these form part of the objective situation which must determine the weapons we must use in the struggle. As Mr. I.B. Tabata, in "The Rehabilitation Scheme" (published by the A.A.C.) has stated: "The more clearly we grasp the workings of the forces ranged against us, the more clearly we grasp their real nature and their full implications, the better prepared we are to evolve just those weapons essential to a determined and successful resistance."

Now when we study the ruling-class laws we find that they fit into a general pattern of oppression. It is most important to get the key to this pattern, namely that Herrenvolk seek to divide the Non-Whites for the purpose of exploiting their labour. We must realise that segregation is not an end in itself but a technique of oppression. All parties since Union have subscribed to this policy. And what we are confronted with to-day is an intensification of that policy for the sake of exploitation.

Deception and Coercion.

It is not my purpose to deal with how domination and exploitation became possible. Suffice it to say that both force and deception were used as instruments of subjugation. There was the military subjugation made possible by the divide-and-rule policy, and ending in the chiefs becoming the paid servants of the Government. There was the wrenching of the African intellectuals from the masses and roping them in to assist in the deception of the people. There was a process of mental enslavement through education, etc. But now we have come to a stage where the Non-European intellectuals have discovered this deception. They are going back to their own people and are becoming centres of resistance to oppression. The Herrenvolk reply to this by attempting to crush them and by reviving the corpse of tribalism and breathing some kind of life into the wizened body of chieftainship. More than this, we are witnessing the tribalisation not only of the African section but of the whole Non-European group.

Circumstances Leading to Intensification of Exploitation in recent years.

During and since the war years there has been a rapid growth of industry and a greater shortage of labour. The discovery of the new gold mines necessitates a great deal of cheap labour, but the shortage has been made more acute by the formation of the Central African Federation, especially when you consider that over 50% of the labour on the mines comes from beyond the borders of the Union. Thus the Herrenvolk is becoming hysterical in its demand for more cheap labour and desperate in its methods.

(Here the speaker quoted from the Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs, recently released, to indicate the acuteness of the labour shortage. For lack of space quotations are abbreviated.)

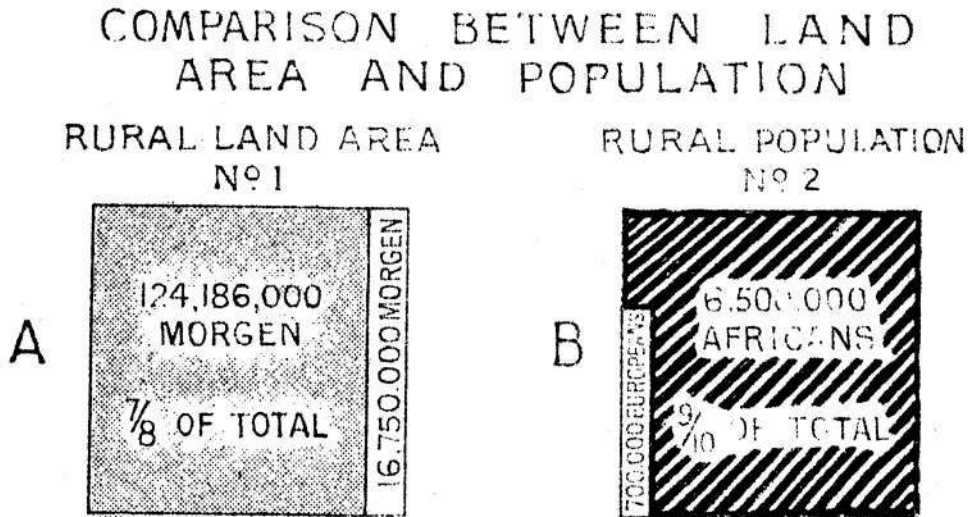
"I wish to draw attention to the fact that the Union's sources of labour are not inexhaustible. The demand for labour in our neighbouring states has increased to such an extent that these states are now taking measures to restrict the movement of their Natives to the Union. This step will make our shortage of labour even more acute and in order to ease the position more attention will inter alia have to be given to the large number of work-shy Natives who contribute little or nothing towards the development of the country. Up to now these work-shy Natives have chiefly been those who were none too keen to part with the easy, idle life enjoyed especially by men in primitive Bantu society. During the last decade their ranks have been swelled by many young Natives who lead a parasitical existence in the cities because they are not prepared to do manual labour. These Natives will have to realise that if they are to share in the increased prosperity accompanying the rapid development of the country, they too will have to do their share by doing an honest day's work ..... I feel that much can be done by the authorities to assist the Bantu by adapting education to meet the requirements of the Bantu as a community".

I want to emphasise certain points in that statement. First, the reference to "work-shy Native". That refers to the very, very small percentage of Africans in the Reserves who still have a plot of ground which they can plough and few cattle which they can rear without having to go out to work on the mines and farms. The intention of the Secretary for Native Affairs is clear. It is an intensification of the Rehabilitation scheme.

(Here the speaker briefly outlined the Scheme which is depriving the Africans of their stock on the ground that the Reserves are over-stocked.)

I have brought to-night some diagrams which will show clearly that it is nonsensical to talk of Africans in the Reserves having too much stock and that the problem is really over-population and lack of land.

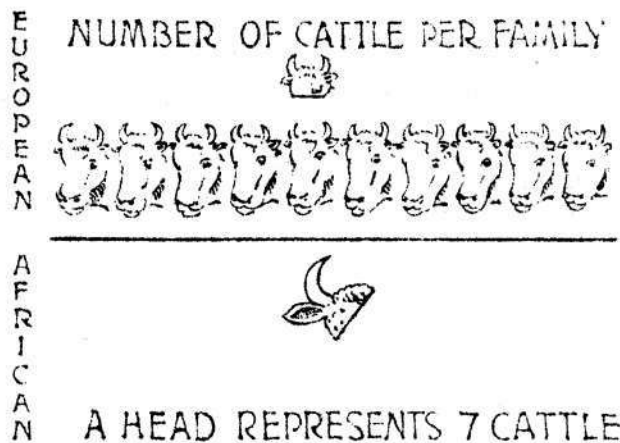
Diagram 1.



- A ..... Total land area.
- B ..... Total land population.
- Yellow ..... Number of White farmers.
- Black ..... African rural population.
- Green ..... Land occupied by White farmers.
- Red ..... Land occupied by African peasants.

This picture, B. shows you the number of Africans in rural areas and the picture, A. the amount of land occupied by Africans in comparison with that occupied by Whites. Thus it becomes clear that the problem of the Reserves is the problem of land.

Diagram 2.



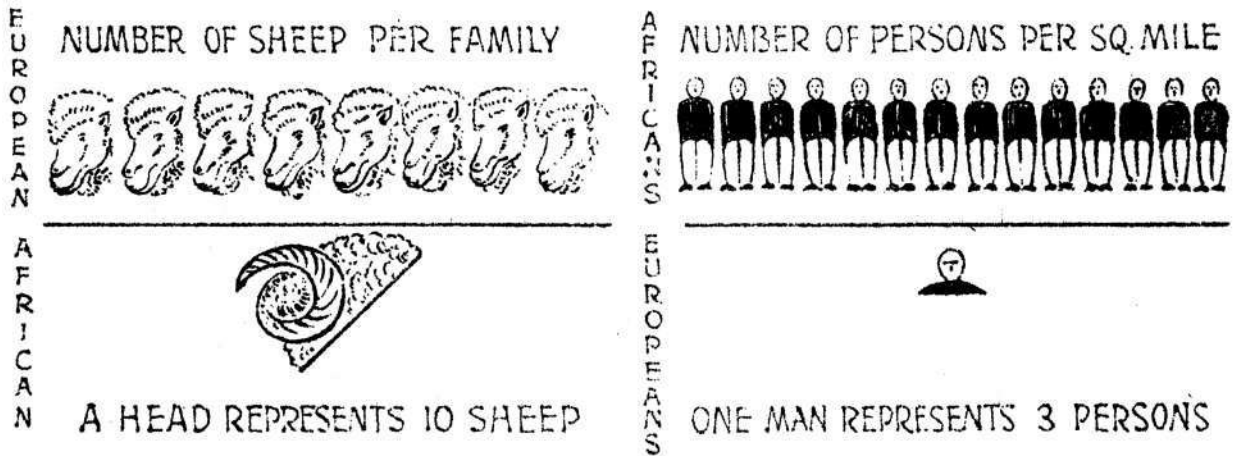
This indicates the number of cattle owned by Africans as compared with those owned by White farmers.

Group 1..... Number of cattle owned by .....

Group 2..... Number of cattle owned by .....

As you see, the Black man has only a horn and an ear. In other words, no cattle at all. It shows again that it is not a question of overstocking, but of overpopulation. There are not enough cattle to meet the requirements of the people. Milk is a luxury and babies actually die from lack of milk in the rural areas.

Diagram 3.



This indicates the number of sheep owned by Africans as compared with those owned by White farmers. Here you see that there are 80 sheep per White family as compared with 5 sheep per African family. This picture speaks louder than words. The problem is landlessness. It is clear that the first necessity is the redistribution of land. Viewed in this light the Rehabilitation Scheme is revealed as a fraud. It can only result in creating more landlessness so that the Africans will become chattel slaves.

Now as to that passage in the Report of the Secretary for Native Affairs where he refers to "young Natives who lead a parasitical existence in the cities". We all know that what he is really after is the more thorough regimentation and control of Africans in the towns for better exploitation as a labour force. Here are some figures to show you the number of Africans removed from the towns through the labour bureaux system, the Government's chief recruiting agent: In less than one year the labour bureau forced 5000 Africans out of Cape Town. In less than one year, in Johannesburg, 25,000 removed from urban areas and sent to labour centres. And you have every reason to be suspicious of these S.S.B. schools. The idea is not new. When the U.P. was in power, the African Utility Corporation, a similar scheme for Africans, was devised, to send youths to camps for alleged schooling, part of which entails work for farmers at 6d. a day, which is kept until they leave, the interest accruing therefrom being retained by the Corporation. The present Government has made it clear that it has the same purpose for African children. Under the new system of education children will not go beyond Std. II. and S.S.B.s will be created for them. The position is very serious indeed. In the towns the African has no right to accommodation at all. It is given to him and can be taken away at the will of some official, and on the ground simply that the man is out of employment.

Finally, a very significant statement in the above-mentioned Report concerns education. He says, in effect, that it must be adapted to meet the requirements of the labour market. We know that the Bantuisation of education is aimed at the enslavement of the mind, so that we can accept the position of inferiority.

### Resistance to Oppression.

Now side by side the growth of the shortage of labour during and after the war there has grown the resistance of the Non-European, the Non-European liberatory movement. I will refer briefly to the evidence of this growth of unrest among the Non-Europeans. First, the creation of the Anti-C.A.D. itself. It was a symptom of the political development of the Non-Whites. Also the turning of the All-African Convention on to the new road of struggle and the formation of the Non-European Unity Movement by the Anti-C.A.D and the All-African Convention. Then also the unrest in industry; the strikes, even one on the gold mines, and in the African educational institutions. All these, as well as the growth of independence movements in Asia and the infiltration of liberatory ideas into this country, made it quite clear to the rulers that a strong government was required. It was the objective situation, not just some chance, that brought the Nationalists to power during the last five years, a government that would not scruple to use the mailed fist against the people. It is the failure to understand this that leads to the blunders of the African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress. The leadership never believed that the Defiance campaign would bring liberation to the Non-Europeans. It was a stunt, in fact a U.P. election stunt in order to show that the Nationalists were no longer able to control the situation, and that is why it received such publicity in the U.P. press. If these people had studied the situation they would have realised that it was the necessity to deal with the Non-Europeans who had become militant that brought about the return of the Nationalists to power.

### Indivisibility of Oppression.

One thing that the intensification of racial segregation by the Nationalists has done is to underline the indivisibility of oppression of all Non-White groups. The Anti-C.A.D. and the All-African Convention have for the last 11 years been trying to drive this lesson home to the Non-European people; that the rulers have the same schemes for all of us, the purpose of which is the exploitation of labour. The fact that one scheme goes by one name when it is applied to the Coloureds and by another when it is applied to the Africans goes for nothing; we must look at the purpose underlying them. It is only now becoming clear to some Coloured people that dispossession is not limited to the Africans, that through the Group Areas they themselves are being dispossessed. Similarly, when the Africans were deprived of their male vote in 1936 it was not clear to many that the same dispossession of rights would also become their lot. But the Nationalists have come out with the Separate Representation of Voters' Bill which seeks to deprive the Coloured people of the adult male franchise. And also the Rehabilitation Scheme, the placing of people in villages; the same thing is happening to the Coloured people when they are being placed under housing schemes where they will have no rights but be reduced to chattels subject to the whims of municipal officials, and which will provide ready sources of cheap labour. The same thing is happening in education, the same indoctrination of inferiority. Thus the interests of all Non-Europeans are identical. This is the lesson - the unity of all oppressed, which the Anti-C.A.D has taught the Coloured people during the last eleven years, and with very great success. But on the contrary the Herrenvolk are seeking every means of disrupting this unity. They are seeking to create race riots among the groups and we must be on the look-out for this.

The resistance of the Non-Whites to oppression is being met with ever-increasing oppressive measures. Every day they are being denied democracy and being put beyond the pale of the law. I need hardly give instances of this. The Suppression of Communism Acts meant not only for the suppression of communism but also of the Non-European liberatory movement and of the Trade Union movement. Then there is the Proclamation of 1953 which makes it illegal for Africans in the Reserves to hold meetings without the prior written consent of the Native Commissioner and the chief headman in the area. It is significant that the Herrenvolk has tried to clamp down on the Africans in the Reserves. It shows the militancy of the Africans in the country. For those working in these areas it has become a very difficult problem indeed to pass on the ideas of the movement because of this law. There are all those fascistic measures which make it quite clear that the Herrenvolk will

not scruple /

not scruple to deprive Non-Whites of their rights. In fact the existence of the law-courts themselves has become virtually unnecessary. You will have heard of the banishment of the African fighters, Molifi and Saliwe under a law which enables the Minister of Native Affairs to banish whole tribes of Africans and individual Africans from their homes without the semblance of a trial. These people committed no crime; they were not told why they were banished. The investigation was carried out solely on the basis of secret reports and they were not given the right to appeal to any court of law. The important thing to bear in mind is not whether or not there were good reasons for banishment, but that these people are placed beyond the pale of the law and left without any legal remedy. This is the position to which the Non-Europeans as a whole are being driven by the Herrenvolk.

#### Introduction of Tribalism into Towns and Industry.

I know that many people here are not surprised by talk of tribalisation in relation to Africans, because they are under the impression that in fact it exists for Africans. I want to tell you that in fact there is no such thing. It is a thing of the past. As I said before, it was destroyed deliberately and insidiously by the impact of the industrial system. When you hear talk of chiefs, these are not chiefs by blood but persons who have been placed there by the Government. In this way it is trying to control and regiment the labour of the Non-Europeans. And they are applying the same process to the Coloured people as well. Instead of chiefs they may call them township mayons, but their function will be the same. In plain fact there is no tribalism among Africans and the peasants in the Reserves are not deceived. They realise that these are policemen-chiefs, and that realisation has cut across the whole tribal system. The Government is building up a machinery foreign to tribalism for the purpose of controlling, dominating, exploiting the African people. So when I speak of tribalism I speak of it as a policy which is being applied to all sections of the Non-White people.

Regarding the Bantu Education Act, it is very interesting the amount of reliance the Government is placing on it. I quote again from the Report of the Secretary of Native Affairs: "In establishing the Bantu authorities the aim is to extend the traditional Bantu system, which functioned effectively within the framework of primitive Bantu economy and culture, and that it would also be effective under the new economic and cultural conditions under which the Bantu live to-day." In other words, they are trying to import outmoded tribal forms into the industrial era and to keep alive tribal ideas of subservience which are useful to them in the industrial environment. We know that they are trying to do the impossible, to put the new wine of industrialisation into the old bottle of tribalism. The new vintage will burst the bottles. But that is no reason why we should fold our hands and say: "Alles sal reg kom". The real danger lies in the importing of ideas and attitudes of the past into the present situation. We still have to fight those ideas of subservience. You must know that outmoded ideas continue on long after the material conditions for their existence have passed.

I have said that the Herrenvolk intends to extend tribalism to all Non-Europeans, not only in the rural areas but in the towns, and I want to illustrate the danger of this to all. They are trying to import it into industry as well. I have here a statement on the working of labour bureaux, which shows the danger of this idea of a return to tribalism. It is from a survey taken by the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Germiston Municipality, Transvaal. An investigation was made into the working conditions and aptitudes of Africans in the town. It says:

"A survey, aiming at relating the district of origin of the industrial worker to the type of work being done by him, was undertaken in order to investigate a theory that workers from particular districts had a group preference for particular types of employment. This survey covered the Germiston area's full labour complement of 35,000 workers and confirmed the "group preferences" did exist. These findings subsequently proved to be of invaluable assistance in placing those workers who were unable to stake a claim to a particular type of employment by virtue of previous experience. So, for instance, if it was known that a considerable number of workers from one area were employed at a particular type of work, it was safe to assume that any new arrival from the same area would be at home, and a contented

and steady /

and steady performer, if placed in the same industry as the other workers from his area ..... On the whole "the Bapedi, Souther Sotho and Ndebele groups were found to possess the highest industrial potential; with the Zulu, Tswana and Xosa, in that order, the least suitable". Thus an attempt is being made to employ workers on an ethnic basis, so that in future we may expect to find some factories in which only Xosas work, and so on. Even at the present time there is segregation in factories between different groups of Non-Europeans. I will read a portion of a statement by Mr. G.E. Williamson on multi-racial employment:

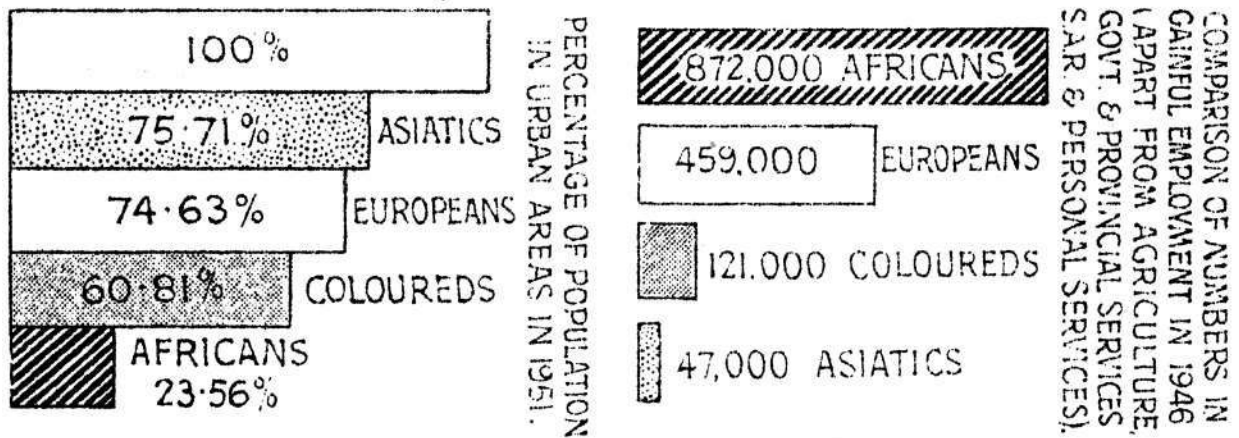
"It is normally impracticable to employ workers of different races side by side, and in direct competition. The usual practice is for a factory to employ either all Indians or all Coloureds or all Natives on any particular class of work, though the same work may be undertaken by workers of a different race or colour in an adjacent factory. If the available working-class population does not suffice to permit of strict adherence to this practice, different shops, or at least different shop areas suitably screened off must be set aside for the carrying out of work by members of each race."

There you have at present the application of this tribalism in industry, so that it would be dangerous for us to think of this as something far and distant from us.

I see the time is up and it is desperately late. I would have liked to have rounded off my talk under the heading: "What are people doing about oppression?" As it is nearly closing time I must content myself with telling you that in the country the peasants are opposing the Rehabilitation Scheme and the implementation of the Bantu Authorities Act. If you go to the country and look in the magistrates offices you will see that prevalent offences which have been created are: the refusal to produce stock for culling, cutting of fences and destroying works, refusal to obey chiefs and Native Commissioners, failing to dip stock, assaulting and threatening to assault chiefs and other officials, holding meetings illegally, etc. There is a great deal of victimization and terrorisation in the rural areas. You will have read that Trust Officials were assaulted and of the long terms of imprisonment imposed. There are many other such cases which indicate the determination of the peasants to fight these schemes.

A Plea for the Unity of Town and Country.

I want to refer to a diagram showing the percentage of Africans of the population in urban areas.



|                            |        |          |           |          |
|----------------------------|--------|----------|-----------|----------|
|                            | Whites | Asiatic. | Coloured. | African. |
| In urban areas there are : | 74.63% | 75.71%   | 60.81%    | 23.56%   |

It is very small indeed, which shows that the majority are still living in rural areas, while most of the Coloureds and Indians are living in the urban areas. I want to say that part of our drive to-day must mean the coming together of town and country, of the peasant and the worker. We must consciously strive to link up the two, and I would like to suggest that the Anti-C.A.D. try to make contact with the peasants and learn their problems and what they are thinking, and even go out to the country themselves and see what can be done in promoting this unity.

DISCUSSION

Chairman

We who have been born in the towns have never begun to understand how the majority section lives and suffers, as if we never knew anything about them. We never made any effort to find out and understand, and that is why there has been all this suspicion. I am particularly struck by the conclusion: that we must begin to find out how the rest of the Non-Europeans live. We must make it our business to get in touch with those who come to the towns and who are completely shut off from town amenities. We must penetrate into their lives. The young intellectuals especially must get together more, discuss problems, go to the country and see the heavy difficulties under which many Africans live, isolated. The fact of the coming together of the C.A.T.A. and the T.L.S.A. is one of the greatest advances made by the Non-European Unity Movement during the last few years, and this also agitates the masses of Africans in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and Natal. If we work along these lines with unity of purpose, unity of action, the goal of freedom will come nearer.

We are very thankful for what Mr. Tsotsi has done, for all the trouble he has taken to come to this conference, and for what he has done to-night for the movement as a whole.

Mr. B.M. Kies (National Committee)

Then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. W.M. Tsotsi on behalf of conference.



FRIDAY, 8TH JANUARY: MORNING SESSION.

Telegrams read from the President, A.P.O., and Mrs. Jayiya, Aliwal North, wishing conference a success.

DISCUSSION ON THE NATIONAL SITUATION.

H. Crisp. (E. London, King Williamstown and Grahamstown, T.L.S.A.)

I would like to ask exactly how much land the African peasants occupy to-day. There were two diagrams, one showing the land the Africans were going to occupy once all the land promised them had been brought. Could Mr. Tsotsi give the figures for the land they are at present occupying?

Mr. Tsotsi.

I am not sure but I think that 50% of the rural population actually occupies land in the reserves. This is a very conservative estimate. I think that the landlessness is actually much greater.

Mr. A. Fataar.

The plan in 1936 was to purchase the strip of land (shown in the diagram). In the report of Eiselen he stated that the total area of land purchased by the Trust since the commencement of the Act in 1936 was  $2\frac{1}{4}$  million morgen (for £8,000,000). The areas of acquired land is 299 morgen and the area of land which may still be acquired is about 3 million morgen. It means that about 4 and one-third million morgen has been acquired as follows. This means that not half the land has been acquired as promised in 1936 when they pushed through the Representation Act and the bribe used was the promise of land.

Chairman.

Could you give an idea of the number of those permitted to stay on the land, like figures about tenancy and ownership, those in ownership and those in non-ownership.

Mr. Tsotsi.

Not more than 1% own land, but again I do not have the exact figures. A person who has a title to the land in this system cannot dispose of it at will. He must get the permission of the Native Commissioner. There are other severe restrictions on the right of ownership so that those who own land constitute a very small percentage.

Mr. Bestenbier (Speaking as a visitor to conference)

It is obvious from Mr. Tsotsi's lecture that the burning problem to-day is the land question. I want to speak about the Coloured side of the question, the missionary stations. I want to use one example from the Zoar settlement in the district of Ladismith. In July the Berlin Missionary Society celebrated its 100 years in that district and one of the delegates invited to be present was my father. There were about 20 ministers and a few local teachers, and all lauded the work of the church. My father contradicted everything speakers before him had said. He accused the leaders in that area of suffering from religious or spiritual drunkenness. They had neglected the material side of people's lives with the result that they had no land and were poor in every respect except on the spiritual side. He said that the more you oppress people, the more they will realise their oppression but that that was not the case in Zoar because of the leaders.

But when they saw the light, one woman ..... wrote a letter to my father and I would like to read it. The writer said that he had spoken as they wished. They wanted his advice on what to do as the local People's Council consisted of ja-baas and did not interest itself in their affairs. The Council had asked the Government for a redivision of the land but after redivision the people found that they had less land than before. If the people protested, they were interrogated by the police and ergoaled. These people are in possession of the deeds of transfer and I looked the

matter / .....

matter up in the Deeds Office and found that the whole area where the White farmers are living actually belongs to them. I want conference to consider this problem because the people of Zoar are on the move now and I do not think I am wrong in saying that the same thing is happening in all other missionary reserves in South Africa. The land is being taken away from the Coloured people.

Mr. H. Jaffe (National Committee)

I would like to comment on one of the main points made by Mr. Tsotsi last night, namely the question of "outlawing" the Non-Europeans, the question of the Nationalist Party being the mailed fist, the question, in fact, of fascism in South Africa.

The question of the mailed fist and fascism in South Africa is, as Mr. Tsotsi indicated, not a new thing, but rather "an intensification of racial segregation". It is the completion of a process which has been taking place especially since the 1910 Act of Union. As far as the Non-Europeans are concerned, South Africa has long been a totalitarian, fascist state, in fact, one of the first fascist regimes of the 20th century. As far as the Europeans are concerned; as Mr. Fataar pointed out, South Africa is a democratic Dominion. One of the peculiarities of the South African state is that fascism exists within the legal framework, whereas in other classical fascist countries the legal facade was dispensed with. Here, democracy for the Whites rests on fascism for the Non-Whites.

Fascism is a combination of three inter-related phenomena: (1) The existence in society of highly organised monopoly capital. This took root in South Africa in the 1880's with the industrial revolution in the diamond and gold mines, which straightaway fell under monopoly domination. (2) From this economic base, monopoly extended into the political sphere, and in 1910 formally took over and thenceforth virtually ran the Herrenvolk State, which took on the same totalitarian features as the compounds etc., run by the mining moguls. (3) Fascism requires a large and fairly stable social base, which progressively fell under the sway of the Herrenvolk, in the shape of the Boers won over to side of monopoly after the Vereeniging Treaty, the skilled White workers won over with Colour Bar Acts, etc., and the formerly unskilled White workers won over to the Herrenvolk camp through the "Civilised Labour Policy", "Wage Acts," extensions of the European franchise etc. These three essential features of fascism are to be found in almost classic form in South Africa. But they find expression through formal, legal, democracy, and not through arbitrary, non-legal, one-party rule. As a result we have a conflict between the fascist content and the legal, democratic form, such as the recurrent vote question, the issue of the High Court, the question of the paramountcy of parliament, and the two-thirds majority. Why does South African Herrenvolkism have to retain this legal framework? Hitler could dispense with the framework of law, because, in the eyes of international capital, German monopoly and the Nazi State was powerful enough to run the state without the abrogation of law being a danger to foreign investments, trade and basic foreign relations. But, if the South African Herrenvolk dispenses with the legal framework, not a ha'penny from overseas capital would flow into the country. Foreign capital must have legal guarantees for law, order and security of its investment and its labour supply. Capital must not be subjected to arbitrary rule, decrees or proclamations, and if Non-White labour has to be subjected to rule by proclamation and decrees, then this too must be done legally and constitutionally! Overseas investors and states have not the same confidence in colonial fascism as they had, for a while, in metropolitan fascism. Hence, in South Africa, fascism gets entangled in and even finds expression in legal "bourgeois democracy".

The Nationalist Party is not the only mailed fist of this setup. In the post-war era the needs and fears of the White social base drove this party into power. At other times other parties or coalitions have come into power. Instead of a one-party state, fascism here has at various times, depending on various national and international factors, expressed itself through a two-party or multi-party parliamentary state. The Nats. are merely continuing where the United Party left off, as we have always said.

The "outlawing" of Non-Europeans is likewise a continuation of the old process. Rule by proclamation and decree, banishments and the like are

nothing new /.....

nothing new for the Non-Europeans, nor are they a peculiar creation of the Nationalists. The Suppression of Communism Act continued the old Riotous Assemblies Act. Judicial Segregation itself is as old as the British occupation of South Africa. Long before Union even there was the Natal Native High Court, Native Divorce and Native Chiefs Courts. These were all special, segregated law-courts, with segregatory law and laws. Democracy has long been abrogated for or denied to the Non-European.

The last point I wish to make is that despite Herrenvolk hopes of another three centuries of domination, and despite the creation of their totalitarian regime, they and their state really have feet of clay. The lack of faith of foreign capital in the South African Herrenvolk, compelling them to work within the legal framework, is sufficient and long-standing evidence of this chronic weakness. Now we find confirmation for their weakness and for our confidence in the out-of-the-blue statement by the elder U.P. statesman, Colin Steyn. The effects of his statement are interesting and revealing. Some of us will remember Smuts' speech "Segregation has fallen on evil days" when the Japanese invasion was threatening England in Asia. At that time a ripple of expectation of some reforms ran through the people, because of the low level of political awareness among them. But what effect has Steyn's statement had on the Non-Europeans? Its utterance has hardly been noticed, or, if noticed, has not taken root. Indeed his warning, which was made in order to save Herrenvolkism, was qualified by his statement that, in fact, it was already too late to save White South Africa. The people know that whatever concessions are granted to-day are merely to bribe them and break their unity. Steyn's statement becomes farcical in the face of the popular political consciousness of our times. Colin Steyn and the rest of the Herrenvolk have come with too little too late.

-----

### THE TRADE UNIONS.

Introduced by E. Hassim.

I think that as an essential prerequisite for any discussion on this subject, we should realise that there is no genuine, free and democratic Trade Union Movement in South Africa.

A Trade Union is an organisation of workers for better conditions of labour and better living conditions. Has Trade Unionism in South Africa fulfilled these primary functions? Under present conditions it can do neither.

### Landlessness, Location and Labour.

The discovery of diamonds and gold brought about a revolutionary change almost overnight in labour relations for the ruling class. For the Africans, the first Acts which were passed revealed the need to carry into effect what had already been done in the Wars of Dispossession, the first of these being the Glen Grey Act and the last the Rehabilitation Scheme (1945). There is hardly any necessity to analyse in detail these Acts. Suffice it to say that their only purpose was to force the Africans off the land into the mines and industries, stimulated as a result of the discovery of diamonds and gold. Combined with the Land Acts, we find the legislation of Urban Areas Acts and Pass Laws. Note how closely the latter are bound up with the Land Acts. In the first place the Land Acts are designed to create pools from which the labour is drawn, and the Pass Laws are there to ensure that labour remains in these pools. These Acts have as their function the complete regimentation of the workers in towns, and through this system there is at all times complete control of the workers. The Abolition of Passes Act provides that no African can remain in a town if he is unemployed for 60 hours. The Government has the power to imprison all unemployed African workers or forcibly to move them from one industry to another.

Such laws / .....

Such laws became possible because of the South Africa Act of 1909. We should notice first that this Act was passed by those very people who are always referred to as the "Lesser evil". It was this Act which completely disfranchised all Non-Europeans, who, before 1910 had some semblance of a franchise; which laid down that no person of Non-European descent would ever enter the House of Parliament. It was then that all the Non-Europeans were disfranchised and left with the empty shell of a dummy-vote, excluded from all forms of government and left an open target for the attacks of the Herrenvolk. It was when we were placed by this Act outside the pale of society, that the Herrenvolk could rush through with such terrifying speed a series of crushing onslaughts on us. The way was cleared for:

#### Colour Bar Industrial Legislation.

The Mines and Works Act, called by the very people who enacted it the Colour Bar Act, lays down starvation wages for Africans and ensures that white workers will remain in employment at a remunerative level, because it lays down that for every 13 Africans, one white worker is to be employed. The Industrial Conciliation Act prevents the African worker from organising, and denies him the right to be regarded as a worker. The National Insurance Acts, the Unemployment Acts, also ensure that he is not treated as a worker in industry, but as some type of sub-human. Under the Unemployment Insurance Scheme, there is no compulsion on employers to contribute to this fund for their African employees. The Wage Acts, which introduced the Civilised Labour Policy, excludes Africans from doing skilled work in any industry; and an Act which followed almost immediately, the Building Workers Act, prohibits African workers from building in areas other than "native areas". And finally you have, two of the most fascist measures ever introduced: War Measure 145, which enacted that for all African workers the weapon of strike would be illegal; and the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Acts which continues this policy

#### Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act Explained.

I want briefly to consider the latter "concession". In the first place, the Act provides that its operation is intended only for African workers in secondary industry, with the exclusion of domestic workers and workers in government employ. A whole hierarchy of committees and tribunals is set up. In the first place, there are the Workers committees. These can only be formed by 20 or more workers in any industry. These should go to the boss, ask for permission to form the committee, and he in turn forwards the request to regional committees, and finally to the Minister, who may give them permission to form an organisation. The Act then provides for a government-controlled organisation which is intended to replace any other form of organisation which the workers may contemplate. On the top of this, there is the Regional Committee (with a European chairman appointed by the Minister of Labour), which will consist of not less than 4 African members, who will, no doubt, be carefully selected. We know the type of people who will be chosen. There is finally a Board which exists over and above the other two organisations, the Central Native Labour Board, composed solely of Europeans nominated and appointed by the Minister of Labour, to control and regulate any type of activity in industry. There is of course essentially the heart of this Act, and that is that it contains a provision, that not simply are strikes illegal, but that it in the first place penalises any person who might instigate any strike, or take part in any strike, and penalises sympathy strikes, the penalty being £500 or 3 years, or both together. So, for the African worker any form of organisation is completely illegal, and in addition, is made a criminal offence.

#### Coloured Workers - Next.

Secondly as regards the Coloured workers. It is true that no laws have been openly passed to deprive them of the right to organise in Trade Unions, but there are a number of regulations which affect them. In the first place, the very number of workers who are allowed to become skilled workers is very severely restricted by virtue of the Apprenticeship Acts and

Boards. There is a further threat hanging over every Coloured worker in the shape of the Schoemann Bill which plans to segregate the various sections. From these two things, it emerges that as far as the Coloured worker is concerned, the government is trying to drive him into the position where he will, like the African, become a unskilled worker, to work for wages which will never enable him to keep body and soul together. And this is further emphasised by the passage of the Group Areas Act. With the creation of group areas and the extension of the location system and its regulations, we can see the close similarity that will result between the position of the Coloured and African worker. The attempts at regimentation are being carried over further and deeper into the lives of Coloured workers. And together with these, go the perpetual attempts to maintain division between African and Coloured, and it can be clearly seen that the position of the latter is being levelled down to the same state as the African.

#### Role of the Trade Union Bureaucracy.

In the Trade Union itself we find the most vicious manifestations of the Colour Bar - the exclusion of Africans. The maintenance of colour-division is actually assisted by no other than the leaders of the Trade Union Movement, the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, the officials who rule the workers, stifles all forms of expression among the workers; takes the notices sent them to come to our conferences and simply tears them up; sees to it that whichever worker protests against the iron-rule of the Trade Union is summarily dismissed from the Trade Union Movement and because of the closed-shop policy, from his job. My submission is that they stifle all forms of free-thought, in order to maintain themselves at the head of the labour movement and turn the organisation of the workers from an organisation developed for the protection of the workers, into a simple insurance organisation to maintain themselves in comfort. These people have been unable to see the changing needs of society, to see the real needs of the workers, to give expression to them. This is not accidental, but developed out of the fact, that for years they deluded themselves that South Africa is simply another England on a smaller scale, and they have taken over the organisation and ideas of the latter country holus-bolus, without an understanding of the economic and the whole political structure of the South African state. They organised the Trade Unions as they would in England, and immediately came up against the colour bar. Most of them tried to escape it by ignoring the question. Because of the very nature of society, because of the forces which act on the Trade Unions, they found that they could not win these better condition of employment. It is true that during the war years concessions were handed out and the conditions of the worker did improve. Nevertheless it must be borne in mind that these were simply bribes given to the workers during a time when labour was desperately needed. Immediately this need was over, you found a rapid extension of the so-called exemption system, under which a worker who reaches top-level, has to apply to his employer for an exemption to cut his wages. This sort of thing is carried on with the connivance of the Trade Union Bureaucracy. This parasitic bureaucracy is sitting on the backs of the workers and, like any other parasite, draining the organism, and has done even more than the government to stifle the growth and development of a genuine Trade Union Movement in South Africa.

#### Bureaucracy Powerless Against Fascist Measures.

During the last few years the Government has passed a number of Acts directed against the Non-Europeans labour movement. There was the Suppression of Communism Act which was intended to decapitate the movement in the country and leave the organisation as a body without a head. And yet in the face of this, the very leaders who are being attacked, are completely powerless to stem the tide of these attacks. At the same time, we find them crushing the militancy of the workers when they do in fact rise up against these attacks. Let us deal with what happened when Solly Sachs was banned. The Garment Workers' Union, being as it is, one of the strongest unions in the country, came out in a very militant display against this attack on Solly Sachs. The workers retaliated for what was being done to them with a direct attack on the government. Yet let us look at what the leaders did in the face of this attack: they allowed the police to smash their batons on the skulls of the people, and wherever the armed force of the government

could not/ .....

could not crush the workers' spirit, they, the leaders, did this by splitting the workers up and organising separate, segregated protest meetings. Small wonder that the case of Sachs was soon forgotten by the workers, and that their spirit dropped to rock-bottom. The Suppression of Communism Act is no longer regarded as something which must be fought, but just as one of those things which happen to them.

The Suppression of Communism Act was carried further by the Public Safety and Criminal Laws Amendment Acts. These Acts were not really necessary because of the Riotous Assemblies Act, but through these Acts, the rulers have been able to close up various loopholes which were still to be found in the law. And the net-effect of all this legislation and of the Settlement of Disputes Act (which, I should add, lays down in Section 14, that the Act does not simply relate to African workers in secondary industry, but that the Minister can, by the proclamation, extend it to other workers, in other words, to the Coloureds) is to stifle any form of protest among the workers.

### Conclusions

I feel that we can return now to the original proposition: that there is no genuine, free and democratic Trade Union Movement in South Africa. Let me quote from a book the "The Awakening of a People" by Mr. I.B. Tabata: "An organisation grows as long as it keeps in step with the times and nourishes itself with current ideas, i.e. keeps itself vital and alive with progressive trends on thought. The moment it ceases to do so, it ceases to be healthy, sickens and dies. But the people are not aware of the precise moment when death takes place, and this is where the danger comes in. It is only in retrospect, long afterwards, that they can tell when it died. Even in the case of the human body it is indeed not easy to recognise the state of death. It carries within it the seeds of decay long before its final dissolution, but only when the rate of growth of the living cells is exceeded by the rate of the decay, can it be said that death has begun. A man may continue to exist many years before life is completely extinct. With the human body, however, there is this advantage, that when the heart stops, people recognise that life is extinguished. Nothing more can be done and the corpse is buried. In self-preservation society buries its dead, for it knows that otherwise disease and pestilence may fall upon the people."

"With a political body, how much harder is it to ascertain the advent of death. Here there is no stoppage of the heart to signal the precise moment of death. And even when the organisation is at last recognised to be dead, the people continue to cling to it for sentimental reasons and refuse to bury the corpse. The result is that it continues to pollute the atmosphere and infect the body politic with all manner of diseases known in politics. Self-preservation demanded that the corpse should have been buried."

The passage which I have quoted contains for us the clue to the proposition, and that is that in order for an organisation to develop and to exist as a healthy organism, it is essential for it to reflect the needs of the people and the needs of the times. It must be built solidly on and understanding of the concrete situation in the country. It must conform to the historical demands in the country at the time. When it is created in a vacuum, without an understanding of the political needs, economic trends and social problems in society, it must inevitably die, even though the corpse may remain with us. And I say that because the Trade Union Movement here was simply a reproduction of what developed in England and America, it had to perish. Because the movement was without the basic understanding that the problems of the new workers and the fight on the Trade Union level for better conditions of work etc, could only be solved through the struggle for political rights, it was susceptible to onslaughts made on it. It failed to realise that the problems of the workers are no different from the problems of the people, and that the workers must engage in political struggle in order to solve these. By keeping the Trade Union Movement away from the political struggle, and by refusing to see that the basic struggle of the worker is the Ten Point Programme, the Trade Union Movement signed its own death warrant. It failed to realise that no matter how honest the leadership may have been, no matter how sincere, their aims could only be achieved if they partook in the political struggle. In order to organise any trade union, we must first struggle for the right to organise. We have to struggle for - as it has been

put - the Ten Point Programme. And in conclusion, I want to say that for me, and I hope for others, what stands out more and more clearly as we go on is : that it is only the achievement of the Ten Point Programme that can result in the growth and development of a healthy, free and vigilant Trade Union Movement. It is only through an understanding of this basic question that we will be able to translate the slogan "Freedom in Our Time" into complete reality. And we, and only we in the Non-European Unity Movement have the means to achieve that.

I have pleasure in moving the following resolution :  
That this Conference :

- (1) Condemns and rejects the increasingly fascistic legislation used or directed against the Trade Union Movement in South Africa, as evidenced by the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act of 1953, which destroys the right to strike, places the African workers under the Native Affairs Department, and extends the machinery of industrial oppression; by the Native Building Workers Act, which extends inferiority and segregation in work and wages; by the Suppression of Communism Act, which is used to decapitate the Trade Unions; by the proposed Shoeman Bill to divide the Unions still further on racial lines, to increase competition and race-hatred among the workers; and by the threat to place the Coloured workers and their "unions" under the Coloured Affairs Department.
- (2) Views these measures as the continuation and intensification of previous oppressive legislation introduced and applied by all Herrenvolk parties especially since the Act of Union, and as the inevitable consequence of denying citizenship to the Non-Europeans of South Africa;
- (3) Calls upon the workers to boycott the machinery of industrial collaboration i.e. the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act;
- (4) Deplores and warns against the policy of adaptation, capitulation, collaboration, and if isolation from the National Liberatory Movement, preached and practiced by the trade union bureaucracy, both White and Non-White, against the interests of the workers, both White and Non-White;
- (5) Declares that without a consistent, principled struggle against trade union collaborationism the trade unions will be utterly destroyed and replaced by company and State unions unreservedly controlled by the Native Affairs Department and the Coloured Affairs Department;
- (6) Re-affirms the resolutions adopted during the past eleven years by the Anti-C.A.D. and the N.E.U.M. on the necessity for Trade Union participation in the National Liberatory Movement in order to create free, unfettered, democratic, non-racial unions, and declares that the very life and the future of the unions as well as the full development of the liberatory movement depends upon the struggle of the workers in their unions against the Herrenvolk and the bureaucrat-collaborators, so that the trade unions may take their rightful place in the Anti-C.A.D. and the Non-European Unity Movement.

January, 1954.

THE TRADE QUESTION

DISCUSSION:

Chairman:

On behalf of Conference I want to thank Mr. Hassim for having accepted our invitation and for having put the matter so clearly before Conference.

Simpson: ( Port Elizabeth Anti-C.A.D.)

The way I see the Trade Union Movement at the moment is that it is a three-fold struggle. It is the usual struggle for the improvement of working hours, etc; then there is the political struggle which must be bound up with the trade union struggle; and thirdly, there is the struggle against the bureaucracy.

We know that since the formation of the I.C.U. the Trade Union Movement has been hampered to a large extent by the bureaucracy. The I.C.U. was successful in its initial stages because of the instance at that time of participation in the political struggle. Unfortunately, the I.C.U. declined also when the hampering activities of the bureaucracy laid hold of it. Ballinger was sent from England to intensify the damage done.

What first follows now is that we have to devise ways and means of unseating the bureaucrats. Once this is done we can start from scratch and build up new organisations. That is the case in Port Elizabeth where the bureaucracy was found out through dishonesty and we could build up again. The Council of Non-European Trade Unions in Port Elizabeth has grown from strength to strength since we have given it a new policy and injected political ideas into it. Where such a situation does not exist it is our duty to go out and organise an Anti-organisation. I may say of those organisations still in existence where the Galvins earn £1,000 a year and the workers £2 a week - their time is limited. We find that concerted efforts are being made to unseat these bureaucrats. No matter how good the Trade Union leader is, no matter how much he has done to ensure better conditions, the very fact that he earns £1000 a year is not good trade unionism as we see it.

We can only strike against the bureaucracy by constant activity among members of trade unions. The European section is usually in control in trade unions where the large majority of members are Non-Europeans; for example, the Leather workers' and Garment Workers' Unions. We find them on the Conciliation Boards, selling out after the first argument from the employers.

I want to wind up by saying that the struggle must be first and foremost against the bureaucracy, and secondly, injecting political ideas, and once we have achieved that the trade union struggle will solve itself.

W.P. van Schoor ( T.L.S.A. Central Executive)

I would like to say a word on the analogy drawn between a trade union and a corpse. Mr. Hassim said the reason for the demise is the fact that the trade unions never organised on the basis of the Ten Point Programme. I say that we should put first, and I think it is asking far too much from the Trade Unions to expect workers in any particular industry to organise on the basis of the Ten Point Programme which constitutes the demands of a democratic movement. Workers organise on the basis of economic demands; precisely those mentioned by Mr. Hassim, which he mentioned were fought for overseas. It is the purpose of the National Movement to win over the trade unions, to work among workers, to get them into the national struggle. It is not for a trade union to take over the functions of the national movement.

With regard to the practical work of breaking the necks of the bureaucrats, I think that a discussion of this will require a conference by itself. It is one of our most important functions to break their necks in order to win the trade union movement for the movement but I think it incorrect to impose on workers, skilled and unskilled, this task.

We have / .....



We have said for many years that these organisations must be politicised, but it is incorrect to ask trade unions to organise on the basis of the Ten Point Programme.

Chairman:

We could very profitably have spent a few hours discussing this point because it is a very important matter: The methods by which we are actively to carry on the struggle in the trade union movement. I think the matter should be referred to the National Committee for them to discuss ways and means, the method and the strategy to be used in winning over the trade unions to the National Movement.

Conference agreed that this matter be referred to the National Committee. W.P. van Schoor seconded the resolution on the trade unions. Passed unanimously.

---

THE GROUP AREAS ACT

Introduced by MISS J. GOOL.

The Group Areas Act, in its setting of the Disfranchisement Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and a host of further Acts still to be passed against the African, Coloured and Indian, can be considered in no other way but as a Land Act to deny ownership of land to the Indian and Coloured sectors. Just as the 1913 "Native" Land Act deprived the Africans of land, rendered them homeless and cast them, their children and their cattle upon the high-ways and byeways of the country, and just as the 1936 "Native" Land and Trust Act finally penned them into group areas known as "Native" Scheduled Areas, in the same way, and, with perhaps more diabolical improvements, does the Group Areas Act combine the features both of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts against the Indian and Coloured people.

The Disfranchisement Act, which is the denial of political rights to the Coloured and Indian male in the Cape, should never be regarded singly as an Act in itself, but with its corollary, the Group Areas Act. These two Acts form one unified whole. The denial of political rights must be followed by the denial of economic rights. This fundamental point must be stressed time and time again. The Franchise alone confers the right of ownership of land and makes a man a citizen with a stake in his country. Without this he is a slave.

In the "idyllic" past, prior to 1950, the fact that the Coloured male had the vote, although a limited one, meant that his right to own property could not be withheld by law. Just as the vote was limited by special restrictions placed on the Coloured male voter, i.e. educational and property qualifications, exclusion from election to Parliament, so was this legal right to own property limited at every turn by special private clauses in land ownership. So that in fact the Coloured man in the Cape could only find pockets here and there where he could live. Nevertheless, we must not underestimate this right, for large areas throughout the Cape - e.g. the Northern and Southern Suburbs and parts of Cape Town-Central - were not only opened up by the Coloured people but owned by them as well. At that time the Coloured people were the skilled artisans. When the Apprenticeship Act was brought in, and the Colour Bar clauses in trade brought economic stress to the Coloured people, a set of circumstances was created to deprive them of their livelihood and drive them from their homes to sub-economic housing schemes in demarcated areas. As Donges himself said during the second reading of the Act: "Large areas can be proclaimed immediately without any inconvenience. Of the total area available in this country, eighty to ninety percent are areas which are predominantly occupied by persons of one group". In other words, 80% to 90% of the country is already demarcated. He went on to say: "All that is required in other areas is the liquidation of isolated pockets." This was a tribute to the success of the policy of "voluntary" segregation of Smuts and the United Party, who had done the greater part of the dirty work. The remaining ten percent of the land would have gone the same way as the 90% with the passage of/...

of time - twenty to thirty years and Donges would have had his way without the necessity of bringing in such an Act. But they, the Herrenvolk, cannot wait. Time is against them. When Donges introduced the Act, he said it was urgent. Members of the opposition received the Act two days before the first reading, on the 24th of April, and these days were a Saturday and a Sunday. Donges had worked for two years on this Act. The second reading followed five days later and exactly a month later, after only a week's debate, the Bill was rushed through in a flurry of speed and haste. The guillotine was applied and the Bill became an Act before the people could grasp this diabolic Act in its entirety. Where did the need for urgency arise? Did the Nats. see the descent of armed Coloured men from Mars to buy property on this particular spot of the planet, that there was such a necessity for haste?

The answer to this can be found in what this Act purports to do. We are not concerned here with finding loopholes in the Act for we are not lawyers making a living. We merely want to present the facts, expose the motives behind the facts and place them in their particular setting. I will deal with the more blatant sections, for the Act has 38 Sections, each with its sub-clauses.

First of all, throughout the Act there are references to disqualified persons. It reminds me of war-torn Europe when millions of people were kept in labour camps on the ground that they were displaced. It seems, according to the Act, that the majority of Coloured people fall into the category of displaced persons, for to escape the net would be miraculous.

Let us now come to grips with this piece of diabolical legislation. According to Section 2 there shall be the following groups: a White, a "Native", and a Coloured group. The African and Coloured group can themselves be sub-divided into further groups. According to Section 2, Clause 2, "The Governor General may by proclamation" define any ethnical, linguistic, cultural or other group of persons, who are members either of the "native" group or of the Coloured group. Under this clause a separate Indian and Malay group had already been created. We must note here how division is created only amongst the Non-European groups and not amongst the White group. The latter form one cohesive and compact block. This is a blow directed at the creation of unity of an oppressed people.

Section 3 makes the whole area of South Africa, with the exception of already segregated areas like reserves and locations, which are already fenced in, a controlled area. As Donges himself states: "The over-riding principle of the Act makes provision for the establishment of Group Areas by compulsion (our emphasis) if necessary and creates the necessary machinery. The immediate effect of the passing of the Bill will be to make every part of the country a controlled area. This is the first part of the scheme of the Bill. The further part is the gradual proclamation of Group Areas. Within this wide controlled area, certain areas will be group areas for occupation, or ownership, or both. In the controlled area any changeover cannot take place without a permit. There will be control of occupier who will assume the colour of the owner. Besides the controlled area there will be specified areas, where there will be no occupation by a member of another group without a permit. There will also be open areas which will be uncontrolled."

We see thus three stages in which the Octopus spreads its tentacles. In the controlled areas he has already swallowed up the Coloured victims, in the specified areas he is preparing to swallow up another set of victims, and in the open areas he is taking a breather to see which way his victim will jump and then gleefully devour him.

When the octopus intends to jump he gives you, under section 5 clause 2a, a year to clear out to your own group, if you are an occupier. Clause 2b has no specified time if you are the owner. You may be given a day, a month or your lifetime to live in your own property in the wrong group area. But one thing is certain, you will be devoured, for your children cannot own your property if it is in the wrong group area. The octopus decides the area, the street, the neighbours you shall have. The land and sea having already been demarcated, now the air and the moon will be sub-sub-divided into group areas. We know already the insecurity and suffering which this Act has brought about. This will be increased a thousand fold, striking terror amongst large sections of the Coloured and Indian people, reducing them to penury and bankruptcy as the octopus moves on relentlessly. When the cynical U.P. spoke about the suffering and bankruptcy which this Act will bring to the Coloured people, Donges silenced them by saying that they must stop talking in this strain for white baasskap demands

that this / .....

that this should be done.

One feature here must be emphasised: The blow that will be directed against out Unity Movement when one Coloured group is forced out to make way for another Coloured group. Hatred will be engendered, grow and intensify. The pogrom spirit, the individual terror will be let loose.

To continue under section 3 clause 2, no group area can be declared without the consent of both Houses, with the exception of the Cape and Natal. Just in those provinces where Coloureds and Indians live, the Minister can issue any proclamation against any Indian and Coloured group. The rule of Parliament is suspended and these groups will be ruled under a dictatorship. This is unheard of power and our prognosis that South Africa is gradually developing towards a dictatorship has no clearer proof than this.

Section 4 specifies a date, also by proclamation, when no disqualified person shall occupy and no person shall allow any disqualified person to occupy any land in a group area, except under a permit. We see the pernicious entry upon the scene of the crime is the permit system. The permit, the pass, henceforward shall control our deeds. And beware if you do not have a pass. The stage is set, the label is affixed, you shall move on oiled wheels only when and where the octopus moves you. If you have no label, then the next Act will direct you to the future labour camps on the mines or on the farms.

Section 4 clause 2 exempts servants and employees and prisoners from group areas. With what genius does the Herrenvolk see to their comfort, ease and luxury in the midst of a whole people's suffering.

Section 5 contains many clauses to prevent ownership of land by disqualified persons or companies. If you happen to inherit property in a wrong area it shall be the duty of the executor of the estate to sell the property and hand over the proceeds. What is this but blatant robbery and chicanery?

#### QUISLING COUNCILS.

Section 6 brings to birth little C.A.C.S. more evil than their deceased sire, the ex.C.A.C. These little C.A.C.s will be established in each group area. Let us quote the relevant section. It states "that the Minister may establish for any group area (excepting the White group) a governing body. Such a Governing Body may consist wholly or mainly of members of a particular group and shall have such powers and functions as prescribed by regulation. Furthermore it shall be subject to the supervision of a local authority and should a group be partly under or outside a local authority or wholly outside the local authority the Minister has the right to place it under the supervision of a local authority designated by the Minister." The next clause states that "the Governing body shall not override the powers of any local authority."

We see now the real function of these little quislings. Each group will come under this quisling council whose function it will be to spy upon the people, report meetings, betray the people, see that the location regulations are carried out. They will be the running dogs of the Herrenvolk. Let us return to what Dictator Donges had to say on this matter, in the House on the 29th May 1950: "A further very important point in this bill is contained in clauses 6 & 7. These clauses allow the institution in certain group areas of a measure of self-government by the persons belonging to that group for the persons belonging to that group. The provisions of Clauses 6 and 7 are all measures of positive apartheid. They seek to provide the necessary training in local self-government by these groups which otherwise would not have that opportunity at all and thereby they are given the necessary training of democratic constitutions." At last we hear from the horse's mouth the precise meaning of positive apartheid, and smells unsavoury. The oppressed will be given the chance of working the instruments of their own oppression. The cant and hypocrisy of Donges is overwhelming. When Hamilton Russel, in order to keep up that facade of democracy, takes up the phrase "necessary training in democratic constitutions" and makes a timid enquiry "Do they elect themselves democratically?", Donges replies "There must be the strongest provisions to avoid the circumvention of law.

There will / .....

There will be safeguards - powers exercised under local authority and before such delegation of powers takes place the consent of the administrator must be obtained. In other words these Advisory Boards will be appointed from among the open and avowed quislings through whom the Herrenvolk will work.

Sect. 7 gives the Minister the right to enforce measures for the proper administration of the group area if a municipal authority fails to do its duty. For example if the City Council refuses to carry out any location measure, the Minister can do so and recover his expense by levying a special rate upon all rateable property within the area concerned.

Sect. 8 lays down that no person shall, except under a permit, enter into an agreement whereby any disqualified person acquires any land in a controlled area; if he does so the property can be sold by the administrator or liquidator or other such official.

Sect. 9 and 10 forbid occupation by disqualified persons or companies in controlled areas. Inheritance of land by disqualified persons is unlawful and the heir will receive merely the net proceeds.

Sect. 11 gives the Governor General the right to apply restriction of occupation or premises to any area in the controlled area.

Sect. 12 and 13 bring into being specified areas which come under the controlled areas and are subject to the same restrictions.

Sect. 14 deals with permits: when the Minister may and may not introduce permits to occupy, or to acquire or to hold property contrary to the clauses in the controlled, specified or open areas.

Sect. 15 deals with Companies disqualified from occupying and acquiring property.

The wearisome restrictions continue as nauseam to prevent any loop-holes whereby any member of a particular group may penetrate to another group.

Sect. 22 is interesting: In case any one slips through this net of restrictions and manages to own property outside his particular group, section 22 states "The officer in charge of any deeds registry shall not register any transfer of immovable property situated in the controlled or in any group area unless he gives proof that he may lawfully acquire property in terms of the Act.

Sect. 23 deals with licenses - no trader may possess a licence unless the trader has the right of occupation.

Sect. 24 to 30 are extremely important: they establish a board consisting of 9 members appointed by the Minister, and define its duties. The duty of the Board will be to report to the Minister on permits, amendments, etc; and also to summon people to attend.

Sect. 31 gives unheard of powers to inspectors who may without previous notice at any time during the day or night enter upon any premises whatsoever, and make such examination and enquiry as may be necessary.

Sect. 35 Cl. 2 states that the Minister may have the right to frame different regulations for different groups in different areas. The oppressed must never be made to think that oppression is common to them all.

And finally let me end up this section with the blessing of the Prime Minister Dr. Malan: "The Bill is one to which I have personally looked forward for many years. It embodies a conception, a conviction and an aim which I have held for years. It gives me personally the greatest satisfaction."

Thus we see the close resemblance between the provisions of the 1913, 1936 Land Acts and the Group Acts:

- (a) There is the same restriction on the buying of land outside the scheduled areas and the group areas.
- (b) There is the same restriction of occupation in the locations for Coloured and Africans, and regulations for the running of locations.
- (c) There is the same dictatorial right given to the Minister to expropriate and to remove by force.
- (d) Any person attempting to infringe the law is subject to a heavy fine: £100

in the case of an African and £200 in the case of the Coloured.

- (e) There is the same creation of local advisory quisling bodies.
- (f) In both cases no compensation is given for loss of value in property in a falling market.
- (g) The same creation of tribes or Coloured groups at the behest of the Minister.
- (h) The same control over the movements of Coloured and African by means of a permit system.
- (i) The same right to raid by day and night.

Yet this Act contains features which go much further than the 1913 and 1936 Acts. For instance the dictatorial powers given to one man - the Minister.

- (a) The Minister has direct powers without being responsible to Parliament. He can tax property owners within the jurisdiction of the local authority.
- (b) He can constitute a C.A.C. within a local authority.
- (c) He may interfere in the affairs of local authorities.
- (d) He may issue permits in controlled areas in the whole Union.
- (e) He may issue permits in a specified area.
- (f) He may revoke or withdraw permits; he may determine whether he shall refund £25 when a reapplication for a license is made.

The Minister reserves these rights to himself because the CAD, is not yet ready to take over.

Let me now attempt to draw the necessary conclusion from the Act. We see the vicious intentions :

- (a) Firstly to rob the Coloured people of their land rights, to impoverish them and reduce them to paupers economically.
- (b) To pen them into locations where they will be subject to location regulations, chief of which is to expel any person who is not working for any boss. These are the two fundamental points. Behind these two intentions lies a monstrous purpose - to ensure a flow of a propertyless and impoverished working class, Coloured and African, to the mines and farms. The source of Union African Labour has dried up and the new uranium and gold mines from which the Nationalist government derives its power needs the life-blood of our people. There is only one new source of labour supply if they cannot obtain the territories - the Coloured population. The octopus is ready to draw the whole Coloured population within its tentacles. The struggle is a matter of life and death. The road to freedom from this monstrous state of affairs lies in our own hands and we must be ready to take it or submit to slavery.

#### Resolution on Group Areas

-----

That this Conference : Viewing the Group Areas Act as an extension, to the Coloured and Indian people in particular, of the iniquitous system of land and property restrictions, economic ruination and dispossession enforced against the African people through the various Land Acts and resulting in the rural and urban locations or ghettos of cheap, regimented labour,

- (i) Declares its unconditional opposition to, and rejection of, the Group Areas Act;
- (ii) Calls upon the people to refrain from making representations to the Land Tenure Advisory Board in order to claim or plead for location " areas ", because by making representations
  - (a) they work the machinery of their own expropriation, degradation, eviction and oppression,
  - (b) they assist the Herrenvolk in dividing the Non-white peoples amongst themselves and in creating a pogrom spirit; and further calls upon

the people to boycott the management councils (i.e. bungas ) as provided under the Group Areas Act;

- (iii) Warns against various agencies, such as city councils, town and divisional councils and private and State-backed companies which are exploiting both the acute housing shortage and the threat of expropriation in order to implement the Group Areas Act through the so-called sub-economic , economic rental and economic ownership schemes;
- (iv) Condemns the use of methods tantamount to political blackmail whereby the legitimate aspirations of the people to trade, etc, are exploited to force them into becoming virtual C.A.D. agents.
- (v) Re-affirms the demand for freedom to occupy and own land and property without restriction based on "race", colour or creed, and
- (vi) Reminds the oppressed people that this freedom can be attained only in and through the struggle for the franchise and full citizenship rights.

DISCUSSION -

Mrs. M. Volkwyn ( S. Peninsula Anti C.A.D. )

It is with great pleasure that I get up first of all to congratulate Miss Gool on her very clear exposition of an Act which it is said took Donges 2 years to prepare. I think that for all of us listening here what Miss Gool has said on the implications of this Act can lead to only one thing - and that is action. After all, I think we listened to speakers for the whole of yesterday and to-day and one thing stands out from what all of them have said and that is this: that the Herrenvolk are determined that we shall remain outside the pale of society, and we are here as men and women who have one object in view and, as the president said, that is freedom. We are here to learn and take back what we can. The last resolution moved by Mr. Viljoen called on members "to strengthen their organisations and intensify their struggle on the principled basis of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, which is an integral part of the Non-European Unity Movement". And this is the point I want to bring up. We must go back to all our organisations and take back all which has been given us in this conference and act on what we have learnt. That is, we must go to our people, those who live in pondokkies, who own a little bit of land, and keep up the morale of the people because that is what the Group Areas Act is trying to break. People are going around frightening and causing panic among the people saying they had better sell their homes. In our area there is Wollheim with his Utility housing schemes and he is among those trying to frighten the people into supporting these schemes. This is not only happening in Cafda but all over the country. The people are being forced into these sub-economic housing schemes. The people have struggled all these years, clearing away the bush and sand to build their homes, and now they want to take away this little land they possess. I cannot see how any person can remain outside of the movement when we see the powers of the Minister under this Act. Delegates must go to the uneducated people because they are waiting for you! We are doing a little work in our area and all those people are waiting for us to help them. Because if a man comes along to a poor woman who owns property and says that the best thing for her to do is to sell, what can she do? But if she knows that she has an organisation behind her which can support her and which will explain these things, the situation will be different. That is what we must do among our people. We must explain to them the Act. Even our lawyers cannot explain to them that Act. But we know what Donges wants, and it is up to us now to build up not only the Anti-C.A.D. but the Non-European Unity Movement. This is the time and if we do not take our opportunity we will go under. But I do not think this will happen again because we have been on the new road for eleven years. I want to say this, that I would like again to see the spirit of 1943: that we will fight and give our blood for our people.

Mr. W. Rhoda ( Kimberley Unity Committee)

I was struck by certain sentences in the lecturer's address, viz., that the U.P. felt revolted at the harshness of the Bill. It made me think of what one of their chief supporters, the de Beers Co., has done in Kimberley. It may surprise certain delegates to know that the Group Areas in a certain form has been operative in Kimberley since 1939. Most of the land is owned by de Beers and half of the Coloured population is concentrated in the Malay camp area. De Beers offered this

land to / .....

this land to the City Council with the proviso that the town be cleared, and the liberal City Council, mainly English-speaking, accepted, and to-day most of the Coloured people live on the outskirts of the city, and ever since that time most of the land is frozen in the city. Of course, the Council is very generous when ever you ask them for land, and offer you property at the Floors. Incidentally, the Council has now told sporting organisations that by March they must vacate the land presently used and go to a site prepared for them at the Floors. That is why I am rather disappointed that only one sporting organisation is represented at this Conference.

We should watch our city councils and municipal boards. The City Council of Kimberley called a conference of Non-Europeans organisations, and this was their line. The group Areas Act was now a fact and could not be changed. 'We advise you to let us carve up the city.' Unfortunately, the boycott was not carried out and representation was made to the Land Tenure Board ..... After an interview even the lawyer had to admit to the association concerned that the only honourable way out was for the people not to make representation. So many people were disillusioned and saw the uselessness of representations.

Finally, I would like to warn people against cacklets. They are very active in dividing people into different groups. One U.P. tout petitioned, asking the Minister to eject "Natives" from Coloured schools. Another took it upon himself to define what a Griqua is. I think we must clamp down on these quislings in no uncertain manner, and expel them from our organisations and in all our areas get people to boycott the group areas act.

Rev. D.M. Wessels ( Moravian Young People Church Association)

As a child at school I was taught that the Voortrekkers were a deeply religious people; and very often, as a little boy, I was taken by my father to the magistrate court and on several occasions I heard that 'die baas kan nie lieg nie', and that the white man had been put in South Africa as an example of Christianity. The passing of the Group Areas Act has drawn a dark, dark line through many of the ideas that were inculcated into us as children at school. The passing of this Act condemns each and every white christian in South Africa. If ever there has been a piece of legislation that has seriously hurt our people who have through all these years with how many disappointments, how many trials and tribulations, held on to the good old book, it is this. These Whites, these leaders of western civilisation, have done a great disservice to the cause of Christianity in this country. Thousands and thousands of pounds are being spent to help, as they say, the poor blacks, Non-whites, to see the wonderful things that Christianity offer us. But they, through these years, and especially in 1953, have made it so that they have brought the matter to that point when it is absolutely necessary to get missionaries from the Anti-C.A.D. to teach white South Africa and the christian church what we understand by Christianity. Through all these years a man looked upon his property and the right to possess, as something sacred. In other countries, in the past, they respected the last will and testament of a man dead. To-day South Africa draws a line through it. These sacred rights that a man has had are no more sacred nor is the right to possess, even if his father acquired that little bit of land by giving his own life as many of our forebears have done, by denying themselves certain luxuries in order to give to their families and their offspring a measure of security, a home. And the whites of South Africa.... it will stand against them, and especially against the leaders of the christian church in South Africa, that they have seen that the sacred right of the poor, downtrodden non-white is taken away from him. I call the attention of those who for the last eleven years have branded us as unscrupulous and unchristian! I would like to know what they have done against these group areas. They are the ones to-day working these group areas. I am happy to identify myself with what Miss Gool has said and pleased that I have lived for eleven years with the Anti-C.A.D. Our help will not come from the Liberals, from the churches and the so-called white and black and brown liberals. It will have to come from the people and those associated with the Anti-C.A.D.

Mr. E. Bavasah (N. Suburbs Anti-C.A.D.)

I must point out a few things which we must take note of when we go back to fight this Act. Undoubtedly, all of us are very incensed at this act, but it is no use being incensed and running your head up against a wall. The first thing to do when we go back is to organise in a certain way. We shall have to go back and do a lot of work and will have to adopt certain measures whereby we will

advise / .....

advise the people. One, we must make no representation to any board. Two, and this point is very difficult; we will have to reorientate the minds of the people. It is very difficult, because certain people think that if an area of land is given them it will be good only for them. We will have to break that down because they will give one class of people fine land and in this way get them to accept segregation. We must say to the people: we reserve the right to live where we wish whatever "race" we may belong to.

I said before: we must be incensed, but there again, I wish to warn members who are going to take up this fight. When we deal with caclets and quislings, we must be very calm and sane. We must get all our forces together and when we deal them the death blow, it must be a real blow.

One point was not mentioned by Miss Gool. I want to draw attention to the connection between the Group Areas Act and du Plessis. I want to draw attention to a meeting held in the City Hall by the Moslem Judicial Council. There is a township near the Strand, called Macassar Township, for whites, which has been set aside for Moslems. Du Plessis went to the Moslem Judicial Board to ask them to give the yea and amen to the taking of this land. The Council felt it was not politic for them to say yes, but said they would have to put the matter to the Moslem community at a meeting, and it was very significant that at this meeting, the priests went to the Coloured people who own land in the same area and invited them to the meeting and allowed them to speak. The platform gave the people a wrong slant on the issue and they were not enlightened until a correct perspective was put before them by Anti-C.A.D. supporters and students in the meeting. I had that day the joy of seeing Ganief Harris booted right on to the tram. This will give members an idea of the kind of work that is called for to-day. We must go to the people. We must not treat the people with diffidence because we will only be breaking down what we are trying to build.

Cllr. Viljoen (Vice-Chairman - Anti-C.A.D.)

In the City Council of Cape Town there is a Civic group brought into being specifically to work the Group Areas Act. The City Council through its permanent committees is working hand in glove with the advocates of the Land Tenure Board and with du Plessis. So it is right to warn against the City Council.

Secondly, you find absent here to-day organisations which attended previous conferences; for example, the Lansdowne Ratepayers Association. They are not here because they were misled on the very question of the group areas. But we hope that they will realise their mistake and come back to the fold where they belong.

Rev. Wessels seconded the resolution on Group Areas. Passed unanimously.



TREASURER'S REPORT

MR. CHAIRMAN AND DELEGATES.

This is the fifth financial statement we are presenting. On behalf of the National Committee who has had the books audited, I have pleasure in giving you this statement.

At our Conference in January, 1951, we had a credit Bank Balance of 14/2. On the debit side we had accounts to the tune of £164.10.5. It took a while to wipe out this deficit, and even during this three years we had to resort to the raising of loans to continue our work.

For the three years, from January, 1951 to January 1954 our income has amounted to £634.10. 9, made up as follows:-

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| £465. 9. 0. | from parties, drives and rummage sales.    |
| 53.14. 3.   | from 1951 conference fees, donations, etc. |
| 58. 0. 6.   | from paper and ink (recovered).            |
| 3. 0. 0.    | from sale of minutes.                      |
| 54. 7. 0.   | loan advances.                             |
| <hr/>       |  |
| £634.10. 9. |  |

On the expenditure side we spent:-

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| £129. 1. 6. | Paper, ink and stencils.                     |
| 120.15. 9.  | Stationary, stamps and Secretarial expenses. |
| 111.11. 4.  | Loans repaid.                                |
| 86.12. 1.   | Catering (mostly for the braaivleis)         |
| 2.19. 7.    | Bank Charges and cheque book.                |
| 37. 8.11.   | Hiring of Halls.                             |
| 27. 0. 0.   | Hiring 9 lorries for the braaivleis.         |
| 16. 0. 0.   | Miscellaneous.                               |
| <hr/>       |  |
| £521. 9. 2. |  |

Thus income was £634.10. 9. and expenditure £521. 9. 2. which leaves a credit balance of £113. 1. 7.

We have in the bank to-day £106.14. 3. and cash in hand £21.19. 0.

Our income for the three year period has been mainly derived from fund raising efforts. Without a band of loyal and hardworking men and women, this would not have been possible. Our biggest effort was the braaivleis held on December 11th, which made about £213 0. 0. (Gross takings). If we had more than the handful of workers at the braaivleis, or if we had been supported by our local committees more loyally, this sum could easily have been £300. If the takings were considerable, the losses were, unfortunately, equally large.

I am impelled to level this criticism because I trust that this weakness will be remedied. It is customary to make a pious appeal for support from our constituent local committees, and usually a token donation is then received.

The National Committee's Fund Raising Committee must be constituted from members sent by the local committees, and not as at present where it is drawn mainly from sympathisers.

We have heard yesterday, and we shall hear again to-day, when organisation is discussed that the Central Organisation, the National Committee can grow strong only if its constituent organisations are alive and strong. We appreciate that there has been a re-organisation in the country and in the towns, and with the upswing of the movement again. And since the National Committee deals with the union-wide situation through literature, tours, and so on, it must receive support from the country. We therefore look forward to the time when committees are so organised that they can help support their National Committee.

H. Ahmed

TREASURER

AFTERNOON SESSION

Friday 8th January

Chairman:

We will deal now with a report on Finance. Miss Ahmed will give you the Financial Statement for the Years '51, '52, and '53.

(Miss H. Ahmed read her statement.)

Chairman:

We will open Conference with a discussion on the financial statement.

Mr. Rausthoi:

While the present cash balance appears to be healthy, I doubt very much if that is the position. I should imagine there are a number of accounts which have been received in connection with the Conference which have still to be settled, and probably the cost of Catering etc., Dr. Gool used the term "Build the Nation Fund". There are, say, 60 organisations. If we suggested that each organisation affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D. produced in one year the sum of, say, £10, that would give the Committee a regular income. I would like to ask the "Torch" to assist us by putting a list of contributions in their paper. Even if we fell short of £600 we would get a few hundreds. Leaving the financial side, I would like to mention on the organisational side that I think there should be better contact between town and country. I think particularly of the Coloured teachers, who are coming to town. I think more must be done in an organised way so that these teachers should be kept away from the Liberals and other sections. In conclusion, I would like to say I have been very happy in attending this Conference and I would like to thank the speakers who have spoken for the high level they have set, and I think many of us will go away with new ideas. It is the land problem which is the most important.

Mr. Hassim:

I would like to make comments on the financial report. I think it is very important for us to consider with great seriousness the whole question of finance, because I believe that, as an army marches on its stomach, it is true to say that the organisation must march on its funds. I won't repeat the amount of work that has been done and the lack of the circulation of bulletins, but I think the situation as it has been presented to us, the question of the finance, reveals a very serious defect in the whole organisational structure. I feel that the question of raising loans and financing the work of the movement should not be borne solely by the National Committee but should be borne by the constituent organisations in the Anti-C.A.D. When I read the minutes of the last Conference we were struck that although there was this enormous deficit the suggestion showed that people were aware of the fact that money must be raised. To-day nothing has been done in that direction. Nowhere in the balance sheet is it shown that constituent organisations have raised funds. I think the National Committee should be left free to tackle the urgent problems which crop up and do the theoretical and propaganda work necessary. It is creditable that the Treasurer has been able to raise such a large sum. I would move thanks for the work of the Treasurer and the Committee.

Mr. A. Slingers:

I think we all appreciate the importance of the finance. It is right that constituent bodies should donate towards the National Fund, but the constituent bodies have to carry out the propaganda work, and they don't come to the National Committee for Funds. We should have a Fund Raising Committee. It is the duty of the local committees to contribute towards the National Fund but we cannot put the burden on the shoulders of the local Committees. We must appreciate that the local committees must raise the money to do their own propaganda work. There was the suggestion that we should publish the names of contributors in the

"Torch" /.....

"Torch". I don't think it is a wise thing at this stage to publish the source from which we receive our money.

Mr. A. Fataar:

I don't agree that the National Committee must raise all its own funds. For its normal work it must depend on raising its own funds. I don't think we must rely on the local committees, we must go to the organisations which are affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D., the ones that may or may not be affiliated to a local committee. I said this at the last Conference. The individual organisations should loosen up their coffers. Not much heed was taken in the Unity Movement. May I mention the example of the Executive of the Teachers' League that took this advice to heart in 1951 and ever since have made a quarterly contribution from its own funds. The Teachers' League could do the same in regard to the Anti-C.A.D. It should apply to all the branches of the Teachers' League. There are many organisations that have large amounts lying in the banks and have a vast potential for raising money for their own organisational work. It is not an impossible task to devise some means whereby once a year the proceeds should go to the Central Fund. Or, if they should raise £100 a year, they could give a tithe to the Fund. If every organisation here to-day did that the National movement would be in a better position. Delegates should make a note to loosen up the funds of the organisations and ear-mark quarterly some small amount, even one guinea, towards the National coffers of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement.

National Secretary:

I would go further. The position is that if you take each and every organisation, whether it is a family or a big business concern, in each and every organisation, small or large, if it is run successfully you have a budget. If a family income is £10 per week or per month, if they are going to keep the family going they must say "so much for this ----- so much for that". In the same way the organisations must realise that the only safeguard lies with the Anti-C.A.D. People regularly pay into large insurance companies in order to see that there is money to carry on. When people die there are wonderful funerals. They provide for death but they don't provide for life. You will only be able to live if the National movement lives. Therefore I would like everybody to accept that we should take it back from Conference that we need so much money, for this, that, and the other and to keep the life of the people going. So much must be contributed per month to keep the life of the people going.

Chairman:

I want something concrete flowing from the members on this question.

Mr. Fataar:

If you want to suggest the idea of a levy I would be entirely in agreement. If we are to look upon the Anti-C.A.D. no longer as a loose kind of organisation, we will accept such a suggestion to-day. To make the organisations grow we must see that the National Committee has the funds. We are composed of individual organisations and delegates say "we raise funds for our own work and don't see how we can pay out to another organisation. There is no "other organisation". The organisation cannot carry out its political function without contributing to the National Committee. Perhaps we should recommend to the National Committee that they work out a budget and levy the organisations minimum of one guinea. I don't know if I should leave it to the National Committee to decide what they think. They could levy an organisation. We could go as far as from one guinea to ten guineas. If we knew we could expect one guinea or ten guineas from certain organisations it would be easier. We could arrange for a levy, if required.

G.L. Abrahams: ( South Peninsula Branch T.L.S.A.)

I have had the honour to serve on the fund raising Committee and I have noticed a lack of co-ordination and responsibility on the part of members. First of all the Committee suffers from the disadvantage of being loosely organised. People serving on the committee were not members of the Anti-C.A.D. They were comprised of sympathisers only. I would stress the point that in future the local committees should send representatives from their committees

to serve / .....

to serve on the Fund Raising Committee. If we feel we need more helpers we should be able to co-opt them. On the point of levying organisations we must be cautious. There might be organisations that have money in their coffers; on the other hand there are organisations who are small and poor and we might be doing ourselves a disservice and drive them away from us. I would suggest that we do levy, but we levy the local committees. The local committees know their composition and know which organisations affiliated to them can afford it. If a local committee has ten organisations we could say that that committee would be responsible for ten guineas. Also, although we are a National body we have not enough local committees. There cannot be too many. There are five, and this is far too few. We look forward to having more, and I would suggest that as we have a fund raising committee we have a special sub-committee of the National Committee which would concern itself with matters of organisation. In our local committee we aim to get at least one organisation into our committee, we have not succeeded but I think we are on the right road.

V.V. Wessels: ( Cape Fla ts Anti-C.A.D.)

I don't think a levy is practical at all. There are some very poor organisations and we could not work out a scale of levies. We could ask them to contribute as much as they can. Mr. Fataar's idea of a budget is a good one. I would move that this Conference sends a serious notification to all organisations to contribute as regularly as they can to the National Committee.

Chairman:

We will, I am afraid, have to refer this to National Committee and get the whole machinery in order from this point of view.

(Mr. Hassim moved the adoption of the report and the Rev. D.M. Wessels seconded it but there was some discrepancy in the figures and Mr. Fataar objected.)

Mr. Fataar:

If there are one or two items not correct you cannot expect the Conference to accept the statement. We can only recommend that the National Committee go into the statement and accept it on our behalf if correct.

Chairman:

I think the auditors should go into this matter with the Treasurer.

Mr. Fataar:

We empower the National Committee to adopt the report after the National Committee have been into it.

National Secretary:

Conference after Conference we have discussed important matters of moment, clarifying our ideas on the National situation, International situation, etc., but the means to put those ideas into practice has been neglected. In a matter of several minutes we assemble in conference to discuss the most important question of organisation. I do think that the Anti-C.A.D. has not been clamouring for nothing over the last eleven years. Even if people are not inside the Anti-C.A.D. Conference to-day, when it comes to the question of the collaboration or non-collaboration, they know what to do because of the hammering out of the last eleven years, whether in Conference or out. We have not been consistent on the organisational level. From the point of view of the National Anti-C.A.D. we have made every effort to organise the various parts of the Union. I am sorry no opportunity will be given to the people on the platform to place ideas as to what can be done in order to increase the organisational side of the Anti-C.A.D. We have assembled here in Conference one or two organisations not directly affiliated to the Anti-C.A.D., and I would be very pleased if delegates would make it their business to contact personally or by letter the incoming Secretary

of the / .....

of the Anti-C.A.D., so that we may get them into the local committees. Where you have a drive from the official side you get the message back from the people. It is imperative that the organisational side should be built up in the various areas. I make one last plea again that delegates not affiliated to local Anti-C.A.D. etc., make it their business to contact the incoming Secretary, so that we can find ways and means of consolidating the organisational side. Where we have local Committees we must move heaven and earth to increase the work of organisation of those local committees. We have not gone into every organisation of the people. If there is willingness from outside and inside I am quite sure we will get things going.

Mr. R. Roman: (Claremont Branch T.L.S.A.)

My organisation feels that there is a lack of contact between the National Anti-C.A.D. Committee and the affiliated bodies. I admit it is no mean achievement for the organisation to have lived for eleven years. We know there is no organising Secretary, but we come to the lack of finance and that comes up against the lack of contact. If we had contact with the local organisations we could ask them to donate. There should always be a closely-knit link between the Anti-C.A.D. Committee and the local committees. We also feel there should be contact between the various bodies and the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, where reports and statements are sent so that they can see whether this body is functioning. Contact can only be kept by the regular issue of circular letters. I think certain organisations have lost touch because of lack of circular letters. I hope contact will be kept between these bodies by regular circular letters. We need more circulars and bulletins. Some objections will be that the ideas can be set through the "Torch". The "Torch" is a paper of the nation, it is not the mouthpiece of the Anti-C.A.D. We must have the circular letters. People may say that the Anti-C.A.D. is a Federal body and it is impossible to send out circulars, but precisely because of that, more care must be taken to see that the organisation goes smoothly. People might place a vote of no confidence in the National Secretary, it is not a vote of no confidence.

(Mr. Roman here read his Resolution)

That the National Committee maintains regular contact with the affiliated organisations through medium of regular statements and bulletins.

Chairman:

We must extend that. Local committees must not only see to their local matters, but when their men are free they can comb the outskirts. We need the personal touch as well. It is the spread of ideas that is important, not alone the spread of circulars. I think the finance and organisational questions must be discussed with the National Committee.

Mr. Fataar:

Many people come here for the first time. We must keep in contact with them and if possible establish a local committee. Then we have contact.

Chairman:

I feel the specific directive "circular letters" should be deleted from the resolution. "Ways and means" includes circular letters, but other ways are also important.

(This resolution proposed by Mr. Roman and seconded by Mr. S. Meer from Dundee was after some discussion passed, with two delegates voting against it.)

CHAIRMAN:

Mr. B. M. Kies will introduce the subject "The International Situation". We must look beyond the Union and see the struggle between reaction and emancipation even beyond the borders of South Africa. Anything that happens in Japan or any other part of the world affects us. So we must understand what is happening. It is a continuing of a certain approach to matters national and international.

MR. KIES:

I think that through previous Anti-C.A.D. and Unity Movement conferences and through the discussions yesterday and to-day we have already to some extent built up some of the background to an understanding of the international situation. Far from attempting the impossible task of trying to draw the whole picture, I wish to indicate certain essential signposts on the international situation which will guide us, generally, on the matter of finding out where and how our struggles fit in internationally. The standpoint we have always taken on the international situation could be summarised briefly in terms of an inscription I saw a few days ago. I was in a local library and came across a book of woodcuts giving various pictures of what has been going on in China for the last ten years, particularly since the casting-out of British and American Imperialism. There were many pictures of workers, ruined cities and battle-scenes. Underneath many of them were words to this effect: "This scene was depicted by Chinese hands. This proves that China is part of a struggling and suffering world. The things we are discussing should, I think, be viewed in the same light. All these things go to prove once again that this South Africa is part of a suffering and oppressed world, and we should see our struggle here as part of the struggles of people who are very much the same as we are.

There are many questions on the international scene which flit through one's mind as one reads the daily papers. Many people are so tired of all the International Conferences that never produce anything of benefit to humanity, that only hardened and disciplined readers ever go through every sentence of a newspaper report. There are at the moment a few matters that must be agitating the minds of those of us who study the international situation. Many of us would be hard put to it if we were asked about the exact stage of the "truce" negotiations in Korea. Quite a few people when they read Eisenhower's State of the Union address reported in this morning's papers must have wondered what justification there was for his very great optimism. Eisenhower discussed the American scene as though there had never been a depression and could never be one. He again affirmed the support that the U.S.A. was going to give to Chiang-Kai-Shek. Why, might one ask, does the President say that America still has to subsidise Chiang-kai-Shek, in the face of the change in China. There is the matter of Pakistan and American bases and subsidies. People wonder whether India is really as tough as she pretends to be on this question.

India is getting money from the U.S.A. to buy steel. This was reported in the Press at the same time as the news of the Pakistan-U.S. deal. Then there is the Bermuda Conference, where Laniel was treated very badly by Churchill. There is also the possibility of the U.S. depression and the international significance of the Commonwealth Sterling Conference which is now going on in Australia. Then, what effect has Stalin's death had on international and internal policies. Has it resulted in any real change in the situation at all.

People must have wondered why and how it was possible to get rid of Beria so soon. Then there is the matter of Central African Federation. Apart from the fact that it was forced down the throats of the African people, many of us are asking what it means economically, militarily and politically in the whole setting of Africa today and whether it is the prelude to another Federation further North. Then there is the summary dismissal of the Kabaka of Buganda, and the questions of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. What do these developments portend. I leave the details of all these questions to you, for it is impossible for me here to give a detailed exposition of what is going on internationally. No student tries to learn everything or to read all the books in the world. Every teacher knows that one tries to teach students where to get the knowledge and how to handle it when they do get it.

I want, then, merely to place before Conference four fundamental theses, four theses, that we should use as our signposts not only to attempt the answers to questions I have raised but to guide us to some understanding of the present period through which we are passing internationally. The first thesis is that the epoch through which we are now passing is one that has seen the decline and decay of Anglo-American Imperialism. Ever since the war against the Axis ceased, Anglo-American imperialism has been at war in some part of the world or another. Today there is no question of Anglo-American Imperialism wanting peace, because the major question for them is not the cessation of the present wars but the possible expansion of them. This is the first signpost we have to observe. The second is that for the past 35 years the existence of the Soviet Union has been the greatest "satellites" have increased in size of the stumbling-block. My third thesis is that the greatest single, unified, dynamic force challenging Anglo-American Imperialism is the social revolution which is taking place in China. The driving urge and living example of the Chinese social revolution is engendering perhaps the greatest single force in the Colonial world that is driving Anglo-American Imperialism more quickly to its grave. The fourth thesis is that it is an objective fact today, irrespective of the details, that the whole of this colonial, semi-colonial and former colonial world is in revolt, because it is no longer possible for imperialism to rule these colonies in the old way.

On the basis of these four fundamentals, then, I come to an examination of some of the questions I have raised. Let us deal first of all with the United States. The U.S. suffered a defeat in China. The U.S. has lost also in Korea. The change of emphasis in American "war now" policy dates from the time of the fall of McArthur. Gradually the dominant section has been preparing for the present position. The section of American Imperialism which had McArthur as its military representative was the section that wanted to take the gamble of a world war "now", when it was thought America had superior strength. The victory of the Republicans in the Presidential elections further strengthened that section of imperialism which thought it would be a good thing to have an expansion of the war "now". Another factor which has changed the minds of American imperialists in general is the realisation that the Soviet Union has, at least, the atomic bomb. There was once tremendous propaganda to "Drop it now, while we have the bomb and they have not". This situation has now changed. They now apparently want an atomic pool. There is no longer such eagerness to drop the bomb, because one may be dropped on Washington, too.

I come to the question of an economic depression in the U.S.A. People have been making rash prognostications. In 1949 already there were signs of economic depression in the U.S. The symptoms were similar to those seen in 1928, at the time of the great Wall Street crash. In 1949 an economic depression was already setting in and may have deepened. The war in Korea in 1950 gave a fillip to the economic position in America. It would seem that there are similar symptoms showing themselves at the present time and, despite what Eisenhower had to say in his State of the Union message, serious economists know that there are signs of a recession in the U.S. and the beginning of unemployment. It is even possible that by June of this year the depression will have reached greater proportions than the 1949 one. We well remember the black areas in Britain and the millions of unemployed in the U.S. after 1928. People may ask whether there is a possibility that the U.S. may consider that this economic depression might be averted by broadening out the war. I think it could be said that unless a catastrophic depression develops there does not seem at the moment to be any serious possibility of the economic recession's acting as a dominant drive for war. It seems that the possibility of an expansion of war has been arrested somewhat. However, there will never be peace while imperialism lasts. In the U.S. there is fear and suspicion. McCarthyism expresses the feelings of both lumper and morbid elements, of the fascist elements.

Let us turn to Britain. She has been chief pensioner of the U.S. British Imperialism has been in a more advanced state of decay since the second world war. It has needed dollar injections to prevent collapse.

British Imperialism does not want "war now". But today Britain is not as weak economically as in 1945, or even a year ago. In 1946 it was the Labour Government that came to office. The Labour Party of Britain helped in the prolongation of the life of imperialism. The British Labour Party has made its contribution to the artificial lease of life that Britain has acquired. Just as the U.S. bribes people with dollars, the British Labour Party are acting as agents of imperialism to bribe the colonial people with "welfare" schemes or "partnership". Another factor in this "recovery" is the release by the Soviet Union of gold. This Soviet gold went towards the final instalment for 1953 that Britain had to pay the U.S.A. Some of the pseudo-independence (from the U.S.A.) enjoyed by Britain is due to the Soviet Union. And we must not isolate this so-called "recovery", from what is happening in Kenya, British Guiana, etc. We are now seeing the beginnings of what is meant to be a counter-offensive against the colonial world, because "it has been given too much". It seems that there is to be a strong attempt to regain the position British Imperialism "lost" in the Colonies. At the present moment British Imperialism is in the mood to be more truculent in the Colonial countries. Hence Guiana, Kenya, Buganda. Hence, too, the Australian Conference. Britain hopes to increase dollar-earning capacity by manipulating sterling and a new "Ottawa" agreement.

And now Europe. Just as Korea did not turn out to be another Spain, so in Europe the Imperialists will not be able to solve the question of Germany. The position of Germany will eat like a cancer into Europe. It is impossible for Imperialism to solve this, because it will always have trouble with France over E.D.C. (European Defence Community). The four-power conference won't in any case, come to anything, because of France and the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union's rate of recovery since the war has been remarkable. Its economy, it seems, is strong enough to produce for war and consumer commodity goods. A remarkable thing is that the rulers allowed the Stalin myth to die. It is possible that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is feeling freer since the death of Stalin and was uneasy about the power of the Secret Police. Hence the fate of Beria. The important thing, however, is the alliance between the Soviet Union and China. There is this huge land-mass right across Asia. The Soviet Union has entrusted the Chinese with its finest weapons and airplanes. The military economy of the Soviet Union seems to have outstripped that of the U.S.A.

With regard to China, there is the fundamental fact that the Chinese social revolution is the greatest event of recent times. The social revolution is the spectre which is haunting Imperialism in the Colonial world. What we are seeing in all the Colonial countries is various manifestations of the indisputable fact that the former colonial world is in revolt from imperialism and that it is impossible for imperialism to rule these countries in the old way. There are bribes of all kinds and on all levels and new forms of deception. Their aim is international exploitation and domination. But they are losing. The colonial world is in "permanent" revolt. It is not a mystical thing. It is a struggle against imperialism. People's minds have changed and they will no longer bear their burdens. We here are part of the struggle. There is a physical connection, because imperialism is international. Our relation to other struggles must not be platonic but dynamic. Our struggle is part of the international struggle and we must be aware of our part and responsibility here to the whole of this international struggle.

MR. D.V. BRUTUS. (Anti-C.A.D., Port Elizabeth.) :

We are now able to get a perspective which places our own political situation squarely where it belongs. We have seen how the Colonial countries are in revolt. We have seen the impact of the international situation on South Africa. What do we propose to do about it? Imperialist exploitation has very little to do with colour. For most of the colonial countries today, colour is an accident of history. The Imperialist countries exploit countries which are to a great extent Non-European. That is in itself not significant, except that in South Africa the accident of colour is used as an extra buttress to exploitation. Here "race" has been used as a justification for oppression. We can see that what is happening all over the world and must happen in South Africa can end in only one way: The walls of oppression must crumble.

If/.....



If there are any who still entertain doubts on this subject, we have only to look at the achievements of China. The development in China has been nothing short of tremendous. In China today we find acceleration of development exceeding that anywhere else. With these things to back us we can be sure that our struggle is not a vain one. No matter how great the oppression seems to be, I think there is adequate reason to believe that eventually we must triumph.

MR. E. H. SSIM (Coloured People's Congress, Transvaal) :

Mr. Kies said we must never forget that our solidarity with the rest of the colonial world fighting for freedom is a physical connection. What makes for this physical connection? We must look at two things. We must recognise that oppression itself is indivisible. Towards the end of the last century, the colonial oppressors carved out the world among themselves. They split the world into two camps, the imperialists and the oppressed. The struggle is also indivisible. As the world has been split up into two camps, we have to fight against the idea that one country may have been a worse oppressor than another. There may have been different struggles in different parts of the world. China has completely thrown off the imperialist yoke, while here in South Africa we are just beginning to walk. It remains that we are part of the suffering mass of humanity, so when the people of China succeed in their struggle, we in South Africa derive inspiration and strength from their victory. I do not wish to detract from the lecture Mr. Kies has given us. I think it was adequately dealt with, but I do think that perhaps we have lost when we have not dealt in detail with the struggle that is going on all around us in the colonial world, in Burma, Kenya, and so on. Although assailed on all sides by the Herrenvolk nevertheless the rest of the colonial world is shaking off the imperialist giant. We draw courage and strength from that for our fight.

Mr. I.B. Tabata. ( A.A.C.W.P.)

We are discussing the international situation. Every year we hear people asking why we discuss the international situation. Every year they ask: "What does it all boil to?". Why do we find it necessary to discuss at our conferences the international situation? Well, we do so for several reasons. First of all we do so in recognition of the fact that we are part of the world and are inseparable from the world. People in their thinking do not usually encompass the world. They do not see the whole world as a unit but divide it into pieces. Here in South Africa it is difficult for a Non-European even to regard himself as a human being. It is difficult for him to look at himself as part of the population of South Africa and still less of the world. It is our task, therefore, to make the people see themselves as part of humanity in general. Secondly we want to learn from the experiences of others, from their experiences of struggle. Thirdly we want to get a picture of the whole world development and the direction in which it is going. Fourthly we want to be able to place our struggles within the framework of the world events so that we may know in what way our struggle is affected by international events.

Now I was fortunate in being present at another Conference in Queenstown where the international situation was also discussed. The point that came out clearly was that there are two main streams in the development of colonial struggles. On the one hand there are those who took the road of India, followed by British Guiana and the Gold Coast, with their "Uncle Tom's" constitutions. On the other hand there are those who are taking the road of China and Indo-China. We must see our struggles in relation to these two main streams. Which way are we going? In which direction are we facing? Here at home we have two streams, too. There are those who accept the New Road of the 10-Point Programme and those who reject it. We must be able to see which way each of these roads leads to in relation to world developments.

To-day Mr. Kies dealt mainly with the machinations of America and England, called upon by history to lead the western world. What does it all boil down to? Whatever else may come in between, ultimately there must be a war to the bitter end, a war between America, England and their satellites on the one hand, and Russia and China on the other. The colonial countries will be called upon to make a choice. The coming war will be the gratest and

bloodiest / .....

bloodiest of all wars. It is a war that will decide the fate of all mankind. There will be no neutrality on the part of any country or people. It will be a war to decide the future way of life for mankind as a whole. We see, however, that the 3rd World War has been postponed. It had been expected that immediately after the 2nd World War, America and England would lead the West in a war against Russia. But this was not possible. For the prestige of the Russian army, which, as everybody knew, had borne the brunt of fighting the German military machine, stood high in the eyes of the people of the world. The next attempt that America made to start a war was on the occasion of the ignominious rout of Chang-Kei-Shek's army by the Chinese people, despite the arms that America had poured in to bolster him up. Later came the war in Korea, which resulted in the defeat of America. Here again, America failed to draw Europe into a war against China and Russia. Now the atom bomb and the h-bomb have altered the relation of forces. The knowledge that Russia also possesses these bombs compels America to sing a different tune. Europe is not ready to go to war and therefore America cannot go to war against Russia and China. This, then, means that for the moment the 3rd World War has been postponed. This places America and England in a dilemma. For the postponement of the war is against them and China and Russia have everything to gain by it. Russia has a breathing space and to-day it has switched over from the production of tanks, ammunition, etc., to the production of goods for consumption. China has time to re-organise the country, consolidate its victories and establish heavy industry. On the other hand postponement of the war means the draining of America's resources, colossal as they are, and this weakens her. Liberatory movements amongst the colonial peoples throughout the world have time to unfold. To give one example:- France is completely bankrupt; she can no longer hold her colonies; she is unable to check the liberatory struggles. In French Indo-China and North Africa the people are throwing off the yoke of foreign domination. America has come to her aid and is pouring out fabulous sums of money to bolster up French colonialism. But this wealth is going down the drain so that even America cannot keep it up indefinitely.

We have said that the 3rd World War has been postponed. What does this mean to us and the rest of the colonial world? We can already see indications of what is in store for us. The imperialist countries must use the interim period to intensify their efforts at crushing the liberatory movement among the colonial peoples. For this they use two methods, brute force, as in Kenya, or the method of quislingism. We must be on the look-out for the development and spread of this disease called "quislingitis". Here in South Africa the postponement of the war gives the herrenvolk a breathing-space to "settle the Non-European problem." That is why it is appropriate that this Conference of the Anti-C.A.D. should have devoted a great deal of time to discussing national problems. When the Group Areas Act was passed Malan expressed satisfaction that he had lived to see such legislation reach the statute book. It was his life's dream. Nor was this their only objective. In the last few years there has been a veritable spate of legislation to tie the Non-Europeans hand, mind and foot. There is in the actions of the herrenvolk a hurry and a sense of urgency which amounts to an obsession.

Let us go home from Conference remembering the theme, the line that runs right through our discussions. The Chairman in his presidential address, in that part of it which debunks the idea of "the greater or the lesser evil", showed us that, far from there being a difference between the herrenvolk parties, far from there being a difference between the liberal Cape and the illiberal North, all of them are united in their policy towards the Non-Europeans. They see the existence of certain anomalies in the Cape and these must be removed. Hence the removal of the Africans from the common roll in 1936 and now the Disfranchisement Bill for the Coloured people and the heading into locations of all Non-Europeans by the Group Areas Act. Then Mr. Tsotsi, in opening the discussion of the national situation, brought vividly before us the problems of the people in the country. He opened the window, as it were, to enable us to see the suffering and the aspirations of the majority section, the African peasants, and he ended his address with a plea for a closer unity between town and country. Miss Gool, in dealing with the Group Areas Act, showed us how the herrenvolk were pressing the Coloured people into the same position as the Africans and that the Group Areas Act is in fact a continuation of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts against the Africans.

This enables us to see the unity of our oppression. As people who have been made outcasts from the land of our birth, we must unite and stake a claim to manhood, not only in the Union of South Africa, but in the world, as part of mankind itself. But we cannot be associated with the broad stream of the

struggles of the people of the world in a nebulous, mystical way. Our starting point is here, in the smallest of our local organisations. We must belong to our civic groups, our trade unions, our educational and other organisations. Through these many small channels we enter the Anti-C.A.D.; through it, again, we enter the Non-European Unity Movement and thus step by step we come to the broad stream of the colonial countries throughout the world struggling for freedom. We must use the 10-Point Programme as a measuring-rod to show us who is with us and who is against us. The Ten Point Programme is not only a measuring-rod or a beacon. It is also a guide to action.

Chairman:

We have had a most interesting discussion. We have been able to take a particular line on the international situation.

-----  
-----

MR. FATAAR:

The work of propaganda has been facilitated by the newspaper, the "Torch". Everyone has a political stake in the "Torch". There are people who know about the Anti-C.A.D. but do not even take the "Torch". I hope that delegates will see that they read the "Torch" newspaper and that it is publicised among members of their organisation. It is not mentioned sufficiently and people should subscribe.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS:

The Reverend Wessel took the chair as the returning officer and read out the names of the office bearers. He then called for nominations for the post of:-

Chairman:

Mr. Rusthoi proposed Dr. G.H. Gool.  
Seconded by Miss Luckay  
Mr. Lekoathi proposed nominations closed  
Seconded by Mr. Fataar.  
Dr. G.H. Gool was returned unopposed.

Vice-Chairman:

Mr. Anthony proposed Councillor Eric Viljoen.  
Seconded by Mrs. M. Volkwyn  
Councillor Viljoen was elected unopposed.

Secretary:

Mr. Frank Landman proposed Mr. F. Grammer.  
Seconded by Mr. Daniels.  
Mr. Noble proposed nominations closed.  
Seconded by Miss Luckay.  
Mr. Grammer was elected unopposed.

Assistant Secretary:

Mr. A. Slingers proposed Mr. Ralph Taylor  
Seconded by Miss Ahmed  
Dr. Gool proposed nominations closed  
Seconded by Mr. Wally Hammond.  
Mr. Taylor was elected unopposed.

Treasurer:

Mr. Slingers proposed Mrs. J. Kay.  
Seconded by Miss Amelia Lewis.  
Mr. Hassim proposed Miss H. Ahmed.  
Seconded by Mr. Rasthoi.  
Mr. Ralph Taylor proposed Mr. W.P. van Schoor.  
Seconded by Miss Luckay.  
Mr. Slingers proposed nominations closed.  
Seconded by Mr. Hassim.

(A ballot was held between Mrs. Kay and Mr. van Schoor, as Miss Ahmed withdrew her nomination. Mr. Claude Darling and Mr. Noble were asked to act as scrutineers. Mrs. Kay was elected as Treasurer)

Press Officer:

Mr. Jaffe proposed Mr. B.M. Kies.  
Seconded by Mrs. P. Holbein.  
Dr. Gool proposed nominations closed.  
Seconded by Miss Luckay.  
Mr. B.M. Kies re-elected unopposed.

MEMBERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

In answer to a question the chairman said the other members of the National Committee are the representatives of the local committees.

Miss Ahmed said that the National Committee should be given the list of organisations which composed the  
Local/.....

Local Committee, so that the National Committee was assured of the support of bona-fide organisations.

Mr. Fataar.

Now that we have Anti-C.A.D. committees and an organisation in the Transvaal and Kimberley, the National Committee should think of having a National Committee Meeting say once a year, where representatives of these organisations could attend at a suitable time, between conferences.

Dr. Gool:

The National Committee will have to discuss how they will divide up and what are the spheres of the committees sending members to the National Committee; minutes and resumes of discussions etc., will be sent to those organisations in the Transvaal and other places far afield.

The Rev. D.M. Wessels:

I want to take this opportunity on behalf of Conference to thank the old officers for the work that they have done in the past three years. This has been a service of love. It is because these officers have been convinced in their own minds that there has been and is a job of work to be done. And their participation in the movement has been because they are convinced that the organisation has set out on the right road. We wish to thank them very heartily. On behalf of Conference may I extend to the new officers a very hearty welcome to their new seats. We hope they will not just be sitting and sitting-partners but that they will be up and doing. There is not only a nation to be built up but people to be saved.

Dr. G.H. Gool:

I think this is one of the finest conferences I have attended. First of all, there was the new generation that has come into the movement. There is the development of the ideas and a mounting of things, which is as it should be. We must see that our own people go into the battle and draw the people behind them. I would thank the catering department who have carried on the good job of feeding not only the delegates but also the public. I want to thank the officers who have worked together as a team during the last three years in face of the threats by the Herrenvolk. Any weakness in the centre would have extended. We have worked in spite of the quislings and those who stand between the quislings and the Government, I refer to the adventurers and the conservatives, who have a powerful hold over the people. They have tried to divide us. I hope that with your assistance we will have that strength to go on.

Councillor R.E. Viljoen:

Once again we have come to the end of yet another Conference and from here we are going out back to the people. As I said yesterday, our decisions; the responsibility now rests with us. We must go back to where we came from and do some work. Your executive has worked as a team. If it were not for that we could not, I think, have made the progress we have made. May we go on from strength to strength, with our Goal-Freedom.

5TH NATIONAL ANTI-C.A.D. CONFERENCE

R E S O L U T I O N S

PASSED AT WOODSTOCK TOWN HALL

7th - 8th January, 1954

---

(I) THE FRANCHISE

That this Conference of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement:

- (i) Re-affirms its complete rejection of the Coloured Disfranchisement Act (i.e. the so-called Separate Representation of Voters Act) with its proposals to disfranchise the Cape Coloured Voters by placing them on a separate roll with communal "representation" in the Senate, House of Assembly and the Provincial Council, and substituting a dummy Coloured Representative Council for the defunct dummy Coloured Advisory Council;
- (ii) Repudiates all the deputations which interviewed the Government in connection with the Coloured Vote and brands them as unrepresentative, politically opportunistic and collaborationist;
- (iii) Declares that, inasmuch as the Select Committee allegedly inquiring into the "question" of the Coloured Vote is in fact a continuation of the political bartering between the Nationalist and United Parties on the method of disfranchising and is in no way concerned with the franchise rights of the Coloured People, all organisations and persons who have given "evidence" before this Committee have betrayed the interests of the oppressed Non-White people by providing a cloak for the disfranchisers and by assisting the Herrenvolk in their attempt to break the united opposition of the Coloured People;
- (iv) Reiterates its demand for the full franchise, i.e. the right to elect and be elected, for all persons irrespective of "race", colour, creed or sex and
- (v) Calls upon the Coloured People, in working for the realisation of this demand:
  - (a) to continue to dissociate themselves from the political bargaining of the Herrenvolk, in Parliament and Select Committee, on the method of disfranchising the Coloured Voters,
  - (b) to continue and to intensify the political struggle against the opportunists, collaborators and quislings with their deputations, ad hoc committees and spurious opposition to disfranchisement,
  - (c) to prepare themselves politically and organisationally for the complete boycott of all elections under the Disfranchisement Act, and
  - (d) to strengthen their organisations and intensify their struggle on the principled basis of the Anti-C.A.D. Movement, which is an integral part of the Non-European Unity Movement.

(II) THE COLOURED AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

That this Conference:

- (i) Reminds the country at large and in particular the Coloured People of the warnings issued by the Anti-C.A.D. Movement when it was founded in 1943, to the effect that the formation of the Coloured Advisory

Council / .....

Council was inseparable from the formation of a Coloured Affairs Department, from the disfranchisement of the Coloured voters and the institution of separate "representation" on the model of "Native Representation",

- (ii) Reminds the Coloured People of the great struggles which they waged in order to maintain the independence of their organisations, to conduct the political struggle on two fronts, i.e. against the Herrenvolk and against its Coloured agents or quislings, and to implement the policy of non-collaboration through the use of the boycott weapon;
- (iii) Impresses upon the Coloured People the urgent necessity for intensifying the struggle against the Coloured Affairs Department which despite the collapse of the Coloured Advisory Council, the failure of its C.P.N.U. and T.E.P.A. to gain support for the C.A.C. and C.A.D., and despite the Government's technical setbacks in connection with the disfranchisement, is trying, directly through agencies such as the Kleurlingvolksbond, the Moslem Teachers' Association, the Onderwysersbond, the Klaasjagersberg Camps, and indirectly through the United Party - and Liberal-sponsored ad hoc bodies such as the Fr.A.C. and S.A.C.P.O., to gain control of every aspect of the life of the Coloured People in the same totalitarian way as the Native Affairs Department regiments the life of the African People;
- (iv) Exhorts the Coloured People to boycott the C.A.C. and also to counter in every possible way its schemes, through its Commissioner and its paid and unpaid Coloured and other lackeys, to undermine their organisations, to divide them on "tribalistic" (i.e. "Griqua", "Namaqua", "Cape Malay") or provincial lines and, in particular, to manufacture and exploit religious differences as between so-called "Christian Coloured" and "Moslem Coloured", to incite racial pogroms of Coloureds against Africans, "Malays" against Coloureds, and both Coloured and "Malay" against African and Indian.

### (III) EDUCATION

That this Conference:

- (i) Repudiates and rejects the De Vos Malan Commission on Coloured Education as the instrument for still further debasing the education at present doled out to Coloured children, through a system of slave-education modelled on that recommended in the report of the "Eiselen Commission on Native Education", and through the transfer of control to the Coloured Affairs Department;
- (ii) Pledges its continued support for the T.L.S.A. policy of boycotting the Commission, as well as for the struggle against the Commission and for a single, fully democratic, non-segregated system of education for all children, irrespective of "race" or colour;
- (iii) Declares its solidarity with the struggle of the African People against the educational enslavement purposed by the Bantu Education Act, and endorses the resolution passed by the Unionwide conference convened by the Cape African Teachers' Association at Queenstown on December 14th, 1953.
- (iv) Further -
  - (a) Condemns the attempts by the Herrenvolk ruling class to remove the Non-White students from the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand;
  - (b) Condemns any proposal to establish a separate inferior university for Non-Europeans as an attempt to complete the Herrenvolk policy of apartheid in education, to deny equality in higher education to Non-Whites and to stunt the intellectual and cultural development of the Non-European;
  - (c) Demands the right of admission of Non-White students to

any / .....

any university or seat of higher learning in South Africa on the basis of complete equality.

This Union-wide conference of Non-European teachers, convened by the Cape African Teachers' Association, and meeting in Queenstown on Monday, 14th December, 1953:

- (i) Holds that the ruling class policy of segregation or apartheid in education whereby people are divided and peened off into so-called tribal and racial groups is an instrument for the maintenance, and perpetuation of the general system of Herrenvolk domination over the Non-Whites politically, economically and socially;
- (ii) Maintains that the Eiselen Commission was appointed by the rulers to devise for Africans a plan whereby the inferiority and subservience in the existing school system would be entrenched and intensified; and further maintains that the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission are deliberately devised to stunt the intellectual development of the African child and to deny him the right of citizenship in a modern society;
- (iii) Declares categorically that the Bantu Education Act, passed against the wishes of the Non-European oppressed people by a Parliament in which they are in no way represented, is the legal machinery for the implementation of the slave system devised by the Eiselen Commission for the Herrenvolk; and, therefore,
- (iv) Addresses itself, not only to the Non-European teachers throughout the Union, but to all the Non-White people of South Africa, in order,
  - (a) to impress upon them the necessity of a principled, unified, unceasing struggle against the educational system devised under the Bantu Education Act as an integral part of the whole system of oppression by the Herrenvolk;
  - (b) to warn them that the Herrenvolk seek in particular to use not only the quislings working the Bantu Authorities Acts, but also the teachers themselves in order to school African children for perpetual slavery;
  - (c) to exhort both teachers and the people not to operate the machinery of their own enslavement, of which this Bantu Education Act is the most recent enactment;
  - (d) to urge upon all the oppressed people their national duty to pursue and co-ordinate the struggle, not only against the insidious provisions of the Act, but also against those who betray their people by accepting the positions and offices especially created for quislings under the act;
  - (e) to enjoin upon the teachers in particular their responsibility to the nation and the children of the nation, a responsibility which demands of them that they should strengthen, co-ordinate and unify their own organisations and that they should work in the closest co-operation with the people struggling, not only against the Bantu Education Act, the Bantu Authorities Acts and the whole system of oppression, but also for full citizenship rights.

#### (IV) THE TRADE UNIONS

That this Conference:

- (i) Condemns and rejects the increasingly fascistic legislation used or directed against the Trade Union Movement in South Africa, as evidenced by the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act of 1953, which destroys the right to strike, places the African workers under the Native Affairs Department, and extends the machinery of industrial oppression; by the Native Building Workers Act, which extends inferiority and segregation in work and wages; by the Suppression of Communism Act,

.....  
which is / .....



which is used to decapitate the trade unions; by the proposed Schoeman Bill to divide the unions still further on racial lines, to increase competition and race-hatred among the workers; and by the threat to place the Coloured workers and their "Unions" under the Coloured Affairs Department;

- (ii) Views these measures as the continuation and intensification of previous oppressive legislation introduced and applied by all Herrenvolk parties especially since the Act of Union, and as the inevitable consequence of denying citizenship to the Non-Europeans of South Africa;
- (iii) Calls upon the workers to boycott the machinery of industrial collaboration, i.e. as in the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act;
- (iv) Deplores and warns against the policy of adaptation, capitulation, collaboration, and of isolation from the National Liberatory Movement, preached and practised by the trade union bureaucracy, both white and non-white, against the interests of the workers, both white and non-white;
- (v) Declares that without a consistent, principled struggle against trade union collaborationism the trade unions will be utterly destroyed and replaced by company and State unions unreservedly controlled by the Native Affairs Department and the Coloured Affairs Department;
- (vi) Reaffirms the resolutions adopted during the past eleven years of the Anti-C.A.D. and N.E.U.M. on the necessity for Trade Union participation in the National Liberatory Movement in order to create free, unfettered, democratic, non-racial unions, and declares that the very life and future of the unions as well as the full development of the liberatory movement depends upon the struggle of the workers in their unions against the Herrenvolk and bureaucrat - collaborators, so that the trade unions may take their rightful place in the Anti-C.A.D. and the Non-

(V) T E GROUP AREAS

That this Conference:

Viewing the Group Areas Act as an extension, to the Coloured and Indian people in particular, of the iniquitous system of land and property restriction, economic ruination and dispossession enforced against the African People through the various Land Acts and resulting in the rural and urban locations or ghettos of cheap, regimented labour:

- (i) Declares its unconditinnal opposition to, and rejection of, the Group Areas Act;
- (ii) Calls upon the people to refrain from making representations to the Land Tenure Advisory Board in order to claim or plead for location "areas", because by making representations
  - (a) They work the machinery of their own expropriation, edgradation, ejection and oppression;
  - (b) They assist the Herrenvolk in dividing the Non-White peoples amongst themselves and in creating a pogrom spirit; and further calls upon the people to boycott the management councils (i.e. bungas) as provided under the Group Areas Act;
- (iii) Warns against various agencies, such as city councils, town and divisional councils and private and state-backed companies which are exploiting both the acute housing shortage and the threat of expropriation in order to implement the Group Areas Act through the so-called sub-economic, economic rental and economic ownership schemes;
- (iv) Condemns the use of methods tantamount to political blackmail whereby the legitimate aspirations of the people to trade etc. are exploited to

force / .....

force them into becoming virtual C.A.D. agents;

- (v) Reaffirms the demand for freedom to occupy and own land and property without restriction based on "race", colour or creed; and
- (vi) reminds the oppressed people that this freedom can be attained only in and through the struggle for the franchise and full citizenship rights.

---

FIFTH NATIONAL ANTI-CAD MOVEMENT CONFERENCE.

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <u>Representation</u>       | 69 organisations represented by 120 delegates.  |
| 9 Political                 | Peninsula, Johannesburg, Albertville, Benoni, Kimberley, Dundee.  |
| 5 Anti-C.A.D. Comm.         | 4 Peninsula, 1 Port Elizabeth.  |
| 11 Civic                    | Peninsula, Kimberley.   |
| 1 Trade Union Council       | Port Elizabeth  |
| 1 Religious                 | Peninsula.  |
| 22 Educational T.L.S.A.     | Central Executive, Peninsula Branches, Algoa Bay, Port Elizabeth, East London, King Williamstown, Eastern Midlands, Caledon and Dist., Kimberley, Robertson and Dist., Uppington and Dist., Stellenbosch, Oudtshoorn. |
| 11 Parent-Teacher           | Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn.  |
| 8 Student Cult. and Educat. | Peninsula, Paarl, Fort Hare, Port Elizabeth.  |
| 1 Sporting                  | Peninsula.  |
| <u>69 organisations</u>     | <u>120 delegates</u>  |

Thursday 8th January, 1954.