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REASONS FOR JUDGMENT - RUMPPF

Voorblad

TREASON TRIAL 1957 - 1960
REASONS FOR JUDGMENT - RUMPPF
SCHEDULES 1 TO 19

REASONS FOR JUDGMENT

RUMPF J. A.

SCHEDULES 1 to 19.

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SCHEDULE NO.1.

J U D G M E N T.

RUMPF, J:

We have considered the evidence put before the Court and the arguments addressed to us on behalf of the Defence.

The further arguments to be addressed to us by the Defence on the contents of a number of reported speeches and on the policy of the organisations other than the African National Congress, do not appear to us to affect materially the consideration of the question whether or not the Prosecution has discharged the onus which rests on it in connection with the policy of violence attributed to the African National Congress, and which alleged policy is the cornerstone of the case for the Prosecution. If the case fails against the African National Congress it must fail against the other organisations. The policy of the African National Congress has been argued fully by the Prosecution and by the Defence, and we do not think it necessary for the Defence further to address us.

We also wish to announce that after full consideration of the issues in this case, we have arrived at a unanimous verdict. In the normal course of events we would not have delivered our verdict without at the same time fully setting out our reasons therefor, but in view of the mass of evidence with which we have to deal the formulation of our reasons will of necessity take a considerable time. This consideration, and the fact that this case has already consumed some years of hearing, have induced us to announce our verdict together with such essential

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findings of fact as have been arrived at by us on the evidence in the case. Written reasons for our verdict will in due course be handed to the Registrar of this Court.

I shall now proceed to deal with our verdict, and the accused may remain seated.

The accused are charged with treason. They have pleaded not guilty.

The first overt act of treason laid against all the accused in the indictment is a conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence. Against each accused further overt acts are laid, and these acts are said to have been committed in pursuance of the conspiracy.

The case for the Prosecution is not that the accused came together and entered into a treasonable agreement. The case for the Prosecution is that during the indictment period, i.e. from the 1st October, 1952, to the 13th December, 1956, a period of about four years, a number of organisations in South Africa, including the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, had a policy to overthrow the State by violence; that these organisations co-operated with each other to achieve their common object, and that for that purpose an alliance was established, which for convenience sake has been referred to as the Congress Alliance, with the African National Congress as the senior and dominant partner.

The accused are said to have conspired because they took an active and leading part in the activities of the organisations of which he or she was a member,

with full knowledge of and support for the policy of such organisations.

In order to prove the existence of the treasonable conspiracy the Prosecution had to prove the violent policy of the Congress Alliance. It also had to prove the adherence of each of the accused to the conspiracy.

It is conceded by the Prosecution that if it fails to prove the treasonable conspiracy there is no case against any of the accused.

In regard to the alleged policy of violence the indictment alleges that the intention was to overthrow the State by violence, and to substitute for it a Communist State or some other State, and that the means by which the overthrow would be achieved were agreed to be the following:-

- (1) The convening of a gathering of persons known as the Congress of the People, for the adoption of a Freedom Charter, containing certain demands, which demands the accused intended to achieve by overthrowing the State by violence.
- (2) By recruiting and preparing for acts of violence a special Corps of Freedom Volunteers
- (3) Advocating and propagating unconstitutional and illegal action including the use of violence.
- (4) Organising, and participating in, various campaigns against existing Laws, and inciting to illegal and violent resistance against the administration and enforcement of such Laws, more particularly the Native

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Resettlement Act, No.19 of 1954, the Bantu Education Act, No.47 of 1953, and the Natives' (Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents) Act, No.67 of 1952.

- (5) Promoting feelings of discontent or unrest amongst and hatred or hostility between the various races of the Union.
- (6) Propagating the adoption in the Union of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, in which doctrine there is inherent the establishing of a Communist State by violence.
- (7) Preparing and conditioning the population of the Union, more particularly the non-European section, for the overthrow of the State by violence, and inciting it to carry into effect the agreed means.

The indictment and the further particulars supplied suggest, in the main, a policy of incitement **to violence** during the period of the indictment.

After all the evidence had been heard, and at one stage during the argument in reply to questions put by the Court, the Prosecution specifically stated that on the evidence its case against the African National Congress was that it intended to organise the masses against the State, and that through a process of campaigns, stay-at-homes and strikes it would make its demands; that if those demands were not acceded to, and if the circumstances were favourable in the sense that the masses were sufficiently politically conscious, it would organise a nation-wide strike which would be the final clash between the people and the State; that the African National

Congress expected violence from the State to suppress the attack against it, and that the African National Congress intended at that stage actively to retaliate.

The Prosecution also stated that in regard to the removal from the Western Areas its case was that the African National Congress was reckless in regard to whether violence ensued or not, and that as regards the Freedom Volunteers the case against them was not that they were expected to commit violence during the period of the indictment, but in the ultimate end when the order would be given to be violent.

It was submitted by the Defence that the case thus described was not the case set out in the indictment, that the indictment and the Further Particulars suggest a policy of direct violence, and that the case described by the Prosecution during argument was a case of contingent retaliation.

We shall return to the submissions made by the Prosecution later, but because of the view we take of all the evidence put before the Court it is not necessary to consider whether the indictment covers the case suggested by the Prosecution, nor is it necessary to deal with the arguments addressed to us by the Defence on the two witness rule, and on the legal nature of an overt act of treason.

In our opinion the evidence proves the following:-

- 1(a) That the African National Congress and all the other organisations mentioned in the indictment, as well as the present accused, were working together to replace the present form of State with a radically and fundamental-

ly different form of State, based on the demands set out in the Freedom Charter which included inter alia the following:

1. "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as candidate for all bodies which make laws.
2. The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.
3. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry, shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.
4. Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger."

1(b) That prior to the adoption of the Freedom Charter the Congress Alliance sought to obtain from its members and others "demands of the people", which were presented at the Congress of the People on the 25th and 26th of June, 1955, and which formed the basis of the Freedom Charter.

1(c) That as part of its campaign to obtain the necessary demands from the people, and also to raise the political consciousness of the people, the Congress Alliance, through its member organisations, arranged for the holding of meetings whereat various members addressed the public. It also made use of propaganda material and arranged for the

distribution and use of various lectures and lecture notes. The general trend of the speeches made and of the propaganda and the lectures and lecture notes, was to condemn the system of Government in South Africa, and to extoll the virtues and advantages of a State described in varying terms as a People's Democracy or True Democracy, and to place the need for the recognition of the principle of general and unqualified franchise in the forefront. The Defence conceded in argument that some of the lectures referred to, contained traces of Communist influence.

- 1(d) That it has not been proved that the form of State pictured in the Freedom Charter is a Communist State.
- 1(e) That after the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the Transvaal Executive of the African National Congress propagated the view that "the African National Congress aimed to replace this Government of the few with a Government of people's democracy. In a people's democratic State the power of State will be exercised by the people, i.e. by the working people of all colours, together with all other democratic classes who will work for the changes set out in the Freedom Charter. This will be a Government of the people as a whole, of the present oppressed and exploited classes used to achieve their maximum well-being, and to prevent the few exploiters from regaining State power."

- 1(f) The contention of the Defence that the State advocated by the Transvaal Executive of the African National Congress is not a dictatorship of the proletariat is rejected, and we are of the opinion that the type of State as seen by the Transvaal Executive of the African National Congress is a dictatorship of the proletariat, and accordingly is a Communist State, known in Marxism-Leninism as a people's democracy.
- 1(g) That it was the policy of the African National Congress that Communists and anti-Communists could freely become members of the African National Congress, provided they subscribed to the policy of the African National Congress, and that some responsible Executive leaders of the African National Congress were members of the Communist Party before it was banned in 1950. There is no evidence to support the allegation of the Prosecution that there was infiltration by members of the former Communist Party into the ranks of the African National Congress.
- 1(h) That the African National Congress took up the attitude that Communists were free to spread their ideologies amongst members of the African National Congress, provided they honoured the policy of the African National Congress.
- 1(i) That in the indictment period a strong left-wing tendency manifested itself in the African National Congress.

- 1(j) That it has not been proved that the African National Congress had become a Communist organisation.
- 1(k) That the issue of Communism is relevant in this case to the issue of violence, and that on the evidence as a whole the Prosecution has failed to prove that the accused had personal knowledge of the Communist doctrine of violent revolution, or that the accused propagated this doctrine as such.
2. That the means to be employed for the achievement of the New State were those decided upon by the African National Congress in its duly adopted and official 1949 Programme of Action.
3. The preamble to the Programme of Action reads:
"The fundamental principles of the Programme of Action of the African National Congress are inspired by the desire to achieve national freedom. By national freedom we mean freedom from White domination and the attainment of political independence. This implies the rejection of the conception of segregation, apartheid, trusteeship, or White leadership, which are all in one way or another motivated by the idea of White domination or domination of the Whites over the Blacks. Like all other people the African people claim the right of self-determination."

10.

In regard to methods of achieving its objects it makes provision for the following:-

"2(c) The regular issue of propaganda material through:-

1. The usual press, newsletter or other means of disseminating our ideas in order to raise the standard of political and national consciousness.
2. Establishment of a national press.

3(a)to employ the following weapons:-

immediate and active boycott, strike, civil disobedience, non-co-operation and such other means as may bring about the accomplishment and realization of our aspirations.

(b) Preparations and making of plans for a national stoppage of work for one day as a mark of protest against the reactionary policy of the Government."

4. The evidence shows with reference to the methods set out in the Programme of Action that:-

(1) The successful outcome of these methods depended on the non-European masses presenting an organised and united front to coerce the Government or the

electorate through mass actions.

- (ii) That the African National Congress in its endeavour to raise the political consciousness of the masses caused to be published a bulletin called "Congress Voice". In addition it encouraged its volunteers and members to read and support other publications such as "The African Lodestar", "Afrika", "New Age", "Fighting Talk", and a number of other publications all containing propagandist material.
- (iii) That the methods set out in paragraph 3(a) of the Programme of Action envisaged the use of illegal means.

With reference to the illegality of these methods Luthuli, the President General of the African National Congress, said during the course of his evidence:

1. That the application of the methods laid down could, with reference to "strike" action when used as a political action, lead in certain circumstances to a direct clash between the African people, the working class on the one hand and the ruling class on the other.
2. That in the breaking of the laws of the land, the State, in pursuance of its duties to maintain law and order, as it saw the position, might be forced to adopt certain measures

such as calling out the forces.

He added, however, that in the event of violence and bloodshed ensuing, the African National Congress would not regard or visualize such violence or bloodshed as emanating from it "because the African National Congress would carry on its struggle on a non-violent basis, even in the face of a clash, if there should be one. It would in such event not be a clash of the African National Congress."

5. With reference to the propagandist material used or recommended by the African National Congress and the other organisations for consumption by their members, the systems of Government in the Western Democracies such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom and also South Africa, were condemned and were described as belonging to the war-mongering, imperialistic and oppressor camps, whilst the Eastern Democracies such as Soviet Russia and the Chinese Republic and others received admiration and adulation, and were described as belonging to the peace and freedom loving camps.

Apart from such material the leaders of the Congress Alliance verbally endorsed such views at various meetings.

6. With reference to the Defiance Campaign against what was termed "Unjust Laws" launched by the African National Congress and the South African

Indian Congress in 1952, the outcome thereof was the prosecution and imprisonment of some 8,000 people who were persuaded by these organisations to break certain laws. In the case of the 1954/1955 Western Areas Campaign, directed at preventing the Government from removing the inhabitants from Sophiatown and environs to Meadowlands, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress claimed that the Government was obliged to declare a state of emergency in the affected areas for a period of three weeks as a result of the campaigning of the African National Congress, and that the presence of about 2,000 Police was required whilst the initial removal of some 150 families was being undertaken.

7. Notwithstanding the above, and the further campaigns, namely, the Anti-Pass Campaign and the campaign against the Bantu Education Act, and the Campaign for the Congress of the People, no violence ensued. In fact, in its Further Particulars the Crown made it clear that it was not alleged that violence resulted from the activities of the various organisations.
- 8(a) The Crown, in order to prove the violent policy of the Congress Alliance, laid before the Court innumerable documents and reports of speeches held at hundreds of meetings,

all in support of the Liberatory Movement.

The documents in the main consisted of:-

1. Official reports and minutes of different organisations.
2. Official publications of these organisations.
3. Documents of which leaders of the organisations were the authors.
4. Literature such as bulletins and magazines published by well-disposed persons or bodies, and which the Congress Alliance recommended its members to read.

- (b) The speeches, of which reports were produced, were made mainly in Johannesburg and its environs, in the Port Elizabeth area, in Cape Town, and a few in the Eastern Transvaal. The number of speeches on which the Crown relies represents a minute percentage of the total number of speeches made during the indicted period of four years, and the Court is uninformed as to the nature of the majority of speeches so delivered. The reports of the speeches, with some exceptions, were made by officials who took them down in longhand, and only a small selected percentage of what was said at such meetings was recorded, and in general these reports are open to grave criticism.
- (c) In so far as a number of official documents of the African National Congress is concerned, the African National Congress stated that its

policy was non-violence, consonant with what was said by many speakers at various meetings.

9. The general trend of speeches made by various members of the African National Congress and of the other organisations, the propaganda and other documentary material relied upon, was to lay stress upon the importance of presenting a united front against the "fascist" Government and its "oppressive" laws, coupled with repeated warnings that the Government would harden and become more "brutal", not hesitating to create a "blood bath" as the liberatory struggle progressed. The people were warned that in the struggle many hardships would have to be endured, and that they might have to pay with their blood and even to make "the supreme sacrifice" to gain freedom. Constant references were made to the struggles of "oppressed" people against imperialist oppressors in other parts of the world such as Korea, Kenya, India and elsewhere, and the people were told that final victory would eventually come to the struggling masses. During the course of these various campaigns, some of the leaders of the African National Congress made themselves guilty of sporadic speeches of violence, which in our opinion amounted to an incitement to violence, but having regard to the total number of speeches made, these forms

an insignificant part thereof.

10. With reference to the Freedom Volunteers the indictment alleges that the objects would be achieved inter alia by:-

"4(b)ii. Recruiting, enlisting and preparing for acts of violence a special corps of Freedom Volunteers."

The accused Resha, then the Volunteer in Chief for the Transvaal, admittedly in addressing a meeting of African National Congress delegates on the 22nd November, 1956, in Johannesburg, inter alia said:-

"When you are disciplined and you are told by the organisation not to be violent, you must not be violent. If you are a true volunteer and are called upon to be violent, you must be absolutely violent, and you must murder, murder."

The replay of the tape recording of this speech revealed that there was a thunderous applause from the assembled delegates immediately after Resha had concluded this sentence.

On the other hand the trend of many speeches made by various leaders of the African National Congress and also the documentary evidence, reveal that volunteers were required to carry out the policy of the African National Congress, to be disciplined.

and not to become violent even in the face of provocation.

It is impossible therefore for the Court to find that the above allegations in the indictment have been proved by the Prosecution.

11. On all the evidence presented to this Court and on our findings of fact, it is impossible for this Court to come to the conclusion that the African National Congress had acquired or adopted a policy to overthrow the State by violence, i.e. in the sense that the masses had to be prepared or conditioned to commit direct acts of violence against the State.

12. Mr. Trengove, on behalf of the Prosecution, however, presented a further argument based on all the evidence, but with special reference to the Programme of Action, and which proceeded on the following lines:-

The African National Congress realised that their struggle and illegal methods employed would bring them into conflict with the State, and they realised that it would lead to a violent clash, at least from the side of the State. He submitted that the African National Congress, by constantly condemning the system in this country on the one hand, and on the other hand praising the systems in the "other camps", indicated a powerful desire or fostering of a mental attitude which would not baulk at the over-

throw of this Government, or any other violent action directed towards the downfall of the State as presently constituted. He added that if with such a programme and a state of mind, the African National Congress deliberately provoked the Government into taking measures to maintain law, it was not only responsible for the consequences, but that the African National Congress also intended violence and bloodshed through the application of their illegal methods in order to achieve their freedom. He explained the essence of the Crown case was not only that the African National Congress expected violence from the State, but that it also intended the masses actively to retaliate.

13. We have set out Counsel's argument in some detail because it has to be analysed in the light of the allegations contained in the indictment, the evidence as a whole, and the general probabilities. In so far as the indictment as read with the Further Particulars is concerned, we are of the opinion:-

(i) That although the means whereby the conspirators planned to overthrow the State by violence were set out in the indictment and were elucidated in the Further Particulars, nowhere was it alleged specifically that the conspirators

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planned to provoke and compel the State, by means of the application of methods under the Programme of Action, to resort to the use of force as a result whereof the masses would retaliate and so bring about the violent overthrow of the State.

- (ii) We do not think that it was the intention of the Prosecution to rely on any such plan. If this had been the case, we would have expected some reference in the indictment, or at least in the Further Particulars, to the Programme of Action, and at the very least, proof forthcoming from the Crown of the existence of such a Programme of Action, a matter which was proved by the Defence and not by the Crown.

14. In any event, on the facts we find that though Defence witnesses have stated that they foresaw the possibility of the State being compelled to use violence in certain contingencies, there is insufficient evidence to find that the African National Congress had adopted a plan which revealed a general expectation of violence by the State and an intention to use the masses in retaliation.
15. Whilst therefore the Prosecution has succeeded in showing that the Programme of Action contemplated the use of illegal

methods, and that its application in fact resulted in illegal action during the Defiance Campaign, and that the African National Congress, as a matter of policy, decided to employ such means for the achievement of a fundamentally different State from the present, it has failed to show that the African National Congress as a matter of policy intended to achieve this new State by violent means.

The accused are accordingly found not guilty and are discharged.

SCHEDULE NO. 2.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(Special Criminal Court constituted in terms
of Section 112 of Act 56 of 1955, as amended).

The Attorney-General of the Transvaal Province,
who as such prosecutes for and on behalf of Her Majesty,
the Queen, presents and informs the Court that:-

- At Prepa-
ratory
Examination
1. (1) FARIED ADAMS.
 2. (13) HELEN JOSEPH.
 3. (18) A.M. KATHRADA.
 4. (20) LEON LEVY.
 5. (22) STANLEY LOLLAN.
 6. (32) NELSON R. MANDELA.
 7. (34) LESLIE MASINA.
 8. (37) PHILEMON MATHOLE.
 9. (42) PATRICK MOLAOA.
 10. (43) JOSEPH MOLIFE.
 11. (44) MOOSA MOOLLA.
 12. (46) E.P. MORETSELE.
 13. (51) PHINEAS NENE.
 14. (52) LILLIAN NGOYI.
 15. (54) JOHN N. NKADIMENG.
 16. (56) P.P. DUMA NOKWE.
 17. (63) ROBERT RESHA.
 18. (66) PETER SELEPE.
 19. (70) WALTER M. SISULU.
 20. (71) GERT SIBANDE.

21. (75) SIMON TYIKI.
22. (113) C. MAYEKISO.
23. (116) S. NKALIPI.
24. (117) W. MKWAYI.
25. (119) B. NDIMBA.
26. (120) J. NKAMPENI.
27. (121) F. NTSANGANI.
28. (123) T. TSHUME.
29. (124) T.E. TSHUNUNGWA.
30. (127) W.Z. CONCO.

hereinafter called "the accused", are guilty of the crime of

TREASON

IN THAT:

PART A.

During the period 1st October 1952 to 13th December, 1956, while owing allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second and her Government in the Union of South Africa (hereinafter called "the State") and at or near Johannesburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Cape Town, Uitenhage, Queenstown, Cradock, Kimberley, Ermelo, Evaton and other places within the Union of South Africa, the accused, acting in concert and with common purpose and in breach and violation of such allegiance, wrongfully, unlawfully and with hostile intent against the State, namely, to subvert and overthrow the State or to disturb, impair or endanger the existence, or security of the State,

did

- (a) disturb, impair and endanger the existence, or security of the State, or
- (b) actively prepare to subvert and overthrow the State, or to disturb, impair and endanger the existence or security of the State

each accused committing certain hostile and overt acts against the State, namely the hostile and overt act laid against each of the accused in paragraph 1 of Part B of this indictment, the hostile and overt acts laid against him or her in Part C of the indictment, the hostile and overt act laid against him or her in Part D of this indictment and the hostile and overt act laid against him or her in Part E of this indictment.

PART B.

1. During the period and at the places aforesaid the accused did wrongfully, unlawfully, and with the hostile intent aforesaid conspire with each other, with the persons mentioned in Schedule A hereto, and with other persons to the prosecutor unknown, to:-

- (a) subvert and overthrow the State by violence, and to substitute therefor a Communist State or some other State;
- (b) make active preparation for the achievement of the objects set out in sub-paragraph (a) hereof.

2. It was part of the said conspiracy that the objects set forth in paragraph 1 of Part B above, were to be achieved by the accused in their individual capacities and/or as members, or supporters of the associations and/or corporate bodies set forth in

Schedule B hereto:

3. It was further part of the said conspiracy that the objects aforesaid were also to be achieved through the instrumentality and activities of the said associations and corporate bodies.

4. (a) It was part of the said conspiracy that whilst the objects set forth in paragraph 1 hereof remained constant throughout the whole period as aforesaid, the means for achieving such objects would be determined from time to time.

(b) During the subsistence of the said conspiracy and at various times during the said period and at places to the prosecutor unknown it was agreed that the said objects should be achieved, inter alia, by the following means:

- (i) sponsoring, organising, preparing for and convening a gathering of persons known as the Congress of the People for the adoption of a Freedom Charter containing, inter alia, the demands set forth in Part E hereafter, and thereafter propagating the achievement of the said demands of such Charter, adopted at Kliptown, in the district of Johannesburg, on the 25th - 26th June, 1955; which said demands the accused intended to achieve by overthrowing the State by violence;
- (ii) recruiting, enlisting and preparing for acts of violence, a special corps of Freedom Volunteers, being a semi-military and disciplined body whose members were obliged

to take an oath or solemn pledge to carry out the instructions, legal or illegal, of the leaders of the associations of persons and/or corporate bodies set forth in Schedule B hereto; and administering the said oath or solemn pledge to Freedom Volunteers;

- (iii) advocating and propagating unconstitutional and illegal action, including the use of violence as means of achieving the aforesaid objects of the conspiracy;
- (iv) organising and participating in various campaigns against existing laws and inciting to illegal and violent resistance against the administration and enforcement of such laws and more particularly -
 - (a) The Native Resettlement Act, No.19 of 1954;
 - (b) The Bantu Education Act, No.47 of 1953;
 - (c) Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No.67 of 1952;
- (v) promoting feelings of discontent or unrest amongst and hatred or hostility between the various sections and races of the population of the Union of South Africa for the purpose of the ultimate violent overthrow of the State;
- (vi) advocating, propagating or promoting the adoption and implementation in the Union of South Africa of the Marxist-Leninist Sch. No.2.

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doctrine in which doctrine there is inherent the establishing of a Communist State by violence;

(vii) preparing and conditioning the population of the Union of South Africa, and more particularly the non-European section thereof, for the overthrow of the State by violence, and inciting it to carry into effect the means hereinbefore set out.

PART C.

In pursuance and furtherance of the said conspiracy, more particularly as part of the active preparation for the violent overthrow of the State and the substitution therefor of a Communist State or some other State, the accused with the hostile intent aforesaid did during the period 1st February 1954 to 13th December 1956, being a period when all the accused were in the said conspiracy, proceed to certain meetings which were convened in pursuance of the said conspiracy and for the purposes of furthering and carrying into effect the means set out in Part B, paragraphs 4(b)(i) to (v), with the knowledge that the said meetings had been convened for the aforementioned purposes and with the intention of participating in the proceedings thereat, and did then and there attend the said meetings and make speeches for the purpose of furthering and carrying into effect the means aforesaid and/or associate themselves with such speeches, all of which appears more fully in Schedule C hereto.

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PART D.

In pursuance and furtherance of the said conspiracy more particularly as part of the active preparation for the violent overthrow of the State and the substitution therefor of a Communist State or some other State, the following accused namely:

Helen Joseph 2
 A.M. Kathrada 3
 Nelson R. Mandela 6
 Joseph Molife 10
 C. Mayekiso 22
 T.E. Tshunungwa 29
 W.Z. Conco 30

with the hostile intent aforesaid, and in order to further and carry into effect the means set out in PART B, paragraphs 4(b)(i) to (v), did during the period 1st February, 1954 to 13th December, 1956, being a period when all the accused were in the conspiracy, write, and publish or cause to be published and/or acquire for the purpose of distribution or disseminating the contents thereof certain articles, speeches, pamphlets, or other written or printed matter as will appear more fully from Schedule D hereto.

PART E.

In pursuance and furtherance of the aforesaid conspiracy, and more particularly as part of the active preparation for the violent overthrow of the State, the following accused namely:

8.

Faried Adams	1
Helen Joseph	2
Leon Levy	4
Stanley Lollan	5
Leslie Masina	7
Philemon Mathole	8
Patrick Molaoa	9
Joseph Molife	10
E.P. Moretsele	12
Phineas Nene	13
John N. Nkadimeng	15
Robert Resha	17
Peter Selepe	18
Simon Tyiki	21
C. Mayekiso	22
T.E. Tshunungwa	29
W.Z. Conco	30

with the hostile intent aforesaid did attend a gathering of persons known as the Congress of the People held at Kliptown in the district of Johannesburg on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, for the adoption of a Freedom Charter, participate in the said gathering and then and there draft and adopt such Freedom Charter and pledge themselves to work together and campaign for the achievement of the demands set forth in the said Freedom Charter, which included, inter alia, the following demands:

1. Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
2. The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;
3. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks

and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

4. Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;
5. All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose, which said demands the accused intended to achieve by overthrowing the State by violence.

In the case of convictions the said Attorney-General prays for judgment against the accused according to law.

W. J. MCKENZIE

ATTORNEY-GENERAL (TRANSVAAL PROVINCE)

SCHEDULE "A".

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|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. H. BARSEL | 14. TENNYSON X. MAKIWANA |
| 2. LIONEL BERNSTEIN | 15. J. MAKWE |
| 3. PIETER BEYLEVELD | 16. H.G. MAKGO THI |
| 4. ANDRIES CHAMILE | 17. SAMPI MALUPI |
| 5. BARTHOLOMEW H LAPANE | 18. BERTHA MASHABA |
| 6. ALFRED HUTCHINSON | 19. JONAS MATLOU |
| 7. P.J. HODGSON | 20. THEOPHILIS MMUSI |
| 8. PAUL JOSEPH | 21. JOHANNES MODISE |
| 9. FISH KEITSING | 22. H.M. MOSSA |
| 10. MOSES KOTANE | 23. OBED MOTSABI |
| 11. JERRY KUMALO | 24. SULIMAN N. NATHIE |
| 12. FRANK MADIBA | 25. P.P. NTHITHE |
| 13. AARON MAHLANGU | 26. AHMED E. PATEL |

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| 27. RONALD E. PRESS | 60. P.H. SIMELANE |
| 28. BENNETT SEITSHIRO | 61. M.B. YENGWA |
| 29. NIMROD SEJAKE | 62. A.E. LETELE |
| 30. SYDNEY SHALL | 63. MOHAMED ASMAL |
| 31. JOSEPH SLOVO | 64. YETTA BARENBLATT |
| 32. RUTH SLOVO (NEE FIRST) | 65. JOSEPH M. KUMALO |
| 33. HENRY TSHABALALA | 66. V. MAKE |
| 34. DOUGLAS C. THOMPSON | 67. E. MALELE |
| 35. SONIA BUNTING | 68. S. MASIMULA |
| 36. FRED CARNESON | 69. J.S.A. MAVUSO |
| 37. LIONEL FORMAN. | 70. IDA MTWANA |
| 38. I.O. HORVITCH | 71. WILLIAM A. NGWENDU |
| 39. ALEX LA GUMA | 72. L. NKOSI |
| 40. D. MGUGUNYEKA | 73. MARY RANTHA |
| 41. GEORGE PEAKE | 74. MARKS W. SHOPE |
| 42. BEN TUROK | 75. CLEOPAS SIBANDE |
| 43. J. JACK | 76. O. TAMBO |
| 44. L. KEPE | 77. R. TUNZI. |
| 45. J.G. MATTHEWS | 78. J. MOROLONG |
| 46. Z.K. MATTHEWS | 79. J. MTINI |
| 47. W. MATI | 80. G. NGOTYANA |
| 48. V. MINI | 81. R. SEPTEMBER |
| 49. T. MQOTA | 82. D. FUYANI |
| 50. A. NOGAYA | 83. F. MATOMELA |
| 51. S. DHLAMINI | 84. E. MFAXA |
| 52. G. HURBANS | 85. S. VANGA (OR VANQA) |
| 53. P.J.S. MANANA | 86. A. GUMEDE |
| 54. M.M. MOTALA | 87. A.J. LUTHULI |
| 55. G.M. NAICKER | 88. DOROTHY NYEMBE |
| 56. M.P. NAICKER | 89. V.S.M. PILLAY |
| 57. N.T. NAICKER | 90. LESLIE MONANYANE |
| 58. BILLY NAIR | 91. ABRAHAM SECHOARENG |
| 59. D.A. SEEDAT | 92. REAL PRINTING & PUBLISHING
CO. PTY. LTD. |

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| 93. THE COMPETENT
PUBLISHING AND
PRINTING PTY. LTD. | 111. Dr. PADAYACHEE |
| 94. HILDA WATTS | 112. D. MOTSAZI |
| 95. A. MALIBA | 113. RAMPOPOLANE |
| 96. DR. NJONGWE | 114. MSULI |
| 97. R. MATSHE | 115. I. MANDULA |
| 98. J. NIERI | 116. SADER |
| 99. MOTSELE | 117. E. MPHALELE |
| 100. J. KOYO | 118. TSHUKU |
| 101. MASHAMAITE | 119. P.J. BOIKANYA |
| 102. P.Q. VUNDLA | 120. FATIMA SEEDAT |
| 103. SIFALI | 121. JOYCE WATSON |
| 104. MOLEWA | 122. ELIZABETH TSIE |
| 105. MAZUNYA | 123. XINTOLO |
| 106. D. MOILOA (also known
as MAHILWE) | 124. D. TLOOME |
| 107. B. TSHUME | 125. GOVAN MBEKI |
| 108. ABEL METHI | 126. DR. MJI |
| 109. B. STUURMAN | 127. Y. PUTINI |
| 110. NGQANDU | 128. Y. CACHALIA |
| | 129. E. MOOLA |

SCHEDULE "B"

Associations of Persons or corporate bodies (also referred to in this indictment in abbreviated form as indicated in brackets), including all their local and Provincial branches in the Union of South Africa:-

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| The African National Congress..... | (A.N.C.) |
| The South African Indian Congress..... | (S.A.I.C.) |
| The South African Congress of Democrats.... | (S.A.C.O.D.) |
| The South African Coloured Peoples'
Organisation..... | S.A.C.P.O.) |

The South African Congress of Trade Unions..	(S.A.C.T.U.)
The South African Peace Council.....	(S.A.P.C.)
The South Africa Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union.....	(S.A.S. for P. & F. with S.U.)
The Federation of South African Women.....	(F.S.A.W.)
The African National Congress Youth League..	(A.N.C.Y.L.)
The African National Congress Women's League.....	(A.N.C.W.L.)
The Natal Indian Congress.....	(N.I.C.)
The Transvaal Indian Congress.....	(T.I.C.)
The Transvaal Indian Youth Congress.....	(T.I.Y.C.)
The Natal Indian Youth Congress.....	(N.I.Y.C.)
The National Action Council of the Congress of the People.....	(N.A.C.C.O.P.)
The National Consultative Committee of the Congress of the People.	
The Transvaal Action Council of the Congress of the People.	
The Transvaal Action Committee of the Congress of the People.	
The Real Printing and Publishing Company (Proprietary), Limited.	
The Competent Publishing and Printing Company (proprietary), Limited.	
The Natal Midlands Region of the Congress of the People Sched. No. 2.	

SCHEDULE NO. 3.

The Crown intends to prove the existence of the conspiracy set forth in Part B of the indictment, by way of inference from the facts set forth in Part A of the Summary of Facts hereunder.

The Crown intends to prove the adherence of each of the accused and co-conspirators to the conspiracy and their participation therein, from the facts set forth in Part B of the said Summary of Facts.

SUMMARY OF FACTS.

PART "A".

1. (a) Before the 1st October, 1952, and during the whole period of the indictment, there existed an international movement known as the "Liberatory Movement". The said "Liberatory Movement" existed in those non-Communist countries (the so-called "colonial or semi-colonial countries") where there were nations or national groups (the so-called "oppressed peoples") which had not yet attained complete independence or the members of which had not obtained full political rights. The object of the said Liberatory Movement was the achievement of such independence for the said "oppressed peoples" and full political rights for its members, by the overthrow of the said colonial or semi-colonial states, as set forth in sub-paragraph (d) hereunder.
- (b) It was at all times and still is the duty of all Communists (whose primary object is to effect a world revolution) actively to support and

2.

participate in the said "Liberatory Movement", and over the years they have in fact done so.

- (c) For many years before the 1st October, 1952, the Communist supporters of the said "Liberatory Movement", supported and encouraged the growth of "Liberatory Movements" in the said "colonial" or "semi-colonial" countries, particularly of Asia and Africa including countries such as the Union of South Africa, Kenya, China (before the establishment of the People's Republic of China), Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and Indo-China.
- (d) With the support of the aforesaid Communists "National Liberatory Movements" were formed or re-organised in the said "colonial" or "semi-colonial" countries with the object of "liberating" those countries by bringing about the violent overthrow by the "oppressed peoples" concerned of the existing regimes.
- (e) Throughout the period of the indictment such a "National Liberatory Movement" existed in the Union of South Africa, as will appear more fully hereafter.

2. (a) The establishment in Paris, in 1949, of the World Peace Council, with its executive council, the Bureau of the World Peace Movement, which controls the policy and conducts the activities of the World Peace Council under direction of the government of Soviet Russia (hereinafter referred to as the U.S.S.R.)

- (b) (i) The object of the World Peace Council has been to propagate the policies and

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interests of the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries, and to defend the actions and activities of the U.S.S.R. particularly in regard to matters of international policy.

- (ii) It was also an object of the World Peace Council to emphasize the indivisibility of the struggle for peace and the struggle for liberation and to support the said Liberatory Movement, more particularly the National Liberatory Movement in the Union of South Africa.
- (c) Since its establishment in 1949, the World Peace Council has sought to achieve this object:
 - (i) through the activities of peace councils established in countries throughout the world, including the Union of South Africa, for the purpose of promoting, supporting and carrying out the policies of the World Peace Council in their respective countries;
 - (ii) by convening from time to time, at various places in Europe, World Peace Congresses at which leading communists from all over the world have made speeches in favour of the policies of the U.S.S.R. and against the policies of the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America;
 - (iii) by the publication and dissemination through the various peace councils of pamphlets, brochures, magazines and other printed matter agitating in favour of the policies of the

U.S.S.R. and against the policies of the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America, on matters of international policy, such as:

- (aa) United Nations action in Korea;
- (bb) West German Rearmament and the European Defence Council;
- (cc) The manufacture and transportation of arms in Western European countries;
- (dd) The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation;
- (ee) The South-East Asia Treaty Organisation;
- (ff) The production of Uranium and the manufacture of nuclear weapons.
- (gg) The admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Organisation.

- (iv) through the activities of certain international communist-sponsored organisations, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, The World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Women's International Democratic Federation, who have co-operated with, supported and carried out the policies of the World Peace Council.

3. The facts set forth in the evidence of Professor Murray at the Preparatory Examination, pages 4523 to 4644, and in the statements of certain Bochenski, copies of which have been served on the accused.

4. (a) The existence in the Union of South Africa until 1950, of the South African Communist Party, which was affiliated to the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R.
- (b) The aims, purposes and objects of the South African Communist Party included the following, namely:
- (i) the overthrow of the South African State and the establishment in its stead of a Communist State;
 - (ii) support for the aforesaid Liberatory Movement and the promotion and encouragement of a National Liberatory Movement in South Africa;
 - (iii) support of all international communist-sponsored organisations such as the World Peace Council, The World Federation of Trade Unions, The World Federation of Democratic Youth, The Women's International Democratic Federation;
 - (iv) the propagation of Communism and the undermining of the South African State to prepare for the overthrow thereof;
- (c) During 1950 the South African Communist Party was dissolved. Thereafter the associations set forth in paragraphs 5 and 7 hereof were infiltrated by members of the defunct South African Communist Party, and such persons were appointed to executive positions in the said associations.

5. The existence prior to the 1st October 1952 and during the whole period of the indictment of the following associations or corporate bodies, including all their local and provincial branches within the Union, SCH. NO 3.

(hereinafter referred to as "organisations") namely:

The African National Congress, with its various sections.

The South African Indian Congress.

The Natal Indian Congress.

The Transvaal Indian Congress.

The Transvaal Indian Youth Congress.

The Natal Indian Youth Congress.

The South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union (formerly known as the Friends of the Soviet Union or F.O.S.U.)

The Transvaal Peace Council.

6. (a) The formation during or about July, 1951, by the Executive Committees of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. of a Joint Planning Council to co-ordinate the efforts of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. to organise support for the "National Liberatory Movement" in South Africa, by mass action.
- (b) The acceptance by the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. of a recommendation by the said Joint Planning Council, to embark on a mass campaign for the defiance of so-called "unjust laws" namely Pass Laws, Stock Limitation Regulations, the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, the Suppression of Communism Act and the Bantu Authorities Act.
- (c) The formation during or about June 1952, by the Executive Committees of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. of the National Action Committee and the National Volunteer Board, both of which consisted of representatives of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C., having the functions of controlling, directing

and co-ordinating the activities of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. in waging a campaign of defiance of the so-called unjust laws, which was launched on the 26th of June 1952.

- (d) The appointment of the following persons, namely, Y.M. Dadoo, President of the S.A.I.C.; M. Kotane, Member of the National Executive of the A.N.C.; J.B. Marks, Member of the National Executive and President of the A.N.C. (Tvl); D.W. Bopape, Secretary of the A.N.C. (Tvl); and J. Ngwevela, Chairman of the Cape Regional Committee all of whom had been members of the South African Communist Party, as the first volunteers in the said defiance campaign, and the recruitment on a large scale throughout the Union of South Africa of volunteers to defy the said laws.
- (e) The waging by the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. during the period 26th June 1952 to January 1953, on a country-wide scale throughout the Union of South Africa of a campaign of defiance of the so-called unjust laws.

7. The formation and existence of the following associations of persons or corporate bodies, including all their local and provincial branches and organisations within the Union, (hereinafter referred to as "organisations") as from the dates set opposite their respective names, namely:

The South African Peace Council - 21.8.1953.

The South African Congress of Democrats - 8.9.1953.

The South African Coloured Peoples Organisation - October 1953

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The South African Indian Youth Congress	- December 1953.
The Federation of South African Women	- April 1954.
The South African Congress of Trade Unions.	- 6.3.1955.

8. (a) It was part of the policy of each of the organisations mentioned in paragraphs 5 and 7 above to achieve any one or more of the following objects, namely:
- (i) to subvert and overthrow the State;
 - (ii) to make active preparation for a violent revolution against the State;
 - (iii) to disturb, impair or endanger the security or authority of the State;
 - (iv) to hinder and hamper the State in the enforcement of laws and the maintenance of peace and order;
 - (v) to oppose and resist the authority of the State, and in particular the power of the State to make and enforce laws.
 - (vi) to support the "Liberatory Movement" (hereinbefore described) and more particularly the "National Liberatory Movement" in the Union of South Africa;
 - (vii) to establish a communist state or some other state in the place of the present state;
 - (viii) to form a so-called "United Front" with the other organisations for the purpose of co-ordinating the activities of the said organisations and their members, and to

enlist, as far as possible, the support of any other organisations or persons, in furtherance of their policies set out herein.

- (b) The policy set out in sub-paragraph (a) above was the policy of:
- (i) The A.N.C., A.N.C.Y.L., A.N.C.W.L., S.A.I.C., N.I.C., T.I.C., T.I.Y.C., N.I.Y.C. and S.A.S. for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union during the whole period of the indictment.
- (ii) The S.A.P.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., F.S.A.W., S.A.C.T.U. and S.A.I.Y.C. as from the dates set opposite the names of the said organisations in paragraph 7 hereof until 13.12.1956.
- (iii) Save as above, and save for saying that the adoption by the said organisations of the said policy is inferred from the facts set forth in this Summary of Facts, the prosecutor is unable to state exactly when and in what manner the said policy was adopted.
- (c) It was also part of the policy of each of the said organisations to achieve the aims, purposes and objects enumerated in sub-paragraph 8(a) above by any one or more of the means set out in paragraph 4 of Part B of the indictment.
- (d) (i) The various means set forth in column 1 hereunder by reference to the respective sub-paragraphs of paragraphs 4(b) of Part B of the indictment, were adopted as part of the

policy of the organisations set forth in column 2 hereunder during or about the period set forth in column 3 hereunder.

<u>Column 1</u>	<u>Column 2.</u>	<u>Column 3.</u>
4(b)(i)	All the organisations excepting F.S.A.W. and S.A.C.T.U.	December 1953 -- March 1954.
	F.S.A.W.	April 1954.
	S.A.C.T.U.	March 1955.
4(b)(ii)	All the organisations excepting S.A.C.T.U.	January - June 1954. March 1955.
4(b)(iii)	A.N.C. with its various sections, S.A.I.C., N.I.C., T.I.C., T.I.Y.C., N.I.Y.C., S.A.S.P.F.U.	October 1952.
4(b)(iv)(c)	S.A.P.C., S.A.C.P.O. S.A.C.O.D., S.A.I.T.C.	August, 1953 - December, 1953.
4(b)(v)	F.S.A.W.	April, 1954.
4(b)(vi)	S.A.C.T.U.	March, 1955.
4(b)(vii)		
4(b)(iv)(a)	All organisations excepting S.A.C.T.U. and F.S.A.W.	December 1953 when this legislation was first mooted.
	F.S.A.W.	April, 1954.
	S.A.C.T.U.	March, 1955.
4(b)(iv)(b)	All organisations excepting F.S.A.W. and S.A.C.T.U.	October, 1953 - December, 1953.
	F.S.A.W.	April, 1954.
	S.A.C.T.U.	March, 1955.

- (d) (ii) Save as above, and save for saying that the adoption by the said organisations is inferred from the facts set forth in this Summary of Facts, the prosecutor is unable to state exactly when and in what manner the said policy was adopted.

9. Each of the aforesaid organisations sought to advance and implement its policy aforesaid:

- (a) by convening and holding meetings throughout the Union of South Africa at which the achievement of one or more of the objects enumerated in paragraph 8(a) above by the means set forth in paragraph 8(c) was directly or indirectly encouraged, propagated or advocated. Particulars of the said meetings are set out in Schedule I attached hereto.
- (b) by printing, or causing to be printed, publishing or causing to be published, distributing or causing to be distributed books, brochures, bulletins, pamphlets, circulars, lectures, instructions, resolutions and directives, such as are set opposite the names of each of the organisations hereunder, in which the achievement of one or more of the objects set forth in paragraph 8(a) above was directly or indirectly encouraged, propagated or advocated:

(i) A.N.C.

- (1) Minutes, Annual Reports, Agenda, Resolutions, Presidential and other addresses and speeches for the years 1953 - 1956.

- (2) Circulars for the years 1952 - 1956.
- (3) Lectures: "Youth League Summer School Lectures".
- (4) Periodical Journals:
 - "Afrika" end of 1953
 - "Congress Voice" 1955 - 1956.
 - "Inyaniso" 1954 - 1955.
 - "Isizwe" 1955 - 1956.
 - "Lodestar" 1950 - 1956.
 - "Mayibuye-i-Afrika" numbers 1 and 2 (undated).
 - "Sechaba" 1955 - 1956.
 - "Youth League" 1952.
- (5) Booklets, Pamphlets and Miscellaneous publications:-
 - "Basic Policy of A.N.C.Y.L." (undated)
 - "No Easy Walk to Freedom" by Mandela 1953.
 - "What every Congress Member should know." (undated).
 - "Memorandum on Programme of Action adopted at A.N.C. Conference 1949".
 - "Programme for Building a Mass Youth League" (undated).
 - "There can be no going back" (undated).
 - "Programme" (including article on A.N.C. agrarian reforms) (Undated).
 - "Suggested Programme" (undated).
- (6) Sundry constitutions and memoranda on draft constitutions.

(ii) S.A.I.C., T.I.C., N.I.C., T.I.Y.C.

- (1) Monthly Bulletin: "New Youth" from August 1954 to October 1956.
- (2) Bulletin: "The Call" from February 1955 to June 1955.
- (3) Monthly Newsletter: N.I.C. News from October 1953 to May 1954.
- (4) "Listen Young Friend".
- (5) "How South Africa is governed".
- (6) "The Struggle of the non-European People".
- (7) "Economics and Politics".
- (8) "Tenth Anniversary".
- (9) "Why have you not volunteered".
- (10) Annual Reports and Agendas for the period 1952 to 1956.

(iii) S.A.P.C. (and T.P.C. prior to August 1953)

- (1) "The Peace Movement and the Congress of the People"
- (2) "Problems of Organisation".
- (3) "Africa for Peace".
- (4) "South African Peace Council - Declaration made by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at Vienna on September 1954".
- (5) "A Ten Point Programme for Peace".
- (6) "The Workers and Peace".
- (7) "A call to Peace".
- (8) "Peace is within your grasp - South African National Peace Congress".
- (9) "New Evidence on Germ Warfare".
- (10) "Uranium Brings Danger".
- (11) "A New wind arising".

- (12) "Germ War".
- (13) "Bacteriological Warfare".
- (14) "Peace will prevail".
- (15) "The H.-Bomb - We want to live".
- (16) "Lets fight for Peace".
- (17) "Draft Resolutions for discussion at Transvaal Peace Council Conference on 22.11.1952".
- (18) "Transvaal Peace Council - Discussion notes on Peace Policy".
- (19) "Transvaal Peace Council - re possibility of Peace in Korea" enclosing a copy of the address to the Governments of the Five Great Powers at the Congress of the People for Peace in Vienna.
- (20) "Report of the First National South African Peace Congress, August 1953".
- (21) "South African Peace Council" letter dated 12.4.1954 re warning by Professor Joliot-Curie on dangers of H.-Bomb.
- (22) "Circular letter dated 21.4.1954 re H-Bomb".
- (23) "We want to live".
- (24) "On German Rearmament".
- (25) Leaflet on importance of China's inclusion into U.N.O.
- (26) "Cape Town Peace Conference" - Text of the Principal resolutions adopted at the conclusion of the Second World

Peace Congress at Warsaw in November
1950.

- (27) "War bases in Africa".
- (28) "The Imperialist Threat to Peace in Africa".
- (29) "Statement on German Rearmament".
- (30) "Transvaal Peace Council - 8th January 1955 - Urgent appeal to all Peace Council members, supporters and sympathisers to wage a great campaign against the Rearmament of Western Germany".
- (31) World Peace Council's "Address to the Peoples".
- (32) "Act now to save peace".
- (33) "Again" on German Rearmament.
- (34) Statement on World Assembly for Peace at Helsinki on 22nd June 1955.
- (35) "South Africans for Peace Bulletin".
 - (a) Series 2 No.4 October 1952.
 - (b) Series 3 No.2 undated.
 - (c) Series 3 No.3 April 1953.
 - (d) Series 3 No.4 May 1953.
 - (e) Series 3 No.5 June 1953.
 - (f) Series 3 No.6 July 1953.
 - (g) Series 3 No.7 September 1953.
 - (h) Series 3 No.9 December 1953.
 - (i) Series 4 No.1 January 1954.
 - (j) New Series Vol. 1 No.1 (undated).
 - (k) New Series Vol. 1 No.2 October 1954.
 - (l) New Series Vol.1 No.3
December 1954.

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- (m) New Series Vol. 2 No.1 May 1955.
- (n) Undated - Announcing National Convention for Peace, August 1956.
- (o) Undated - "War bring no victories".
- (p) Undated - "Critical Middle East Situation".

(36) Circulars from South African Peace Council to Provincial Peace Councils and Branches.

- (a) Dated 15.2.54 re "Africa for Peace Campaign".
- (b) Dated 3.4.1954 re H-Bomb and other weapons of mass destruction and publication of leaflet "We want to live".
- (c) Dated 24.9.1954 re Congress of the People.
- (d) Dated 7.2.1955 re meeting of South African Peace Council, World Assembly, Propaganda and Meetings.
- (e) Dated 10.10.1954 re German Rearmament and C.O.P.

(37) Circular by Cape Town Peace Council containing a report of a Cape Town Peace Council Conference on "Peace and Liberation".

(iv) S.A.C.O.D.

- (1) "The Draft of the Immediate Programme of Action" by J. Hodgson.
- (2) "The Road to Liberty" by L. Bernstein.
- (3) "Notes on the Political Situation".

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- (4) National Executive Committee Reports.
- (5) Annual Conference Reports and Resolutions for the years 1953 - 1956.
- (6) Monthly Bulletin "Counter Attack" during the period November 1953 to November 1956.
- (7) Lectures and speakers notes, numbers (i) to (xi).
- (8) "View Points and Perspectives".
- (9) "We are many".
- (10) "Banishment by Decree".
- (11) "This is an Invitation to C.O.P.".
- (12) "Robbery in the name of the Law".
- (13) "Where the Devil Drives".
- (14) "Educating for Ignorance".
- (15) "The reasons why you should join S.A.C.O.D.".
- (16) "The Threatened People".

(v) S.A.C.T.U.

- (1) Minutes, Annual and Secretarial reports, Agenda, Resolutions, Presidential and other addresses for the years 1955-1956.
- (2) Monthly bulletin "Workers Unity" as from April, 1955 to December, 1956.
- (3) "Significance of May Day".
- (4) May Day Circular dated 16.4.1956.
- (5) Lectures:
 "Our Modern Society and how it arose".
 "What are trade Unions".
 "Short history of the International Trade Union Movement".
 "Trade Unions as a weapon".

- "Trade Unions in the struggle for Liberation in South Africa".
- "How to organise unorganised workers".
- "The problems of the South African Trade Union Movement".
- "Workers Solidarity".
- "Relationship between workers and their Union".
- "Relationship between workers and their Union".
- "Elementary Course on Politics and Economics" (8 lectures).
- (6) Circular dated 3.10.1955.
- (7) Report on National Training Campaign, dated 27.7.1956.
- (8) "The Syllabus".
- (vi) S.A.C.P.O.
- (1) "Have you joined S.A.C.P.O."
- (2) "This may be you".
- (3) "To the Coloured People".
- (vii) S.A.S.P.F.U.
- (1) Monthly bulletin "For Peace and Friendship" during period October, 1952 to December 1956.
- (2) "Situation in Hungary".
- (3) "Hungary - Poland - U.S.S.R.".
- (4) "South Africans in the Soviet Union".
- (5) "Life is more joyous".
- (6) "Why is the cult of the Individual alien to the spirit of Marxism Leninism"?
- (7) "The Stalin Cult".

- (8) "Resolutions of the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union".
- (9) Speeches by Communist Leaders - Molotov, Suslov, Shepilov, Malenkov, Bulganin, Krushev, at the 20th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.

(viii) F.S.A.W.

- (1) "Calling all women of the Transvaal".
 - (2) "Call to Mothers".
 - (3) "Demands of the Women of South Africa".
 - (4) "Let the Women make the laws".
 - (5) "Women Don't want passes".
 - (6) "Statement for the information of S.A.C.O.D. members".
 - (7) "The Work of F.S.A.W.".
 - (8) "Will Women carry passes".
 - (9) "What do women want".
- (c) by supporting the publication and distribution of the publications set forth in paragraphs 12, 13, 14 and 16 below, and the writings of the accused set forth in column (d) of Schedule 3 hereto.
 - (d) by supporting the policies and activities of each of the other organisations, and by sending fraternal delegates and messages to the conferences of the other organisations;
 - (e) through the activities of its members as set out in Part B hereof;
 - (f) through the activities of the National Action Council of the C.O.P. (hereinafter referred to as N.A.C.C.O.P.) and the National Consultative Committee (hereinafter referred to as N.C.C.) as set out in paragraphs 10 and 11 hereafter;

- (g) by organising study-classes for the purpose of indoctrinating their members with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and teaching them the necessity for revolutionary tactics in South Africa;
 - (h) by exploiting the local grievances of their members, such as grievances in connection with bus fares, rents, housing and the non-employment of Natives in shops serving predominantly Native localities with the object of obtaining their support for the achievement and implementation of the policies of the organisations aforesaid.
10. (a) The formation during or about March 1954 by the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. of N.A.C.C.O.P. and the establishment of the various provincial, regional and local action councils of the C.O.P., consisting of representatives of each of the aforesaid organisations with the object of:
- (i) co-ordinating the activities of the said organisations and of their members, to provide for common policy, strategy, tactics and co-operation, and
 - (ii) sponsoring, planning and promoting joint-activity and joint campaigns by the aforesaid organisations and by their members so as to more effectively implement the aforesaid policy of the said organisations.
- (b) In 1955 representatives of S.A.C.T.U. became members of N.A.C.C.O.P. and the said action councils; in the same year representatives of the C.T.P.C. became members of the Cape Western

Action Council of the C.O.P.

(c) The said organisations through their representatives participated in the activities of N.A.C.C.O.P., and the aforesaid provincial and regional and local councils of the C.O.P., as from the date of their membership, such activities consisting inter alia of:

(i) meeting together from time to time during the period March 1954 to about August 1955 at Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, Fraser Station, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and other places to the prosecutor unknown with the object of promoting and co-ordinating the activities of the said constituent organisations, particularly in regard to:

(aa) the convening of and preparations for the Congress of the People at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, for the adoption of a Freedom Charter;

(bb) the linking of various campaigns set afoot and organised by the said organisations such as the campaign against the Bantu Education Act, the Western Areas Removal Campaign, the Campaign against Passes, with the campaigns for the preparations for the C.O.P. and the achievement of the aims of the Freedom Charter, which included inter alia the demands set forth in paragraphs 1 to 5 in Part E of the indictment.

- (cc) the activities of the special militant corps of Freedom Volunteers.
- (ii) organising and convening public meetings throughout the Union of South Africa in support of a Congress of the People and the adoption of a Freedom Charter.
- (iii) drafting, printing or causing to be printed, publishing or causing to be published, distributing or causing to be distributed brochures, bulletins, pamphlets, circulars, such as:-

N.A.C.C.O.P.

- (1) "Draft plan of Campaign for the Congress of the People", published during or about March 1954 to June 1954.
- (2) "National Action Council for the Congress of the People - Draft Plan of Campaign", published during or about July to August, 1954.
- (3) Circular letter, undated, "Congress of the People Conference - What is the Congress of the People?"
- (4) Pamphlet: "Welcome Freedom Volunteers".
- (5) Printed Pamphlet: "This Call to the C.O.P.".
- (6) Printed Leaflet: "Forward to the C.O.P. - Let us speak of Freedom".
- (7) Report of the N.A.C. of the C.O.P. to joint executives of A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O. and S.A.C.O.D. in connection with the Congress of the People held at Kliptown on 25th to 26th June, 1955.

- (8) Press release dated 29th March, 1955.
- (9) Speakers notes on the C.O.P.
- (10) Typed document: "Greetings Comrade Volunteer".
- (11) Report from National Volunteer Board,
- (12) Circular Letter: To all sponsoring organisations dated 3.2.1955.
- (13) Circular Letter: To all regions and provinces dated 4.2.1955.
- (14) Circular Letter: To all sponsoring organisations dated 23.3.1955.
- (15) Roneod Circular: dated 3.3.1955.
- (16) Circular Letter: To all sponsoring organisations dated 15.3.1955.
- (17) Circular Letter: To all regions and organisations dated 30.3.1955.
- (18) Roneod Circular dated 10.5.1955.
- (19) Circular Letter: To all regional Committees dated 7.6.1955.
- (20) Roneod circular dated 21.4.1955.
- (21) Circular Letter: Roneod circular letter undated re holding of conferences. on 25.7.1954 to discuss C.O.P.
- (22) Circular Letter: To all Provincial Committees of C.O.P. dated 11.8.1954.
- (23) Circular Letter: "C.O.P. - Dear Volunteer" undated.
- (24) Circular Letter: "To all Volunteers" dated 25.1.1955.
- (25) Circular Letter: To all delegates to the C.O.P. dated 26.7.1955.
- (26) Circular Letter: To all regional

Committees dated 15.4.1955.

- (27) Resolution adopted at C.O.P. meeting Kliptown on 25th to 26th June, 1955.
- (28) Roneod form "Your signature for the Freedom Charter".
- (29) Reports of the National Action Council.
- (30) Freedom Charter.
- (31) Agenda - C.O.P. Meeting, Kliptown on 25th to 26th June, 1955.
- (32) Draft Freedom Charter.
- (33) Draft resolution re Freedom Charter for adoption at C.O.P. Kliptown on 25th and 26th June, 1955.
- (34) Handbill advertising C.O.P. at Kliptown on 25.6.1955.
- (35) Roneod document "C.O.P. - Delegates Report of C.O.P.", Kliptown 25th to 26th June, 1955.
- (36) "The World we live in".
- (37) "The Country we live in".
- (38) "Change is needed".
- (39) C.O.P. Bulletin "Speaking Together" No.1 dated August, 1954.
- (40) C.O.P. Bulletin "Speaking Together" No.2 dated August, 1954.
- (41) C.O.P. Bulletin "Speaking Together" No.3 dated September, 1954.
- (42) C.O.P. Bulletin, "Dear Volunteer - Greetings to you" undated.
- (43) "A call to the People of Natal Midlands".

- (44) "Let us speak of Freedom - Let us send in our demands".
- (45) Draft Plan for Natal.
- (46) Confidential directive to Volunteers No.3.
- (47) Confidential directive to Volunteers No.4.
- (48) Confidential directive to Volunteers No.5.
- (49) Press statement "Forward to the C.O.P."
- (50) Press statement "The Convention of Vereeniging".
- (51) Roneod Circular (undated) "What are your demands?"
- (52) Bulletin: "C.O.P. News" Vol. 1 No.1.
- (53) Bulletin: "C.O.P. News" Vol. 1 No.2.
- (54) Circular: To all Congress branches dated 2.3.1955.
- (55) Circular: To all Congress branches dated 16.3.1955.
- (56) Circular: "Dear Friend" dated May 1955.
- (57) Circular: To all Secretaries of Congress Branches, dated 26.3.1955.
- (58) Circular Letter dated 23.5.1955.
- (59) Circular Letter: "Dear Friend" dated May 1955.
- (60) Bulletin: "The Congress Man".
- (61) Circular: "Congress of the People - If you could make the law".
- (62) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom": No.1 dated 27.11.1954.

- (63) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom": No.2
dated 1.3.1955.
- (64) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom": No.3
dated 22.3.1955.
- (65) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom": dated
17.5.1955.

(iv) organising and conducting study-classes more particularly for Freedom Volunteers, at which lectures entitled "The World we live in" "The Country we live in" and "Change is needed" were delivered.

(d) The Congress of the People held at Kliptown on the 25th to the 26th June, 1955, and the adoption of the Freedom Charter, as alleged in Part E of the indictment.

11. (a) The formation in August 1955, by A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.T.U. of the National Consultative Committee and the various provincial consultative committees, consisting of representatives of A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.T.U. and at a later stage also representatives of F.S.A.W., with the object of:
- (i) co-ordinating the activities of the said organisations and of their members, to provide for common policy, strategy, tactics and action, and
 - (ii) sponsoring, planning and promoting joint activity and joint campaigns by the aforesaid organisations and by their members,

so as to more effectively achieve and bring into effect the aforesaid policy of the said organisations subsequent to the adoption of the Freedom Charter at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on the 25th to 26th June, 1955.

(b) After August 1955 the said organisations through their representatives participated in the activities of N.C.C. and the various provincial consultative committees, such activities consisting inter alia of:-

(i) meeting together from time to time at Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and other places to the prosecutor unknown, with the object of promoting and co-ordinating the activities of the constituent organisations, particularly in regard to:-

(aa) advocating, propagating and organising campaigns for the implementation of the terms of the Freedom Charter set forth in paragraphs 1 to 5 of Part E of the indictment and the implementation by the said organisations and their members of their policy of establishing in the place of the present State of a Communist State, or some other State;

(bb) organising, propagating and participating in the campaigns against the administration and enforcement of the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952;

(cc) linking the various campaigns set afoot and organised by the said organisations against the administration and enforcement of certain laws, particularly the following:

(a) The Native Resettlement Act, No. 19 of 1954;

(b) The Bantu Education Act, No. 47 of 1953;

(c) Native (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, No. 67 of 1952;

with the campaigns for the implementation of the Freedom Charter and the establishment in the place of the existing State of a Communist State, or some other State.

(ii) drafting, printing or causing to be printed, publishing or causing to be published, distributing or causing to be distributed brochures, bulletins, pamphlets, circulars, or other printed matter such as:-

N.C.C.

(1) Circular Letter: To all regional Committees dated 2.9.1955.

(2) "The Freedom Charter Signature Campaign - Where did it start".

(3) Circular re National Day 26th June dated 25.5.1956.

- (4) Circular Letter: To all organisations re Freedom Charter Signature Campaign (undated).
- (5) Circular Letter: To all Secretaries of Congress Branches dated 26.9.1955.
- (6) Circular Letter: To "Dear Friend" dated 24.10.1955.
- (7) Circular Letter: Re signature Campaign dated 7.5.1956.
- (8) Circular Letter: Re Congress of the People Anniversary dated 5.6.1956.
- (9) Report of the N.C.C. presented to the Joint Executives of A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O.
- (10) Memorandum on Anti-Pass Campaign dated 25.10.1956.
- (11) Pamphlet: "One million signatures for the Freedom Charter".
- (12) Pamphlet: "Freedom Charter day - Come to Kliptown".
- (13) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 12.10.1955 - For a better life.
- (14) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 1.3.1956 - Death to Pass Laws.
- (15) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 1.5.1956 - The Workers Holiday.
- (16) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 24.11.1955 - 1,000,000 signatures.
- (17) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 31.3.1956 - "Up for ratification".
- (18) Bulletin: "Forward to Freedom" dated 18.5.1956 - "Steer the signature Campaign".

(19) Circular re 1,000,000 signatures
Campaign dated 5.12.1955.

- (iii) convening and organising meetings throughout the Union of South Africa with the object of encouraging and exhorting the population of the Union of South Africa to pledge themselves to work and campaign for the achievement in their lifetime of the demands set forth in the Freedom Charter which included inter alia the demands set forth in paragraphs 1 - 5 of Part E of the indictment.

12. The formation and existence as from February 1954 of the Fighting Talk Committee, being an association of persons whose members included the co-conspirators, Ruth Slovo, L. Bernstein and Yetta Barenblatt. The names of the other members of the said committee are to the Prosecutor unknown. The said committee through its members published and distributed a monthly bulletin called "Fighting Talk" as from March, 1954, and in the said bulletins the policies and activities of the aforesaid organisations and their members were advocated, propagated, supported and defended.

13. The formation and existence as from June 1953 of the Liberation Committee, being an association of persons, whose members included the co-conspirators, P.J. Hodgson, S. Bunting and D. Tloome. The names of the other members of the said committee are to the Prosecutor unknown. The said committee through its members published and distributed a monthly bulletin called "Liberation" as from June 1953, and in the said bulletin the policies and

activities of the aforesaid organisations and their members were advocated, propagated, supported and defended.

14. The formation and existence as from February 1955, of the Call Committee, being an association of persons, whose members included the co-conspirators S. Dhlamini and N.T. Naicker. The names of the other members of the said committee are to the Prosecutor unknown. The said committee through its members and through the N.I.C. published and distributed a monthly bulletin called "The Call" as from February 1955, and in the said bulletins the policies and activities of the aforesaid organisations and their members are advocated, propagated, supported and defended.

15. The possession by the following organisations, namely:

A.N.C., S.A.I.C. and T.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.T.U., S.A.P.C., S.A.C.P.O. and N.I.C. of the documents set forth under the names of the respective organisations in Schedule No. 2 hereto, the said documents being referred to by the exhibit numbers allocated to the said documents at the preparatory examination.

16. (a) The formation and existence as from 26.10.1952 of a private company namely "Competent Publishing and Printing (Pty). Ltd." whose directors and/or servants included the co-conspirators Fred Carneson, a director, and Lionel Forman, a servant, as editor. The said

company published and distributed a weekly newspaper called "Advance" as from 26.10.1952 to 21.10.1954, in which the policies and activities of the aforesaid organisations and their members were advocated, propagated, supported and defended.

- (b) The formation and existence as from March 1953 of a private company namely "Real Printing and Publishing Company (Pty.) Ltd.", whose directors and/or servants included the co-conspirators Fred Carneson, director and/or servant as manager, I.O. Horvitch, director and/or servant, Lionel Forman, servant, as editor, and R. Slovo, servant. The said company published and distributed the weekly newspaper called "New Age" as from 28.10.1954 to 13.12.1956, in which the policies and activities of the aforesaid organisations and their members are advocated, propagated, supported and defended.

- (c) The possession by the Real Printing and Publishing Company (Pty.) Ltd. at its offices in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth of the following documents referred to by the members allocated to the said documents at the preparatory examination namely:

N.A. 4-13; 15-17; 19-37; 40-105; 107-134;
136-144; 149-156; 161; 164; 169; 173; 174.

17. The possession by delegates (whose names are to the Prosecutor unknown) to the Congress of the People at Kliptown on the 25th to 26th June, 1955, of the following documents, referred to by the numbers allocated to the said documents at the preparatory examination, namely:

H. 1-24; 32-38; 40-46; 48-56. SCH. NO. 3.

PART "B".

1. Each of the accused and co-conspirators was a member of such associations of persons and/or corporate bodies as are set out against each of their names in column (b) read with column (a) of Schedule No.3 hereto, for a period not less than the period set out in the said column (b); the exact period being to the prosecutor unknown.

2. Each of the accused and co-conspirators held the positions and/or participated in the activities set out against the names of each of the said accused or co-conspirators in columns (c) and (d) read with column (a) of Schedule No.3 hereto.

3. Each accused took an active and leading part in the activities of the organisation or organisations of which he or she was a member and each of the accused and co-conspirators had full knowledge of and supported the policies and activities of the organisations aforesaid, as set out in Part A hereof.

4. Each of the accused and co-conspirators were in possession of the documents set out against the names of each of the accused and co-conspirators in Schedule No. 4 hereto.

5. Each of the accused and co-conspirators attended and/or spoke at the meetings set out against the name of each accused and co-conspirator in Schedule No. 1 hereto.

SCH. NO. 3.

6. Each accused also supported for the purpose of the conspiracy the activities of such of the said organisations of which he or she was not a member, inter alia, by attending or speaking at meetings or conferences convened by such other organisations, **or** by sending fraternal messages to meetings or conferences convened by such other organisations.

Sched. No. 3.

ADMISSIONS MADE BY THE DEFENCE:

"The defence admits:

1. That during 1952 the A.N.C. and S.A.I.C. decided to conduct a campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, and did conduct a campaign, involving the deliberate contravention of certain laws by the way of protest and in order to bring about political and social changes in South Africa.
2. That between March 1954 and July 1955, the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. were represented upon the National Action Council for the C.O.P. and supported the organisation of the C.O.P.
3. That the campaign for the C.O.P. supported by the above-mentioned organisations, involved the collection of demands for inclusion in the Freedom Charter, and culminated on 26th June 1955, in the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the C.O.P. in Kliptown.
4. That after July 1955, the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O. and S.A.C.T.U. were represented upon the National Consultative Committee and supported the publication and popularisation of the Freedom Charter.
5. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U. and F.S.A.W. were opposed to the enactment and/or provisions of the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Natives Resettlement Act and the laws relating to the carrying of passes by Africans.
6. That during the years 1954, 1955 and 1956, the A.N.C. conducted campaigns against the Bantu Education Act, the Natives Resettlement Act and the laws relating to the

carrying of passes by Africans, in the course of which it advocated

- (a) the boycott of Bantu schools by the pupils thereof,
- (b) that the inhabitants of the so-called Western Areas of Johannesburg should not voluntarily leave their homes,
- (c) that African women should not voluntarily apply for reference books.

7. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U. and F.S.A.W. were strongly opposed to the apartheid policy and legislation of the government of the Union of South Africa and denounced the government in vigorous terms.

8. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U. and F.S.A.W. criticised the present constitution of the Union of South Africa.

9. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U., and F.S.A.W. demanded the substitution of a new and radically different government and in particular advocated

- (a) a system of government based upon universal adult suffrage,

- (b) the abolition of all forms of racial discrimination.

10. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U., and F.S.A.W. accepted the view that extra-parliamentary activity should be resorted to, and advocated and carried on extra-parliamentary, activity.

11. That during the years 1954, 1955, and 1956, the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. recruited or supported the recruitment of a body of persons known as the Freedom Volunteers.

12. That the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. criticised the colonial system and sympathised with the efforts of colonial countries to obtain self-government.

13. That the expressions by the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.T.U. and F.S.A.W. of their admitted policies were often vehement and repetitive.
14. (a) That all the abovenamed organisations cooperated with one another generally in the policies and activities above set forth insofar as such activities took place during the period of existence of each organisation.
- (b) That the A.N.C.Y.L. and A.N.C.W.L. similarly cooperated with the A.N.C.
- (c) That the T.I.C. and N.I.C. were constituent parts of the S.A.I.C.
- (d) That the T.I.Y.C. and N.I.Y.C. similarly cooperated with the T.I.C. and N.I.C. respectively.

RECORD PAGE 1399.

1. That the Defiance Campaign was directed against the following laws, namely:--
- (a) Pass Laws;
 - (b) Stock Limitation Regulations.
 - (c) Group Areas Act.
 - (d) The Separate Representation of Voters Act.
 - (e) The Suppression of Communism Act.
 - (f) The Bantu Authorities Act.
2. That the S.A.I.C. and A.N.C. formed a National Volunteer Board as part of their activities in the Defiance Campaign.
3. That the Defiance Campaign was carried on in several parts of South Africa from the 26th June, 1952 to December 1952.

Sched. No. 4.

4. That N.A.C.C.O.P. established various provincial Regional and local action councils, consisting of representatives of the constituent organisations, namely the following:---
 - (a) Natal Action Council.
 - (b) Transvaal Action Council.
 - (c) Johannesburg, Natal Midlands, Cape Eastern and Cape Western Regional Committees.
5. That the object of the N.A.C.C.O.P. was the co-ordination of the activities of the organisations in their sponsorship and organisation of the C.O.P.
6. That the provincial, regional or local councils of N.A.C.C.O.P. organised meetings at various places in South Africa in support of the C.O.P.
7. That the C.O.P. campaign was conducted in many parts of South Africa.
8. That various joint consultative provincial and regional committees were established by the organisations.
9. That meetings of the N.C.C. or the provincial or regional committees were held to discuss:--
 - (a) Publicising the Freedom Charter,
 - (b) Passes.
10. That the campaigns against the laws referred to in paragraph 6. of the first set of admissions, constituted part of the policy of extra-parliamentary activity.
11. That the said campaigns were conducted in many parts of South Africa.
12. That these campaigns were regarded as part of the general activity of the organisations.

13. That the organisations advocated extra-parliamentary action as a means of achieving the change of government desired by them, as set out in paragraph 9. of the first set of admissions.
14. That Chief A.J. Luthuli, on behalf of the A.N.C., called for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers and that the other organisations supported his appeal.
15. That the T.I.Y.C. and N.I.Y.C. had all the policies and participated in all the activities which have been admitted with reference to the S.A.I.C. and that the T.I.Y.C. and N.I.Y.C. co-operated with the other organisations referred to in the admissions.

Sched. No. 4.

CONSTITUTION OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

December 15th, 1943.

- (1) The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, herein called Congress.
- (2) Objects: The aims of Congress shall be
 - (a) To protect and advance the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them,
 - (b) To attain the freedom of the African people from all discriminatory laws whatsoever ;
 - (c) To strive and work for the unity and co-operation of the African people in every possible way.
- (3) MEMBERS:
 - (a) Individual Bodies: Any person over 17 years of age who is willing to subscribe to the aims of Congress and to abide by its constitution and rules may become an individual member upon application to the nearest branch.
 - (b) Affiliated Members: Any organisation whose aims are in harmony with the aims of Congress may become an affiliated body upon application, in the case of a provincial or local organisation, to the provincial committee.

and in the case of a national organisation to the working committee. The executive reserves the rights to refuse an application without giving reasons.

(4) BRANCHES:

- (a) Branches may be formed with the approval of a provincial committee in any locality within its province.
- (b) A branch shall consist of not less than 20 individual members.
- (c) Each branch shall hold an annual general meeting at which it shall elect a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and not less than two committee members.

(5) PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE:

- (a) The provincial conference shall be highest organ of Congress in each province.
- (b) Annual provincial conference shall be held in each province of the Union of South Africa. Special provincial conference may be convened at such other times as the provincial committee may deem fit, and shall be convened upon the requisition addressed to the provincial committee, of branches or of affiliated bodies, organisations, representing at least one quarter of the total number of delegates entitled to be present at a provincial conference.
- (c) Each branch shall be entitled to be represented at the provincial conference

by one delegate for every 20 members,
or in the proportion laid down by the
provincial conference from time to
time.

(d) Each affiliated body shall be entitled
to be represented at the provincial
conference by one delegate for every
100 members or in the proportion laid
down by the provincial conference from
time to time.

(e) No branch or affiliated body shall be
represented by more than 10 delegates
at a provincial conference.

(f) The provincial conference in each
province shall be responsible for the
affairs of Congress in that province
subject/^{only}to the general supervision and
control of the National Executive Com-
mittee and working committee.

(6) PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE:

(a) The annual provincial conference shall
elect a provincial committee consisting
of a President and all committee members
of whom the President and not less than
5 committee members shall be resident
within 50 miles of the provincial head-
quarters designated from time to time
by the provincial conference.

(b) The provincial committee shall elect
Secretary and a Treasurer from among its
members resident as provided in the fore-
going section.

SCHD. No. 5...

- (c) The provincial committee shall meet at least once in every 3 months and at such other times as it deems necessary. It shall be the Executive body of the provincial conference and shall administer the affairs of the Congress within the province between provincial conferences, and shall convene provincial ... at the times provided herein.
- (d) The provincial committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress organisation work and finances in the province to the provincial conference and to the working committee not later than six weeks before the annual National Conference. On failure on the part of any provincial committee to function in terms of this constitution the working committee may convene a provincial conference to elect a new provincial committee and may form a committee to carry on the work of Congress in the province during the interim period.

(7) NATIONAL CONGRESS:

- (a) The national Conference shall be the supreme body of Congress and shall determine its general policy and programme.
- (b) An annual national conference shall be held once a year at the time and place decided upon at the preceding national conference. Special national conference may be convened at such other times as the national executive committee may deem

fit, and shall be convened upon requisition addressed to the working committee by two or more provincial conferences.

- (c) The provisions of clause 5(c), (d) and (e) shall always mutatis mutandis, to the election of delegates to the National Conference.

(8) NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

- (a) Once in every three years the national conference shall elect a National Executive Committee consisting of a National President, National Secretary, National Treasurer, and not less than 15 committee members.
- (b) The National Executive Committee shall meet on the day of its election and thereafter at least once in six months and at such other times as it may be convened by the working committee.
- (c) The National Executive Committee shall be responsible for activities of Congress and national conferences and shall supervise and revise the work of the working committee.
- (d) The National Executive Committee shall submit to the Annual National Conference full report of the work, organisation and finances of Congress during the preceding year which report shall be made available to provincial committees, branches and affiliated members not later than one month before the date of the annual

conference.

- (e) Provincial President shall be ex officio member of the national executive.

(9) WORKING COMMITTEE:

- (a) At the meeting of the N.E.C. held on the day of its election the National Executive Committee shall appoint a working committee of not less than 7 persons who shall be persons resident within 50 miles of the National Headquarters designated by the national conference from time to time.
- (b) The members of the working committee shall be chosen in the first place from amongst members of the N.E.C. having the necessary residential qualifications, and in the event^{of}/there being fewer than 7 so qualified, the remaining members of the working committee shall be chosen from amongst Congress members in general who have the requisite residential qualifications.
- (c) The National President shall ex-officio be a member of the working committee. The President shall appoint an Assistant National Secretary for the working committee.
- (d) Between meetings of the N.E.C., the working committee shall enjoy the full executive powers of the N.E.C., and shall carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the national conference and meetings of the N.E.C., as provided herein. It shall remain responsible to the N.E.C.

- (e) The working committee shall meet once in every month and at such other times as it may deem necessary;
- (f) The working committee shall place before every regular meeting of the N.E.C. a report of its activities and of the work, organisation and finances of Congress in general. The working committee shall take steps to publish a report of the proceedings of all national conferences within three months after the termination of such conference.

(10. FINANCE:

- (a) Every individual member shall upon applying for membership and thereafter at the beginning of each year pay to the branch concerned a subscription of 2/6d. There shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid to members joining in the course of the year.
- (b) Affiliated bodies shall upon application and thereafter at the beginning of each year pay to the provincial committee or the working committee as the case may be, a sum representing one fiftieth of the ordinary subscriptions or dues collected from its own membership in the preceding year.
- (c) Affiliated bodies shall submit a Constitution and Financial Statement.
- (d) Each branch shall pay to the Provincial Executive Committee two thirds of the subscription received by it and the

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provincial executive committee shall pay to the working committee half of the income received by it.

- (e) Funds of Congress shall be raised through membership fees, subscriptions, levies, donations, and through functions and entertainments.
- (f) All such funds shall be deposited at a recognised bank or post office savings bank immediately they are received at the branch, provincial, or national office.
- (g) Branch committees, provincial executive committees and the working committee shall keep full and proper records of all income and expenditure and shall present annual financial statements to the branch, provincial conference and national conferences as the case may be. The working committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of its accounts and of the accounts of provincial committees, where the provincial committee fails to do so.

(11) DISCIPLINE:

Every committee of Congress shall have the power to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against any member within its jurisdiction who acts in breach of the constitution or rules of Congress, violates its decisions or behaves in a way which is prejudicial to the interests of Congress or of the African people, provided that there shall be a right of

appeal against disciplinary action to the provincial conference and in the case of a decision of the working committee of the N.E.C. to the national conference.

(12) RULES:

- (a) The N.E.C. shall have the power to frame rules or approve rules framed by the working committee not inconsistent with this constitution for regulating all matters connected with Congress.
- (b) Each Provincial Conference shall have power to frame rules not inconsistent with this constitution, for regulating the affairs of Congress within its own province which rules shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the working committee.

(13) DECISION:

All decisions saving amendments to the constitution taken by bodies of Congress, including the election of office bearers and committees shall be taken by majority vote.

(14) VACANCIES:

- (a) The office of a member of a Congress committee shall be vacated by resignation, death, expulsion or removal as a disciplinary measure.
- (b) Such vacancy shall be filled by co-opting by the committee.

(15) AMENDMENTS:

Amendments to this constitution may be

made by a two thirds majority vote of the delegates present and voting at a National Conference provided that three months notice of proposed amendments shall have been circulated prior to such national conference to the provincial affiliated bodies.

(16) GENERAL:

Congress shall have perpetual succession and the power apart from its individual member, to acquire, hold and alienate property - enter into agreements and all things necessary to carry out its aims and objects.

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- (e) Marxism -Leninism as a political doctrine consists of a body of coherent argument based on certain premises and worked up to their conclusion.
- (f) Communist Parties all over the world adhere to Marxism-Leninism. Members of Communist parties are expected to adhere to the doctrine.
- (g) Basically individual members **are** not allowed to interpret the **doctrine**. There is^a hierarchical form of **internal criticism** with the heads of the party ultimately laying down what is correct. Doctrine remains basically unchanged from period to period though the application may change.
- (h) Though the implications of the doctrine may develop to meet new situations, its principles remain constant.
- (i) Though Marxism-Leninism is indebted to other schools of thought, ideas which were adopted from such outside sources were in all cases adapted to fit in with the Marxist-Leninist pattern of views.

11. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM.

1. Marxism-Leninism consists basically of dialectical materialism and historical materialism plus a social philosophy and a political theory.
2. Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is a materialist philosophy. The nature of matter is the basis from which the nature of life including society derives.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society and its history. The dialectical method holds that no phenomena in nature can be understood if taken by itself. Nature is not a state of rest and immobility, but a state of continuous movement and change. Dialectics regards the process of development as one which passes from small quantitative changes to open fundamental qualitative changes. The qualitative changes do not occur gradually but rapidly and abruptly.

Dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature. The struggle between these opposites brings about the

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transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes. There is therefore a thesis, an antithesis, a strife between the two and then a qualitative leap leading to a synthesis. This clash between thesis and antithesis is also said to be a process of negation, the antithesis negating the thesis and producing as a result the synthesis, which is also said to be a negation of the negation (the antithesis).

This law of the negation (or clash between thesis and antithesis) is the philosophical basis for the Communist idea of violent revolution and excludes the concept of conciliation.

3. Historical materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to human history. A situation takes place, its opposite evolves and a new situation comes into being. Society is regarded as always having been in a struggle.
4. In the Marxist-Leninist political economy the principles of historical materialism are applied to the economic world and the political structure in which economic relations operate and exist. There is

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a struggle between thesis and anti-thesis until a solution will be achieved with the disappearance of these opposites.

5. The world is not constituted by mind according to dialectical materialism but mind is a reflex of material conditions. Society is therefore conditioned by the material conditions on which it is based. The form of society, the institution of society, the ways of thinking of society are the outcome of the material conditions which according to Marxism-Leninism carry that society.

The theory of society is that it is a superstructure based on a substructure. The substructure is material and under capitalism consists of the material conditions of production, consisting of inanimate conditions i.e. the climate, soil, etc. on the one hand and the labour force on the other hand. But as people co-operate to make a living, they establish relations of production, and so arises the superstructure.

The superstructure consists of the institutions of society government institutions, legal institutions, social institutions, religious institutions,

artistic etc. The form and shape of these institutions reflect the sub-structure i.e. the material conditions of production. Even thoughts of people are conditioned by these institutions. The consciousness of man does not make society, but social conditions create the consciousness of man.

6. As conditions of productions develop the superstructure, the way people think, is apt to lag behind.

Institutions are not adapted to the new forms of production. Thus two classes appear; those who work and those who have to do with the superstructure, i.e. the ruling class.

Between these two classes exists merely a relationship of struggle. The class of the superstructure tries to maintain its interests based on the outmoded forms of production while the class of the substructure demands new conditions of existence because of the changed forms of productions.

The class of the substructure is termed the proletariat, under capitalism.

Proletariat.

This is the class which has nothing to sell but its labour power. The capitalist, or ruling class hold the instruments of production and thus dominate the

proletariat.

7. To Communism the class struggle is seen as an inevitable, always sharpening struggle leading to a decisive clash.
- To bourgeois socialism the concept of class struggle is also known but it is not seen as an unbridgable contradiction, but as a method of producing co-operation, conciliation or collaboration. This idea of reformism or collaboration on a permanent basis is opposed by Communism.

8. Theory of History.

The argument is that throughout history (except in the first or primitive stage, when people supposedly lived by hunting), exploitation and the class struggle existed. After the primitive stage followed the stage of slavery (with slaves exploited by slave owners). Then followed the feudal system (with landowners exploiting serfs). Then came capitalism (with capitalists exploiting the proletariat). The final stage will be Communism when production for profit, the class struggle and exploitation will have ceased.

9. Unity of Theory and Practice.

Communism emphasises that theory and practice are united and are really identical for the mind reflects material development.

Theoretical understanding is necessary for a person to understand his position, and theoretical understanding is conditioned by the material conditions of a particular situation.

Therefore masses must be educated and made politically self-conscious. This is the task of the Communist Party.

Practice must be based on well understood well propagated theory.

111. CAPITALISM.

1. Point of departure of Communist doctrine on capitalism is the statement that at the present historical stage capitalism has come to the end of its development. It shows signs of disintegration.
2. Marx's criticism of capitalism is based on his theory of value. The argument is that under capitalism the proletariat has nothing to sell but its labour. The owner of the instruments of production i.e. the capitalist buys that labour on his own terms. The labourer works more, produces more value than is necessary for his subsistence but he is paid only a subsistence wage. The remainder of value produced, called surplus value, goes to the capitalist.
3. The labour theory of value or theory of surplus value though derived from Ricardo was adapted by Marx in the form finally accepted by him.
4. The surplus value thus produced accumulates, in terms of the law of accumulation of capital and becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, in terms of the law of concentration of capital.

This process causes increasing misery among the masses. Ultimately this process taken to its logical conclusion causes the breakdown and death of capitalism.

5. The three laws of capitalism mentioned above (paragraph 4) can also be found as concepts accepted by non-communist writers.
6. By the bourgeois class is meant the class which owns instruments of production, which lives by the property it owns. The petit bourgeoisie is the smaller capitalist as distinct from the big capitalist who is represented by the bourgeoisie.
7. The following main contradictions are said to be inherent in capitalism.
 - (a) The contradiction between the ever-growing proletariat becoming continuously poorer and the ever-shrinking capitalist class becoming continuously wealthier due to the laws of accumulation and concentration of capital. Ultimately capitalism must be destroyed by the force bred by itself. In terms of the dialectic, capitalism contains its own opposite, its own death.
 - (b) The contradiction between competing capitalist nationalist states inevitably leads to wars.

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(c) Symptomatic of the contradictions in capitalism are the repeated crises, periods of deflation and inflation, the waste of over-production.

8. Capitalism is criticised by Communism for reducing the worker to the status of a commodity. His labour is sold on the open market at the best price he can obtain.

9. Capitalism is said to produce oppressor nations and oppressed colonial nations. This facet of capitalism is part of the analysis of imperialism which will be dealt with under a following head.

10. The Communist criticism of capitalism is connected with the Communist concept of revolution. The theory is that the growing proletariat must inevitably rise in revolt against the capitalists who have entrenched themselves in the institutions of state. This dogmatic acceptance of the inevitability of revolution is an exclusively Communist concept.

IV. IMPERIALISM.

1. Description of Imperialism.

In communist doctrine imperialism marks the end of the capitalist period of history. Imperialism commences when capitalism becomes international leaves its homeland and penetrates other parts of the world for exploitation. This arises when accumulation and concentration of capital has already taken place so that a system of monopolies, trusts, cartels, and so forth arises, eliminating free trade and competition. Capitalism at a very high stage of its development becomes imperialism.

2. Imperialism displays inter alia the following five features:-

1. Concentration of production and capital to such a stage that monopolies are created.
2. Merging of bank capital with industrial capital to create financial capital.
3. Export of capital.
4. Formation of international capitalist monopolies which divide the world among themselves.
5. Territorial division of the world between capitalist powers.

3. Division of the World.

According to Communism the world is divided into two camps, inevitably opposing each other. On the one hand the communist bloc, on the way, as it considers it, to final achievement of communism. This communism regards as a peace loving bloc. On the other hand the imperialist or capitalist bloc, referred to in communist literature as the war-mongering bloc of countries where capitalism exists.

4. Communism, Peace and Imperialism.

Only the destruction of classes, the elimination of the profit motive and the ultimate achievement of communism will bring peace. Peace is therefore preached by Communism. Peace in this sense will not be attained until imperialism is destroyed and war against imperialism is therefore necessary and justified. Imperialism entrenching itself in the machinery of the state can only be removed by the use of force, by a violent revolution.

The propaganda for peace and against imperialism are therefore identical.

5. According to Communism in many Western states there is a joinder of feudal and imperialist elements. That is the position in South Africa.

In such cases the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutions are therefore telescoped.

6. Liberatory Movement.

Under imperialism the people of the colonies and semi-colonies are oppressed and liberatory movements come into existence among them. Communists are instructed to co-operate with the liberatory movement and recognize their right of rebellion and revolutionary war because only when imperialism is destroyed can communism be attained and oppressed people really achieve liberation.

7. (a) The Communist doctrine on imperialism is inherent in Communism and it is not so fundamentally part of any other doctrine.
- (b) Though Lenin took over a lot from Hobson and others on the doctrine of imperialism, Lenin adapted the ideas to follow on the analysis of 'Das Kapital'.
- (c) Imperialism conceived as a cause of war does not play as prominent a part in bourgeois socialism as it does in Communism. To Communism imperialism has the quality of being an inevitable cause of war.

- (d) Acceptance of the idea of a world divided into two camps, the one the warnongering non-communist camp of the West led by the U.S.A., and the other the peace-loving communist camp led by the U.S.S.R. is not really part of bourgeois socialism, which nowadays tends to speak of Moscow imperialism.

- (e) The criticism of imperialism involving the open or implied support of the U.S.S.R. or a state of the Communist type is a sign of Communist influence or support of Communism.

V. LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

- I(a) In Communist theory the term liberation movement refers to the movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries among the so-called oppressed groups, for their improvement and freedom.
- (b) The indigenous people in these countries are said to be oppressed by the imperialist-capitalist exploitation of the rulers of the country concerned.
- (c) Communists of the whole world are instructed to co-operate with and support the liberation movements both in their own and in other countries to promote the achievement of world communism.
2. The liberation movement is regarded as international and since the interests of the proletariat are also international Communism supports the liberation movement on an international basis.
3. The oppressed people of the colonies and semi-colonies are said to be in a position analogous to the proletariat of the industrialist countries. They are dominated politically and economically by the imperialist ruler.

4. Communists by supporting the liberation movements aim at the achievement of communism on the theory that only by achievement of the ultimate Communist state through the stages of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the balance of the theory of revolution can the oppressed be liberated.
5. The view that national liberation is inextricably linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism is part of communist doctrine.
6. Imperialism will only be removed by the use of force and therefore war and revolution aimed against imperialism is justified and necessary.
7. It is an exclusively Communist view to see the liberation movement as an international movement promoting wherever it exists not merely liberation from national oppression but also ultimately liberation from class oppression. In this aforesaid view the liberation movement in undermining imperialism serves as an instrument for the achievement of world communism and as such deserves support.

VI. FASCISM

1. Fascism according to Communism is the last stage of capitalism when liberalism and democracy have been destroyed and capitalism has been entrenched behind parliament which becomes a mere camouflage for dictatorship. At this stage the institutions of the State are completely dominated by capitalism and the legislative powers of the state are used for suppression. The ruling class resorts to force and terror. The police in particular are used to intimidate the people. At the stage of fascism the parliamentary opposition disappears as a factor of importance. At this stage the necessity of revolutionary action becomes clear to the workers.
2. The aim of Communism is to smash fascism. It must be fought by a united front of all the people. To achieve this Communists should be prepared to combine in temporary alliances with the social democratic Parties and other organisations prepared to oppose fascism.
3. The concept of a 'united front against fascism' is a particularly integral part of the policy of the Comintern.

4. At the stage of fascism the political consciousness of the working class increases and the workers realise more clearly than ever that a violent revolution is essential for the overthrow of the fascist state. The use of constitutional and parliamentary methods is said to become futile and the opponents of fascism are forced to resort to extra-parliamentary methods.
5. The extended use of the word 'fascist' may not be indicative of communist belief or adherence or advocacy of communist doctrine. The term may be used by a right wing writer with the obvious intention of ascribing to it the meaning found in communism. Whether the term in its extended meaning is used knowingly or unknowingly i.e. with or without knowledge of its communist meaning, or for what purpose the term is used i.e. to propagate communism or otherwise, must be inferred from its context.
6. The word 'fascism' may be used occasionally as a term of abuse.
7. The word fascism cannot just be said to be floating around. It generally involves a certain kind of critical attitude to the present democratic or pseudo-democratic state.

VII. THEORY OF STATE.

1. The state according to Communism is an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class. It uses subordinate bodies such as the army, the police and others for the domination and oppression of other classes. Even parliament is used to promote the interests of the ruling class.
2. According to Communism the bourgeois state should be destroyed. This is done during the period of the dictatorship of the Proletariat which is a dictatorship of the Communist party, based on revolution and using the tactics of force.
3. After the overthrow of the bourgeois state the dictatorship of the proletariat oppresses all remnants of the bourgeoisie until gradually all classes disappear and the state then withers away. This final classless society is the end aimed at by Communist doctrine. It is at that stage that people will receive not according to their labour but according to their needs.
4. The concepts of 'withering away of the state' and of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' are exclusively communist.

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The concept of a 'classless society' emerging from this process of the withering away of the state is similarly an exclusively Communist concept.

5. Liberation according to Communism is only achieved after the process of breaking up the state through a violent revolution and the subsequent withering away of the state as described above has been completed.

6. COMMUNIST STATE.

The true communist state is strictly speaking in terms of Marxism-Leninism a misnomer because in the stage of perfect communism the state will then have disappeared. When the term however, is used it refers to the first two stages namely when the workers and peasants gradually take over control and the period when they have taken over control i.e. to the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the full blooded dictatorship of the proletariat.

VIII. TACTICS AND METHODS.

1. According to Communism all morality is class morality, a by-product of the economic stage of society. Communist morality is therefore entirely subordinate to the interests of the class struggle and the cause of destroying the old exploiting society. Therefore the use of all methods, legal or illegal, moral or immoral, constitutional or unconstitutional including violence is justified.
2. Since Parliament is considered by Communism to be an instrument of the ruling class, the solution of the class struggle cannot be found in Parliament and the proletariat is therefore justified in using any methods including extra-parliamentary methods against Parliament.
3. To Communism extra-parliamentary action includes action which is intended to settle the issues ultimately by force.
4. MASS ACTION.
According to Communist doctrine the Communist Party must lead the masses, must explain the theory to the masses and action must ultimately be mass action. The masses refer chiefly to the proletariat and the peasantry and small bourgeois elements in society, i.e. all the disaffected social groups.

5. ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN AND YOUTH

Communism requires that the women and youth be organized in a manner subordinate to the party, to serve the party. In the case of the Communist Party subsidiary organizations are more of an integral part of the whole policy and philosophy of the party than in bourgeois parties. Discipline does not figure as strongly in the bourgeois organizations as in the comparable Communist organizations.

6. PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY.

Communism in the first place emphasizes the importance of the role of the working class in the proletarian struggle. Communism also teaches that the working class will be assisted by the peasantry in bringing about the world revolution. The combination of these two groups is emphasized more strongly in Communism than in bourgeois socialism.

7. ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS.

Communism teaches that every Communist should belong to a trade union, even a reactionary one. Communists should attack reformism in the trade unions, defend trade union unity nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, subordinate all tasks to the

struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Communism trade unions should therefore not merely take active part in politics but should aim at the defeat of reformism, i.e. the idea of obtaining reforms through Parliament. They should insist on the working class unity even at the cost of loyalty to the national state. Thus c.g. trade unions should not support so-called imperialist wars. On Communist theory, also, trade unions should not attempt to reconcile differences based on class, or to co-operate with capitalists, but should assume the inevitability of continuous class struggle leading ultimately to the victory of the proletariat.

The idea of trade unions taking part in political movements is Communist but is not exclusively Communist. The anti-reformist trade union policies as set out above are exclusively Communist.

8. PEACE FRONT.

Communist doctrine sees in the organization of a broad peace front a powerful weapon to overthrow capitalism and to mobilize the support of wide sections of the population for this campaign.

9. UNITED FRONT TACTICS.

Communism accepts the necessity under

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IX. FRONTS OR TRANSMISSIONS.

1. Fronts (or transmissions) are organisations which are not professedly communist but are used by communists to spread communist doctrine (which doctrine involves action) to reach people or spheres of public opinion which a communist acting directly or openly as a communist could not reach. These organisations therefore serve as transmission agents for communist ideas and communist policy and therefore serve to promote the ideas of Communism for world-wide action.

X. DOCTRINE OF REVOLUTION.

1. The law of the negation (or the strife between theses and antithesis) contains the philosophical basis for the Communist doctrine of violent revolution. Applied to capitalist society this means that capitalism engenders its own antithesis, the proletariat. A violent clash inevitably occurs and a synthesis viz. the classless society is brought into being. The proletariat can also be said to be the negation of capitalism, destroying capitalism and thereby bringing to being a new entity.

2. Since modern capitalist states retain elements of feudalism while developing into the imperialist state at the same time the anti-feudal revolution is inseparable from the ^{and anti-capitalist} anti-imperialist/revolution which leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and the final communist stage.

3. (a) The first revolution viz the revolution to destroy feudalism is called the bourgeois democratic revolution. It aims to bring about a radical revolution in relation to the ownership of landed property in favour of the peasantry and to establish democracy.

(b) In the modern world the bourgeois revolution when led by the workers also liquidates big capital.

4. Though the bourgeois revolution in itself is not necessarily a violent revolution if it is associated with the socialist revolution then it would necessarily be associated with violence.
5. The national democratic revolution has the same aims as the bourgeois revolution except that it emphasizes the national aspect of the revolutionary process, the fact that a certain nation is involved.
6. The revolution known to Communism as the socialist revolution (also called communist dictatorship of the proletariat or revolution of the proletariat) is a violent revolution aimed at the destruction of the capitalist or imperialist state. This revolution brings the elimination of the bourgeois class and private ownership of the means of production and leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.
7. The view of Khrushchev and others that violence will depend on whether the Capitalist class shoots first, does not affect the doctrine of violence.

8. Communism opposes other schools of socialist thought which advocate the achievement of improvement in society by process of gradual reforms or by making laws i.e. methods falling short of violence, and deprecatingly termed reformism, legalism or gradualism. This doctrine of the inevitability of violent revolution distinguishes communism from other schools of socialism.
9. The two revolutions viz. the bourgeois (also called national democratic revolution) and the socialist revolution often merge or become interwoven.
10. Communists are required to support the bourgeois revolution and to press on to the socialist revolution.
11. The iron discipline of the Communist Party demands loyalty to the Communist idea of revolution.

XI. PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

- . The concept of a People's Democracy is a Communist concept and refers to a type of state arising from a people's democratic revolution, i.e. a revolutionary process consisting of a combination of the bourgeois (or national democratic) revolution with the socialist revolution. The communist concept of violent revolution is therefore part of the concept of a people's democracy. In a developed form a people's democracy has the same aims and function as a dictatorship of the proletariat.
2. The immediate aims of the revolutionary process leading to a people's democracy is firstly to smash fascism which is identified with capitalism; secondly to expropriate land especially of the large landowner and to redivide the land among the peasants and thirdly to break down finance monopoly and banks.
3. The concept of people as used in the people's democratic dictatorship which is the same as people's democracy refers only to supporters of the leading group in the regime i.e. the Communist Party as leader of the workers and peasants in particular. The reactionary groups

such as landlords, and the monopolists, capitalists and bourgeois bureaucrats are not part of the regime and must ultimately be relentlessly eliminated on the principle that democracy is only for the people.

4. The Police force, the armies, the civil service of the bourgeois state must be disbanded as being instruments of oppression and replaced by representatives of the people so as to become a people's police force, people's army, people's civil service.

5. In the initial stages of its development a People's Democracy may be in some ways indistinguishable from a bourgeois socialist state unless certain decisive factors are known such as e.g.:-
the form of government, who governs, whether the Government Party has obtained or is gradually obtaining centralized control, the use of a list vote or other decisive features.

6. In terms of communist theory the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of Hungary, of Poland, of Albania, of Czechoslovakia, the People's Republic of China are included under the description of People's Democracy. The People's Republic of

Rumania and the German Democratic Republic are sometimes referred to as People's Democracies. The States of Vietnam and North Korea are referred to as People's Democracies although on a lower standard of development than the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

7. All known People's Democracies in existence are Communist States.

XII. INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

1. The Marxist-Leninist foreign policy is essentially a theory of internationalism.
2. The primary loyalty of the proletariat is to its own interests which have become international as a result of the development of imperialism. In as much as Russia stands for the protection of working class interests the primary loyalty of the proletariat must be to Russia. This attitude as a matter of logic is exclusively Communist.
3. According to Communist theory the world is divided into two inevitable opposites: on the one side, the peace loving Communist bloc comprising the U.S.S.R. China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and on the other side the war-mongering imperialist bloc led by the U.S.A. and consisting of Great Britain, France etc.

XIII. THREE INTERNATIONALS.

Communist doctrine accepts the facts regarding and adopts the attitude towards the so-called First, Second and Third Internationals as set out hereunder:-

I. FIRST INTERNATIONAL:

The First International established by Karl Marx in 1864. It was based on the idea of international unity of the proletarian parties of the world.

II. SECOND INTERNATIONAL:

The Second International was founded about 1869. During the First World War the Second International had become too reformist, according to Communist doctrine. Lenin objected to this reformist element in the Second International which had supported the so-called imperialist war because it believed it could achieve its aim through reform and parliamentary procedure. Lenin therefore broke away from the Second International insisting that the necessary changes could only be achieved by a proletarian revolution and not by reformist methods.

III. THIRD INTERNATIONAL:

(a) The Third International was established in March 1919 on initiative of the Bolsheviks

under Lenin. It was an international revolutionary proletarian organisation, Communist (and Marxist-Leninist) in character, therefore opposed to 'class peace' and reformism.

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS POINTS ON COMMUNIST DOCTRINE.

(a) RELIGION.

- (i) Communist doctrine is fundamentally materialist and therefore also anti-religious.

- (ii) Communist practice, however, tolerates and cooperates with religious bodies and persons and admits religious persons as members of the Communist Party, provided they do nothing to obstruct the implementation of Communist Party policy.

(b) DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

- (1) Communist theory is that the Communist Party must be based organisationally **on** the principle of democratic centralism. This means that the party is a tightly organised body controlled by hierarchical bodies with power very much centralised at the top and the higher absolutely controlling the lower. This ensures a rigid discipline on the part of every party member.

(c) RE-ACTIONARY RULERS.

The phrase 're-actionary rulers' is in line with Communist doctrine.

(d) TAILISM (TAIL ON).

Reference to tailing on comes directly from a quotation of Lenin and refers to the fact that certain groups should lead (not tail on or trail behind).

(e) "Real Militant Mass Organization".

This phrase is frequently used by Lenin and Stalin to describe the nature of the Communist Party Organization.

Schedule No.7.

T H E F R E E D O M C H A R T E R

ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AT
KLIPTOWN, JOHANNESBURG, ON JUNE 25 AND 26, 1955.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country
and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black
and white, and that no government can justly claim
authority unless it is based on the will of all the
people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to
land, liberty and peace by a form of government
founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until
all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal
rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all
the people, can secure to all their birthright
without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white
together--equals, countrymen and brothers--adopt this
F R E E D O M C H A R T E R. And we pledge ourselves to
strive together sparing neither strength nor courage,
until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and
to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the adminis-
tration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of
race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and
authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-
government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH !

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED.

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind, shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES; SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation ----not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates---Basutoland, Bechuana-land and Swaziland---shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the people of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

Sched. No. 7.

SCHEDULE NO. 9

EXHIBIT NO. A 84.

LECTURE NO. 1.

"THE WORLD WE LIVE IN"

It is the first of three lectures.

I read the document:

"These notes are the first of a series designed to be read, discussed and studied by volunteers and active Congress workers and specially by individual workers and active trade unionists.

(1) The World Divided:

Our World is a world divided. It is divided many ways - by nations and by race by colour and religion; by poverty and by wealth. But most important, it is divided by oppression. There is a part of the world where people are oppressed, and a part where people are free to live their own lives. All history is the story of the struggle of people to be free, from the most ancient time when slaves fought slave owners, till today when oppressed struggle against their oppressors. Ours is a world of struggle for freedom, a world where the common people struggle everywhere to free themselves from the oppression of the past.

Always, through all history, men have struggled against bad conditions, for something better. In the very beginnings of history, we know that, in all lands, people lived in little isolated groups or tribes, knowing nothing of their neighbours or the world around them. In a sense they were free and equal, for there

were no masters; all were equal members of the group, taking part in all its decisions, and all its work. Yet life was wretched; hunger and starvation and sickness were constant, threatening enemies in this common poverty. Life was a bitter and desperate struggle against nature for food, for shelter and for life.

(2) How Divisions Began.

There came a time when man learnt new skills - how to grow crops where their forefathers knew only how to hunt; they learnt how to tame animals - oxen, horses, sheep, fowls. They changed their way of life from hunters to farmers. Life became easier; there was usually enough to eat - sometimes even more than enough. Those with the best stretches of land or the best luck began to store up food and livestock, to become property owners, while others grew poorer and poorer. The old equality began to die out; the wealthier began to live not by their own work, but by the labour of the poor, who tended their animals and ploughed their fields.

From the ownership of property came two groups - no longer equal - the groups of masters and men - employers and workers - bosses and toilers. These groups we call 'classes'. Ever since the common ownership of tools, hunting equipment and land disappeared, countries everywhere have been divided into classes - those who own the tools and instruments for producing man's needs; and those who own nothing save their

own ability to work.

Questions for discussion:

- (i) Were there classes in old tribal society, or did men have equal rights?
- (ii) Can you explain what conditions of the peoples' life made it so?
- (iii) Does ownership of any kind of property make for different classes, or only special kinds of property?

(3) The Slave System.

There have been many types of class divisions in the history of different peoples. There has been the division of slave-owner and slave; the slave was the property of his master, like an ox or a plough. He was bought and sold at a special slave market; he had no rights; like an ox, he worked when he was driven to work, he was fed and housed by his master just well enough to keep him alive; he needed neither intelligence nor interest in his work of ditch-digging and weeding and tree-cutting. His life was like that of a South African convict labourer. Only he was born a slave, lived his life a slave and died a slave. Naturally enough, he no longer struggled against nature for something better in life; he struggled bitterly, often in armed revolt and rebellion, against the slave-owner, for freedom which would enable him to get something better of life.

(4) The Feudal System.

There was the division of feudal lord and serf.

This was a later division, when slavery was dying out or being overthrown by the slaves. By this time, man had learnt new skills - weaving cloth, smelting iron and making iron tools, dairy farming. For these new skills, slave labour was no longer enough. Workers were needed who would use some of their intelligence, who would take an interest in their work, and learn a skill with the new tools. The serf was no longer the property of his master; in a sense he too was free. But all the instruments and tools he used to produce his needs were his master's. The land belonged to the feudal lord, and the plough and the loom and the hammer and the anvil; he was still a man without rights, unable to leave his master; his payment for his work was a small share of what he produced; his life was as miserable and restricted as any South African labour tenant on a farm. And he too struggled bitterly for freedom - freedom to leave his master to go where he liked, say what he liked.

(5) Capitalism.

There was a later division - which is the division of classes of our own time - the division of capitalists and workers - though some of the old serf and feudal lord division still lingers on in many countries, including South Africa. Feudalism had served its time. Large factories and complicated machines have taken the place of primitive tools and machines.

There is need for workers of intelligence to use the new machines, working at the speed and split-second timing of modern industry, different from the leisurely traditions of farming. The new ways of producing goods need workers of a new type - workers who are no longer tied to the land, but live all their lives as tenants in towns; workers who are free to move about, selling their hands and their skill wherever they are needed; workers without tools of their own, without any way of feeding and clothing themselves unless they work for wages. These are the wage-labourers - the workers of our day. In a sense they are free. But still their lives are poor and miserable. Their education is just enough to fit them for the work their masters need of them. Their earnings are just enough to keep them alive. Their rights and freedoms are few - only those that they have won for themselves in bitter struggles.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Since society has changed from the old communal ownership through slavery to capitalism, has this been a change for the better or the worse?
- (ii) Can one say that in a capitalist country all men are either capitalists living by the labour of others, or workers who own none of the tools or land they - to live by? If not, who are the others, and where do their interests lie in the

struggle between capitalists and workers?

- (iii) What are the old serf-feudal lord type of divisions which still linger on in South Africa, and how does it happen that capitalism has not totally destroyed them?

(6) Understanding the World.

Bitter struggles for freedom, and for the good things of life which modern knowledge and industry can give all men, go on everywhere, all the time. These are the struggles of our time, and if we understand them and their reason, we can understand the world we live in, its events and happenings, its history and its politics. If we understand these struggles and learn how to direct them, we can direct the course of the future, so that from all the currents and trends of today, we will be able to build for ourselves the kind of world we would like to live in.

The world we live in is, then, a world divided into classes - into masters and men. It is a world in which one small class of men, the masters, those who own the tools, the machines, the factories, the mines, the forests, the farms, live from the work of many, the working people, who own nothing but their ability to work. This system of some living and growing rich through the work of others we call exploitation.

(7) What is Your Labour Worth?

Suppose you were a carpenter, and you owned your own tools. You would buy some wood for say, 5/-.

You would work for one day, and would turn that wood into a table. Perhaps your neighbour would be a shoemaker, who would buy some leather for 5/-, work on it for a day and make two pairs of shoes. If you wanted shoes and your neighbour wanted a table, what would be easier than to exchange your table for his two pairs of shoes. Each of you would say; 'I had 5/- worth of material. All I have added to it is one day's work. Therefore it is fair for me to exchange my product for 5/- worth of material and one day's work of my neighbour'. But when you have no neighbour who wants to exchange your table for his own products, you try to sell your table for money, and to use that money to buy what you need. So you have to reckon out how much the table is worth in money. Your raw material is worth 5/-. But what is one day's labour worth? If you puzzle it out, perhaps you will decide like this:

One day's food costs 2/-. One day's rent on my house where I live and work costs 1/-. My tools need resharpening every day, and that costs 1/-. I have to pay taxes each year, taxes cost 2d. per day. So far you have got to 4/2 for a day's work. But if you think a little longer you will see that it is not enough. For if that was all that you charged for your work, you, and everyone else like you, would be unable to afford to study and learn your trade; you would be unable to marry and afford to have children and

bring them up and educate them. And so you would go on adding and adding until you would decide:

'I must charge for my work as much as it costs me to live, feed, clothe and educate myself, and to bring up a family to replace me when my working days are over'. Let us suppose that, if it were possible to work this sum out, the answer would be 10/- per day. And so, you would decide, your table must be worth 5/- . But now suppose you have no tools of your own, and so you have to go to find a job in a factory. If you are to get a living wage, enough to keep you and your family alive, you will need a wage of 10/- a day. Perhaps the boss will agree to pay you 10/- a day. He will provide you with raw materials and tools and machines to make tables. Let us say that all that costs him 10/- a day. Every day, with his machines, you will make two tables; his two tables will then have cost him 10/- for your labour and 10/- for his materials and machines - £1 - in all....."

".....If he then sells those tables for £1 he will make no profit, and will soon close his factory. So he sells those two tables for £1. 10. 0 and takes 10/- profit for himself. But where has his 10/- come from?

Consider the two tables. What are they? They have in them the same raw materials supplied to you; they have in them a part of the wear on his machines; they have in them your day's labour. The only new thing added to that wood

in turning it into tables is your day's work. And so if the boss gets 10/- more for the tables than they cost him that 10/- profit comes from your work.

What has happened is that your boss has taken 10/- worth of raw materials and tools; to it he has added your labour, and made tables worth £1. 0. 0 which he sells for £1. 10. 0. And therefore your labour was worth £1; but he paid you not what it was worth, but what it cost you to produce it - the food, housing and upbringing that it cost; he paid you half the worth of your labour, and kept the other half for his profit. Looked at another way, you can say you worked half a day for yourself - for your wages - and half a day for nothing, for your boss' profits. This is how exploitation works! The worker does not receive the full worth of his labour. The rest becomes the profit of the small class who own the mines and machines and factories and farms. Our world is a world of class struggles -- where the workers struggle against exploitation for the full value of their labour, and the masters struggle to exploit the workers as much as possible for their own enrichment.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Since exploitation arises in the factories, what is the best way to struggle against it for the full value of labour? What sort of organisation should be built to do this?

- (ii) In South Africa, where white workers earn much larger wages than non-white workers, are the white workers also exploited? And if so, are they exploited as heavily as non-whites? How has this difference come about?

(8) Division by Nations.

But our world is not only divided into classes in each country. It is also divided into nations - different peoples living different sorts of lives in separate lands. And the struggle of classes in our world has led to the conquest and enslavement of some nations by others. In the early days when the wealth of the masters was made by slaves, the master scoured the world for more and more slaves. Using the arms and weapons, gunpowder and warships their slaves had built, the rulers of those days conquered and herded like cattle the people who still lived by hunting or by tilling the soil. Africa and Asia became the slave farms of the rulers of Europe, and terrible sufferings were inflicted on the people.

(9) Conquering the Colonies.

But in later days, in the days of capitalism, a new kind of exploitation developed. In the countries of Europe where industry developed first - England, France, Holland, Germany - the masters in their search for ever greater and greater profits, looked around for cheaper and cheaper labour, for cheaper and cheaper raw materials.

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Again they turned to those lands where people were still living as hunters and farmers, without industries and machines - to Africa and Asia, India and South America. They conquered these countries by force of arms, forcing the local native population to work in grinding poverty and exploitation in the mines, forests and plantations where the raw materials for industries in Europe were produced.

(10) National Oppression.

While the workers of Europe - to - of the industrial countries were themselves exploited as we have described, the workers of these colonies were exploited in a new way. They were often driven to work by force, herded from their farms by force, almost slave workers. They were workers without rights to change their jobs, stop work, go away or do anything except what they were ordered. Their wages were not even enough to keep them alive and allow them to bring up families, for there seemed to be such a great supply of these colonial semi-slaves that they could be worked to death, and allowed to die rapidly of diseases and hunger. These were the colonial workers as they are called. To keep them in submission, they were oppressed as a nation - denied all the rights and privileges which workers have in the countries of Europe; all the skilled and well-paid jobs were closed to them; all the political rights were denied them. They were exploited in a new way - a double exploitation - exploited as

workers and oppressed and exploited as inferior people, subject races. This is the exploitation we call imperialism; and those who suffer from it we call 'the colonial people'.

(11) Struggle for Liberation.

Imperialism has divided up the whole world - not only into parts which are owned by one or other of the imperialist countries - not only into empires - but into two sections, the colonial countries of the world and the imperialist countries. And with that division has come new struggles - the struggles and wars between the imperialist countries themselves for possession of the colonies and the right to exploit them; and also the great, unending struggle of the peoples of the colonial world against imperialism, for the right to govern themselves, to live independent of foreign masters, and to live as equals with men of other nations.

Twice in the last fifty years, imperialism has caused world wars, in which every nation in the world has been involved in the slaughter and destruction. Each of these wars has been fought because the imperialist powers have tried to redivide the colonies between them. Between world wars, imperialism wages ceaseless war to subjugate and conquer new colonial lands - today in Kenya and Malaya; yesterday in Korea and Indo-China and Palestine; before that in China, in Spain, in Abyssinia. Imperialism lives by armed force and terror, and lives always in war.

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Question for Discussion:

- (i) Why does imperialism need national oppression of the colonial peoples, and not of the people of the imperialist country?
- (ii) In what way is the oppression of imperialism different from the oppression suffered by the colonial world in the days of the slave trade?
- (iii) How has imperialism managed to hold the colonial peoples in oppression, while the colonial people are many times more than the imperialists?
- (iv) Why is the struggle against imperialist war and war plans part of the struggle against national oppression?
- (v) Does the struggle of the people in one colonial country help the cause of liberation in another country?

(12) Socialist World.

But the struggle of the peoples for their freedom cannot be held back by force and terror. In the age of imperialism, the people's struggle for their freedom has grown strong, strong enough for whole sections of the world's peoples to break out of the net of colonial oppression, and to achieve their national independence: strong enough for whole sections of the world's people to burst out of the net of capitalist exploitation, to overthrow the old system of private ownership of tools and machines and factories and to replace it with a new system - the system we call socialism - where there are no

masters and no exploited men, but where all the factories and farms and mines and machines are owned in common by all the people who work for their own benefit, and are used not to make profits for a few.

(13) The World We Live In.

We live in a world divided into classes - a small class of capitalists who own the instruments of production and a large class who work and are exploited. We live in a world divided into imperialist countries - England, America, France, Holland, Belgium - which oppress and exploit the colonial countries in Africa, Asia and South America. We live in a world divided into two sections - the section where capitalism rules and exploits the people; and the sector where the means of production have become the common property of all people, and exploitation of man by man is being abolished - China, the U.S.S.R., Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia.

We live in a world aflame with the fight for freedom from imperialism and exploitation, through which the people move steadily forward to a better life. Everywhere, in every land, working people have handed together to fight with all their resources for their liberty, for their independence and for all the good things of life - the knowledge, the health, the prosperity and comfort and security - which the modern world can provide. It is the Congress Movement which organises South Africans for this great democratic struggle. Our Congress

movement is part of a great world brotherhood for liberty. If we are to go forward as others have done, to burst out of the net of imperialist oppression, we must understand this world we live in. We must understand our own country, and our own lives. We must understand how a country's life changes, and how we can best help it change.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Since most South Africans are nationally oppressed, which classes in the country can be expected to support the Congress Movement?
- (ii) Exactly what changes do we visualise in South Africa when we talk about the 'ending of imperialism'?
- (iii) How does the Congress Movement help to mobilise the people against imperialism and oppression?
- (iv) Does the Congress Movement work only for the benefit of the oppressed people of South Africa, or does it work also for the interests of other South Africans, and assist the oppressed people in other colonial lands?"

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"THE COUNTRY WE LIVE IN".

- (1) "The way of life of the people of South Africa has been shaped by imperialism. In the earliest days, when slavery was still common in many parts of the world, slave traders raided Africa, rounding up the people who lived there, and shipping them abroad like cattle to be sold on the slave markets. These slave-traders cared little about the way people lived in Africa. They came, they captured slaves and they departed. But later, a new kind of invader came to Africa - the imperialist. He searched not for slaves to capture and ship to foreign lands, but for workers at low wages to exploit the people and the natural riches of the land. At first, the imperialists found little to interest them in South Africa. Farming in many places was poor, unable to develop along the great plantation lines of other colonial lands, there were no signs of oil or rubber or timber forests or sugarfields or cotton such as drew the imperialists to America, to Malaya, Burma, India. There were no signs, in those early days, of precious minerals, coal, iron, gold and diamonds. And so for a long time, imperialism passed South Africa by, leaving it to a handful of white settlers to try to settle down to make a living by farming and supplying vegetables and fruit to passing ships.

(2) Mineral Riches.

But all that changed 100 years ago, when diamonds were first discovered in the Northern Cape near Kimberley. Suddenly, imperialism became hungry for South Africa and her wealth. There was a new invasion of South Africa, not by men with arms, but by men seeking riches from exploiting the minerals and the people. First it was diamonds; then gold on the Witwatersrand; then coal, platinum, copper. In a short space of time, South Africa passed from a backward farming country to one of the world's richest sources of raw materials, and of riches for those who were to exploit the people.

"The imperialist invasion was headed by the fortune hunters, rushing to stake their claims at Kimberley. Behind them followed the financiers and the bankers of Europe, providing the money for machinery and transport.

Behind the financiers came the armies, to protect the bankers and their interest from the people of the country, and from any attempt to interfere with the fantastic profits which were being made. Behind the armies came a new rulers, whose power and authority was to be used to keep the profits flowing; and to do that, it was necessary to break down the tribal, farming traditions of the African people and drive them to work in the new mines and railways and factories.

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(3) The New Pattern.

The imperialists made South Africa to suit themselves. They made it a place where labour is cheap, a place where the natural riches of the country can be cheaply produced, a place where people are poor, oppressed and ruled by an iron hand. Imperialism's first attack on the way of life of the people of South Africa was designed to break down their independence; to tear them away from their self-supporting farming and made it necessary for them to work for wages. The imperialists worked together with the white farmers, making allies of them against the black people. Together they stole South Africa's farming land from the people, first by armed invasion and conquest, made easy by the superiority of imperialist fire-arms against the assegais, and hide shields of the inhabitants. Gradually the African people were pushed back into smaller and smaller islands of land. In 1913, armed conquest gave way to 'law' - laws passed by parliament whose authority came not from the people - because only a small white minority had votes - but from the overwhelming force of police and army behind it. In 1913, Parliament passed the Land Act, by which the white minority reserved for themselves for ever nine out of every ten morgen of South African soil. For the Africans, 8½ million people - 4 times as many as the white population - only one tenth of the land was reserved. Into this one-tenth the overwhelming

majority of the African people have been herded; here they try and keep body and soul together on tiny plots, overstocked, overcrowded, and eroded. These areas - the reserves and so-called Trust lands - are truly reserves of poverty; 3½ million people live in them, many thousands with no land at all. Even those who have strips of land are unable to raise sufficient crops or cattle on their tiny plots to keep their families alive, and to pay the heavy taxes which have been imposed on them. And so these reserves of poverty become also reserves of cheap labour, from which every year hundreds of thousands of men trek to the towns and the European farms, to earn cash wages to supplement their farming income. The system suits the imperialists perfectly; it makes for high profit in large-scale farming, mining and industry. Wages remain low since the workers from the reserves have only to support themselves on their wages while their families live and eat off their reserve farms. Conditions of housing, education, health and recreation are poor, since these workers are only 'temporary' workers - working perhaps nine months or a year in the towns and then returning to their rural homes.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Why was it necessary for the imperialists to break down the old tribal system of land occupation, and start reserves?

- (ii) How was it possible for the imperialists to form an alliance with the white farmers? And was this alliance easily accepted in the early days by the farmers?
- (iii) Did the African people struggle against the imperialist invasion, and if so how and when?

(4) The People Now.

In this system of cheap, semi-rural labour which imperialism has perfected in South Africa, and which sets the standards of life and work for all other workers. Of the Africans in the Union, $3\frac{1}{4}$ million live in the reserves and trust lands; $2\frac{1}{4}$ million work on European farms as labourers or as labour-tenants, who exchange their work for the right to live on their bosses' property and grow a small patch of crops; $\frac{3}{4}$ million live in compounds attached to the mines and other great industries. But as gold and diamonds mining developed, so manufacturing industries grow in the towns to supply them - clothing factories, engineering factories, food processing factories etc., $1\frac{1}{2}$ million of the African people have gradually drifted away from the countryside to work in the town, in the factories and the homes of the white population. Though their cash wages are far higher than those paid to reserve workers who work on short contracts on the mines, even their wages and conditions are kept at a very low level by the standards which are set by the greatest employers of all - the gold mines. Let us look at how

some of these people live.

(5) Miners.

First the gold, coal and diamond mines. These are the richest in the world, paying over £26 million in profits each year to the shareholders, many of whom are abroad in England, America and France. On the gold mines alone, there are 45,000 European workers, and 312,000 African workers. The average wage of the European worker was £803 a year, but of the African only £55 a year, with, perhaps, a further £13 a year as the value of the rations supplied to them. Thus a labourer earns perhaps one-twelfth of the wage of a European worker. In mines in Britain or America, a labourer earns approximately two-thirds of the wage of a skilled miner. From this can be seen how effectively imperialism has kept wages low in South Africa and profits high.

(6) Laws for Poverty.

A whole system of laws has been passed by Parliament to keep things this way for the benefit of imperialism and the big farmers. Hut and poll taxes, payable in cash, to drive men from the reserves to earn cash wages; Masters and Servants Acts to force men to complete their contracts of 270 shifts before they can change their job; Urban Areas Act to keep the workers from settling in the towns after their contracts are complete, or from bringing their families

into towns during their contracts; Native Labour Regulation Acts to protect 'recruiters' who scour the reserves for labour without competing with each other and thus forcing up wages; laws like War Measure 1425 to stop the miners holding meetings to improve their conditions. Thus the laws of South Africa grow out of the needs of the rulers of the country - the imperialists and their allies, the big farmers.

(7) Land Barons.

Let us look at the European farms. Here there are over $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Africans, of whom only about 700,000 earn cash wages. There are many different types of farm labour. There are some workers, especially on the large fruit farms and sugar farms where the worker lives like mine-workers in compounds and are paid cash wages, averaging about £20 a year. There are labour tenants, whole families who work for six or nine months in the year for the farmer, in exchange for the right to plough and graze animals on a small part of the farm. He too is a contract labourer, tied to the farm by contract, and yet without any security to remain on his plot, He can be ordered off at any time the farmer pleases. There are also convict labourers, supplied to the farmers by the Government, kept in private farm prisons, and in all respects treated like slave labourers. So workers on farms, on an average earn even less than workers on the mines. And

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here too special laws have been made by the Union Parliament to protect the profits and privileges of farmers. Pass Laws to prevent the African workers moving away from the rural areas; Influx Control laws to keep Africans from entering the towns.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Why is it that imperialism finds greater profits from exploitation in Africa than in say, Britain?
- (ii) Does every struggle of the miners for better wages and conditions only affect their own conditions of life; or is it also important for the movement for liberation from imperialism?
- (iii) In view of their conditions of life and work, can the mine and farm workers be expected to support a struggle for national liberation? And what kind of programme of demands should the liberation put forward to win that support?

(8) Town Workers.

Let us look at the town workers. Their numbers are growing every year. Of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ million people in the urban areas, just over half are non-Europeans. In manufacturing industries, whose ownership is exclusively in European hands, two out of every three workers are non-European. Yet here too, imperialism has left its mark. In 1946 for example, the non-European workers - two-thirds of the total number of workers - earned an average wage of £117 a year each,

while the European workers - one-third of the workers - earned an average of £425 a year. Profits are high and wages low, and the living conditions of the workers are poor. Housing is bad, often unobtainable; wages only cover the barest necessities of life, poor unbalanced diets of mealie meal, bread, with little else to add, and second-hand cast-off clothing. Yet even this has been fought for and wrung from the unwilling employers by the workers' own organised struggles. Since the beginning of industry, workers have banded together to form trade unions, and through long and bitter strikes and demonstrations, have gradually raised their ~~standards~~ standards above the minimum levels set by the mining companies. Here too, many laws have been passed to keep wages low and profits high. There is the Masters and Servants Act which binds workers to their bosses and makes it a crime to disobey an order. There is the Mine and Works Act which reserves all the highly paid jobs in mining and building - the so-called 'skilled' jobs - for Europeans. There is the Industrial Conciliation Act which refuses any legal rights to trade unions of African workers; and the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act which outlaws strikes of African workers. There are the many pass and influx laws which make it illegal for an African to be more than seven days in a town without a job and force him thereafter to work on farms or mines.

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(9) A System of Oppression.

This is the system imperialism has built to protect high profits at the expense of the people of South Africa. Such a system - a system by which a small group of men grow rich at the cost of the misery, slavery and poverty of many is always in danger of overthrow by the oppressed people. This is true of South Africa also. Imperialism can only survive by the use of force on the one hand and on the other by dividing the oppressed people and turning their anger and discontent away from their real oppressors and against their fellow-oppressed. This is how imperialism survives in South Africa. It has divided the oppressed and tried to incite them into wreaking their anger on each other. To do this it has sacrificed a small part of its profits and privileges to create different levels of oppression against the non-European people. For the Coloured people there are privileges not granted to Africans - the right to do skilled work, to form trade unions, to move about without passes, in the Cape Province to vote. For a time these privileges served to protect the imperialists by dividing the Coloured people from the Africans; they made many Coloureds feel that their future lay not with the oppressed Africans in the struggle against imperialism, but with the ruling class in oppressing and exploiting the Africans; and they made many Africans regard the Coloured people, not as fellow-sufferers but as the allies of the exploiters.

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So too with the Indian people - privileged to own land and trade in European areas, exempted from pass laws, free to join trade unions. For many years, imperialism lived in safety because of the divisions and the hostility it managed to create in the ranks of the oppressed and exploited.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) In what way are the demands and outlook of the town workers different from those of the workers who come from the reserves? Can the liberation movement unite these two groups?
- (ii) How is it that a parliament elected by only a portion of the white minority is able to get its laws carried out? And would it then be sufficient for the liberation movement just to change the people who sit in parliament?
- (iii) Is it possible for the different sections of the oppressed people to unite their forces in a single struggle in view of the divisions and hostilities the ruling class has created? If so, how can this unity be achieved?

(10) Sharing in Oppression.

But imperialism has done more to protect itself. It has granted to a section of the European population the right to share in the benefits of exploitation of the oppressed colonial peoples. It has permitted the skilled European workers to enjoy many benefits - a monopoly of skilled jobs free from non-Europeans' competition, high wages,

good conditions of housing and health, the right to cheap domestic servants and a multiplicity of labourers and assistants. True, all this has cost the imperialists a small part of their profits, but it has been like the payment of insurance for them. It has been a payment made to win the European working people away from an alliance with the non-European oppressed, to give them a stake in the continuation of exploitation and oppression and so to turn them into allies of imperialism and enemies of the oppressed people.

(11) They Rule By Force.

From these hired allies, and from the most denationalised and declassed section of the oppressed, imperialism has built up a vast network of force - police, commissioners, superintendents and armies and workers - to suppress by force the national struggles and revolts of the oppressed. Alongside its armed men, it has ~~ranked~~ a whole collection of supporters and hangers on - politicians who preach racialism and oppression as a new holy religion, hooligans who use violence and assaults to terrorise the oppressed, professors and ministers of religion who 'prove' the inferiority of the oppressed and the fitness of the imperialists and their supporters to rule. Thus Imperialism has built South Africa, and thus it rules.

(12) Parliament.

Parliament - the body which makes the laws - has

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been carefully designed to ensure that it never acts against the interest of the imperialists. When it was first formed in 1910, the vote for Parliament was open not only to the European who has been bought over to the side of imperialism, but also to small sections of the non-European people - to the Coloured men in the Cape Province, and to a few Africans who owned property in the Cape and Natal. In 1930 the predominance of the Europeans was increased by giving the vote to European women, but not to the Coloured or African women. In 1936, the vote of the African men in the Cape was changed. Their votes were recorded on a separate list, and they voted only for 3 special 'Native Representatives'. The number of African voters in Natal was frozen, and has gradually dwindled away to nothing. The Africans in the other provinces were allowed to elect - not by direct vote but through block votes of chiefs, advisory boards and electoral committees - one representative in the Senate for the Transvaal and Free State, and one in Natal and one each for the Eastern and Western Cape. Now there is a Government promise to abolish even this. The vote of the Coloured people of the Cape is under attack; Coloureds are to be placed on a separate list and vote only for special 'Coloured Representatives'. So Parliament gradually becomes more and more an exclusive meeting place for the representatives of the wealthy farmers, mine owners and industrialists -

the imperialists - and their bought supporters amongst the European workers.

(13) Rule By Decree.

But even that is not the whole story. Gradually over the course of years, especially the last six years of the Nationalist Government, Parliament has passed more and more laws which give power to single people - usually Cabinet Ministers - to make regulations with the force of law, without referring these regulations to Parliament. Especially in regard to Africans, Parliament has become little more than a talking shop. The Native Administration Act and the Urban Areas Act give to the 'Governor-General' powers to make laws affecting Africans without reference to Parliament or the people. In practice, the term 'Governor-General' means the Cabinet, for whom the Governor-General is a mouthpiece. For the Africans he has been made 'supreme Chief' whose word is law. So too, for all other sections of the people, not excluding the Europeans, the Cabinet Ministers are gradually becoming men whose word is law, dictators without the restraint of Parliament. Even the limited 'Europeans only' parliamentary system of democracy is dying out in South Africa, as the Nationalist Government with the assistance and support of the representatives of non-Afrikaner imperialism try to beat back the demands of the oppressed people, and to stifle their revolts by a brutal dictatorship.

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Question for Discussion:

- (i) Are there any groups amongst the Europeans whose interests lie not in keeping oppression but in ending it? If so, how can the liberation movement win them to support its aims?
- (ii) What is it that breeds fascism? And what changes in the laws and customs of South Africa will be needed to overcome the growth of fascist organisation and ideas?
- (iii) How is it possible for European workers to save their democratic rights and liberties, and protect their standards of living from the attacks of the fascists?

(14) A Passing Phase.

Imperialism, as we have seen is only one stage in the long development of mankind, and men's lives, society and institutions. Before it there have come and gone different systems - slavery, feudalism, merchant capitalism. And imperialism itself is only a stage, a passing phase, which itself changes and develops. In its beginnings, when it is powerful and unchallenged, it manages to put on a show of democratic freedom. But as the discontent and revolt of the oppressed arises, it is forced to strip off its democratic pretences, and to reveal itself in all its nakedness as a rule of despotic power, based on force and racialism.

(15) Fascism.

We are entering the last stage in the history

of imperialism - the stage when democratic pretence gives way to open, terrorist dictatorship we call fascism. Fascism, the open, terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, racialistic and bloodthirsty section of the imperialist ruling class. This is the system rapidly growing up in South Africa under the Nationalist Government. To challenge it, there is need for a close unity of all the oppressed people, together with all those democrats and liberty-loving sections, of the European people, whose future is threatened by fascism. Such an alliance cannot hope to defeat fascism only by seeking to change the government of the day. For fascism is not a particular body of men. It is something that grows out of the economic and social conditions produced by imperialism, and can only be defeated by such sweeping, radical changes in those conditions as will destroy for ever the breeding ground of fascism. Let us study what those changes should be, if the alliance is to destroy fascism, before fascism destroys the people".

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"CHANGE IS NEEDED".

- (1) "All political groups everywhere have programmes of the changes they want to make in the life, customs and laws of their country. So too in South Africa. But none of the Parliamentary political parties seek to make the type of changes that the national liberation movement needs. The Parliamentary parties, despite all their differences about the type of changes to be made, are agreed on one thing: those changes must not upset the basic structure of cheap labour and high profit. They are agreed on the need to uphold private exploitation of all the riches of South Africa - its natural resources and its people - and therefore they are agreed not to upset the system of race discrimination and oppression on which this exploitation rests. The arguments, then, are arguments only on how best to keep that basic structure in a changing world. They have their differences of opinion on these matters. But it is clear the Congress Movement cannot be satisfied with the type of changes the Parliamentary parties seek to bring about. The Congress Movement, which works to end all racial oppression and all discrimination amongst nations, must seek the kind of changes in our way of life which will undermine and root out the system these parties exist to uphold.

(2) First Things First.

From this, it does not follow that the Congress Movement is uninterested and unconcerned in any changes that can be brought about within the present system of South African society. Every change that can be brought about which makes the life of the people easier is to be valued and worked for. Every change that makes easier and closer the day when the whole imperialist system will be overturned is something to be worked for and valued. Such Changes - which do not of themselves end imperialist oppression, are changes which others outside the Congress Movement - even opponents of Congress - also want for their own reasons. It would be childish and foolish to say that, because these others are not prepared to go all the way with us in seeking to end imperialism, therefore there can be no shortlived alliances with them for the immediate things we all want. For immediate changes we can find allies outside the Congress Movement, who work together with us, or work along our road for a short time. Such has been the case in the campaign against removal of the Western Areas; in the fight for recognition of African workers' trade unions; in claims for higher wages. It is from campaigns like this, in which we work with allies who we know will not always be with us, that we build up our strength and our support for the great sweeping changes that must be made before imperialism is ended.

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Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Does it follow from this that it can make no difference to the liberation movement which of the Parliamentary parties is in power?
- (ii) What accounts for the different attitudes of the United Party, Nationalist Party, Labour Party and Liberal Party too, for example, the question of the vote for non-Europeans..
- (iii) Could the Congress Movement ever get any benefit from the election of some of its members to such bodies as Parliament, City Councils, Advisory Boards, School Boards, etc.

(3) The Sweeping Changes.

What are these great changes that the Congress Movement must seek? Let us look at how we are ruled.. We have shown that Parliament represents only the minority of people in this country. We have called it 'an exclusive club for the imperialists, the farmers and their hangers-on'. This is obviously something that has to be changed if oppression is to be ended. But changed how? Clearly it has to be so completely changed that the type of Parliament we know today disappears and a new kind of Parliament altogether replaces it. First, it must be a parliament elected by all the adults of all races, on the equal vote for vote basis.. Then it must be a Parliament freed

from the South Africa Act - the so-called constitution - which enshrines the principle of white supremacy. It must be a Parliament in which all the major languages of the people to be given equal rights and standing. It must be a Parliament which starts out not with all the old and oppressive and discriminatory laws behind it to be amended one by one, but a Parliament that starts off, from the beginning, with one basic law - the law that all race discrimination and national oppression is illegal, and therefore all existing laws which contain such discrimination are null and void. This would really be something new and radical in South Africa.

(4) Is it Possible?

Can such a radical sweeping change be made little by little, by one reform after another, by a long period of small concessions to the idea of race equality? Let us look at South Africa as it is. Is it Parliament alone that rules? Clearly it is not; a Parliament that speaks only for a minority of the people could never have any real authority or be able alone to make its rule effective. Parliament is the only body that makes the laws for the ruling class. But its authority and its rule is upheld not by its support among the people, but by the armed force it controls. This force we call the State. It consists of many things. It consists of the police, paid and armed to uphold the laws of the ruling class. It consists of the

permanent army to back up the police whenever necessary against the people at home, or enemies abroad, who threaten the rule of the present ruling class. It consists of the judges and the courts, and the warders and the prisons, who preside over its class laws, and inflict punishment to see that they are complied with. These special bodies of armed men, separated from the daily lives and sufferings and needs of the people, are the force which makes up the state. Besides them the ruling class has other institutions which prop up its minority rule, and lend strength to its state power. It has in its hands all the institutions of education, which it uses to bring South Africans up to believe that racial discrimination is necessary for the survival of the white man, and for the 'protection' of the black; and at the same time to show that race discrimination is both just and profitable for all citizens. In the same way, the ruling class controls the radio, the cinema and the entire daily press, through which, in a thousand subtle, insidious ways, it shows the same ideas. It is clear that such a rule as this cannot be set aside by minor concessions and reforms. In the end, such a state apparatus, built up on a foundation of oppression and exploitation, and existing only to uphold oppression and exploitation can never serve the ends of the people and of the Congress Movement. The Congress Movement must build for itself a new kind of rule, a new kind of state - a state of

people's equality and liberty. That kind of state we call a 'Peoples Democracy'.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Would such a 'People's Democracy' be possible in a country such as this, where many of the people are illiterate and uneducated; or must we wait, as many people say, until all the backward people are educated.
- (ii) Would a People's Democracy really give fully equal democratic rights to all people in South Africa without exception, or would it be a democracy for the great majority only?
- (iii) Since we have seen that South Africa is a country divided into classes, which classes could expect to benefit from 'People's Democracy' and thus be expected to work for and support it?

(5) How is it Possible:

How can such a great and sweeping change be brought about? Only by organising the great strength of the common people of South Africa to struggle around a common programme which will give them a vision of what a magnificent life can be theirs tomorrow if they work together for it. Only by gathering all the oppressed and the liberty-loving people together into a single mighty camp which will work to win, not only the small concessions and reforms, but which will work also to overturn the very basis of imperialist oppression. This is the task for

which the Congress Movement exists. While organising the people in every little fight and struggle of their daily lives it must put forward to them a programme of sweeping changes which will unite all the different sections, all the different racial groups and classes, for the greatest changes of all. The Congress Movement must find the way to explain to the people in words they can understand, what a 'People's Democracy' is. This is a task that lies before the Congress Movement, and especially its national conferences. If what is said in these documents is correct, then it is suggested that the following points at least must enter into the programme which will inspire people to make that sweeping change. These suggestions are only suggestions. They are put forward for the serious consideration and discussion of the Congress Movement. They must be further clarified, explained and formulated before they will fully serve their purpose,

What is a People's Democracy?

For South Africa it is suggested:-

- (a) Everyone must have an equal right to vote for and be elected to all official positions in the State.
- (b) Police force and army must be replaced by a genuine people's armed guard to uphold the rights of the people.

- (c) The biggest, imperialist monopolies and industries, including mines and factories, must become the property of the people.
- (d) The farming land of the country must be shared out on an equitable basis amongst all those who work on the land.
- (e) The equality of all races and sexes must be guaranteed by laws and all discrimination be declared a crime.
- (f) The right to form trade unions, to enjoy living wages and security in old age, sickness and unemployment, must be guaranteed by law.
- (g) The right of all citizens to speak, move, assemble and organise freely must be guaranteed by law.
- (h) Housing must be provided for all the homeless, by a re-distribution of present housing, and schools and hospitals to be equally opened to all without discrimination.

Questions for Discussion:

- (i) Discuss these points, one by one, carefully. Do you agree with them? Can they possibly be carried out? Are there other important things that should be included?
- (ii) Does this programme meet the needs and desires of all the classes who we expect to support a People's Democracy?
- (iii) Can any of these changes be won by the Congress Movement, from the present state in South Africa? Or do they all depend on a radical change in the whole country,

and with state power in the hands of the people?

Such a sweeping radical programme is a programme for a South African People's Democratic State. It can only be achieved, if the control and power of state is taken out of the hands of the old ruling class of exploiters, and held firmly by the workers and peasants, allied with all others who see that South Africa's future happiness cannot be won while the state is the property of the exploiters and the oppressors. To make such a sweeping change, needs a vigorous active Congress Movement, built up of militant, courageous men and women, whose lives have been dedicated to the greatest cause in the world - the cause of the liberation of mankind".

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SCHEDULE NO.10

"FIGHTING TALK".

1. The persons responsible for the publication of "Fighting Talk" sought to make this bulletin "the voice of the Congress Movement".
"Fighting Talk", March 1954,
record: 2973/4 : editorial news item.

2. THAT society has been changed for the better by using the philosophy of Marxism as a guide to action, and that Stalin, in particular, imbued with the teachings of Marx and Lenin, lent impetus to the movement.
"Fighting Talk", March 1954,
record: 2976/8 Article "Stalin, **Leader of the New Type**"

3. Stalin lived by the creed and knowledge that no man of his time could exert his influence on history, save that he strive forward together with the industrial workers at the head of all toiling and suffering mankind.
"Fighting Talk", March 1954,
record: 2976/7.

4. THAT in opposition to the Schoeman Trade Union Legislation, mass agitation and mass action were the only tactics likely to succeed.
"Fighting Talk", March 1954,
record: 2975.

5. THAT in order to cove an entire world which fails to bow before dollar penetration, the United States of America is engaged in preparation for deliberate mass murder; it is helping to prepare atomic murder by claiming that it is acting in a good cause: the cause of anti-socialism.

"Fighting Talk", April 1954,
record: 2978/9 : editorial.

6. THAT in South Africa today, many liberal-minded people are bound by outmoded, inappropriate and bourgeois concepts. They are tempted to compromise and to temporise because of their fear of revolution; they lack the determination to overthrow the tyrant.

"Fighting Talk", April 1954,
record: 2981/2 : article: "An object Lesson -
a Reader" by R.J.R.

7. THAT strengthening the South African struggle for National Liberation and for Peace is the most effective way to help strait-jacket the American war-makers; the strength of the world-wide struggle against imperialist oppression is today one of the most important guarantees of peace.

"Fighting Talk", June 1954,
record 2986 : author Lionel Forman.
Article: "But the free world is united".

8. THAT people should guard against the danger of falling victim to the false and malicious propaganda of the Capitalists. In order to confuse and misrepresent, imperialists label genuine and honest fighters for National Liberation in Malaya, Burma, Tunis and Indonesia, as 'Bandits' and 'terrorists' and their spokesmen as 'Communist agitators' or 'agitators'.
"Fighting Talk" , July 1954,
record: 2989 : Letter by Moses Kotane to Editor,
in response to another letter, expressing
concern at what was happening in Kenya.
9. THAT the call by the Presidents of the African, Indian Coloured and European Congresses for 50,000 Volunteers, should be supported. The trickle of Volunteers for freedom must become a flood.
"Fighting Talk", August 1954,
record: 2991/2 ; editorial.
10. THAT the real opposition to the National Government is not constituted by the United Party, or any other parliamentary party; and that the Government itself recognises that the Liberation Movement, headed by the African National Congress, is its principal antagonist on the road to the totalitarian slave state which is the Government's goal.
"Fighting Talk", March, 1955,
record: 3006/7

11. THAT there had been a time when the African National Congress suffered from European 'sympathisers' of the Race Relations type. Their advice was invariably in the unfortunate direction of counselling "moderation", compromise and concession, and opposing outspoken demands for equality and militant forms of struggle.

"Fighting Talk", March 1955,
record: 3008.

12. A distinction should be drawn, between wars of aggression and defensive wars. Wars of aggression are the wars waged by others, and defensive wars are those waged by ourselves. A people's war is conducted against an aggressor, or occupying power, or a colonial power. A people's war can only be a war of defence or liberation. But the people's army has found its exact counterpart in nuclear weapons; at a time when the participation of the whole people in a war has been finally seen to be a factor making for peace, nuclear weapons enable the leaders of the West to make war without people - to suppress history by liquidating those who make history.

"Fighting Talk", March 1955,
record: 3011/6 : report of speech by Jean Paul Sartre.

13. THAT the campaign against the removal of the Western Areas was a focal point of agitation against apartheid. The Government trembled at the hostility of the people. The February events were only the beginning of a long fight, and people should learn from the mistakes of the beginning. Certain types of action broached at various times demanded a far greater state of preparation among the people than there was. Methods of campaign must not only sound fiery and militant, but they must be related to the readiness of the people to use these methods of struggle.

"Fighting Talk", April 1955,

record: 3016/8 : author: J.B. Marks

A.N.C. attitude.

14. THAT the Liberatory Movement should bear in mind that threats and physical force are reserved for last resort action against strike-breakers who use the protecting arm of the police to break up and disrupt what the majority of workers have freely decided upon.

"Fighting Talk", May 1955,

record: 3020 ; author: L. Bernstein.

15. THAT in South Africa Parliament is under attack because, within limits, it obstructs the completion of the Fascist State; but that the European political bodies are abdicating from the struggle, and the Congress Movement is the real spear-head of the anti-fascist opposition.

"Fighting Talk", June 1955,

record: 3021 ; editorial.

16. THAT there is this threat of world destruction because the majority of mankind is rallying to the cause of peace. The imperialists are more and more exposed as a tiny majority placing all their hopes in horror weapons, because they have no hopes in the support of the people. This is the measure of their desperation.

"Fighting Talk", June 1955,

record: 3024 ; author : Cecil Williams.

17. THAT today the United States of America leads the crusade against Communism.

"Fighting Talk", August 1955,

record: 3027 ; author : Hilda Watts.

18. THAT South Africa is an indispensable part of the war-machine today. We fit in completely as part of this so-called crusade against Communism which is led by the United States. In this connection it is to be noted how closely the American attack on civil liberties is followed in South Africa.

"Fighting Talk", August 1955,

record: 3027 ; author : Hilda Watts.

19. THAT while the war-cry is still against the Soviet Union, every military act of the preceding decade has been not against the U.S.S.R., but against the people of the colonial countries like Korea, Kenya, Malaya. The menace of aggression, so loudly proclaimed, is now tacitly admitted to be the menace of popular movements advancing within countries, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries. The world preparations for war and the restriction of civil

liberties, here and elsewhere, go hand in hand. The military machine is being prepared for use against the people. Freedom and Peace **are** bound together.

"Fighting Talk", August 1955,

record: 3027/8 ; author : Hilda Watts.

Article: "Don't look now - but..."

20. THAT in the space of little more than a generation, one third of the human race has been removed from the capitalist society, and the orbit of capitalism, and is today building a new type of society; a society in which the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated.

"Fighting Talk", September, 1955,

record: 3029 ; author : Brian Bunting.

21. THAT the frantic military and political struggle of the Western Powers in recent times has been designed to prevent any further development of this social revolution; and, if possible, to win back some of the territory lost to socialism during and immediately after the Second World War. In Eastern Europe, Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Kenya and North Africa - look where you will - the freedom struggle of the people is denounced by the imperialists, resisted with every weapon and calculated brutality in their armoury.

"Fighting Talk", September, 1955,

record: 3030 ; author : Brian Bunting.

22. THAT the Freedom Charter is the basic of our Liberatory Movement, and a picture of future South Africa in which oppression and exploitation shall be no more.
"Fighting Talk", September 1955,
record: 3032 ; author ; "W.S."
23. THAT imperialism depends only on the supremacy of ~~na~~ force. Violence, force, and armed aggression are called into being to uphold it.
"Fighting Talk", October 1955,
record: 3035 ; Review of Helsinki Peace Conference.
author: Spectator.
24. THAT the Freedom Charter is a basis for a new South Africa, in which everyone will share equally. The Liberal Party, on the other hand, wants to work within the existing framework, bringing in changes that do not strike at the root of the system which divides South Africa into two camps: the exploiters and the exploited.
"Fighting Talk", November 1955,
record: 3037 ; author: Peter Meyer.
25. THAT the colonial people have learnt the science of the struggle for liberty. In Cyprus, for example, the people had used first political agitation and then moved to mass civil disobedience. Where military and semi-military action had become necessary against the military dictatorship imposed by the British Government, it had been taken with discipline and

courage, inspired by a great revolutionary spirit and tradition. There had been no individual, sporadic terror.

"Fighting Talk", January, 1956,
record: 3037/8 ; editorial.

26. THAT the struggle against the Pass Laws was part and parcel of the struggle for liberation. In the year 1956, carefully planned, determined and decisive action could render inoperable passes for women; and the whole Pass System and Population Act be dealt a mortal blow.

"Fighting Talk", January 1956,
record: 3038/40 ; author ; Helen Joseph.

27. THAT the Nationalist Government has become the most die-hard representative of the most die-hard imperialists. Faithfully it echoes and bolsters every move of the most reactionary war-mongers of the imperialist world. The battle for peace has to be fought for, every inch of the way, against the Dulles', Eisenhowers, Macmillans and Louws.

"Fighting Talk", March 1956,
record: 3042 ; editorial.

28. THAT the Communist Parties had proved to be the most active in the peace struggle in the Capitalist countries, and had withstood many hardships and trials with credit. As long as Capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of the capitalist monopolies will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression,

and may try to unleash war.

"Fighting Talk", March 1956,

record: 3045 ; 3048 Article: "Kruschov on
Soviet Policy".

29. THAT Leninism teaches us that ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. In the countries where capitalism is still strong, and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class revolutionary struggle.

"Fighting Talk", March 1956,

record: 3049 ; 3051 - Article: "Kruschov on
Soviet Policy".

30. THAT whatever the form of transition to Socialism the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class, headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to Socialism.

"Fighting Talk", March 1956,

record: 3051 - "Kruschov on Soviet Policy".

31. THAT the forces in the contemporary world were to be seen as two great camps : one camp fighting for independence and equality of all peoples, and the other camp bent on perpetuating the old inequalities between master and subject races, and the exploitation and subjugation of colonial peoples.

"Fighting Talk", April 1956,

record: 3054 ; author : "a leading member of the
A.N.C."

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32. THAT the African National Congress does not stand aloof from the wars which are being carried on by the Western Powers to put down colonial peoples under the guise of "fighting Communism" or "preserving Western Civilisation". The policy of the Western countries has led to open war in Kenya, Cyprus, North Africa. In each of these countries the form of oppression and restrictive rule differ only in their details. But the similarities between the aims of the African National Congress and those of the National Movements everywhere are glaring and daily more compelling. The African National Congress is in the thick of this fight and cannot be expected to declare for neutrality.

"Fighting Talk", April 1956,

record: 3054/5 ; author ; 'leading member of the A.N.C.' "They are aiming at us".

33. THAT in South Africa the only white trade unionists who fought consistently for real and complete equality in trade union organisations were the Communists. The Communists were driven out by the Nationalists with the aid of right-wing bureaucrats. The need for working class unity is greater than ever before, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions fulfils such a need. It alone carries on the earlier tradition of militant trade unionism established by Bill Andrews and other founders of the South African trade union movement. The South African Congress of Trade Unions will not only lead the struggle of the workers for day-to-day economic demands, but it will play its full part in the political struggle of the South African

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workers for a free and democratic South Africa.

"Fighting Talk", March 1956,

record: 3043/4 ; author: E.R. Braverman.

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SCHEDULE NO.10.

"LIBERATION".

1. THAT the persons responsible for the publication of the bulletin "Liberation" saw the movement for National Liberation in South Africa as the heir to the future of this country and they required 'the greatest clarity of mind and purpose' sooner to bring the struggle to its victorious conclusion. The bulletin was therefore 'devoted specifically to giving what assistance it can in this vitally important search for clarity. Where are we going and how do we get there"?

"Liberation", November 1955,
record: 3524/5 ; editorial.

THAT to this end the bulletin "Liberation" during the period of the indictment published matter setting forth the following points of view and policies:-

2. The true alternative to the Swart-Strijdom dictatorship which threatens us is a real and vigorous people's democracy, embodying the demands and aspirations of the millions of subjugated people of our country for land, equality, and freedom. The only road to that democracy runs through the efforts of the oppressed people themselves; through mass education, mass organisation and mass struggle, untiring building of National Liberation Movements and trade unions.

"Liberation", June 1953,
record: 3549 ; editorial.

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3. African Liberals will do anything for the Africans except get off their back.

"Liberation", June 1953,
record: 3548 ; editorial.

4. THAT in South Africa, where the entire population is almost split into two hostile camps, and where there can be no middle course, the fault of the Liberals (and this spells their doom) is to attempt such a middle course. They are afraid to identify themselves with the people, to assume the task of mobilising that social force capable of lifting the struggle to higher levels. They will employ only democratic and constitutional means, which means in effect that we must obey the constitution which debars the majority from participation in the Government.

The Liberals hate and fear the idea of revolutionary democracy in South Africa as much as the Malans and Oppenheimers do. They stand for the adoption of more subtle systems of oppression and exploitation, and the retention of the cheap labour system and sub-ordinate colonial status of the non-European masses.

The class interests of the Liberals are identical with those of the Nationalists.

"Liberation", June 1953,
record: 3550/3 Article "Search light on the
Liberal Party". Author : Mandela.

5. THAT revolutionary changes in the Union's structure involve revolutionary means to implement them.

"Liberation", June 1953,
record: 3548 ; editorial.

6. THAT for years the Capitalist countries have lived on raw materials and cheap labour from Asia and Africa. The rise of the National Liberation Movements in Asia and the Pacific regions has forced the Imperial Powers to turn their eyes to Africa. It is here that the Imperial Powers of Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain have their chief or only colonial dependencies.

The internal contradictions and conflicts within the imperial camp are broadening daily. The countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc are in danger of losing their national independence as a result of American interference in their domestic affairs. In their mad lust for markets and profits these Imperial Powers will not hesitate to cut one another's throats, to break the peace, to drench millions of innocent people in blood, and to bring misery and untold suffering to humanity.

"Liberation". September 1953, Article "Africa and
World Peace".

record: 3461/3 ; author: Mandela.

7. To protect their markets and investments, to crush the Liberation Movements, and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent, and have made Africa a war base of the Imperialists in their schemes for world war and world domination. This is the explanation of the barbarous and cruel manner in which Liberatory Movements all over Africa are being suppressed. In their mad lusts for profits, and in their war preparations, the United States and her satellites have jeopardised the rights of people to national independence.

"Liberation", September 1953,
record: 3463/5 ; author: Mandela.

8. THAT the fascist and arms racketeers who today dictate the policy of the United States know that their power cannot survive the ending of war hysteria. America gauleiters abroad, Rhee, Chiang, and Adenauer fear talk of a peace settlement as the devil fears holy water. The end of the cold war means the end of them, and they know it. The entire resources of this desperate gang of international pyromaniacs were thrown into an all-out counter-offensive to halt the "threat of peace", and to stir up a new the fires of war.
- "Liberation", September 1953,
record: 3458 ; editorial.

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9. THAT people throughout the world are coming to understand how closely the struggle for peace and against the menace of war is linked with the preservation of the right of the nation and individual to a peaceful existence.

"Liberation", September 1953,
record: 3465 : author : Mandela.

10. Opportunities never were greater for the World Peace Movement to make a decisive impact on world history. To the South African Government the movement for Peace seems as "dangerous" as the democratic and trade union movements. All who struggle against this Government for a democratic South Africa are, in their own way, striking a blow against war. By giving organised and vocal expression to this consciousness, the new South African Peace Council will be able to add reinforcement to the World Peace Movement at a critical and decisive period.

"Liberation", September 1953,
record: 3460/1 ; editorial.

11. THAT the lesson of history shows that Parliament, or the existing constitutional authority, is never the only, or the most important fountain-head of political change.

Those who have political power in their hands are the watchdogs of the old order, and not the group that advocates social change. By adhering to the principle of constitutional means of struggle, the

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Liberals have divorced themselves from the mass movements of the non-European people.

"Liberation", November 1953,

record: 3467/9 ; author : R. First

12. The Defiance Campaign made a tremendous impact on the people, and achieved a high degree of political consciousness.

"Liberation", November 1953,

record: 3475 : Mandela.

13. THAT the emergence during October, 1953, of the South African Congress of Democrats, a body established at the instance of the African and Indian Congresses, was an event of prime political importance, in that it represented an organised body of white persons who stood four-square with the Liberation Movements, and had no set of principles of its own separate and distinct from those of the Congresses.

"Liberation", November 1953,

record: 3466 editorial.

14. The claim advanced in some quarters that there must be a guarantee that any campaign embarked upon "can be carried out peacefully" is to be rejected out of hand. Such a form of insurance is unknown in politics. In any case, every demonstration of the non-European people that has ended in some bloodshed has so ended as a result of vicious ~~Stat~~ actions.

"Liberation", November 1953,

record: 3471/2 ; author : R. First.

15. The sooner the Western world, and particularly the United States, realises that the People's Democratic Republic of China has come to stay, that it must be admitted to the United Nations and the Security Council, the nearer the world will be to ensuring a lasting peace. The will and the influence of the Chinese Government and people is directed towards world peace.

"Liberation", February 1954,
record: 3476/7 ; author : Sisulu.

16. THAT the major bastion of democratic freedom in our land is not the feeble opposition in our minority Parliament, but the masses of oppressed non-white people outside it, as represented by the National Congresses and political and trade union movements.

"Liberation", February 1954,
record: 3476 ; editorial.

17. THAT for the Imperialists the writing is on the wall. We live in an era when white domination and colonialism are coming to an end.

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3483/4 ; editorial.

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18. It is not "civilisation" they are defending, but big profits based on colonial wealth, and upon poverty, suffering and lives. Where labour is cheap, life too, is cheap. They will stop at nothing. They will spill rivers of blood to retain their grasp on the land and the labour; they will strip themselves of every vestige of the "civilisation" they pretend to uphold. War in Africa means war in Kenya manner: the ruthless massacre of thousands of innocent unarmed folk.

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3483 ; editorial.

19. THAT the "war being waged throughout the world, when stripped of the newspaper ballyhoo about "the free world fighting Soviet aggression", is not a war against "Communism", but, broadly speaking, an aggressive war by the Imperialists, led and directed from the United States of America, against the colonial people of Asia and Africa.

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3481 ; editorial.

20. THAT there are potent signs that the country is ready for democracy, and that the Congress of the People is indeed, as Moses Kotane has shown, 'South Africa's Way Forward.'

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3484 ; editorial.

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21. THAT the Malanites will try to stifle the truth of the call to the Congress with lies, to strangle the movement with provocations, repressions and violence. They shall not succeed. But let us have no illusions. Let us not ask against whom war is being prepared, for whom the bullets are intended. They are meant for us. Only the conscious, determined participation of the South African people in defence of peace can avert the massacre that is being plotted.

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3484/5 ; editorial.

22. THAT all South Africans must be made to realise that the Western Areas Removal Scheme is a matter of grave national importance, and that they cannot with impunity allow the Government to get along with the criminal plan of which the Western Areas Removal Scheme is but a part; it is their political responsibility and national duty to respond to the clarion call to halt the Government in its intentions.

"Liberation", No. 8 of 1954,
record: 3485 ; author : Kotane.

23. THAT South Africa is not quite a police state yet, but is coming closer to it every day.

"Liberation", No. 9 of 1954,
record: 3489.

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4. The Bantu Education Act is a reactionary scheme because it is designed to satisfy the needs of a reactionary and heartless class of exploiters. While the Nationalists disregard the needs of the masses and subject them to more ruthless exploitation and oppression in the interests of solving the contradictions of their society, they do not take into account the sharpening conflict which they are creating between themselves and the people. This conflict will ultimately break their artificial political and economic structure.

"Liberation", No. 9 of 1954,

record: 3489/90 ; author : Nokwe.

25. THAT since the Government rules by force and violence, it fears the democratic upsurge represented by the Congress of the People. They know too well that once the mass of oppressed people, backed by their organised strength, say 'Give us what is ours!', the days of the oppressor are numbered. For from agreement in unity and purpose grows action. It is therefore no accident that in the past year the whole South African police state apparatus has been called into play to prevent the Congress of the People from becoming a reality.

One of the most urgent tasks facing the National Action Council is the selection and training of thousands of persons who have shown their readiness for sacrifice by becoming Freedom Volunteers, thus indicating their eligibility for the honoured role of leadership. Insufficient steps have been taken,

however, to create the machinery for the establishment of Volunteers into shock brigade units.

"Liberation", No. 10 of 1954,

record: 163/6 ; author: J. Slovo.

26. THAT the Liberation Movement cannot hope for victory without organising the six million non-Europeans engaged in agriculture, the poorest and most oppressed group. This has become an urgent, practical issue. The time is long overdue for the building of a mighty peasants movement in our country. If the non-European workers and petty bourgeoisie are the head in the present struggle, the peasants are the backbone without which no victory is conceivable.

With the memory of Witzieshoek fresh in our minds, who can doubt that, properly organised and supported by the democratic movement in the towns, our people in the countryside are ready to resist oppression. Effective organisation of the peasantry will raise to a higher level the entire struggle for National Liberation.

"Liberation", No. 10 of 1954,

record: 3490/1 ; author Marutle Mokgohlwa.

27. We are racing against time: will we be able to re-organise society, to eliminate all wars and all poverty, backwardness and ignorance, before the world is destroyed? The liberation of Africa is essential for the preservation of peace.

"Liberation", September 1955,

record: 3511 ; author : H. Watts.

28. THAT although the Congress of the People marked a great stride forward to the Liberation of Africa, if we are to understand clearly what path must be taken, how to organise, what to do, then we must have the constant exchange and clash of ideas - 'Practice without theory is blind. Theory without practice is sterile.'

"Liberation", September 1955,

record: 3511 ; author : H. Watts.

29. THAT as capitalism developed into its highest and final stage of monopolies, in which the bankers and manufacturers fused into a single and all-powerful class, the colonies assumed a new significance. Tremendously speeded by new sources of industrial power, and driven ahead by an insatiable greed for profits, the imperialist powers raced to extend their territories and their rate of exploitation to the utmost.

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3513/4 ; editorial.

30. THAT desperately, and with savage ferocity, the Imperialists strive to retain what is left of their shrunken "possessions": France in Morocco and Tunis; Britain in Malaya and Kenya. They try to stem the flood of freedom with corpses of patriots - whom they miscall "bandits and terrorists"

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3514 ; editorial.

31. For the oppressed African people, and for all democrats, white and black, there is no doubt where they stand in this great struggle of our times. We are not spectators, we are participants. Every victory for our colonial brothers is a victory for us. The Imperialists have been forced to give back India and China. They will have to give back Africa too. "Liberation", October 1955, record: 3515 ; editorial.
32. The Freedom Charter now forms the groundplan for future action. "Liberation", October 1955, record: 3520 ; author : Mandela.
33. There is evidence of growing consciousness of the futility of a purely electoral and parliamentary fight, and the need for more militant and realistic methods. The Nationalist and United Parties are both Capitalist parties, whose theory and practice involves continuation of exploitation and white supremacy. "Liberation": October 1955, record: 3517/8 ; author : J. Johnson.
34. The allegiance of the anti-Nationalist whites is becoming fluid and it is a task for the whole Congress Movement, and in particular for the Congress of Democrats, to win such elements to the Congress Movement for an extra-parliamentary struggle, and the

aims of the Freedom Charter.

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3518.

35. Lynchings and pogroms are the logical weapons to be resorted to, should the onward march of the Liberation Movement manifest itself.

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3520 ; author : Mandela.

36. Bantu Education is fraught with danger for the Liberatory Movements, and it deserves study, vigilance, and the most effective assault.

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3516 ; author : Nokwe.

37. The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald haunts South Africa, and it can only be repelled by the united strength of the people. Every situation must be used to raise the people's level of political understanding. All discriminatory measures should be used as a rallying point around which a United Front will be built.

"Liberation", October 1955,

record: 3520/1 ; author: Mandela.

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38. THAT Malanism is no accident. It is the inevitable end-product of "white domination" and conquest. It cannot be defeated and overthrown within the framework of the 1910 Constitution (that rotten leaky compromise of 1910 that let the minority Nationalist Government seize power and paved the way to the police state. "Liberation", November 1955, record: 3523 ; editorial).
39. All constitutional safeguards are being thrown overboard, and individual liberties ruthlessly suppressed. Hell-bent for their Fascist Republic, the Nationalists recognise that the only determined and serious opposition to their plans is to be found in those organisations which have repeatedly been the victims of their vindictive raids and bans. The South Africa planned for us by Strijdom, Verwoerd, Swart and the Broederbond, is a nightmare of repression, regimentation and colour-mania. It is the graveyard phantasy of a vanishing despotism. "Liberation", November 1955, record: 3521/2 ; editorial).
40. The fundamental question that faces our country is: Freedom Charter or Broederbond despotism? There is no neutral area. "Liberation", November 1955, record: 3522/3 ; editorial).

41. The United and Liberal Parties are futile and irrelevant, as are all the other unstable groupings which seek so desperately for some neutral area between the embattled armies of Freedom and Slavery. There is no neutral area.

"Liberation", November 1955,
record: 3523 ; Editorial.

42. In the political and ideological spheres the theoretical level of members of the African National Congress should be raised to a higher plane. Congress ideology and propaganda amongst the broad masses should be increased. There is a lack of appreciation of unity of theory and practice, which could enable people to understand not only how and in what direction the Liberation Movement is moving at the present time, but also how and in what direction it will move in the near future.

"Liberation", November 1955,
record: 3526/7 ; author: "Banned Leader".

43. The Charter is the rock upon which we must build, but much remains to be done in discussing and deciding upon many problems which still beset all the work for the implementation of the Charter. In such discussions it would be very wrong to ignore the world background against which our own struggles take place, or the essential need to learn from similar struggles in other places and other lands.

"Liberation", November 1955,
record: 3525 ; editorial.

44. The Freedom Charter demands a completely new approach and new methods to all our struggles. It demands the highest political clarity and responsibility, and the most efficient organisational ability.

"Liberation", November 1955,

record: 3526 ; author: "Banned Leader".

45. It has become necessary to forge new weapons and new styles of mobilising the country to meet the new forces of Fascism.

"Liberation", November 1955,

record: 3527 ; author ; "Banned Leader".

46. To win the Charter will be no easy task to be accomplished in a day. It will not be easy to wrest freedom from the rulers of South Africa, greedy to preserve big profits and cheap labour, cruel and ruthless, inflamed with racial arrogance and contempt for dark-skinned people.

"Liberation", No.11 of 1955,

record: 3493 ; editorial.

47. Before we can unite, we must know for what purpose we have come together. Before we can enrol our soldiers of emancipation and send them into political struggle for freedom's cause, we must tell them clearly the aims for which they are called to suffer, to sacrifice, perhaps to die.

"Liberation", No.11 of 1955,

record: 3494 ; editorial.

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48. THAT we are living in an era of Imperialism when Capitalism is resorting to Fascism to prolong its parasitic existence, and when the colonial people all over the world are making great sacrifices for their liberation and independence.

"Liberation", December 1955,
record: 3531 ; author: J.B.M."

49. We are on the threshold of a new age when the very concept and roots of Imperialism will be extirpated.

"Liberation", December 1955,
record: 3511 ; editorial.

50. The Nationalist Government has unleashed a reign of terror hitherto unknown, and oppression and exploitation reach new heights. This is the era of Imperialism, when Capitalism resorts to Fascism to prolong its parasitic existence.

"Liberation", December 1955,
record: 3530/1 ; author: "J.B.M."

51. National Congress should adopt the Freedom Charter as a basis for a programme of action, and treat it as the political bible of the nation.

"Liberation", December 1955,
record: 3531 ; author : "J.B.M."

52. THAT it is an historical fact that nice words and resolutions will not make the tyrant change his mind. "Liberation", December 1955, record: 3531 ; author: "J.B.M."

53. When democracy is achieved the South African Congress of Democrats will inherit the leadership of white South Africans. "Liberation", December 1955, record: 3532 ; author : R. Press.

54. Prior to the adoption of its present Constitution the African National Congress bore little organisational resemblance to the Union-wide mass Liberation Movement capable of leading militant struggles of the people, into which it has developed today. "Liberation", February 1956, record: 3533 ; author : Alan Doyle.

54(a) To ensure the success of the campaign against Bantu Education, it should be carried out continuously and flexibly; use should be made of planned and consistent propaganda and organisational work. The campaign should not be regarded as a separate thing in itself but as an integral part of the general struggle. "Liberation", December 1955, record: 3529 ; editorial.

55. The problem of organisation in the countryside poses itself as one of major importance for the Liberatory Movement. Through the co-ordination of spontaneous and local demonstrations, and by raising them to a political level, the beginnings will be found of opposition to the policy of oppressing and keeping backwards the people of the Transkei.

"Liberation", February 1956,

record: 3534 ; author : Mandela.

56. We must take the message of the Freedom Charter into every European home. At the moment little sympathy is likely to be encountered, but as the contradictions of Fascism become more economically apparent, an increasing number of white adherents will be found.

"Liberation", March 1956,

record: 3535.

57. THAT the people's alliance has an extra-ordinarily difficult and dangerous task before it. Its adversary, the South African ruling class, is a formidable one. It is backed by and closely linked with foreign Imperialism.

It is armed and ready to use violence, and it will stop at nothing to retain its oppressive and unjust rule. It is ruthless, cunning and desperate.

This dangerous adversary will be defeated, and the people shall govern, for the ~~t~~ide of history is running for freedom. But how soon that victory will be won, and how costly it will prove, will depend

largely upon how speedily and effectively the Congress Movement, at the head of the Freedom Fighters in South Africa, can accomplish their great tasks.

"Liberation", April 1956,
record: 3536 ; editorial.

58. THAT the Freedom Charter is more than a mere list of demands for democratic reform. It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up the economic and political set-up of present South Africa.

"Liberation", June 1956,
record: 3540 ; author ; Mandela.

59. THAT the democratic struggle in South Africa is conducted by an alliance of various classes and political groupings amongst the non-European, supported by white democrats. In this alliance the democratic movement has the rudiments of a dynamic and militant mass movement. Provided the movement exploits its initial advantages on its side at the present movement, immense opportunities exist for the winning of the demands in the Freedom Charter within our lifetime.

"Liberation", June 1956,
record: 3542/3 author: Mandela.

60. To win the demands of the Freedom Charter calls for the organisation, launching and development of mass struggles on the widest scale. They will be won and consolidated only in agitation; through stubborn and determined mass struggles to defeat the economic and political policies of the Nationalist Government. The most vital task facing the democratic movement in this country is to unleash such struggles, and to develop them on the basis of the concrete and immediate demands of the people from area to area.

"Liberation", June 1956,

record: 3540 ; author: Mandela.

61. THAT the workers are the principal force upon which the democratic movement should rely, but in order to repel the savage onslaughts of the Nationalist Government it is necessary that other classes and groupings be joined. The formation in March, 1955, of the South African Congress of Trade Unions was a significant step. Its first President, Peter Beyleveld, pointed out that the trade unions should be active in both the political and economic fields; these hung together and could not be separated from one another.

"Liberation", June 1956,

record: 3543/4 ; author : Mandela.

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62. We are in the grip of something that many Africans do not understand : a set of contradictions unavoidably destined to bring about continued friction between oppressor and oppressed, between the ruler and the ruled. In this struggle there can be no neutral, midway camp. Either you are with the Liberation Movement or you are against it. And how can man better serve than 'facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers, the temples of his gods, and the discovery of his true self, through service for his people?'

"Liberation", August 1956,

record: 3546/7.

63. We stand on the brink of the final collapse of the Imperialist colonial system, but we live under the terrible danger that in their desperation the Imperialists may seek to plunge humanity into the unimaginable horrors of a third and atomic war.

"Liberation", November 1956,

record: 3503/4 ; editorial.

64. THAT by the illegal actions of Britain and France with reference to the Suez Canal the Imperialists seek to teach the colonial peoples a lesson. The lesson is that for all who seek freedom from Imperialism, and the return of their stolen national resources, who challenge the Europeans' ill-gotten gains, the penalty is invasion, death, and destruction.

"Liberation", November 1956,

record: 3496 ; editorial.

65. THAT in all their desperate efforts to reinforce and restore their disintegrating colonial system, the Western Imperialists come up against one hard and immovable factor. This factor has transformed the heroic but ineffective liberation struggles in the past into a vast and invincible movement which has abolished colonialism from more than twelve hundred million people over the past decade. That factor is the existence of the U.S.S.R. The U.S.S.R. is a great power irrevocably hostile to Imperialism, and with an industrial and military potential second to none. That is why an intensive hate campaign has been unleashed against the U.S.S.R.

"Liberation", November 1956,
record: 3502/3 ; editorial.

66. THAT therefore, in considering the violence which occurred in Hungary, when the Capitalist newspapers expose their alleged concern for the sufferings of the Hungarians, they are guilty of cynical hypocrisy. Their object is not to awaken sympathy for the Hungarians, but hatred for Soviet Russia.

"Liberation", November 1956,
record: 3498 ; editorial.

67. THAT we in South Africa must not imagine that we are detached or separate from the great and momentous decisions of our times.

"Liberation", November 1956,
record: 3504 ; editorial.

68. We must advance the tempo of our own bitter struggle for all in our country, and for the advancement of the millions of our great continent of Africa to their rightful place as equals and partners in the fashioning of a new and better world.

"Liberation", November 1956,

record: 3504 ; editorial.

69. A time was bound to come when the potentialities of a purely constitutional and reformist agitation would be played out, and the African National Congress would have to break new ground and challenge reaction in a more positive and effective manner. The Freedom Day Strike of May, 1950, the National Day of Protest during June of the same year, and the Defiance Campaign of June 1952, were all in the spirit of the Programme of Action, and they gave tremendous impetus to the Liberatory Movement in this country.

"Liberation", November 1956,

record: 3505 ; author : Ngubengouka.

70. If carried out properly, United Front tactics can considerably advance the struggle; place it on a higher level, and enlarge the influence and power of the people's movement. Under conditions that exist in our country the policy of the United Front needs to be pushed vigorously and skilfully. The people must be drawn into active struggle against the acts of Fascists.

The application of United Front tactics is ^{not} called

for in every situation, however. In one situation it might be correct for the Progressive Movement to unite with the potentially treacherous 'national' bourgeoisie, for example, when a semi-colonial country suffers imperialist invasion. In a different situation, for example, when two imperialist countries are involved in a war for the division of colonies, the Progressive Movement in one such country might find it necessary to organise against the war, to reject collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and turn the Imperialist war into a civil war in which the working class, under its leadership, seizes power.

"Liberation", November, 1956,

record: 3506/10 ; author: J. Matthews.

"Building a United Front".

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"ADVANCE AND NEW AGE".

1. The Company responsible for the publication of the newspaper "Advance" considered it to be "one of the most powerful weapons available in the struggle for Liberation".

"Advance" 11.2.1954,

record: 3609/10 ; editorial.

When the newspaper "Advance" was succeeded by the newspaper "New Age", messages of welcome from leaders in the Liberation Movement published by "New Age" indicated that the newspaper would champion the cause of the oppressed people in South Africa;

"New Age", 4.11.1954,

record: 3889/10 ; author : Luthuli and ors.

and that in times of mounting oppression and total subjugation of the masses of the country, it would "illumine the thorny path to freedom".

"New Age", 4.11.1954,

record: 3890.

"New Age" became the voice of the oppressed people, forwarding the cause of liberation everywhere in the world, and ceaselessly opposing the designs of the Imperialists to plunge mankind once more into war.

"New Age" 10.11.1955,

record: 4035/6 ; author : Letter from Paul Joseph to editor.

In supporting the Liberatory Movement the newspapers "Advance" and "New Age" during the period of the indictment published matter which propagated the following points of view -

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2.

2. For years the Capitalist countries have lived on raw materials and cheap labour from Asia and Africa. The rise of the National Liberation Movements in Asia and the Pacific regions have forced the Imperial powers to turn their eyes to Africa. In Africa the Imperial powers of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Spain, have their chief or only colonial dependencies.

"Advance", 3.9.1953,

record: 3574 ; author : Mandela,

E.62 ; 1904/5

"New Age" 25.11.1954,

record: 3898 ; author: 'a leading member of ANC'.

3. THAT the internal contradictions and conflicts within the Imperial camp are broadening daily. The countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc are in danger of losing their national independence as a result of American interference in their domestic affairs. In their mad lust for markets and profits these imperial powers will not hesitate to cut one another's throats, to break the peace, to drench millions of innocent people in blood, and to bring misery and untold suffering to humanity.

"Advance", 3.9.1953,

record: 3574 ; author : Mandela.

E.62 : 1905.

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3.

4. THAT to protect their markets and investments, to crush the liberation movements, and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent, and have made Africa a war base of the Imperialists in their schemes for world war and domination. This is the true explanation of the barbarous and cruel manner in which liberatory movements all over Africa are being suppressed. In their mad lusts for profits, and in their war preparations, the United States and her satellites have jeopardised the rights of people to national independence.

"Advance", 3.9.1953,

record: 3574 ; author: Mandela.

E.62 : 1905/7.

"New Age", 31.3.1955,

record: 3935.

5. THAT for hundreds of years the British have been butchering native populations (as presently evidenced by the atrocities in Kenya, Nyasaland and Malaya) as a method of repression, and to conquer, pillage, and plunder the indigenous people of China, Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

"Advance", 10.9.1953,

record: 3577 ; author: Sam Kahn.

"Advance", 28.1.1954,

record: 3604.

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4.

6. THAT the need of the hour in our world, and in our century, is for a common front of all elements striving for Liberation, and for the political supremacy of the working masses, and their allies, and therewith the abolition of every form of exploitation and the constitutional use of tyranny.

"Advance", 10.9.1953,

record: 3577/8 ; author : Sam Kahn..

7. With the ignominious collapse of the Parliamentary Opposition democratic-minded South Africans are realising that only the struggle of the South African people outside Parliament can effectively halt Nationalist aggression.

"Advance" 8.10.1953,

record: 3580.

8. The liberation of 500 million Chinese people is a turning point in the history of mankind. It is an inspiration to a leader of the oppressed people in South Africa, and gives confidence that victory will be achieved here as well.

"Advance", 5.11.1953,

record: 3582 ; author: Sisulu.

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9. In the Capitalist system under which we live, the workers want a wage on which they can maintain a civilised life; the employers (who own the factories, machinery, raw materials, and everything else save the workers' labour) are interested only in making the maximum amount of profit.
- "Advance", 5.11.1953,
record: 3584 ; author: Ray Alexander.
10. THAT in the countries of Capitalism the working people are no longer prepared to wait in poverty, insecurity, oppression and dread of war. In every country of the Capitalist and Colonial world, there is an overwhelming rising tide of action for the demands of the workers. In the Colonial and dependent countries the National Liberation Movement is growing. In the Capitalist countries whose governments have embarked on the armaments race, unemployment is growing and living standards are declining, while the profits of the capitalists are reaching enormous figures.
- "Advance", 5.11.1953,
record: 3583/4.
11. They all celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of the W.F.D.Y. on the 10th November, World Youth Day, when they renew their faith in the success of the struggle of youth for lasting peace, democracy and national independence. In South Africa both workers and students are represented in the W.F.D.Y. by their affiliated organisations, such as the African National

Congress Youth League and the Indian Youth League.

"Advance", 12.11.1953,

record: 3585/6.

12. In the camp of democracy and socialism (for example, in People's China) brutal exploitation and repression of the workers has been banished. In the Soviet Union people of different races and nationalities live together in fraternity and in a common desire for peace and freedom.

"Advance", 19.11.1953,

record: 3586/7 ; author : Sisulu.

13. When the people of China win a victory, it is our victory as well. When the people of Korea drive out the American aggressors, it is also our victory, and when the people in these countries see that the people in South Africa are on the march, they feel happy too.

"Advance", 10.12.1953,

record: 3590.

14. The struggle for National Liberation is related to the struggle for world peace.

"Advance", 17.12.1953,

record: 3592.

15. THAT the path of Liberation for the colonial people in the twentieth century lies in the building of powerful national movements which, united with the progressive forces in the metropolitical countries, will defeat the Imperialists.

South Africa is both Colonial and Imperialist at the same time, the National Liberation Movement having to be built in close proximity with advanced elements in the oppressor group. The formation of the Congress of Democrats is an important step in resolving the internal contradiction with the democratic camp. The South African Congress of Democrats is an organisation of Europeans who believe in and are committed to struggle for the principles of the African National Congress.

"Advance", 17.12.1953,

record: 3590/1.

16. The oppressed youth of South Africa have a staunch ally in the mighty World Federation of Democratic Youth, which has a membership of millions in every part of the world.

"Advance", 24.12.1953,

record: 3594/5 ; message to "Advance" by

Ismail Bhoola.

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17. THAT the spirit of Defiance should be maintained and that the people should keep themselves in readiness for any call to service in the interests of the Liberatory Movement.

"Advance", 24.12.1953,

record: 3596; report of Luthuli's presidential address.

18. THAT the Liberatory Movement in the Union must be regarded as part of the Liberatory Movement in the whole of Africa.

"Advance", 31.12.1953,

record: 3595 ; report of speech by Luthuli.

19. THAT the strength and power of our organisation will depend on the importance we attach to the youth and women of our country. The role they are destined to play in the Liberatory Movement cannot be over-emphasised. The Youth, in particular, should come forward and save their country from being ruined by the ruling clique of the Nationalist Government.

"Advance", 14.1.1954,

record: 3600 ; report of appeal by Sisulu,

"Advance", 8.7.1954,

record: 3638 ; report of speech by Sisulu.

20. The workers cannot avoid their responsibility for preserving peace by expecting the Socialist countries to keep the oppressive powers at bay. It is the duty of the workers in all countries to play their part in the peace movement. The working class should not take part in Imperialist wars. The whole idea of an international working class movement rests on the principle that the workers of all countries have a unity of interests greater than anything which binds the workers of one country to its ruling class.

"Advance", 14.1.1954,

record: 3601 ; Ray Alexander.

"Advance", 1.4.1954,

record: 3623 ; author ; Ray Alexander.

21. THAT hatred of oppression and love of freedom are not enough, but must be combined with a consciousness of how oppression can be overcome and what freedom will mean.

"Advance", 21.1.1954,

record: 3602/3 ; editorial.

22. It is being converted virtually into a state of the Hitler Fascist type. Its labour laws are brutally and nakedly Fascist.

"Advance", 28.1.1954,

record: 3604.

23. The Congress of the People would be the answer of the people to the Government's drive towards Fascism. "Advance", 4.2.1954, record: 3606 ; report of speech by Sisulu.
24. THAT it is madness for millions of ordinary people to let a handful of criminals sit at the top of this Capitalist system and guide us to hell.
Working people should own the factories they work, and the things they produce should go to making our lives easier and fuller. Instead we allow this small group to line its pockets, and send us to war. If we allow them to go on much longer we must be crazy.
"Advance", 18.2.1954, record: 3612.
25. What goes on in Parliament is no longer very important. The fascists don't need a Parliament. As long as they are in power Parliament will continue to fade away in importance. Already it is a yes-house for Fascism.
"Advance", 18.2.1954, record: 3611/2 ; editorial.
26. The people's Democracies and the Soviet Union and China stand firmly for peace and friendship with all democracy-loving people. They are anti-imperialist and anti-oppression.

"Advance", 25.2.1954,
record: 3613 ; author : Sisulu.

27. The visit of Sisulu to Europe was the result of an invitation from the W.F.D.Y. to be their guest at the World Youth Festival in Bucharest.

"Advance", 25.2.1954,
record: 3613 ; author : Sisulu.

28. THAT the United Party is the party of South Africa's white Capitalists. It is unable to turn to the masses of the people for strength and inspiration in its fight against the Nationalists. It is decomposing like a dead jelly-fish.

"Advance", 25.2.1954,
record: 3615.

29. THAT there can be no greater honour than to sacrifice all in defence of one's Motherland. Our battlefields will not be chosen by our opponents. And our method of struggle, which is based on mass education and activity, will be chosen by us. We shall not be misled by their provocation.

We pledge and swear that no matter how bitter the struggle, no matter what laws are passed, no matter what force is used against us, we will refuse to surrender, and will determin^edly oppose tyranny and fascism in our Motherland.

"Advance", 25.2.1954.
record: 3614 ; report of speech by Sisulu.

30. THAT "Advance" stands wholeheartedly with the African National Congress and all lovers of freedom in support of the struggle of the people of Kenya, and all colonial peoples for freedom. In Kenya, when the Imperialists saw the strength of the people, they decided to use violence against the people; to break laws, kill and intimidate. They looked for an excuse. Just as in South Africa, the oppressors created a false scare: the Mau-Mau. The oppressors used this as an excuse for doing away with laws that prevented them from using violence against the freedom movement in Kenya.

"Advance", 4.3.1954,
record: 3615/7 ; editorial.

31. All who are in the struggle for liberation must be drawn into the struggle for peace.

"Advance", 18.3 1954,
record: 3621 ; editorial.

31(a) THAT Stalin is dead, but his philosophy and work will live on forever. Stalin was the greatest exponent of peace.

"Advance", 18.3.1954,
record: 3620.

32. We must strengthen our ties with the workers of foreign countries through the W.F.T.U., which unites over 88 million organised workers throughout the world.

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We must build great and powerful trade unions which can strike a great blow for freedom. Forward to Trade Unionism. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

"Advance", 1.4.1954,
record: 3623/4.

33. The very survival of the human race is at stake in this crucial struggle between the overwhelming majority of the people of the world and a handful of money-mad warmongers.

"Advance", April/May 1954,
record: 3631 ; author : M. Kotane.

34. THAT the backward and reactionary ideology of the Nationalist leaders is rooted in the basic structure of South Africa. It originated long before the 1948 election. This structure is characterized by the predominance of financial and gold-mining groups, in alliance with the big farming interests, and closely linked with British and American Imperialism, together with the exploitation of the non-white masses who are regarded purely as sources of cheap labour.

"Advance", April/May 1954,
record: 3931(B.79) ; author : M. Kotane.

- 34(a) As representative of finance-capitalism, big-business and the mine-owners, the United Party and its press fear democracy more than they fear an outright dictatorship.

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35. THAT the choice before South Africa is not one between various methods of maintaining white supremacy : the true choice lies between suffering an increasingly brutal Fascist dictatorship on the one hand, and, on the other, emancipating the majority of the people from oppression and serfdom in a multiracial democracy affording equal rights and opportunities to all men and women.

During the post-war years the ruling class of South Africa has been faced with mounting difficulties. These arise from the general international crisis of Capitalism in which this country is involved, and also from the marked advance in leadership and effectiveness of the non-European liberation movements. In these circumstances the Capitalists turn more and more to the use of terror and force in order to maintain the colour-bar system.

"Advance", April/May 1954,

record: 3931(B.79) ; author : M. Kotane.

36. THAT the Defiance Campaign lifted the freedom struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa higher than any previous struggle. The important thing in a struggle for liberation is to raise the level of political consciousness to the highest possible level through struggles, to mobilise and organise all potential forces, and to create a clear vision for the future.

The central task today is to mobilise the broad masses of the people in unprecedented unity. Conditions are developing fast towards the point where the oppressed can no longer tolerate living in the old way,

and the oppressor can no longer go on ruling in the old way. We must be ready at all times. We must pledge ourselves to save the nation and liberate the people.

"Advance", April/May 1954,

record: 3931(B.79) ; author ; M. Kotane.

- 36(a) We must strive for a united trade union movement, based on the trade union principle of internationalism, rooted in an alert and educated rank and file, free from legalistic illusions, and capable of surviving and defeating the disruptive intentions of the Nationalists.

"Advance", April/May 1954,

record: 3931 ; author : M. Kotane.

B.79.

37. Thanks to enlightened leadership the non-European liberatory organisations - the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress - are wedded to a policy of Peace. These organisations stand up for the oppressed and exploited people. These organisations condemn Imperialism and the inhumanity of man to man. Inspiring work is being done by Festival Committees in this connection. Festivals for Peace, Friendship and racial harmony are a great contribution to the cause of World Peace. Let us not spare our efforts for the creation of a Peace Movement so strong that the war-mongers must tremble.

"New Age", 1.11.1956,

record: 4106 ; report of Luthuli's speech to
Peace Convention.

38. THAT on June 26th, all fighters for freedom must resolve to fight and die together, and never turn back until freedom is won. We must call to mind those men and women who have laid down their lives and made other sacrifices in the struggle for freedom.

Inspired by the supreme sacrifice already made by many we must resolve afresh to speed to democracy and freedom for all.

"Advance", 24.6.1954,

record: 3633/4; Luthuli's message to "Advance".

"Advance", 30.6.1955,

record: 3961.

39. There is a fundamental contradiction in South African society which neither the Oppenheimers nor the Verwoerds can solve. The contradiction exists between the interests of the handful of exploiters whom they represent, and the needs of the working people of all races. The Liberal Capitalists are just as much bound up with the system of white domination as the Nationalists. The Oppenheimers demand the unlimited right to exploit African workers.

"Advance", 1.7.1954,

record: 3636/7 ; author: Ray Alexander.

40. The battle of the Western Areas should be the Waterloo of apartheid.
"Advance", 1.7.1954,
record: 3634 ; statement by Y. Cachalia pledging support for Luthuli's call for Volunteers.
"Advance", April/May 1954,
record: 3931 ; author M. Kotane.
41. THAT the Government is nearly hysterical over the plan to raise a 50,000 volunteer army for the mobilisation of opinion and action against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. The Government by using police tactics of terror and intimidation is inciting a mood for a bloodbath.
"Advance", 8.7.1954,
record: 3637.
42. THAT the history of the liberation of people from man's inhumanity to man has always been through a terrific struggle involving much sacrifice on the part of the oppressed. The oppressed in South Africa can have no cause for believing that they can attain freedom otherwise. Thus did the United States of America come into being; and in Europe the struggle for liberty and equality was also won by sacrifice and suffering.
"Advance", 18.7.1954,
record: 4224 ; report of speech by Luthuli.

43. THAT although South Africa has never been a democracy, and acts of tyranny and oppression against the people have been perpetrated by all its governments, South Africa has never approximated so closely to a Police State as now.

"Advance", 19.7.1954,
record: 3643 ; editorial.

44. The centre of our campaign will be the threat to the Western Areas. We call on the citizens of South Africa to take part in the campaign launched, and call for 50,000 South Africans to volunteer for active, intensive work in our campaign. According to the African National Congress persistence by the Government in the Removal Scheme will lead to an extremely dangerous and explosive situation.

"Advance", 22.7.1954,
record: 3640 ; editorial.

45. THAT you are called upon to resist apartheid, to defeat the Western Areas Removal Scheme, the Bantu Education Act, the Schoeman anti-trade union measures, and many others.

"Advance", 2.9.1954,
record: 3645 ; Sisulu's farewell message A.101: 689.

46. THAT the aim of the Western Powers is not peace, but domination and mastery of the world.

"New Age", 18.11.1954,
record: 3894 ; author: "Spectator".

47. THAT under the cloak of defending itself against Communism, the Government of the United States is devoting all its resources and its financial power to propagating war, mobilising its economy for war, and producing frightful weapons of mass destruction. These wars are specifically directed against the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and, therefore, against the Liberatory Movement itself.

"Advance", 7.10.1954,

record: 3649 ; author: Sisulu.

48. THAT the Imperial powers already mentioned, together with South Africa, stand in the way of any genuine advance of the African people towards freedom and democracy. Another and much bigger power directly or indirectly supports them in all their endeavours: the United States of America. The tremendous power of the United States is used to keep up the decaying colonial system against the interests of millions of Africans.

"New Age", 25.11.1954,

record: 3898/9 ; author : 'leading member of ANC'.

49. THAT the African National Movement notices, however, another group of powers that seem ever anxious to develop friendship with the African people. They oppose colonialism regularly and consistently. They support the struggle for National Liberation. Among these powers is to be found the Soviet Union, People's China, Burma, India, Indonesia and Poland.

"New Age", 25.11.1954,

record: 3899 ; author : 'leading member of ANC'.

50. In calling for Volunteers it should be borne in mind that throughout history no freedom has come to any people without blood and tears, and that Africans cannot be an exception to this divine test.

"Advance", 25.11.1954,

record: 3895 ; message by Luthuli.

"New Age", 21.6.1956,

record: 4081 ; Luthuli's National Freedom Day Call.

51. The Congress of the People should be a central task to which every democrat should bend all his energies. It is designed to be a mass campaign around which the people can be organised in active struggle. Final defeat of white superiority can only be brought about through the mobilisation of the people led by the four Congresses, and supported by democrats of all races and classes.

"New Age", 30.12.1954,

record: 3905/6 ; editorial.

52. Against this wicked scheme the African National Congress has decided to mobilise the country to ceaseless and uncompromising struggle, regardless of the consequences.

"New Age", 13.1.1955,

record: 3908/9.

53. The opposition to the Western Areas Removal will be in three stages. The first stage will be resistance by legal action. The second and third stages are still to be announced. Africans should be ready to obey Congress' Call, and should enrol as Volunteers. Africans in the Western Areas are in the first line of defence.

"New Age", 20.1.1955,
record: 3909.

54. The Liberal Party's main aim is to secure promotion from the Native Representative Seats to white constituencies. To manage this it will have to tone down even the mildly progressive policy it embraces at present. It will try to step into the United Party's shoes now that this Party shows signs of decay and collapse.

"New Age", 27.1.1955,
record: 3918.

55. While the whole civilised world stands horrified on the brink of atomic war, the United States, with reckless disregard for the consequences, pushes its provocation against People's China to the limit.

"New Age", 3.2.1955,
record: 3918.

56. The Capitalist press, which is full of the news of war and the preparations for war in all parts of the

world, remains silent about the Great Peace Movement which is mobilising the whole of peace-loving humanity in the struggle to prevent war, as is evidenced by the statements of the World Peace Bureau meeting.

"New Age", 3.2.1955,
record: 3919/20.

57. THAT Capitalist society is a cunning affair, and the two-party system is one of the most ingenious inventions of Capitalist society. Both parties represent exactly the same people, the money interests; but if you call one party A, and the other B, and set them at each other's throats, you can bamboozle a large section of the public for a long time. And the real rulers stay in the background all the time.

"New Age", 10.2.1955,
record: 3922.

"New Age", 26.5.1955,
record: 3952 ; author : Peter Meyer.

58. Any force on the part of the authorities in the Western Areas Removal will lead to violence and bloodshed.

"New Age" 10.2.1955
~~"Advance", 8.7.1954,~~
record: ~~3637.~~ 3920.

59. The Soviet leaders have frequently reiterated their desire to settle outstanding differences with the

Western Powers by negotiation, but the Western Powers make no concessions; instead they concentrate their energies on building up NATO and SEATO forces against the Soviet Union. The United States is planning war.

"New Age", 17.2.1955,

record: 3925 ; author : "Spectator".

60. THAT the Government has forcibly removed the first Sophiatown victims, but that it had to call out all its forces, its army, its police, and its laws; to do so.

Citizens, prepare for greater resistance. Let our slogans fire out neighbours: we are not moving. The campaign against the forced removals can be one which will deal the Nationalists a staggering blow.

"New Age", 17.2.1955,

record: 3923/5.

61. THAT a new page was opened in South African working class history when the South African Congress of Trade Unions was formed. This organisation stresses that trade unions must be as active in the political field as in the economic sphere.

"New Age", 10.3.1955,

record: 3929/30.

D.20: 2310.

"New Age", 8.3.1956,

record: 4061.

62. In terms of a decision of the South African Peace Council, South Africans are to be called on in their tens of thousands to demand the outlawry of the H-bomb, the A-bomb, and all weapons of mass destruction.
"New Age", 17.3.1955,
record: 3931 ; author : "Spectator".

63. THAT the overriding aim of American policy in the post-war period has been to extend and tighten her economic grip on as much of the world as possible; to grab maximum profits, and to surround the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and People's China with a steel ring of military bases from which an assault could be launched at any moment. The political basis for this plan has been a series of military pacts which have been concluded between the anti-Communist countries.
"New Age", 7.4.1955,
record: 3937 ; author : "Spectator".

64. The Nationalists cannot point to a single example of a slave empire which survived the revolt of the slaves
"New Age", 14.4.1955,
record: 3937 ; editorial.

65. Parliament is fading into the background, and the masses are coming into the front line.
"New Age", ^{21.4}~~16.6~~.1955,
record: 3942 ; author : Peter Meyer.

66. In all the Capitalist world the most reactionary and discredited cliques in each country have come to see their only salvation in the role of agents for United States Imperialism. The South African ruling clique is no exception to this.
"New Age", 28.4.1955,
record: 3943.
67. The British do not like to admit that what is happening in Malaya is a revolution. They try to make out that it is just a handful of bandits making trouble.
"New Age", 26.5.1955,
record: 3951 ; author : "Spectator".
68. The workers as a class have the greatest interest in the development of full democracy in South Africa. Militant trade unions will play the most important role in the liberation of the oppressed masses.
"New Age", ^{9.6.}~~13.10.~~1955,
record: ^{3956.}4028 ; author : E. Braverman.
69. THAT the Congress of the People will only succeed if it is followed in the months and years to come by intensive political activity on the part of the people to put the Freedom Charter into effect. This is a big task requiring all the courage, determination and self-sacrifice of which the people are capable We are asked to take destiny

into our own hands and declare that we would rather fight on our feet than live on our knees in Strijdom's republic.

"New Age", 9.6.1955,

record: 3955 ; editorial.

70. THAT the Parliamentary Opposition is not merely a useless ally of the democratic forces, but a positive enemy. It does not only let the democratic organisations down; it deliberately obstructs and undermines them.

"New Age", 16.6.1955,

record: 3957 ; author : Peter Meyer.

71. The campaign for the Congress of the People shows vividly that the pathetic Liberal Party is unprepared to associate itself with the genuine demands of the people.

"New Age", 16.6.1955,

record: 3957 ; editorial.

72. On June the 26th, 1952, the Defiance Campaign was launched. The opening shots in the campaign were fired by people's leaders Dr. Y.M.M. Dadoo, Moses Kotane, Johnson Ngwevela, David Bopape, J.B. Marks, Sam Kahn, Michael Harmel and others.

"New Age", 30.6.1955,

record: 3961.

73. THAT Bantu Education is not a thing by itself, but an integral part of the whole system of oppression and repression practised by the Government. The struggle against Bantu Education is envisaged as the unfolding of a campaign in which great flexibility and variety are required, according to local circumstances and the general campaign itself. The campaign would be converted into a powerful contribution to Freedom.
"New Age", 28.4.1955,
record: 3943/5.
74. Although the Report of the British Colonial Office on Kenya for 1954 is quick to mention financial recovery from the setback of the emergency, it is only much later in the report that details are given of the civil war.
"New Age", 22.9.1955,
record: 3978.
75. The Defiance Campaign proved fruitful to the people of South Africa. It was like a spark of fire thrown in the midst of the people, and has been smouldering since the 26th June, 1952. Its flames were seen high on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, when the people came together to draw a Freedom Charter.
"New Age", 25.8.1955,
record: 3975 ; author : Lilian Ngoyi.
76. The days ahead will see the growth of an effective army of liberation that will strike a deathblow to oppression in South Africa. May our courage rise with danger.
"New Age", 15.9.1955.
record: 3976.

77. S.A.C.T.U. understands the need for international solidarity and it is a young but prominent member of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
"New Age", 13.10.1955,
record: 4028 ; author : E. Braverman.
78. Through automation Humanity stands at the threshold of the dream of release from heavy burdens of toil. This dream will not be realised by machines alone. To make it true Capitalism will have to be abolished. For under Capitalism 'automation' will be used not to promote the happiness and welfare of the people, but to increase the profits of the bosses.
"New Age", 27.10.1955,
record: 4033 ; author: E.R. Braverman.
79. The war in Kenya entered its fourth year last week, and thousands of members of the African resistance movement are still active in the forests and reserves.
"New Age", 3.11.1955,
record: 4035.
80. The war in Malaya began seven years ago, when the British met the demands of the national liberatory movement for independence, and of trade unions for higher wages, with military terror of the same kind as that being employed by them in Kenya today.
"New Age", 10.11.1955,
record: 4036.

81. THAT the Freedom Charter does not propose merely a reform of the present system, a patching-up of its worst evils, an amelioration of some of its conditions.

This Charter proclaims that only a complete change of state form can result in the people achieving their aims. Some groups, like the Liberals, have the illusion that real democracy can be achieved within the existing constitutional set-up. They believe that the repeal of certain laws on the statute book is sufficient. Such a purely reformist attitude is unrealistic and takes no note of history.

Every state form has been moulded to serve a particular set-up, and through the centuries, as one order made way for another, the emergent ruling group had to erect quite new state forms to consolidate its power. It had to do more than that. It had to break the stranglehold which the old regime had on the economy of the country, and, through the economy, on the state apparatus. It would, for instance, have been impossible to do away with serfdom and feudal social relations without breaking the economic power of the land barons.

If tomorrow every discriminatory law on the statute book were repealed, but the mineral wealth, monopoly industry and financial empires were not transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole, the system of white supremacy would in its basic essentials be perpetuated for many generations.

"New Age", 17.11.1955,

record: 4039/43 ; author "Inkululeko".

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82. The real truth about South Africa is that a ruthless clique of race-mad politicians have won power for themselves and are determined to hang on to it to the very end. They will defend it with bullets. They will defend it with lies about democracy and Western civilisation.

"New Age", 1.12.1955,

record: 4046 ; editorial.

82(a) The duty rests on all in the Liberation Movement to devise ways and means of implementing the Freedom Charter forthwith. We must not become mesmerised with its honeyed words, but must seek daily, hourly, in all our work, to put the Charter into practical effect and build a mighty people's front which can sweep the Nationalist tyranny into oblivion.

"New Age", 23.2.1956,

record: 4058 ; editorial.

83. THAT Winburg, the town chosen by the Government for the first issue of pass books to African women, is also the first place where the women have hit back - and hard. When the local magistrate at Winburg refused to take back the pass books from the women and returned to his Court, the women piled their passes before the Court and set them alight. The African National Congress Women's League at Klerksdorp had threatened similar action in case they were forced to take pass books.

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"New Age", 19.4.1956,
record: 4066/7.

84. THAT the Capitalist form of Society, in which Imperialist domination has its roots, depends for its existence on the reduction of wages, on reservoirs of the unemployed, and on the exploitation of man by man.

"New Age", 29.3.1956,
record: 4063 ; author: "Spectator".

85. THAT May Day has been written into the history of both the national and working-class liberatory movement.

It was on May the 1st., 1951, that African, Indian and Coloured workers observed their freedom day and brought the factories to a standstill, especially in the Witwatersrand. It was here that the police ran amok, stabbing with fixed bayonets in Benoni, Alexandra and Sophiatown.

"New Age", 26.4.1956,
record: 4069 ; author : E. Braverman.

86. THAT in order to end oppression we need an organised force capable and ready at all times to frustrate the plans and intentions of the ruling class, and which constantly presses forward the demands of the people. It is therefore the duty of every worker, every democrat, and every true South African, to work actively for the building of a powerful progressive United Front Movement, which will, in the spirit

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of the Freedom Charter, work and fight for the abolition of political oppression, economic exploitation and social discrimination and injustices in South Africa.

"New Age", 26.4.1956,

record: 4068 ; author : M. Kotane.

"New Age", 21.6.1956,

record: 4082/3 ; author : M. Kotane.

87. THAT in the Port Elizabeth area recent bannings, the shooting of a volunteer (Nangoza Jebe) and the imprisonment of shot and wounded freedom lovers, have heightened the spirit of resistance, and raised the level of political consciousness, and hardened the determination of freedom fighters in this area.

The Volunteer Corps shows responsibility, devotion, diligence, and responds to the instructions of the leaders. Personal convenience and interest are subordinated to the movement.

"New Age", 3.5.1956,

record: 4071/2 ; author: J.J. Hadebe.

88. Let the oppressors know that every drop of innocent blood of the suffering Africans goes far and deep in welding together the souls of the oppressed masses. Our tears, and indeed the blood of our blameless fellowmen shed by the oppressors for the sake of upholding the bitterly hated white supremacy ideology in this country, will be taken into account on the day of reckoning which is fast drawing nigh.

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"New Age", 3.5.1956,
record: 4071/2 ; author : J.J. Hadebe.

89. On the 1st May we greet the international working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world. United the workers and oppressed people of our country will achieve the defeat of the fascists Nationalist Government and contribute to the struggle for peace against the Imperialist warmongers.

"New Age", 3.5.1956,
record: 4074 ; message from D. Tloome, J.B. Marks,
 W.M. Sisulu et al.

90. THAT Palme Dutt in his book "India, Today and Tomorrow" lays bare the hollow British bluff that Attlee gave India her independence voluntarily. England held on until she knew that she could not hold on a moment longer without being driven out ignominiously - her weakened army powerless against the great might of the Indian people.

"New Age", 17.5.1956,
record: 4078/9 ; author : "Spectator".

91. The struggle for Freedom must go on no matter how hard the struggle might be. It must go on because Freedom is the noblest attainment for which man throughout the ages has willingly paid the supreme sacrifice.

"New Age", 2.8.1956,
record: 4089; Luthuli's presidential address to
 A.N.C. (Natal) 1956.

92. THAT Peace is indissolubly interwoven with the question of Freedom. For oppressed people it would be futile and unrealistic to speak of peace outside

the context of the struggle for freedom.

"New Age", 1.11.1956,

record: 4106 ; report of Luthuli's speech to
Peace Convention.

93. THAT as we near the end of 1956, the dreadful shadow of a world war threatens humanity - more menacingly than at any time since Korea and General MacArthur's threat to invade China. The life of the doomed system of Colonialism cannot be prolonged. Vast areas of Asia and Africa have already thrown off the chains of alien rule, and nothing can stop their brothers in these continents from following in their footsteps. The danger is that the Imperialists, in a desperate gamble to turn back the clock of history, will attempt to embroil mankind in all the horrors of nuclear war.
- "New Age", 29.11.1956,
record: 4117 ; author : Moses Kotane.

94. The greatest danger arising from the tragic events in Hungary is the new war hysteria. Events in Hungary are being used by the warmongers to create a war atmosphere and to whip up the type of hatred and hysteria which has so often brought the world to the brink of war.
- "New Age", ^{6.12.}~~29.11.~~1956,
record: 4119 ; author : Moses Kotane.

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95. THAT the World Federation of Trade Unions is a genuine workers' organisation. It does not preach or practise collaboration with the Capitalists. It gives wholehearted support to the workers in socialist countries, as well as those struggling against Imperialism. It stands four-square in defence of working-class rights, trade union democracy, international solidarity, and peace. "Advance", 31.12.1956, record: 3596 : author : Ray Alexander.

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AFRICAN LODESTAR, DECEMBER
1951.

EDITORIAL.

"Still it moves".

"The A.N.C. Conference to be held at Bloemfontein this December, comes at this critical period in our struggle. It is expected to be the biggest conference in the annals of the African National Congress. It will make far-reaching decisions which will shape the future of the liberatory movement for the next ten years. The youth are expected to give a progressive lead, concomitant with the militancy they showed when a programme of action was adopted by the mother body in 1949. The African National Congress must re-affirm and justify its position of being the initiator and pacemaker of the liberatory movement in South Africa. The African people must assert their leadership actively in Africa, for there is a tide of a desire to struggle for freedom on the part of the oppressed people of South Africa. This time Congress leaders must stake or lose their ventures,".....

.....

"The years 1950/51 marked a critical phase in the history of the A.N.C. The nation is in its birth throes. A new era is coming to be, and when a woman is in labour, one does not ask the whys and wherefores. The operation is carried out with the greatest expediency and safety to assure both maternal and foetal survival. Our leaders who are the midwives in attendance will do well to bear this in mind. The nation is in labour and the compromises and vacillations which characterised the past, will have very disastrous consequences. In conclusion it is well to

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remember the words of wise counsel 'when the social reformers talk priggishly about education of the masses, they usually mean something school-masterish, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses. The real education of the masses can never be separated from the political independence and particularly from the active struggle of the masses themselves. Only the struggle educates the exploited."

ARTICLE : "VAN RIEBEECK CELEBRATIONS".

"Some time in 1952 White South Africa is to revel in the celebrations of their ill-fated landing on the sacred soil of the mother continent, Africa. Those of our people in whom the memories of battles fought against the invader are still fresh, those whom years of oppression and humiliation have not corrupted their attitude to this government, inspired circus is quite clear. To them this celebration is a challenge to African manhood and must mean an intensification of the struggle, particularly in 1952, the year when the White man desires to celebrate the beginning of his invasion and exploitation of Africa, should be the year in which he sees most clearly the inevitability of his ultimate downfall. The year 1952 must be the year which sees the beginning of the protracted struggle which will end with the establishment of a united free, independent and prosperous South Africa, where the evils of racialism and oppression will be completely uprooted. The very fact that the hated landing of this man van Riebeeck is being celebrated by Europeans/ⁱⁿSouth Africa, should be sufficient incentive to our countrymen to answer the challenge posed by the conditions in the country."

.....

"Far from being a year of celebrations, 1952 must be for

us and for our allies a year of sincere and serious efforts to make certain that the van Riebeeck celebrations are the last that a White Government will be privileged to organise. The next celebration of a truly national character, will be organised under the auspices of a democratic African's peoples' Republic, to mark the establishment of a true peoples democracy in South Africa. The formation of such a democracy will be the result of struggles in which all democratic forces, irrespective of race, colour or creed will have taken part and will thus be properly comprehensive in nature. A most effective slap in the face will have been administered to the biggest racist who temporarily hold the reigns of state. We can assure that in the year 1952, we will swing the majority of the population of this country into a mass struggle which will bring us closer to our goal of a free, united and independent, democratic and prosperous South Africa. That must be our answer to the van Riebeeck business."

END OF THE YEAR MESSAGE TO OUR YOUTH,
 BY DELIZA MJI, PRESIDENT OF THE A.N.C.
YOUTH LEAGUE, TRANSVAAL.

"Sons and daughters of Africa, I must first of all convey to you the greetings of my colleagues and my Executive. My Executive wish all of you a happy festive season, a happy new year. Happy in the realization that the birth of a new year brings us nearer to our goal - Freedom. Every year that passes marks the gradual decay of the fascist clutches over our beautiful country, Africa, and the slinking of the ulcer of imperialism, which has been the blight suffered by millions of colonial peoples for several generations past. Thus to all oppressed youth, the new year should foster courage, hope and determination to accelerate the inevitable downfall of

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fascism. The new year should invigorate those of our number who are weak, to inspire those who are in the front line of our struggle, and to kindle the spark of freedom in those yet unmoved by those additional stirrings of divine discontent."

.....
 "The answer to all these questions is a categorical 'no', and it follows therefore that as oppressed youth, your yardstick lies in a different direction. You will not register any advances as a slave, other than breaking the chain which keeps 12 million blacks in bondage. Your individual attainment of comfort is mere illusion. It merely serves to pad the pride of a chain on your black skin. It does not break the rustic chains. It is therefore dangerous. It is likely to lull our youth into a false sense of security.".....

.....
 "To understand the answers to these questions, one must have a grasp of present ^(conditions?). One must understand that our people are at peace, but Malan is at war. One must be aware that our people suffer heavy casualties daily, and when a state of war exists, the nation, and especially its youth are called upon to forgo personal comforts and to sacrifice themselves till victory is assured. The African youth have no right to get educated if their quest for knowledge is motivated merely by selfish design to get white-collar slave jobs. Our youth have a definite role to play in the building up of our liberatory movement."

".....It must be clearly understood that our house is on fire, and that we are in a national emergency. The African youth must form Congress brigades in every location, village or compound. Our intellectuals must use

their learning for the benefit of workers in towns, and of peasantry on the farms and reserves. Youth, your tasks are formidable. Your duty is to bring the workers into our national organisation, to organise them into powerful trade unions and to build a powerful national vanguard, ready to storm the ~~castille~~ ^{bastille} of baasskap. Peasant organisations must be set up in the countryside to resist the nefarious measures of Stock Limitation, which has cost our people several lives already. Let our youth advance therefore in the new year with a full conviction that when White South Africa celebrates three centuries of our degradation, we shall in ten years' time celebrate the first anniversary of a true peoples' democracy in South Africa. Let this be our slogan: 'Freedom in our time'".

"The Labour Government was merely the conservatives turned upside down".

ARTICLE ON THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

".....How otherwise can they explain the criminal waste of men and material in Malaya, all in defence of Capitalist investments and profits. How can we explain the intensification of suppression of national movement in colonial Africa. Massacre in Uganda and Enugu, were ordered by the Labour Government. The Zyckist movement was banned by them and hundreds of its members incarcerated for long periods. The Labour Government did pretend to be progressive however, and even if it was only imperialist deception, they were forced to act at times in accordance with this lie in order to sustain the pretence that they were Socialist."

.....

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"These people have hardly been a month in office and already we hear of veiled threats against the Africans who oppose the Central African Federation scheme. As far as South Africa is concerned, there is now absolutely no difference or pretence of difference between that Government and that of Malan. They are firmly in the same camp. The Protectorates will no doubt be handed over to the loyal Dutch in return for their support in the World War III. The alacrity with which the British delegate voted for South Africa in the Trusteeship Committee is a pointer to what can be expected. The African must prepare for a really stiff fight ahead and must remember that Churchill and others of his ilk, there can be no compromise. A militant struggle to enable the seizure of power to be effected in the shortest possible time, is the only way of handling imperialists. That is the task to which we are called by the coming into power of the Conservative mob."

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY A.J. LUTHULI,
PRESIDENT-GENERAL, AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS, QUEENSTOWN, DECEMBER 1953.

".....The Growth of the Liberatory Movement among non-whites.

It is well for us to note that the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, whilst retaining their full identity as national organisations in their own communities respectively are no longer isolated, organisations but together with other national organisations that may come in, are partners in our liberatory movements, whose object is to awaken the political consciousness of the non-White and White masses and to get the present rulers in the Union to accept the non-white on the basis of equality and no other and extend to them full democratic rights so as to enable them to share in the government of the country. Further we must regard our liberatory movement in the Union as part of the Liberatory Movement in the whole of Africa. In this connection I am happy to say that the African National Congress is already interesting itself in the proposition of a Pan-African Conference. We welcome the interest taken in this matter by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr. Nkrumah; the President of Egypt General Naguib and the Prime Minister of India Mr. Nehru. The African National Congress has played a noble^{part} in setting in motion the liberatory movement. It can well regard itself as being the vanguard of the movement in the Union. Contrary to the criticisms of some of our critics it was the African National Congress that took the initiative in inviting other national organisations in the Union to discuss the matter of jointly prosecuting a militant programme against the oppressive measures by the present rulers of the

Union. It was in 1946 that this militant/programme took shape and received the approval of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress. It is well to point out that in this programme of action, many forms of carrying on the militant programme of action were agreed upon in principle. Non-violent Passive Defiance Campaign of great fame was only one of the forms of militancy."

The non-violent campaign for the defiance of unjust laws."The campaign has so sharpened the political issues in the country as to leave no room for middle-of-the-road individuals or groups. Hence the dissension in the great Smuts party, the United Party and in the Labour Party of S.A. Hence also the silence of some leading people in our own communities. One has to accept the justice of the claim of the non-whites for freedom and work unreservedly and openly for its realisation or be guilty of directly or indirectly assisting the Nationalist Party in its relentless and unmitigated oppression and suppression of the non-white peoples in their claim for free democratic rights. In a word, the non-violent Defiance Campaign has caused much heart searching among some people and much ire and violent reaction with others in all communities. Much to the discomfort of the present rulers of the Union the searchlight of the world has been focussed on the Union of South Africa, more than ever before **by the** campaign. Racial discrimination has become an international issue, and no amount of talk about domestic jurisdiction will deceive the world regarding its true nature and effect.

What about its effect on the non-whites as a whole? It is no exaggeration to say that the effect of the campaign on the non-White peoples as a whole, especially those who

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took an active part in the campaign, has been profound and beneficial. It accelerated greatly the political consciousness of the people. It gave them a new feeling of courage and confidence in themselves as a people. But even more profound it forcefully brought them a new awareness of the potency of United and Co-operative Action among all oppressed people irrespective of colour or class. The co-operation of the non-white groups in the political sphere has come to stay whatever lying propaganda may be made against it. Prudence on our part demands its continuation. I must at this point, on behalf of the African National Congress, express the deepest appreciation and thankfulness of the African people to those who directly or indirectly assisted to make the campaign the success it became. I must mention in particular in this regard the 9,000 men and women who by the indelible ink of their sacrifice and sweat in jails all over the Union of South Africa wrote in the history book of humanity the protest and opposition of ten million non-whites in the Union against studied oppression by the present rulers of the land since they came into our country 300 years ago.

What next? A perfectly legitimate question is being asked by well-wishers and opponents alike but naturally with differing motives. The reply is that the Defiance campaign being one of several forms in our programme of action is being kept in abeyance at our pleasure. But the struggle in some form will be carried on until we do reach our goal. What is important and that to which I direct my Presidential Call is that we must keep up the spirit of defiance and thus keep ourselves in readiness for any call to service in the interest of our liberatory movement. We can assure the world that it is our intention to keep on the non-violent plane. We would

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earnestly request the powers that be to make it possible for us to keep our people in this mood. We call upon our people and all other freedom loving peoples to join our ranks in large numbers in order to give a death blow to the discriminatory laws in the Union of South Africa, designed to hinder our progress and injure our human dignity."

.....

"In the Rest of Africa and the World",

"Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole. This accounts for our taking active part in the Pan-African Congress Movement. Our active interest in the extension of freedom to all peoples denied it, makes us ally ourselves with the freedom forces in the world. It is a matter of great concern to us that most of the territories in Africa are still under the grip of the imperialist powers of Europe, who maintain colonialism that keeps the inhabitants of these territories in subjugation and poverty. There are encouraging signs that the people in some of these territories are becoming politically conscious. We condemn most strongly the imperialist powers controlling these territories, permeating the most progressive moves of the people by tyrannical suppression. I would cite here the indiscriminate shooting and bombing of the African people by the authorities in Kenya on the pretext of restoring law and order, when in fact it is to maintain their imperialistic hold on Africa. The revolt is no doubt prompted by legitimate aspirations of the African people, and so extension of freedom to the people of Kenya should be the

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reply of the British Government and not bombing and shooting. We also strongly condemn the action of the British Government against the banishing of the Kabaka for Uganda for supporting his people in their demand for self-government."

"I would reiterate here too our stand on the Protectorate question, namely that we are most strongly opposed to the incorporation of the High Commission territories by the Union Government. We are entirely opposed to the increase in the number of people subject to the racial and discriminatory policies of the Union of South Africa. The incorporation would result in the increase when we are fighting for the liberation of Africans and other peoples in the Union. Let me state unequivocally that we regard it as an unfriendly act towards Africa, the allowing of the United States of America to establish air bases in Africa, nor do we welcome the making of central Africa by the British Government a war arsenal, since the forced withdrawal from India, and its precarious hold and maintenance in the influence of the East and Middle East. Africa likes to enjoy peace and prosperity in freedom and would like to ally itself with the forces of peace and freedom, and so it does not like to be made a war zone in any war the warmongers may plunge the world in."

.....

"How will these disabilities be removed?

Certainly not as some people fondly and foolishly believe that it will be by the voluntary benevolence of the White man. These, the disabilities will only be removed, as has happened with other people in other lands, all through the ages to our day, by the united struggle of the oppressed people themselves to exert pressure on

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the rulers to grant them freedom, and so, I call upon all Africans who truly desire to see these disabilities removed, to join the African National Congress, to fight in comradeship with other oppressed people for the attainment of freedom which is the main key to the removal of the imposed disabilities. Afrika, Mayibuye. Yours in the National service, A.J. Luthuli, President-General".

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"NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM"

By N.R. MANDELA.

"Introduction: At this critical stage for our struggle for freedom and democracy in our country, and at a time when the Government is making it impossible for the oppressed people to meet and discuss their destiny as human beings and banning the leaders of the people with the hope of crushing the liberatory movement, it has become more important than ever before that we compile our literature so that the people who are going to continue the struggle for a happy and prosperous South Africa are educated and guided on the tasks that lie ahead. Here we produce a statement submitted to the African National Congress (Tvl). by Mr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, then president of the A.N.C. (Tvl). before he was banned by Minister Swart from talking to his people and leading them to freedom. But because the statement gave a thorough analysis of the political situation particularly in our country, the Executive of the A.N.C. (Tvl). decided to submit this statement to the recent Conference of the province as a Presidential Address. To us, the Youth League and the African people, Mr. Mandela, although banned by the clique of frightened men in Parliament, is and will remain the leader of the people. This dynamic and historic address, which in fact is the best ever in the annals of the oppressed peoples movement in South Africa, should serve as an inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for freedom and the elimination of man's inhumanity to man. To Rolihlahla Mandela, the illustrious son of Africa, the gallant and courageous fighter for lasting peace and democracy, we say that no matter where

he may find himself today, no matter what hardships he may suffer, the masses can not be bluffed nor intimidated. This his sufferings are but temporary. What he has taught us is invaluable -- the lead he has given us is enough to make us carry on the struggle and we shall not rest nor tire until oppression, exploitation of man by man, until domination of one group over another is completely abolished and eradicated in this our Motherland, South Africa. Africa's cause must triumph. R.N. Resha, President, A.N.C.Y.L. (Tvl)."

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"Since 1921 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust. Today the entire country knows that their labours were not in vain for a new spirit and new ideas have gripped our people. Today the people speak the language of action: There is a might awakening among the men and women of our country and the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness. In June 1952,

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the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the campaign for the Defiance of the Unjust Laws. Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26 and with only thirty-three defiers in action and then in Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one hundred and six defiers, it spread throughout the country like wild fire. Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations. At the end of the year, more than 8,000 people of all races had defied. The Campaign called for immediate and heavy sacrifices. Workers lost their jobs, chiefs and teachers were expelled from the service, doctors, lawyers and businessmen gave up their practices and businesses and elected to go to jail. Defiance was a step of great political significance. It released strong social forces which affected thousands of our countrymen. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function politically; a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government. It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability and security of the State. It inspired and aroused our people from a conquered and servile community of yesmen to a militant and uncompromising band of comrades-in-arms. The entire country was transformed into battle zones where the forces of liberation were locked up in immortal conflict against those of reaction and evil. Our flag flew in every

battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around it. We held the initiative and forces of freedom were advancing on all fronts. It was against this background and at the height of this Campaign that we held our last annual provincial Conference in Pretoria from the 10th to the 12th October last year. In a way, that Conference was a welcome reception for those who had returned from the battlefields and a farewell to those who were still going to action. The spirit of defiance and action dominated the entire conference. Today we meet under totally different conditions. By the end of July last year, the Campaign had reached a stage where it had to be suppressed by the Government or it would impose its own policies on the country. The Government launched its reactionary offensive and struck at us. Between July last year and August this year forty-seven leading members from both Congresses in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentences ranging from three months to two years on condition that they did not again participate in the defiance of the unjust laws. In November last year, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meetings of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to defy. Contravention of this proclamation carried a penalty of three years or a fine of three hundred pounds. In March this year the Government passed the so-called Public Safety Act which empowered it to declare a state of emergency and to create conditions which would permit of the most ruthless and pitiless methods of suppressing our movement. Almost simultaneously, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act was passed which provided heavy penalties for those convicted of Defiance offences. This Act also made provision

for the whipping of defiers including women. It was under this Act that Mr. Arthur Matlala who was the local of the Central Branch during the Defiance Campaign, was convicted and sentenced to twelve months with hard labour plus eight strokes by the Magistrate of Villa Nora. The Government also made extensive use of the Suppression of Communism Act. You will remember that in May last year, the Government ordered Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J.B. Marks, David Bopape and Johnson Ngwevela to resign from the Congresses and many other organisations and were also prohibited from attending political gatherings. In consequence of these bans, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, and David Bopape did not attend our last provincial Conference. In December last year, the Secretary-General, Mr. W.M. Sisulu, and I were banned from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months. Early this year, the President-General, Chief Luthuli whilst in the midst of a national tour which he was prosecuting with remarkable energy and devotion, was prohibited for a period of twelve months from attending public gatherings and from visiting Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and many other centres. A few days before the President-General was banned, the President of the S.A.I.C., Dr. G.M. Naicker, had been served with a similar notice. Many other active workers both from the African and Indian Congresses and from trade union organisations were also banned. The Congresses realised that these measures created a new situation which did not prevail when the Campaign was launched in June 1952. The tide of defiance was bound to recede and we were forced to pause and to take stock of the new situation. We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to

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overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle. A political movement must keep in touch with reality and the prevailing conditions. Long speeches, the shaking of fists, the banging of tables and strongly worded resolutions out of touch with the objective conditions do not bring about mass action and can do a great deal of harm to the organisation and the struggle we serve. The masses had to be prepared and made ready for new forms of political struggle. We had to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy. To have gone ahead blindly as if nothing had happened would have been suicidal and stupid. The conditions under which we meet today are, therefore, vastly different. The Defiance Campaign together with its thrills and adventures has receded. The old methods of bringing about mass action **through** public mass meetings, press statements and leaflets calling upon the people to go to action have become extremely dangerous and difficult to use effectively. The authorities will not easily permit a meeting called under the auspices of the A.N.C., few newspapers will publish statements openly criticising the policies of the Government and there is hardly a single printing press which will agree to print leaflets calling upon workers to embark on industrial action for fear of prosecution under the Suppression of Communism Act and similar measures. These developments require the evolution of new forms of political struggle which will make it reasonable for us to strive for action on a higher level than the Defiance Campaign. The Government alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the

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people from the organisations. According to a statement made by Swart in Parliament on the 18th September, 1953, there are thirty-three trade union officials and eighty-nine other people who have been served with notices in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. This does not include that formidable array of freedom fighters who have been named and black listed under the Suppression of Communism Act and those who have been banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Meanwhile the living conditions of the people, already extremely difficult, are steadily worsening and becoming unbearable. The purchasing power of the masses is progressively declining and the cost of living is rocketing. Bread is now dearer than it was two months ago. The cost of milk, meat and vegetables is beyond the pockets of the average family and many of our people cannot afford them. The people are too poor to have enough food to feed their families and children. They cannot afford sufficient clothing, housing and medical care. They are denied the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age and where these exist, they are of an extremely inferior and useless nature. Because of lack of proper medical amenities our people are ravaged by such dreaded diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, pelagra and infantile mortality is very high. The recent state budget made provision for the increase of the cost-of-living allowances for Europeans and not a word was said about the poorest and most hard-hit section of the population -- the African people. The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation in the country have definitely scared away foreign capital from

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South Africa and the financial crisis through which the country is now passing is forcing many industrial and business concerns to close down, to retrench their staffs and unemployment is growing every day. The farm labourers are in a particularly dire plight. You will perhaps recall the investigations and exposures of the semi-slave conditions on the Bethal farms made in 1948 by the Reverend Michael Scott and a Guardian correspondent; by the Drum last year and the Advance in April this year. You will recall how human beings, wearing only sacks with holes for their heads and arms, never given enough food to eat, slept on cement floors on cold nights with only their sacks to cover their shivering bodies. You will remember how they are woken up as early as 4 a.m. and taken to work on the fields with the indunas sjamboking those who tried to straighten their backs, who felt weak and dropped down because of hunger and sheer exhaustion. You will also recall the story of human beings go toiling pathetically from the early hours of the morning till sunset, fed only on mealie meal served on filthy sacks spread on the ground and eating with their dirty hands. People falling ill and never once being given medical attention. You will also recall the revolting story of a farmer who was convicted for tying a labourer by his feet from a tree and had him flogged to death, pouring boiling water into his mouth whenever he cried for water. These things which have long vanished from many parts of the world still flourish in S.A. today. None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices. The Government has introduced in Parliament the Native

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Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and the Bantu Education Bill. Speaking of the Labour Bill, the Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman, openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death. By forbidding strikes and lockouts it deprives Africans of the one weapon the workers have to improve their position. The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions which are controlled by the workers themselves and which fight for the improvement of their working conditions in return for a Central Native Labour Board controlled by the Government and which will be used to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African worker. The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, has also been brutally clear in explaining the objects of the Bantu Education Bill; according to him the aim of this law is to teach our children that Africans are inferior to Europeans. African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white. When this Bill becomes law it will not be the parents but the Department of Native Affairs which will decide whether an African child should receive higher or other education. It might well be that the children of those who criticise the Government and who fight its policies will almost certainly be taught how to drill rocks in the mines and how to plough potatoes on the farms at Bethal. High education might well be the privilege of those children whose families have a tradition of collaboration with the ruling circles. The attitude of the Congress on these bills is very clear and unequivocal. Congress totally rejects both bills without reservation. The last provincial Conference strongly condemned the then proposed

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Labour Bill as a measure designed to rob the African workers of the universal right of free trade unionism and to undermine and destroy the existing African trade unions. Conference further called upon the African workers to boycott and defy the application of this sinister scheme which was calculated to further the exploitation of the African worker. To accept a measure of this nature, even in a qualified manner, would be a betrayal of the toiling masses. At a time when every genuine Congressite should fight unreservedly for the recognition of African trade unions and the realisation of the principle that everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests, we declare our firm belief in the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that everyone has the right to education; that education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among the nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. That parents have the right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying policy of the supremacy of the white men. The attitude of the Government to us is that: 'Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet. We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.' But there is nothing inherently superior about the herrenvolk idea of the supremacy of the whites.

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In China, India, Indonesia and Korea, American British, Dutch and French Imperialism, based on the concept of the supremacy of Europeans over Asians, has been completely and perfectly exploded. In Malaya and Indo-China British and French imperialisms are being shaken to their foundations by powerful and revolutionary national liberation movements. In Africa, there are approximately 190,000,000 Africans as against 4,000,000 Europeans. The entire continent is seething with discontent and already there are powerful revolutionary eruptions in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia, Kenya, the Rhodesias and South Africa. The oppressed people and the oppressors are at loggerheads. The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off. I have not the slightest doubt that when that day comes truth and justice will prevail. The intensification of repressions and the extensive use of its bans is designed to immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement. But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet. The racial policies of the Government have pricked the conscience of all men of good will and has aroused their deepest indignation. The feelings of the oppressed people have never been more bitter. If the ruling circles seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country. But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been

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considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day. The ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened. This is a development of the highest importance because in a country such as ours a political organisation that does not receive the support of the workers is in fact paralysed on the very ground on which it has chosen to wage battle. Leaders of trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the A.N.C. In the past we talked of the African, Indian and Coloured struggles. Though certain individuals raised the question of a united front of all the oppressed groups, the various non-European organisations stood miles apart from one another and the efforts of those for co-ordination and unity were like a voice crying in the wilderness and it seemed that the day would never dawn when the oppressed people would stand and fight together shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Today we talk of the struggle of the oppressed people which, though it is waged through their respective autonomous organisations, is gravitating towards one central command. Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories to preserve our organisations, and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important task the National Executive of the A.N.C. in consultation with the National Action Committee of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. formulated a plan of action popularly known as the "M" Plan and the highest importance is attached to it by the National Executives. Instructions were given to all provinces to implement the "M" Plan without delay. The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage

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our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars. The aim is: (1) to consolidate the Congress machinery; (2) to enable the transmission of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings, issuing press statements and printing circulars; (3) to build up in the local branches themselves local Congresses which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people; (4) to extend and strengthen the ties between Congress and the people and to consolidate Congress Leadership. This plan is being implemented in many branches not only in the Transvaal but also in the other provinces and is producing excellent results. The Regional Conferences held in Sophiatown, Germiston, Kliptown and Benoni on the 28th June, 23rd and 30th August and on the 6th September, 1953, which were attended by large crowds, are a striking demonstration of the effectiveness of this plan, and the National Executives must be complimented for it. I appeal to all members of the Congress to redouble their efforts and play their part truly and well in its implementation. The hard, dirt, and strenuous task of recruiting members and strengthening our organisation through a house to house campaign in every locality must be done by you all.

From now on the activity of Congressites must not be confined to speeches and resolutions. Their activities must find expression in wide scale work among the masses, work which will enable them to make the greatest possible contact with the working people. You must protect and defend your trade unions. If you are not allowed to have your meetings publicly, then you must hold them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you

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travel home. You must have them in your villages and shanty towns. You must make every home, every shack and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement and never surrender. You must defend the right of African parents to decide the kind of education that shall be given to their children. Teach the children that Africans are not one iota inferior to Europeans. Establish your own community schools where the right kind of education will be given to our children. If it becomes dangerous or impossible to have these alternative schools, then again you must make every home, every shack or rickety structure a centre of learning for our children. Never surrender to the inhuman and barbaric theories of Verwoerd. The decision to defy the unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day. But due to the fact that the local branches did not exercise proper control and supervision, the admission of new members was not carried out satisfactorily. No careful examination was made of their past history and political characteristics. As a result of this, there were many shady characters ranging from political clowns, place-seekers, splitters, saboteurs, agents-provocateurs to informers and even policemen, who infiltrated into the ranks of Congress. One need only refer to the Johannesburg trial of Dr. Moroka and nineteen others, where a member of Congress who actually worked at the National Headquarters, turned out to be a detective-sergeant on special duty. Remember the case of Leballo of Brakpan who wormed himself into that Branch by producing faked naming letters from the Liquidator, De Villiers Louw,

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who had instructions to spy on us. There are many other similar instances that emerged during the Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley trials. Whilst some of these men were discovered there are many who have not been found out. In Congress there are still many shady characters, political clowns, place-seekers, saboteurs, provocateurs, informers and policemen who masquerade as progressives but who are in fact the bitterest enemies of our organisation. Outside appearances are highly deceptive and we cannot classify these men by looking at their faces or listening to their sweet tongues or their vehement speeches demanding immediate action. The friends of the people are distinguishable by the ready and disciplined manner in which they rally behind their organisation and their readiness to sacrifice when the preservation of the organisation has become a matter of life and death. Similarly, enemies and shady characters are detected by the extent to which they consistently attempt to wreck the organisation by creating fratricidal strife, disseminating confusion and undermining and even opposing important plans of action to vitalise the organisation. In this respect it is interesting to note that almost all the people who oppose the "M" Plan are people who have consistently refused to respond when sacrifices were called for, and whose political background leaves much to be desired. These shady characters by means of flattery, bribes and corruption, win the support of the weak-willed and politically backward individuals, detach them from Congress and use them in their own interests. The presence of such elements in Congress constitutes a serious threat to the struggle, for the capacity for political

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action of an organisation which is ravaged by such disruptive and splitting elements is considerably undermined. Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing: it is the profound desire, the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organisation seek to impede the realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm. To do otherwise would be a crime and a serious neglect of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organisation. Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country. We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country and because we have consistently fought against the policy of racial discrimination in favour of a policy which accords fundamental human rights to all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or language. We are exiled from our own people for we have uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and the cobalt bombs where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperial powers. We have been gagged because we have emphatically and

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openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites. We are being shadowed, hounded and trailed because we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya. The massacre of the Kenya people by Britain has aroused world-wide indignation and protest. Children are being burnt alive, women are raped, tortured, whipped and boiling water poured on their breasts to force confessions from them that Joma Kenyatta had administered the Mau Mau oath to them. Men are being castrated and shot dead. In the Kikuyu country there are some villages in which the population has been completely wiped out. We are prisoners in our own country because we dared to raise our voices against these horrible atrocities and because we expressed our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people. You can see that 'there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.' 'Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom.'

N.R.D. Mandela, President, African National Congress, Transvaal, 21st September, 1953."

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE 42nd ANNUAL CONGRESS HELD
AT DURBAN, 19th DECEMBER, 1954.

FOREWORD.

This 42nd session of the African National Congress takes place at a time when some of our highly placed leaders have been detached from you and thrown into the wilderness, by a Government of men who cannot conceal their fear of the rising tide of the political consciousness of the African people, and the knowledge of their ultimate disappearance into political oblivion. In the light of these circumstances, I regret that due to the political persecution placed upon me and others by the Nationalist Government, it will not be possible for me personally to present the report to the Conference, as is the case by custom. Nevertheless, the report is being placed before you for your consideration and discussion. I have every confidence that your decisions, arising from this report will be worthy of the people who have been deprived of everything that they ever possessed in this Country, but who are resolved, as never before, to regain all that is due to them as a free people in a free world. I am confident that no amount of ban, exiles or political persecutions will deter the progressive forces in the Country from the path which they had chosen, namely a perpetual and consistent fight until victory is won. The Executive report placed before you, enclose the following documents:

Presidential address by the President-General, Chief A.J. Luthuli; (b) Opening address by Dr. M.G. Naicker, President Natal Indian Congress; (c) Fraternal messages from South Africa and Abroad; (d) List of banned and banished leaders; (e) Nationalist Laws. Maye Buye Africa.
Signed O.R. Tambo----Acting General Secretary."

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. G.M. NAICKER, PRESIDENT OF
THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

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Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The National Executive Committee of your Congress has done me a great honour by inviting me to declare open your Annual Conferences here. I was very pleased to accept your invitation and will wish to take this opportunity at the outset of thanking you for the great honour you have done me, particularly at a time when the ban imposed on me by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism is in force. The invitation you have extended to me symbolises the great, unbreakable links which have been forged between our Congresses and between the African and Indian peoples---Indian people we represent. Today we find a great bond of friendship and understanding, that has grown between our peoples through the joint heroic struggle for freedom launched under the banners of our Congresses, and it is my fervent hope and prayer, that jointly we shall advance together with all true democrats in South Africa to the goal which we have set to achieve---freedom in our life-time. Your Conference meets at a time when grave issues face, not only people of our Country but the peoples of the world. Today, in every country, in all the

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continents of the world, the forces of peace and freedom are making great headway. The days of Colonialism and Imperialism are rapidly coming to an end, and we see the emergence of free and independent nations on the continent of Asia, a continent which has been subjected to centuries of colonial exploitation. Because the forces of imperialism have received the shattering blow in Asia, it is only natural that Africa should assume a place of tremendous importance to those who have exploited Asia hitherto, but Africa, long described as the dark continent, is today astir. From the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cape Point, powerful forces of liberation are making themselves felt, to enable a 150 million people of this continent to take their rightful place within the family of nations through their own democratic government. We in South Africa, have no hesitation in making our stand clear on the international question. As oppressed people, believing firmly in the ideals of democracy, we totally reject all forms of imperialism and colonialism. We reject the exploitation of man by man. We make common cause with the world-wide movement for peace, and are pledged to make positive contribution towards this peace for which mankind yearns. We make this contribution in particular by opposing all forms of racial discrimination. In our hearts we are convinced that in racial discrimination lies the seat of a massive global conflict and this conflict we are pledged to avert. As protagonists of peace, we are the enemies of war, and are opposed to the armament race which is now in progress. We stand for total banning of the Atom and Hydrogen Bombs. Because we stand for world peace, and against the exploitation of man by man, we find ourselves in strong opposition to the policies which have been consistently pursued by the

the White ruling classes in South Africa, before and after the coming into existence of the Union. The policy of segregation and apartheid based on the maintenance of White domination has today brought our Country to the brink of disaster. More and more people in the Country are beginning to realise that like peace, freedom is indivisible. Laws, which in the past affected only one sector of the people, invariably the African people, are today being extended to the rest of the people of the land. Freedom and liberty of the people, Black and White, are in danger. It is only a matter of weeks since Dr. Malan resigned, and today, more strongly than ever before, the Country finds itself under the rule of a group firmly pledged to the policy of apartheid and all that apartheid stands for.

The Strijdom-Verwoerd era has commenced, and the anti-Nationalist forces in the Country realise that even greater attacks on democracy and freedom are on the way. Our beloved Country is heading towards chaos and disaster, under a policy which has resulted in increased racial tension, in a climate in which there is little respect for human dignity. A small minority group, are seeking to impose on the majority an Afrikaner tribal rule, a rule which seeks to perpetuate a caste structure in South Africa, under which the non-White people are to remain in perpetual subjection. South Africa has reached the parting of the ways. Those who rule us have chosen the narrow and bigoted path of Afrikaner tribalism, embodied in the theory of apartheid. With deep regret we are forced to admit that the vast numbers of the White electorate of the Country have given their support to this basic policy of apartheid.

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It is in such an atmosphere that African nationalism is asserting itself in the Union. Let us remember, that never in world history has any single movement for national liberation failed in achieving its object, and I am confident that in South Africa too, the movement for national liberation is destined to triumph notwithstanding all the obstacles which may exist today. A movement for national liberation can become reactionary in character. Nationalism under anti-democratic leadership can become a great threat to the basic values for which we stand. Afrikaner Nationalism is an example of how a movement essentially progressive in its initial stages, has today become a great threat to democracy, and has become the spearhead of fascism in South Africa. African Nationalism too, under wrong leadership, can become an anti-democratic force giving rise to the emergence of Black fascism in the Union. It is to the credit of the leadership of the African National Congress that African Nationalism has chosen the path of democracy, notwithstanding the environment in which it has emerged. In the slogan of the African National Congress, is not South Africa for the Africans, but South Africa for all her peoples of all creeds and nationalities. Today the African National Congress is the most important factor for democracy in the Country for the A.N.C. enshrines the hopes and aspirations of the nine million oppressed Africans to be free in the land of their birth. The A.N.C. seeks to achieve this freedom, not at the expense of any other group, it seeks to exercise the freedom for its people among the rest of free South Africans.

The political maturity and the ideals of the African National Congress is clearly demonstrated in its call for the convening of the Congress of the People for the formulation of the Freedom Charter, for the convening of the Congress of the people, the call which your Congress made

last year in Queenstown has resulted in the launching of a movement of freedom for the first time jointly sponsored by African, European, Coloured and Indian peoples. The convening of the Congress of the People is the most important task which faces all true democrats of all colours in the Country today. Let me express the earnest desire that before you meet in your Annual Conference next year, this mighty assembly of South African people will have taken place, and that the Charter for Freedom will have been drafted, enshrining the hopes of the millions of our land, particularly those who are voiceless today. Let me assure you, on behalf of the Indian people, that the Indian Congress will do everything in its power to make the Congress of the People a success and that we shall answer unflinchingly to the call of your President-General, to enrol within the ranks of the 50,000 volunteers for freedom. I visualise the Freedom Charter as one of the most historic documents to emerge from South Africa. It will not only in the clearest possible terms state what freedom is, but will be a document by which all South Africans will be judged, whether they stand for freedom and democracy, or for oppression and segregation. While we are engaged in this great organisational task of convening the Congress of the People, the Government of the day, is not hesitating in its attempts to stifle the true voice of democracy in the Country. I am, however, convinced that banning orders and deportations will not halt our forward march to freedom and democracy. Action on the part of the Government against our leaders will only make our people even more determined to resist injustice and oppression. While we talk of freedom and organise our people to make all South Africans truly free,

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the rulers of South Africa are continuing to bring measure after measure for the perpetual subjugation of the non-European people. The most hated apartheid measures of the Nationalists is undoubtedly the Bantu Education Act, a law which seeks to make the African people a subject people for all times. There can be no compromise with the principle which seeks to enslave a people and, therefore, this act has to be fought with all the resources available to the democratic forces of South Africa. All South Africans should realise that the people of the Western Areas in the Transvaal has presently engaged in a bitter struggle in defence of their homes. What is happening in the Western Areas today, will happen in many parts of South Africa tomorrow, if the Group Areas Act is allowed to be implemented. The race zoning plans submitted by local authority under the Areas Act, demonstrates how tens of thousands of people are to be removed from their homes to satisfy the eulogy of apartheid. We will have to unitedly oppose this obnoxious law with all our might. The African National Congress has come of age, and with its present leadership, no democrat in South Africa should have any hesitation in making common cause with the African National Congress for the achievement of democracy. The Indian people have already made the decision. Not only have we been equal parties in the great Defiance Campaign, a campaign which will fill a glorious chapter in the liberatory struggle of our Country, but we are present working as great allies together with European and Coloured democrats. It is our task to strengthen that alliance so that it becomes unbreakable. I would like to have been present at this assembly. I would have liked to have

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heard Chief Luthuli deliver his Presidential address, and inspire us to make even greater contributions to the cause of liberation. I would have liked to have sung with you the songs of freedom, led by Chief Luthuli, and to hear his voice which has moved so many in so short a time. But Chief Luthuli and I cannot be with you today, because of the ban imposed on us. But a day will dawn when Swart and his Cabinet will be forgotten and when South Africa will be free, When men and women will meet to talk of freedom and to build a free society without fear and hatred. I urge you, in the name of South Africa, to work unceasingly towards that great freedom we all desire, and we assure you that we will work unceasingly for our common objective. In name of freedom, I have now the pleasure in declaring your Annual Conference open. History has placed the torch of freedom in your hands, may you hold high its flames. Afrika".

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
A.J. LUTHULI PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

"Sons and daughters of Africa. Afrika, Afrika, Maye Buye, Maye Buye. I greet you all on behalf of myself and thousands of others within and without the Congress who share with you our hope for the attainment of freedom for all in our land in the not distant future. I ask you to receive special greetings and best wishes for a successful conference from your banned and banished leaders, who are with you in spirit. Thank God that divine providence has not endowed Minister Swart with the power to ban Congress out of the people's hearts. I ask you that your loving remembrance of our own banned and banished leader should

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embrace the banned and banished of our allies in the Liberatory Movement. As an act of remembrance and dedication of ourselves to the cause of freedom in our land, I would ask the Conference at this point to stand and perform the acts which I have proposed to Mr Speaker. The wholesale banning of our leaders should challenge us all, banned and unbanned, to devote ourselves unreservedly to the cause of freedom."

.....
.....

Notable Victories?-----"Notable Victories.---
We find ourselves so busily engaged in the terrific political battle in our country that we miss to note the gains we make here and there, no matter how small. In my opinion, despite the ruthless intensification of the apartheid policy, we have on the credit side a few notable victories. The success of the Congress of the People Campaign. We have so much to do to rally all sections of our Country to to the Congress of the People Campaign, but it is making no extravagant claim, when I say it grips the imagination of the common man wherever the campaign has reached. The frantic way in which the Government is seeking to cripple the campaign is evidence of its political potency. Let us intensify our call for 50,000 volunteers---freedom volunteers. I can see through the Congress of the People thousands and thousands of South Africans from all sections of our multi-racial nation marching together to freedom as a direct result of this campaign. In any case the campaign has already enlarged and consolidated our United Freedom Front considerably.".....

....."The rise of the spirit of resistance among workers, this year, especially in Durban. We witness

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with joy the rising tide of opposition by African employees at your unsatisfactory conditions of service. We single out for mention, the dock workers, the United Tobacco Company workers, and workers in some Pinetown factory. Congress, at both National and Provincial level should establish closer co-operation between its unpaid Unions, leaders and organisations. We regret the sell-up of labour interests made by the recent so-called Unity Conference, which ended up as a Dis-Unity Conference on that. In support of the apartheid policy of the Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, it refused to recognise African Unions or mixed Unions, with African membership."

"The story of our suffering. I feel called upon to remind the African people of the grim fundamental facts of our situation which are painful reminders of our enslavement by the White South Africans. While it is true that the propaganda of the Nationalist Government through the information section of the Native Affairs Department, tries to cleverly conceal the evils of apartheid by promises which are nothing but deceptive palliatives, yet on the other hand we should be grateful to the Nationalist Party Government for the--ambiguously making it plain, that in the interests of perpetuating White domination, they will stop at nothing in their determination to realise their goal of keeping Non-Whites in a state of permanent servitude. What is surprising is that in the face of this frankness, you should find some African people in positions of influence, counselling the African people to submit to the status quo. These false persons who generally support the trail of the African people by false reasons, such as these-half a loaf is better than no loaf; the African people are not yet ready for freedom; convert the White man first by being moderate in your demands; indulging in wishful thinking, they ideally say,

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understanding and friendly co-operation on specific issues where our policies agree. Let me here most emphatically state^{that} while the African National Congress must naturally work for its own growth, yet it is equally committed to the policy of forming a multi-racial United Democratic front, to challenge the forces of reaction in this Country.

(b) The ascendancy of the force of reaction. We must not be blind to the fact that the "baasskap" spirit of the Boer Republics is in the ascendancy in the Union. This accounts for the fact that every day the United Party is becoming indistinguishable from the Nationalist Party. The long-awaited for new Native Policy of the United Party can be described as being a mark-time order from the drill-master, Mr. Strauss, with an occasional march backwards order, as in the case of their decision not to give recognition to African Trade Unions, whereas the Party at one time seriously considered giving recognition to African Trade Unions. After all, both the United Party and the Nationalist Party vie for the position of being guardians of the traditional Native Policy of South Africa, and the essence of this policy is the "baasskap" spirit of the Boer Republics, where each White farmer was a supreme lord of his African servants.

(c) The economic advance of the African is deliberately curbed by legislation which is reinforced by hostile public opinion. This curb of our economic advancement became marked after Union, when in 1913, Africans were deprived of the right of buying land in freehold title. The grim story of our being robbed of opportunities for economic advancement, is too long to narrate in a Presidential address.

(d) Deliberate efforts to suppress and warp our human

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personality. Leaders of White public opinion take every opportunity to present us in the world as sub-human beings, incapable of assimilating civilisation. This vilification has been going on since the Whites first met us. This matter of dwarfing our personality and trying to make believe we are nobodies, is the worst sin the White man has committed against the Africans. In the Bantu Education Act of Dr. Verwoerd, an effort is being made to use the school as an instrument of dwarfing our human personalities. The African child is to be made to feel that he is the inferior of the White child.

(e) World Scene. We are grateful as we always have been to progressive opinion in the world that has not hesitated to champion our cause in the Union of South Africa. We watch with interest development towards full democracy in West African territories under British Rule. The British Government must not allow its policy to be dictated by White settlers who selfishly try to grab as much wealth as they can from Africa. Otherwise she will find herself confronted with man-made situations as in East Africa or extremely strained relations as in Uganda and Bechuanaland, where people rightly resent the banishment.....What must we do to meet this challenge of being spiritually, if not physically destroyed as people. Let me conclude my address by asking you this question:

What must we do to meet this challenge of a people spiritually if not physically, destroying us as a people."

(a) "We must join our national organisation, the African National Congress, where the true significance, purpose and

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and probable disastrous outcome of Government policy would be explained to us by our own people who work for our liberation. all, the White man has told you that he wants to make you his servant forever, and so what good thing can there be for you in this policy? Do not listen to propoganda of the information section of the Native Affairs Department.

(b) Develop in you the spirit of resisting anything that curbs or limits the development of your talents to their fullest capacity. (c) Cultivate the sense of service and sacrifice without which Africans can never gain freedom. Freedom comes only to people who are prepared to pay dearly for it. Afrika! Mayebuye! P.O. Grafton, via Stanger Natal. 12th December, 1954."

REPORT TO THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT
THE BANTU SOCIAL CENTRES IN DURBAN ON THE
16th-19th DECEMBER 1954.

(a) "Our National organisation is facing a serious crisis. The existence as the leader and spokesman of the African people is gravely threatened by the actions of the Nationalist Government. Among other things, therefore, this Report deals with the very vital and urgent question of organisation, a question that must in the end determine whether the African National Congress should revive the attack on the Government and continue actively and seriously to fight for the right and dignity of the African people in their fatherland. It is the duty of every delegate at this Conference and every Congressman and every lover of and believer in the cause of African freedom, therefore, to do all in his power to prevent the calamity and ensure that the Congress shall emerge triumphantly from this crisis. We shall win if we

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we follow and diligently carry out the instructions and directives of the Conference and National Executive Committee of our Congress.

(b) Political Review. The March to Fascism.

After six years of Nationalist rule fascism has arrived in South Africa. The first five of the six years were occupied in the building of the legal framework of the naked police state. After sweeping to power on a wave of intensified racialist propaganda, the Nationalist machine set to work. The reactionary anti-people legislation inherited from former South African regimes was made more efficient. What have been mere practices before, were transformed into rules of law, and measures previously scattered in different Acts of Parliament were consolidated, because- into single comprehensive species of legislation. These laws were comprehensive not because they detailed and defined laws, but because they left all powers of making laws to individual Ministers. Into this category came the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Population Registration Act, the Native Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Native Resettlement Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. In the last Act, the Nationalist Government, following the Hitler pattern, prepared the legal machinery for crushing the most militant opponents of their rule, the working class and national liberatory organisation. Fascism does not arise until conditions call for it. It arises when the ruling class can no longer look forward to unlimited profit and to acquiescent people willing to be exploited. As the political consciousness of the people grows and their organisations become more mature and effective in their struggles for economic and

and political rights, the ruling class drops the methods of peaceful flattery, promises and bribery and employ force as the ordinary means of enforcing their rule. It is true that force is always there, but before the rise of fascism force is resorted to in times of crises. Under fascism the crisis becomes a permanent feature of life and force and intimidation become the ordinary, everyday method of rule. Here in South Africa the methods of the Nationalist Party Government arose, which the ruling class must continue to use increasingly in its fight against the people. As the acts passed in the first five years of Nationalist rule were not achieving their purpose, and the non-European liberation organisations were stemming the tide of Nationalist onslaught, more Acts of Parliament and administrative orders and regulations became necessary. More amendments to the Urban Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Land and Trust Act, Urban Bantu Authorities Act and others. Finally the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act were passed to meet the situation created by the historic campaign for the defiance of unjust laws. The Nationalists have acted in complete disregard and contempt of the rule of law and the rights of Parliament. In the Public Safety Act they made provision for the Executive, when it deems necessary, to declare a state of emergency to suspend all laws and assume dictatorial powers. Today there are more reactionary laws, the Schoeman anti-labour laws, the Verwoerd notorious Bantu Education Act and streamlined Trust Regulations. Meetings are totally banned in rural areas, and virtually banned in urban areas. The foremost leaders of the national liberation organisations and leaders of Trade Unions

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have been banned from political activity. Persons have been exiled and deported without trial and without regard to the welfare of their families. Newspapers have been banned, fighters for freedom have been convicted for protesting against unjust laws, armed police intimidate people at meetings and homes, raids and searches are now commonplace, and to crown it all our Secretary-General has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment with compulsory labour for a crime unique in history, namely attending a gathering in order to partake of or be present while others partake of refreshment (in the nature of tea and/or edibles and/or a meal). Yes, fascism has indeed arrived in South Africa. What has been the reaction of the people to it? On the Parliamentary front there has been no opposition to the Nationalist at all. There has been not even an attempt or formal protest on the part of the United Party in particular. This is understandable. As the representative of an important segment of the ruling class, this party could not very well oppose the anti-popular legislation. The groups represented by the United Party in their shortsightedness acquiesced to the reactionary policies of the Nationalists, crude as they were. The policy of the official opposition in Parliament can therefore be deemed as one of surrender all along the line. The same may be said of the Liberals under the former trade unions. Although they did now and again give expression to the formal protest against isolated acts of Nationalist tyranny, they have made no attempt to actually resist the onslaught of the fascists outside parliament. Not only did the Liberals and those of their kind encourage the illusion of social change through parliament among themselves, but they spread the illusion even among those who have no parliamentary rights

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at all. The one major force which has fought the Government consistently and organised the people against fascism has been the African National Congress and its allies. No action of the Government, no matter against which group it has been directed has not evoked condemnation and resistance from the forces allied to and under the leadership of the African National Congress. In this connection we recall the freedom strike in the Transvaal on the 1st of May, 1950, the first nationwide political strike on the 26th of June, 1950, The Cape Coloured protest strike on the 7th of May, 1951, the Witsieshoek clash in November, 1950 where thirteen Africans were killed, nine committed to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to five years, the demonstration of 100,000 people on the 6th of April 1952 against three hundred years of White domination, the most historic Defiance Campaign which began on the 26th of June, 1952- a day which has truly become a national day for all South Africa, and a day on which we remember all those who laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa, a day of re-dedication and pledge. The Defiance Campaign in particular is not only the most important event of this period but was the highest form of struggle ever undertaken in South Africa. It produced a solid and strong democratic front between Africans and other oppressed groups. It indeed changed ^{the} political situation in the Country. In these political struggles, two other important things happened.

1. The African National Congress became recognised and accepted by all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals in this country as the true voice and leader in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.
2. June 26th was set aside as a national day, a day on

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which fighters for freedom remembered all those heroes who laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa, a day of re-dedication and pledge.

Wrong Views. All fighters for freedom are warned against the danger of underestimating and minimising the fascist beast and to falling victim to the propaganda of the enemy and enemy agents. The enemy and his agents are not only brutal and ruthless, but also cunning, deceitful and brazen. They do not hesitate to exploit the basest and meanest prejudice or racial or sectional differences and fear. No lie is too big or too terrible for them. They will use any dirty or nasty thing in order to achieve their purpose of dividing, confusing and rendering their opponents impotent. He who repeats to Congressmen the ideas and propaganda of the enemy is undermining the cause for which the Congress stands. The African National Congress stands for freedom, equality and justice for all, irrespective of race, colour or prejudice. Having described the six years of Nationalist rule as a period of determined effort to destroy everything democratic and progressive in the political, economic and social life of South Africa, and having cited the long list of obnoxious and iniquitous laws which added to existing oppressive and discriminatory laws form a massive wall of dark reaction and cruelty, we should also show the reverse side of the picture, the credit side, as it were. Apart from the wealth of experience that we ^{now} possess, our cause has now gained an army of some 10,000 Volunteers, men, women upon whom the cause of African freedom has been indelibly imprinted. Furthermore these six years of struggle have created a general political consciousness among the mass of the people. They have given us a Luthuli. The year 1954 was the year for the preparation for a new period, a

a period for the changing of tactics, a period for an advanced form of organisation to prepare for advanced forms of struggle. The Congress of the People and the Resist Apartheid Campaigns are the two Campaigns on which to base our future struggle. The Resist Apartheid Campaign is an issue on which we mobilise our forces in the sense of our right and our organisation. On the other hand, the Congress of the People Campaign will open a new phase, another turning point in the history of our country, when, for the first time, a people's charter should be drawn up by the masses of all walks of life and from all racial groups in the country. A Charter of a new South Africa. We are striving to bring to the masses of our Country the vision of a new South Africa, a South Africa wherein there shall be no starvation and in which racial antagonism will be eliminated and all alike who share in the natural resources and prosperity of the country. While it is dangerous to underestimate fascism and the power of the ruling class generally, it is equally dangerous to overestimate the power and popularity of these reactionary and barbaric hordes. No force is more powerful than the power and will of the people. If the people are organised and united, their power is invincible. The organised power and united action of the people will defeat the fascist demon in South Africa. We must therefore organise the people properly, and activate them and lead them against the forces of fascism and reaction.

Widen the Anti-Fascism front. We know that in every country where the fascists came to power they did so because the masses of the people did not wage determined struggles against those fascists. And in some instances as in Germany and Italy because the masses of the people support-

ted them. Here in South Africa too, the fascists came to power because the mass of those who have political rights, those who decide government and administrators supported our local fascists. Fascism came to South Africa as a result of an electoral majority in an election in which non-Europeans have no say. From the point of view of the ballot box therefore, the non-Europeans can do nothing to their overlords and tyrants, yet all concerned can successfully resist and defeat these oppressors. They must be fought outside parliament, in the towns, on the farms, in the economic, political and industrial spheres. They must be fought everywhere. The policy of the African National Congress in this connection is inter-racial cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality. The policy of the African National Congress is proclaimed boldly to all interested groups and organisations and to the world at large. Our policy is co-operating with other racial groups through their national organisations, and has made great strides and constitutes a very real threat to the present regime, which is anchored on the idea of racial exclusiveness and domination. In the fight against fascism we must see to it that more and more of the other groups are part and parcel of the struggle. The Africans as the leading element in this alliance must do all they can to see that the Coloureds are really part of the fight, similarly with the Europeans. The Indian People led by the South African Indian Congress and inspired by that tried and tested leader, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, are old and trusted allies. We hope that the vigorous and active, though small, Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation will grow strong and swing more representative groups among their respective

people to our side."

"Part Two. International Situation."

"the African National Congress as a leading political organisation in the country and a representative of the people of South Africa, has a foreign policy opposed to that of the Government who represent less than 20% of the country's population. The White rulers in South Africa support the war aims, imperialism, and white domination. During the Second World War, the President-General of the African National Congress appointed a special committee in 1943 to examine the place of an African in the post-war period and in the light of the Atlantic Charter. The document drawn up by the Committee covered the international and national policy of the African National Congress, which was unanimously adopted at the National Conference in December, 1945, and finally published in a booklet entitled 'African Claims in South Africa'. This policy has been endorsed by the successive Presidents of the African National Congress and was sharply raised by Luthuli's Presidential Address last year. The cardinal points of our foreign policy are, opposition to war and a uncompromising stand for world peace, and opposition to colonialism and white domination. Africa, the second-largest continent with its 200 million people and richly endowed by natural resources is ruled over by no less than six colonial powers. These powers are counted amongst the greatest powers in the world. Therefore the struggle to free South Africa and indeed all Africa is a serious problem that will mean a struggle against six major imperialist nations and their satellites such as Malan, Roy Welensky, Blundell and others. This is a formidable prospect. And yet the dynamics of history say that the

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imperialists are doomed to ignominious defeat at the hands of the oppressed Africans. Already the whole continent is awakened and is tramping the road to freedom. The nature of our programme, the forces ranged against us, mean that the freedom of Africa can never be a local problem- an internal or domestic affair. However we look at it, the freedom of Africa is an international question. It is true, the struggle will only be fought by the Africans themselves under their own independent leadership but they will have to keep a very clear eye open for international developments detrimental or advantageous to us. We must look for allies and without going any further we must ask ourselves the following regarding any prospective ally:

- (i) Is this Country or group in the imperialist camp or in the anti-imperialist camp?
- (ii) Is this Country or group for equality or for racial discrimination?
- (iii) Is this Country or group pro-African or anti-African freedom?
- (iv) Is this Country or group anti-colonialism?

On the answer to all these questions we will base our attitude to any country. As you all know, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 sharply focussed the attention of the United Nations on the problem of racial/discrimination in South Africa.

We once more wish to record our highest appreciation to the United Nations Organisation for the continuous support it has given us, particularly do we want to do so to the United Nations Commission on racial discrimination in South Africa and those countries who have supported our cause despite strong opposition from the imperialist countries, who are in league with South Africa. We are aware of the reasons for this attitude on the part of the imperialist coun-

tries. The liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial people will bring an end to the huge profits they are making through the cruel exploitation of subject peoples. The expulsion of colonial powers in the great land of Asia is a source of inspiration to the African people. The emergence of the two great powers in this continent, China and India, both enemies of war and imperialism, have shattered the hopes of the imperialist powers and made their rule impossible even under the military might of the United States of America, Great Britain and France. We have year in year out expressed our great concern over imperialist wars in Indo-China and Malaya. We now not only enthusiastically salute the victorious struggle of the Viet Minh against the powerful imperialists of France and America but have every reason to celebrate this victory and the end of the war in this part of South-East Asia. Yet, friends, the brutal wars are still being waged in Malaya, Kenya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco-- all of which are in the continent of Africa except Malaya. We express our solidarity and sympathy with these countries in bitter and bloody struggle, not excluding the people in British Guiana and other oppressed peoples in other parts of the world. We call upon the British and French Governments to withdraw their armed forces and to release the gaoled leaders and thus pave the way for permanent peace in the world. We appeal to the civilised world, to all democracies and peaceloving peoples to call for an immediate peace in Kenya and other affected places, to save innocent and defenceless people from the horrors of war."

"Africa and World Peace. The rise of the national liberation movements in Asia and the Pacific regions and the loss of those vast countries as war bases and centres for invest-

ment has forced the imperial powers to turn their eyes on Africa. Here the imperial powers of Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain have either their chief or their only colonial dependencies. The rivalries amongst these colonial powers contain the seed of an extremely dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa. To protect their markets and investments, to crush the national liberation movements and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa and to ensure an abundant cheap labour supply, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent. America has land, sea and air bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia. There are British military bases in Egypt, East Africa, Somaliland and the Sudan. The Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean in 1944 writing in 'Optima' of June, 1953 a quarterly review published by the Anglo-American Corporation, put the matter very clearly: 'The spread of Communism to China and the uncertain political situation in other countries in the Far East are bound to have the effect of contracting the sources of supply of certain raw materials necessary for the manufacture of armaments, which will result in the intensification of prospecting and development in Africa.' According to him, the role of the two Rhodesias and Kenya, should be to protect and develop sea communications, to be ready to send forces overseas and to develop its industries to maximum capacity for war needs. To do this, he says, it will be necessary for the three colonies to come under one Central Command. In 1946 the "Rand Daily Mail" made the position equally clear: 'The British decision to quit Palestine, Burma's secession from the Commonwealth, the weakening of the ties with India and the uncertainty of Britain's

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tenure in Egypt have hastened the adoption of plans for a new Commonwealth defence system.....Kenya is the new Centre of Commonwealth defence and South Africa its arsenal". It will thus be seen that the struggle for national liberation is inextricably linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism. It will also be seen that the people of South Africa and of this continent will be the first victims of a future war, Their industries will produce armaments, their raw materials will be used not to develop their own economies but to destroy those of others. It is precisely because of this fact that the question of war and peace has become of immediate concern to us all. It is also because of this fact that we welcome the participation of our leaders in the Peace Movement. It is because of this dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa that we urge the widest section of our people to take up the cause of peace and to uphold it until the scourge of imperialism is vanquished from the face of the earth."

"Part Three, General Activities for the Year 1954".

"Congress of the People", The most important resolution of the 1953 Conference of the African National Congress was on the Congress of the People, which read: 'Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to make immediate preparations for the organisation of the Congress of the People of South Africa, whose task shall be to work out a Freedom Charter for all the true people and groups of the country. To this end the Conference urges the African National Congress Executive Committee to invite the National Executives of the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation or any other democratic organisation, for the purpose of placing before

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them the plan of the Congress and obtaining their co-operative support in creating a truly representative Convention of the Peoples of South Africa'. In terms of this resolution a Conference was called on the 21st March, 1954, at Tongati, Natal. In this Conference a sub-committee was appointed to draw up plans which subsequently were adopted, according to which a National Action Council for the Congress of the people was set up consisting of eight members from each sponsoring organisation. (See Annexure 'A').

The National Action Council on the recommendation of the African National Congress appointed Mr. T.E. Tshunungwa as National Organiser for the African National Congress. The full report of the activities of the Congress of the People which forms part of this report, is herewith attached and shall be read to Conference by Mr. T.E. Tshunungwa."

"The Western Areas Anti-Removal and Resist Apartheid Campaign."

At the meeting of the National Executive on the 17th-18th April, 1954, in Cleremont Township, Natal, the National Executive carefully considered after a full report by the Working Committee, the gravity of the situation created by the decision of the Nationalist Government to forcibly remove the non-European people from the Western Areas of Johannesburg. It came to the conclusion that the matter had assumed dimensions of national importance, and that the responsibilities of the Anti-Removal Campaign must be under the supervision of the National Executive itself, working through its agencies. It made an appeal to all sections of South Africa, Black and White, to unite and oppose by all means possible the cruel scheme of Dr. Verwoerd. On the 18th May, 1954, the National Executive of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.O.D. and the S.A.C.P.O.

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approved a plan of campaign now known as the 'Resist Apartheid Campaign' in terms of which was fixed the 26th-27th June as the Western Areas Day for Campaign and Solidarity throughout the country. On these days, meetings and conferences were called in Natal, Transvaal and the Cape Province. The President-General, Chief A.J. Luthuli, made a clarion call to the nation for 50,000 "freedom Volunteers", both for the Western Areas as well as for the Congress of the People. The response of the people and their very high spirit shocked the Government and showed a clear demonstration of the peoples' solidarity. The significance of the Western Areas Day was marked by the reaction of the entire ruling class press and comments of the people in the areas where meetings were held. The Resist Apartheid Campaign embodies all Apartheid measures, in particular:

1. Bantu Education;
2. Native Resettlement Act;
3. Pass Laws;
4. Group Areas Act;
5. Suppression of Communism Act;
6. Anti Trade Union Measures.....

.....

"Activities of National Officials.

It was significant that the Transkei should have been visited by the four leading officials of the African National Congress. This vast territory is the largest single unit occupied by the African peasants and has not been properly tackled by the African National Congress in the past. As a result of arrangements made by Mr. Sisulu during his tour of the Cape Province, a Conference was held on the 1st of May. Both Chief Luthuli, President-General and Dr. Conco, acting Treasurer-General visited Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, to attend this Conference. Due to the ban imposed on Chief Luthuli not to

attend public gatherings, Dr. Conco opened the Conference and a message from Chief Luthuli was read to the conference. Later the National Organiser visited the area. The tour of the Secretary-General was particularly successful in the Eastern Cape. A series of meetings were arranged for him, culminating in a big regional meeting at Veepplaats on Sunday, 28th March at which meeting close to £100 was collected apart from a sum of £22 collected by the Woman's Section. The Korsten Branch donated to the head office a new typewriter

"The National Executive wishes to express its appreciation to the Eastern Cape Region, Korsten Branch, Women's Section, and not forgetting Grahamstown, Cradock as well as Queenstown. The Provincial Conference of the Cape Province held at Uitenhage in June was opened by the President-General, whereat he made a call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers. The Secretary-General opened the National Conference of the African National Congress Youth League at Uitenhage at the same time. By far the most important visit of the year was that of the President-General to the Western Areas of Johannesburg, which is threatened with forcible removal by Dr. Verwoerd. On his arrival on the 10th July, at Jan Smuts Airport, he was served with a banning order, one of which prohibited him from attending public gatherings as from the time he received the order. Nevertheless, close to 10,000 people assembled at Sophiatown on the 11th July to meet a People's Leader. On the advice of the Working Committee, he did not personally address the gathering but his message was enthusiastically received, in which he said that the removal of the Western Areas was a testing ground in the implementation of the outrageous tyrannical apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. He called on all South Africans to consider no

sacrifice too great in opposition to this scheme. Other activities of the officials were Dr. Conco's visit to the Transvaal; The Transvaal President, Mr. Moretsele's visit to Natal; The Acting-President, Dr. Njongwe to the Western Areas; and the visit of the National Organiser to the Transvaal and to Natal. Apart from the visit of the National officials, it is recommended that the interchange of Provincial officials be encouraged."

"Bans. We have already referred to the banning and deportation orders but we must mention a number of leading officials who have been affected by these laws during the year. (For a list of banned people, see Annexure 'B'). Congress officials, Chief Luthuli, President-General; W.M. Sisulu, Secretary-General; Dr. J.L.Z. Njongwe, Acting-President, Cape Province; O.R. Thambo, Acting Secretary-General; R.M. Matji, Provincial Secretary, Cape; J. Motshabi, Provincial Secretary, Transvaal; M.B. Yengwa, Provincial Secretary, Natal; and J. Matthews, President of the African National Congress Youth League have been banned during the last year. The new method which the Government is using is that of deporting Congress leaders to some obscure corner of the country. This began with the deportation of Mr. Sibande from Bethal, the deportation of the Ficksburg Branch Secretary to Basutoland; during this year Mr. A.S. Gwentshe and Mr. J.M. Lengisi have been deported from East London to the Transvaal. Mr. Yengwa from Durban to Mapumolo. The National Executive recommends that the exiled, arrested and banned leaders continue to be regarded as leaders, provided that any conference --provided that at any conference a vote of confidence is passed on each and every one so that those whose activities are considered to be the detriment of the organisation do not hide behind the bans and may in fact be expelled."

"Part Four, Organisational Problems".

"The Scheme Envisaged".

- "(a) It should be based on small manageable units.
- (b) Several of these units should be united under and controlled by a sub-committee consisting of leaders of each unit.
- (c) Units sub-committees are to be responsible to branch committees.
- (d) All units/^{and units} sub-committees to be equipped with the knowledge necessary to enable them to carry out their duties and functions.
- (e) Branch committees to be responsible for seeing to it that all units and units sub-committees are activated and efficient.
- (f) Greater use to be made of the printed word, but where and when this becomes impossible to make use of the word of mouth.
- (g) Provincial Committees to be more alive and to exercise their supervisory and administrative control strictly and conscientiously.
- (h) Each member of a provincial committee to be personally responsible to the provincial committee for the proper and efficient functioning of a given branch and units and units sub-committees under the control of such branch.
- (i) Each member of the National Executive to take an active and leading part in the work of the provincial committee in his province.
- (j) For the purposes of proper and efficient administration each member of the National Executive to be given some aspect of our national life to study and periodically

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report on to the Executive. The National Executive to pay special attention to the work and activities of the provinces.

Now how are we going to begin, how are we going to start remedying the weakness mentioned above? The answer to this question lies in the hands of the delegates at this Conference. However, whilst recognising that the remedy lies with this Conference, your Executive offers the following recommendations

1. That Conferences should adopt the re-organisation scheme suggested above and instruct the provinces to act upon it early in the new year.
2. (a) That every secretary of the African National Congress from the highest to the lowest must undertake a compulsory course of training for at least three months.
- (b) That every member of the Executive must undertake a course of theoretical, political and organisational training for at least two months.
- (c) That every Freedom Volunteer must take a course of political and organisational training for at least one month.
- (d) That before elections are conducted members must be informed of these conditions."
4. That anybody who deliberately distorts or undermines the policy and decisions of the Congress should be dealt with immediately.
5. That it be the accepted duty of all branches to build up a powerful mass youth organisation which must be subordinate to the branch and also the women's section.

Lectures for courses mentioned above already available, and provinces are asked to place their orders. In conclusion, Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are placing this Report before you for most careful attention and

consideration. We have implicit faith in this assembly of delegates who have come from all corners of South Africa, and we are fully confident that from their deliberations there will emerge concrete and far reaching decisions which will raise the organisational efficiency, and with it the political effectiveness, of the African National Congress, and thus place the liberatory movement and the progressive forces on the path to inevitable victory. Friends, you are all aware that Mr. Strijdom, the fanatic of the Nationalist regime, has replaced Dr. Malan and displaced Mr. Havenga. Thus the predictions of your leaders have once again proved true—as we have warned you before, we are heading for a fully fledged fascist state not unlike the Hitlerite regime in Germany. The Strijdom-Verwoerd-Swart combination is possibly the greatest political misfortune that has ever befallen this unhappy land. We can now promise you nothing but greater hardships, more forced labour, bannings and deportations on an unprecedented scale, concentration camps, a suspension of the rule of law and other manifestations of the principle of "government by brutal force", which will apply as much to the non-European people as to the non-Nationalist European people of this country. There can be no doubt that the salvation of the people of South Africa today lies with the mighty strength of the African National Congress and its allies and in the knowledge that history and the world are on our side, and provided we are determined to resist fascism and increase the pace of our march, we must see victory and freedom within our lifetime. Long live our banned leaders! Long live the Liberatory Movement!"

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SCHEDULE NO. 15.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF E.P. MORETSELE AT
THE ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE A.N.C. TVL. 1954.

"Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen. This Forty-Second session of the African National Congress (Transvaal) assembles at a time when the struggle for national liberation and independence has assumed dimensions hitherto unknown in the annals of the fight between the oppressor and the oppressed. The world over, the oppressed peoples have come out in open defiance of their enemies. On the other hand, we witness attempts by the reactionary imperialist powers under the influence and leadership of American imperialism to plunge the world into another blood-bath, that will bring nothing but death, misery and starvation to suffering humanity. With this object in view, the imperialist-capitalist powers are intensifying their oppression and exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial masses. The enslaved masses everywhere are very much indebted to the progressive powers such as the U.S.S.R., China, the new Democracies and India for the role they are playing in international politics. Were it not for their existence, together with the peace and freedom-loving peoples of the world, then slavery would have been the order of the day in every colonial and dependent country. Needless to say, that the subject people of South Africa, who are today living under semi-fascist conditions, would have been in a much more hopeless position. It must be understood that our salvation is linked with that of oppressed and freedom-loving peoples of the world. My reference, in this address, to the international situation is to re-assure you that South Africa is part and parcel of the world and not^a unique and mysterious piece of land that has very little or nothing in common with the rest of the world,

as Dr. Malan and his clique would want the civilised world to believe."

South Africa

"The position of the non-European in general and that of the Africans in particular has never been a happy one in South Africa. But with the advent to power of the Nationalists, this position has been very much aggravated. There is no fundamental difference in policy between the present and past Government--be they Nationalist or United Party. The policy of all White South African Governments has been, and still is, that of keeping the African in a state of perpetual subjugation. In other words, the African is treated like a beast of burden and must remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water until doomsday. It is against these ignominious policies that the A.N.C. is leading the millions of toilers onto their national emancipation. Because of the evergrowing consciousness of the people coupled with the effective leadership given by the African National Congress, the Government in their fear of the masses, have decided to unleash various forms of terror with a view to intimidating and breaking up the organisation of the people. At this juncture it behoves me to remind you that--in what circumstances I have been elevated to the Presidency of the A.N.C. (Tvl.) It was only after your democratically elected leaders such as Nelson Mandela, David Bopape, J.B. Marks and others were gagged and commanded by the "almighty" Swart, Minister of Justice, to resign from the A.N.C. and never to become members again, that you called upon me to take up the leadership. Since then, I have tried to execute my duties to the best of my ability. This attack on your leaders and organisation does not show signs of abating. On the contrary, it is being intensified. Daily, more and more of the leaders of the A.N.C. are being removed against the will of the people. Swart has gone so far as to ban Chief Luthuli, our President-General, and has confined him to the lower Tugela.

Not satisfied with the banning, the Minister has now banished from their places of domicile three of the noblest Sons of Africa, namely Gwentshe, Longigi and Yengwa. They have been torn away from their families and sent to some of the remotest parts of the Union of South Africa, and made to live under the most primitive conditions. The Government is aiming at removing progressive leadership and outlawing progressive organisations, such as the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation and, last but not least, the Congress of Democrats. The Malan Government derives its support from the most politically backward and reactionary section of the white electorate in this country, the big farmers and land-lords. This section of the white community has swallowed, hook, line and sinker, the Government's policy of apartheid which is oppressive in form and in content. The results of the recent Provincial Elections were disappointing but not surprising. They exposed the political shallowness of the electorate, and their readiness to fall victim to the clever demogagy of the Nationalist politicians. They are running away from reality and civilisation. Because of these and other successes, the Government has become bolder in forging ahead with its plot to transform South Africa into a police state. In this "triumphant" march towards fascism, the so-called White opposition has collapsed. So now the only effective opposition to the Government are the national movements and their allies. Theirs is to grapple with the potential fascist beast to the bitter end. The Government of the day has attacked the African in all walks of life: their general attitude is characterised by the following legislative measures."

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"Our Tasks". "The President-General, Chief Luthuli, on the occasion of his ban in Sophiatown, made an appeal to the country for volunteers to organise Congress and to stop the Western Areas Removal Scheme of Dr. Verwoerd and company. This call must receive the full response and support of every branch of the A.N.C. throughout the Transvaal. Where necessary, every member of the A.N.C. should become a volunteer. The Transvaal should give at least 25,000 volunteers. Another significant political development in the country is the call issued by the A.N.C., calling for a Congress of all the people of South Africa, irrespective of their nationalities. This call is being supported by the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation, and the Congress of Democrats. This Congress must lay the bases for the co-operation of all the peoples of South Africa. The Government has provoked and attacked, but we have remained disciplined. In other words, we have not allowed the Government to choose the time, the place, and battle-ground for us. Today, I say to the African people: Intensify your organisation, and stand by awaiting instructions."

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"It is normal procedure at the beginning of each year to take stock of the events of the preceding year, the triumphs and victories, disappointments and broken hopes. In other words, it is customary to hold a post mortem and present the findings of the relevant and interested parties. But I shall do no such thing, for to do so in this journal would be to underrate the effect of an ancient past on an unhappy position in which we find ourselves. Also, there is a view covering only the immediate past years, would have to be counter-balanced by a vision extending only to the end of the present year. Let us then, sons and daughters of Africa, hold a post mortem upon the whole sordid history of colonialism and imperialism in our beloved Motherland, in order the better to be able to counter-balance the path of inspired vision of a distant future when the sacred soil should have gone back to the tiller. Glancing back in the past, delving back into the far-off past, we can picture the South Africa of 302 years ago. It was only 1 year and 9 months since Johan van Riebeeck had landed at the Cape, ostensibly to erect only a refreshing and replenishing station with no ulterior motive, seeking not to enslave and rob any man of what is his, but to cultivate fresh vegetables and 'buy sheep and cattle from the savages with no fixed abode who roamed the country by the great sea-waters'. Thus one of the numerous talons of the octopus, that is, white civilization, found a foothold on our beloved motherland, Africa. Thus began an era of plunder

usurpation, of looting and robbing, of deceit and deception, as ever the world has known or is likely ever to know. Throughout two centuries the greedy and blood-thirsty nations of Europe, led by the Islands of Britain, unleashed a campaign of subjugation that Africa never shall forget. It was against countries far ahead in the science of war and disregard for human life that Africa was initiated into a new way of life. Resistance to tyranny and refusal to be wiped out of existence as a people. This tragedy and drama that is Africa's history, becomes the more remarkable when we consider the fact that in the old order of African society, when a man was a man, and as such had his duties, responsibilities and obligations to his fellow-men, it was the tillers of the soil, the herdsmen and shepherds, who pitted their strength against the armies who killed and battled, not for the freedom of mankind, nor for the prosperity of all humanity, but to loot and plunder and a few pieces of silver and gold per day. It was against these paid murderers, coming from generations of professional debased human beings, the renegades and moral refuge of England, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, Belgium and France, that the sons of Africa took up arms to preserve their way of life, their homes and families and their religion, their green pastures that teemed with wild game. Even, when cold logic, superiority of arms, the neverending stream of missionaries, decreed that Africa shall be destroyed, its inhabitants shall be enslaved, its way of life shall die, the people by their resistance declared that 'I will not die, I will live'. In this year of 1954, 302 years since imperialist

business, the people are fighting back. This is the story which imperialist organs will never reveal."

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Article, "Why Colonial Day of February 21st?":-

"On February 21st, 1946, the Indian sailors in Bombay took to arms and revolted against the British colonisers. As a consequence of this revolt, a series of similar revolts took place in the army, the airforce and the Indian police force. Brutal British colonial repression resulted in workers, and students revolting as well. Strikes and demonstrations took place throughout India. These events are considered by the Indian people as a stage in their fight for national independence, which they now enjoy. On February 21st, 1947, 20,000 students demonstrated in Cairo on that day for the withdrawal of British troops. This demonstration was a reply of the Egyptian youth to the bloody repression employed by the British against the patriots who fought against British military occupation. Many youths were injured in the fights that took place, but this demonstration was a set-back to oppression which withered and became powerless in the face of the united forces of the people. On February 21st, 1948, the Conference of youth and students of South-East Asia proclaimed this date, the day of 'international day of struggle against colonialism and solidarity with the youth of colonial countries'. This conference which was convened by the .F.D.Y. and the I.U.S. decided to commemorate this day annually among the youth of the whole world as a symbol of unity in the fight against colonialism. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has always raised its voice and fought against

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"Dear Sir Winston Churchill,

We are not at all astonished by your beliefs and outlooks towards your fellow men. We take into account that you are a product of the Victorian Era, that despicable and debased period during which hordes of mercenaries set off on a robbing and pillaging spree that ever was foisted on an unsuspecting world, particularly Africa, Asia and America. You can therefore expect to convince no one but yourself, and dupe no one, but those of your morally degenerate brothers and sisters, who in any case are beyond redemption, who have been brought up to look on with equanimity and like you, to even take part. Remember Sudan, South Africa, where you took part? - whilst everything that man cherishes, his land, his freedom, is stolen and trampled underfoot. Having seen and tasted all this, we the African Youth, emphatically declare that we desire to see no extension of that rotten kind of life to any other people in the world. We would, therefore, you leave the people of Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and Guiana in peace. Further, we deem it no recommendation for your upbringing that an old man like yourself, who by now ought to know better, still encouraging, propagating and defending that rotten way of life that has splayed the world for the last five centuries. It is meant the establishment of just laws administered by impartial tribunals, you say. This after the Evelyn Baring, George Erskine, Thackeray mockery of justice in Kenyatta's case, and the continued negation of justice in Kenya.".....

"As mere human beings you can be forced to terms, and the world of the oppressed is doing just that and more. They

are shaking the imperialistic shackles from their bruised and bleeding wrists and ankles. If you don't believe that, ask your comrade in crime, France, and the two of you just look at Malaya, Indo-China, Kenya, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Nigeria. The writing is on the wall in big luminous letters. To the Youth of the Colonial slave countries we say, 'youth mark this, though the grown-up people might only work for a span of life that is ahead, we are but on the threshold of life. Whether or not our old age, our last day of life will be spent in the jungles of Malaya and the swamps of Vietnam, in the hovels and slums of Algiers, Kampala, Nairobi or the forest of Kera-Nianga, in the alleys of Vrededorp or the stinking insanitary tin shacks of Maroko, depends on our efforts, and our efforts only'."

.....

"And so the war in Kenya still goes on. The history of this legalised murder of innocent Kikuyu people should always be borne in mind, particularly by the vanguard of the struggle for liberation in this country. If we do so, we shall learn a lot about the dirty tricks to which imperialists can stoop in order to destroy the struggle of freedom loving people, and we need to be alert."

.....

"History is being made in Kenya. It is indeed the history of White civilization. It is a history of brutality and blood. It is a blank blood-stained page in British history, which in the humane society of the future, will make very sad reading. It is the history of imperialism in decay. How are the defenceless people of Kenya defending themselves against this barbarism set loose? They are using all methods that a people in their position must necessarily resort to. Retaliation, strikes, boycott of

contamination defiled our sacred motherland, we have a rich and glorious past to draw inspiration from. Our task is by no means an easy one. This year, more than the past, will see an intensified effort on the part of the ungodly to make yet another concentrated effort to render a deathblow to our aspirations for brotherhood and comradeship of mankind. The renegade, the coward, the loyal Natives amongst us, those out of whom years of oppression and corruption have knocked out all sense of manhood, will call from the wilderness for compromise, for respite, for bargaining with the enemies of Africa and all that she stands for. From their ivory towers they shall extoll the people to take the sacred 'sic' promises of the unsacred. No one of the slightest knowledge of the tragedy that has befallen compromisers and relenters, can fail to appreciate the futility and danger of placing any trust in the word of those who hurt us 'for our own good'. The Youth will have to give a straight-forward and practical answer at this conference, not only by passing the resolutions, but by painstakingly translating those resolutions into hard facts, thus giving our reply to Mr. W.M. Sisulu's injunction to 'make 1954 a year of mass youth activity, to wipe out fascism from the country of our birth.' The answer of the youth to the challenge of 1954 is simply this, to refuse to admit the existence of the word 'impossible', expunge it from the dictionary, and because they refuse to admit it, make the otherwise impossible fact, freedom in our life-time,

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colonialism. It therefore adopted February 21st as an official day in its calendar. The second World Congress of the Y.W.D.Y. held in Budapest in 1949, recognised the established tradition of this day and ratified it as an international day to be celebrated by all young people. The greatest of all colonial youth day celebrations in South Africa took place in Alexandra Township on February 21st, 1953, convened jointly by the African National Congress Youth Leagues. On this memorable day more than 20,000 youth of all races staged a tremendous welcome to President of the people, A.J. Luthuli on his first official visit to the Transvaal. During colonial youth day week meetings of solidarity were held in support of the youth of Kenya, Malaya and Vietnam. Scores of postcards pledging solidarity were also sent to that venerable leader of the African people in Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. Every year on February 21st the World Federation of Democratic Youth calls upon the youth of colonial countries to fight for their national independence. It calls too on the youth of the metropolitan countries to oppose colonialist crimes and to express solidarity with the youth of the oppressed peoples. Long live the W.F.D.Y., Long live the national liberation movements of the peoples for the liberation of mankind."

.....

"Whatever the Northern boundaries of Southern Africa is stated to be, there is no denying the geographical unity of the Union of South Africa, South West Africa, Portugese East Africa and the Protectorates. The recent annexation of South West Africa by the Government of Malan was opposed not only by the outside world but also by all politically conscious Africans. The opposition was not based on the denial of the geographical oneness of the two regions, nor

even on a belief that a political identity of each must be forever maintained, but simply on the score that the baasskap leadership of South Africa, has no claims to bringing about that unity. Such a unity is known to mean the intensification of the oppression and the exploitation of the Africans. It is upon grounds such as these that the incorporation of the Protectorates is unacceptable to the African people. The political status of these areas is by no means the embodiment of the ultimate wishes of the African people. At a given stage in the political development the African people asked for Britain's protection. The revolt of the Basutu against measures to disarm them, that of the Bechuana against the deposition of their hereditary ruler, as well as the swallowing up of vast tracts of land by European land speculators in Swaziland, are all positive demonstrations of the fact that the people are in sore need of protection from the protecting powers. The fact that the cheap labour of the mines and farms comes largely from these protectorates and Mocambique, emphasise the economic unity of South Africa. As reservoirs of the Union's cheap labour policy, these areas are nothing more than colonies of South Africa. The position today, therefore, is simply that the Africans in these areas are the victims of blatant and merciless colonial oppression and exploitation. The chief colonial oppressors are the British, Portugese and the South African Herrenvolk. South Africa is legally an independent country. Politically it is a semi-colonial fascist state with semi-colonial status. The struggle against colonialism must be brought to its historic conclusion, especially throughout Britain's third empire, Africa."

"In memory of the gallant sons of Africa". It deals with the sinking of a war-ship on February 21st, 1917, in which a number of African youths were drowned, and it says:

"They were going to fight in the first World War of 1918 against German Imperialism. They died helplessly in defence of love, friendship and peace for mankind the world over. Today as we celebrate colonial youth day, the youth must remember those gallant sons of Africa who laid down their lives for an ideal which the youth of today are struggling to achieve throughout the world. In paying tribute to those gallant sons of Africa, the youth today must take an example from them to fight the forces of fascism, which are now facing us in our country. We warn the imperialist war-mongering nations today, that in any future war that purports to promote imperialism and capitalism, we shall not fight."

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AFRICAN LODESTAR.

ARTICLE: "1955 - THE YEAR OF DECISION".

"The decision of the Nationalists to carry on with the removal of the Western Areas and to enforce the notorious Bantu Education, has ushered in a new situation in this country; a situation characterised by:

- (a) The sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressive group headed by the Nationalists on the one hand and the oppressed masses headed by the Congress Movement on the other hand.
- (b) The tremendous upsurge of political consciousness amongst the masses.

These conflicting tendencies - progressive and anti-progressive could not but be intensified at such a stage - when the Nationalist bandits have set at top gear their repressive machinery; when their full-fledged police-state with its terror and violence has become a hindrance to the further development of the country, and when the masses of the people have reached a point of NO RETREAT.

The elimination of the Nationalist fascists - hangmen of the people, is the major task of the day - it is a just cause in the interests of human dignity, justice and peace. But it will take the best sons and daughters of this country to do it.

What then are the obvious tasks of a militant Youth Movement in such a situation - in a situation when 'protests' and 'demonstration' can be more or less regarded as impotent; when to speak of 'opposition' without following up by action' has become meaningless?

The new tasks facing the Youth are inseparable from the demands of the situation. We will only be able to stand the only when we can analyse and appreciate the day to day changes and orientate our actions accordingly.

Hence today arise the burning need, firstly to be in a state of preparedness for the approaching conflict between the progressive and retrogressive forces, and secondly the need to keep in pace with, and develop the ever-growing political consciousness of the masses. These two tasks are in fact closely inter-related - one can never improve the organisational state of preparedness without arousing the political consciousness of the people. Up to now our organisational weakness lies precisely in the fact that we have the tendency of lagging behind the masses. Such issues like the fight against rent increases are clear example of tailism on our part, i.e., the attitude of leaving the fight in the hands of opportunistic 'anti-rent' committees. We must always be in the vanguard and take up all issues without, of course, necessarily eliminating alliance and co-operation of non-Congressites. Only by so doing will we be able to gain the confidence of the people - will we be able to isolate opportunists and careerists.

The specific role of the Youth will be fully fulfilled only if we fight on two fronts: On the one hand serve as the spear-head and shock-brigade of the Liberation Movement and on the other hand broaden as wide as possible the base of the Youth Movement itself. It is only a broad, disciplined Youth Front which can successfully serve as propagandists, agitators and organisers for the Liberation Movement.

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Verwoerd's 'Bantu Education' and the slave-labour Youth Camps provide good agitational platforms to rally the broad masses of the Youth and Students/and nurses are showing in the fight against segregated and inferior education must be exploited and developed. The high-school students, in particular, must be used as organisers for the withdrawal of children from Verwoerd's schools, whilst the introduction of Apartheid to the Universities can be used to rally and link up the struggle against fascism with the participation of even non-African students. The fight against the Youth Camps - the twin brother of Bantu Education as applied to the working Youth must go in hand with the fight against the Pass -- the Pass is, in fact, the key-factor in determining the functioning of such labour camps -- It enables the police to 'pick out' the 'unemployed' which means in fact smelling out of the so-called 'foreign natives' - 'foreign to decent standards of living.

My emphasis on the need for fighting specific issues, to start with of course in conflict with the sensationalist attitude of 'fighting the whole system'. The first step as far as we are concerned is to show the masses that the 'removal scheme' is robbery raised to the second power - then to show the people how the 'Group Areas' have been deliberately coined to rob the people of property rights thus rendering them propertyless victims to be pass-ganged into the army of cheap labour. They will link up for themselves the function of the Pass, the beer-raids in this general oppressive machinery.

Let us realise therefore, friends, that the success or failure of the onward and upward march will

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depend not only on courage and militancy but also on our ability to maintain iron discipline, and to have the broadest links with the people. Let us realise that we shall achieve all this by getting out of the offices, by seeing to it that committee meetings are of a reportage nature. Let us go to the people. The masses of the Youth in the locations are ready to throw away the 'reference books'. They are only waiting for our lead."

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT.

The most urgent problem which faces the democratic youth of our country is the problem of raising their political understanding.

Many of our youth, particularly the student youth and the intellectuals, find it difficult to participate fully in the struggle of the people because they find it difficult to solve the ideological problems which sometimes confront them in the struggle. Some of our working youth, who are our best cadres and activists, sometimes fail to show a proper understanding of the nature of the liberation movement. Many of our youth still shout for action, believing that if we have action today, to-morrow will see the establishment of true democracy in our country. But this is not so. The fight for liberation is a long and difficult task, particularly because it must be waged on many fronts and it must solve many problems. The imperialists and their fascist lackeys are fighting a desperate battle on all fronts today, precisely because they are fighting with their backs to the wall.

Vigilance is therefore an essential characteristic of those who are politically conscious.

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What then, is the position on the ideological front? Ideas and ideologies do not come from nowhere or from some mysterious source. They are closely related to the society from which they spring. In fact the dominant ideas in any society are the ideas of a particular group, i.e., the dominant group in that society.

The most dominant ideology in South Africa is the ideology of Apartheid. Its most uncompromising and racist advocates are the Verwoerds and the Strijdoms. But although the voices of this clique are the shrillest, these men are by no means soloists. For their song is echoed in a more or less discordant style by the Strausses, some ministers of religion, buffoons and downright criminals. This is indeed a mixed gathering, and it is exactly its colourfulness which exposes the emptiness and utter bankruptcy of this ideology of Apartheid. All this crowd, however dissimilar they might appear, are united in upholding Apartheid as the last word in Western Civilisation, although each has his own idea as to what Apartheid really means.

Of course, these parasites have a vital interest in a philosophy which justifies the enslavement of the African people. Make no mistake about it - the destruction of the evil philosophy of Apartheid means the destruction of these.

It is interesting that there is an extension of this philosophy even among non-Europeans and Africans. I am referring to those persons, who, before they became careerists, formed the right-wing of the liberation movement - the national-minded bloc - or pure African Nationalists. These are the people who have suddenly discovered that the

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African people have gone Red, that the African National Congress is a Communist-led organisation. From this position of pure African Nationalism, these men and women find their words coinciding remarkably with those of the police and the Swartses. Naturally enough, these poor dupes always end up as spies and political pimps.

Then there is the ideology of Liberalism and the Liberal Party. For all their tearfulness (Cry, Cry, the Beloved Country) and sympathy, the Liberals do not really believe that this system under which the people live and which has given birth to Apartheid, is evil and should be destroyed. The Liberals are a very hard-working people with a healthy eye for facts and yet more facts. They have produced some really valuable literature both factual and fictitious. They have a good understanding of the miserable lives of the Africans.

And yet the Liberals are not interested in changing and destroying the system under which the Africans live. They are only interested in reforming it. Instead of no representation, they want Africans to be represented by six white men in Parliament. Instead of the 'Verwoerd Prayer Book Pass' they would have 'exemption Passes'. The Liberals seriously believed that the Africans must wait patiently whilst they, the Liberals, reform the system. The Liberals want the African people to look on whilst the Liberals argue about the oppression of the African people with the fascists of South Africa.

The Ideology of Liberalism is doomed to fail. It will fail because it is wrong; it is wrong chiefly because it is out-of-date. It is a political anachronism. It is a pipe-dream."

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"THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PASSES."

Report of the National Consultative Committee to the Joint Executives of the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.O.D., and the S.A.C.T.U.

"The Struggle Against Passes.

1. Is this a new struggle?

The struggle against passes has gone on, sometimes fiercer, sometimes quieter for many years. The new round of struggle which is opening as a result of the threat to extend the passes to African women, does not mark the beginning of the struggle but only a new phase. It opens up the possibility of widening and making changes in the whole struggle against passes and of rousing great sections of the people for the struggle.

2. Can Victory be won in a single battle?

In such a long drawn out war as the war against the pass laws it would be foolish to expect that victory can be won by a single action of the people. The pass system is the foundation of the whole cheap labour system in South Africa; the ruling class will not easily be forced to give it up. It follows, that victory in the struggle against pass laws must not be looked for in every minor skirmish against the enemy. In a long drawn out battle, there will be many minor victories, minor defeats, many advances, many retreats. But final victory for the people means the end of the cheap labour system of South Africa, can only be achieved finally by the overthrow of the ruling class, and by the winning of the Freedom Charter as the ruling policy of South Africa.

3. Is the present struggle item of any importance?

The present struggle against passes for women can well prove to be the decisive turning point of the whole long drawn out war. There is no aspect of the pass system which will cause such bitter opposition as this; and the present situation therefore enables us to bring thousands of new militant fighters into the struggle, to rouse those who have become accustomed to and tolerant of the pass laws for a new effort and to awaken the conscience and the resistance of those sections of the people white, coloured, Indian, who do not themselves directly suffer under these laws.

4. Is this a struggle of the women alone?

Clearly the women are in the front rank of the battles now opening. They are the victims the government has singled out for its latest attack. But the struggle is not one for women alone. It is one in which women and men must join together, each helping, assisting and encouraging the other as circumstances demand. By themselves, the women can perhaps resist the latest attacks. But their resistance would be stronger and lead more surely to victory if the menfolk fight with them. But even a temporary victorious resistance of the women to the present attack will not end the struggle against the pass laws. Alone, it will only postpone the day of the attack till the government can muster greater force. It will only be a breathing space before a new attack in a new direction. This must be a joint campaign of men and women, whose aim is to end the pass system and the government which upholds it.

5. Is the slogan 'Women shall not carry passes' correct?

It is argued by some, that the present battles will be decided, won or lost on the question of whether the

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the womenfolk take the new passes. Therefore, it is argued, the political line of the campaign must be to encourage women under no circumstances to accept the passes. From this line of policy, it is clear, develops the concept that the pass laws can be fought and beaten only by acts of passive resistance—individual or collective—by acts of steadfast refusal on the part of the women to accept the new passes. No one can deny that such acts would be of tremendous significance, advancing the struggle of the people and giving new moral and enthusiasm to the whole campaign. Nothing should therefore be said or done which would encourage such acts of defiance, passive resistance.

But this is not the only way to fight, nor even the best way. Even widespread acts of passive resistance alone cannot, in the long run, deter the government from its course, if it is determined to use all its force, authority and power to enforce its will. This was one of the lessons taught us by the Western Areas Removal Campaign, which we cannot forget. We must not let our enthusiasm blind us to the prospects of overwhelming government force,---mass deportations, sackings from jobs, evictions from homes etc.--which can be unleashed against passive resisters, to break their resistance. Passive Resistance is good, effective, valuable at the right time, in the right circumstances. But it is not the only way. And those who hold it out and despair, and to their loss of confidence in our movement.

6. What other slogans can be advanced?

There are other ways of struggle against the pass laws, each of which has its place. Pass laws can be fought by demonstrations and strikes, by petitions and meetings, by boycott and resistance and disobedience, by active

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struggle as well as passive. Which of these ways is the best? This can only be conceived in the precise circumstances in which we find ourselves in each area at any one time. Sometimes one and sometimes another, we must learn from the errors of the Bantu Education and Western Areas Campaigns not to be rigid, formal tied by preconceived ideas about the only possible way to forms of action which do not fit the circumstances. We must be ready to use any and every means of struggle which are appropriate and possible at any time and which advance us to our goal.

Campaign- The campaign against the new passes for women must not therefore be allowed to stand or fall by the success or failure of passive resistance by the women. The campaign must be conducted-as befits a longdrawn out war- with flexibility and skill, now using one weapon, now another, now passive now active. The slogan to be instilled into the minds of the masses is not therefore 'the women shall not carry passes', but rather 'We shall struggle every inch of the way, against passes', 'down with passes'.

7. How do we decide what precise action to take?

We must rely on the good sense, responsibility and flexibility of our leaders, they must weigh up at every stage of the campaign what the state of organisation preparedness is. What are the people ready to do? What action will meet with the united support of the people and carry forward the struggle. There must be no reckless 'militant sounding' calls to action which are not attuned to the reactions and state of militancy of the people. We must beware of calls to action which do not lead all the people into action but serve only to cut the militant vanguard off from the masses. But we must be active, organising, explaining, agitating the people, preparing them for struggle. And we must be bold

when the time for action comes. Mass work, mass agitation, leading to struggle. This is the A.B.C. of Congress policy of the pass laws."

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