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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. 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.

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.

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.

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 metropolitan 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.

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 determindly oppose tyranny and fascism in our Motherland.

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

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,

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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

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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".

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.

"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

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.

"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.

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.

SCHEDULE NO. 11.

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

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

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 ~~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 Zykist 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."

"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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