

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-mixed 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

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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 ~~named~~ 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."

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.

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 State actions.

"Liberation", November 1953,

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

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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.

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.

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.

24. 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.

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 discussion 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.

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 ~~side~~ side of history is running for freedom. But how soon that victory will be won, and how costly it will prove, will depend

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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 ~~moment~~, 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.

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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