

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

CAPE PROVINCE

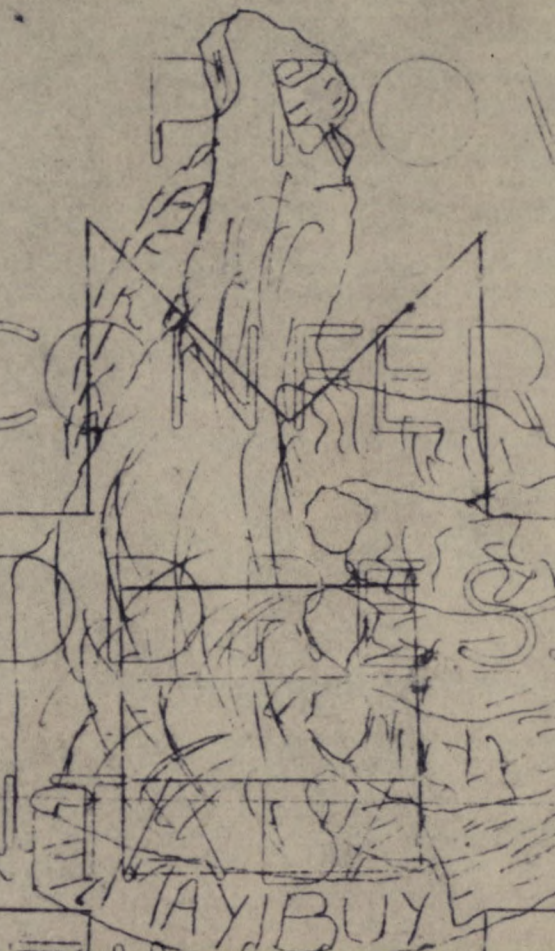
ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1952

ADDRESSES

- DR. DILIZINZI MJI
- DR. ZWELINZIMA NJONGWE
- MR. J. GAC BAKWE MATTHEWS

FMM9.

Bewysstuk No.
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A F R I K A ! !

M A Y I B U Y E ! !

OPENING ADDRESS.
FORTIETH ANNUAL

CONFERENCE OF THE CAPE:

A F R I C A N N A T I O N A L C O N G R E S S . !

B Y :

DR. DILIZINTABA MJI. 14TH FEBRUARY 1953.

Mr. Speaker, Friends,

I bring to you the greetings of your comrades in the Transvaal. I bring to you, gallant Sons and Daughters of Africa, warm sentiments of admiration for the out-standing sacrifice which the people of the Cape made for the cause of our people's liberation. The magnificent response of the people of the Cape to the call of the National conference for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, has been a source of inspiration to the rest of the African people. I bring to you, sentiments of solidarity amongst the oppressed people of all races; We know that our solidarity spells the doom to white "Basskap".

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S CONGRESS!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S LEADERS !!!

(PROLONGED CHEERS: A F R I K A ! !

We meet today in this Provincial Conference, under abnormal conditions. We met in the National conference in Johannesburg last year under similiar conditions. Many of our leaders cannot assemble with us; They cannot deliberate with us, either in Conference or in Committee rooms, they cannot even kneel with us in commune with the Almighty. What dastardly interference with man's civil liberties! What a world, where man has come to be mightier than GOD!

But I am sure I am reiterating the feeling of every African when I say that the banning of leaders, from being amongst the people and muzzling them from voicing the aspirations of the people, will not one iota deter the people from following the revolutionary path on which they have set out. Thus today, in spite of all forms of intimidation open to a fascist police force, in spite of the incarceration of leaders, in spite of the dangers to limb and life, in spite of the threat of concentration camps, the African people are more determined than ever to make greater sacrifices, to make South Africa a true people's democracy. A people's democracy, where racialism and exploitation of man by man shall be banished.

(CHEERS: M A Y I B U Y E ! !

Two months from today, the Europeans of our Country will go to the polls, a right which both major political parties, in this country guard jealously to be exclusively for whites. Within the next sixty days, the Nats and the U.P. are going to vie with each other, in assuring the electorate, which Party can solve the so-called Native problem best. Yet again, the African and the Indian are to be made the political dice to decide which party was more vociferous in its Nazi intentions towards the rising opposition of the oppressed people, under the leadership of the African National Congress. It must be clearly understood by our people that, neither of the two major European political parties has any truly democratic designs for our people. The one differs from the other as a pick-pocket from a thief. Malan uses bare knuckles where Strauss would use a velvet glove.

11./At this stage.

At this stage, I should like to call upon the Coloured people of our Community to decide once and for all, to break with the eleemosynary privileges and rally in full support behind the movement of the oppressed people. There can only be one way to achieve freedom for all and that is the way enshrined in the programme and policy of the African National Congress. (PROLONGED APPLAUSE)

I know, some people argue that there was less hardship for our people with the U.P. than with the Nats. I agree. But we must remember that as the struggle against oppression intensifies, so do all shades of re-action tend to come together. As the struggle sharpens, so do the monied interests come together; As the crises sharpens between the haves and have-nots, so do the haves become more vicious and sadistic in their attempts to crush the movements of the oppressed. (CRIES OF DOWN WITH MALAN'S FASCISM)

Now, friends, who are the haves? They are the big Afrikaner farmers in the Nationalist party and the industrialists in the U.P.! They have the same interests and they all have a stake in the oppression of the black people. Let us therefore have no illusions, and let us not relax in the struggle in the hope that a U.P. victory, in the forthcoming election can in any way advance the lot of our people.

In 1948, the present Government in the Union came into power due to the fact that it whipped up racist hysteria to an unprecedented degree. Not only did they appeal to white herrenvolkism but excelled the U.P. by driving a wedge between boer and Briton. Their access to power was followed by the promulgation by Parliament of the most re-actionary and fascist measures ever to enter the Statute book of the Union. Law after Law which whittled away the personal rights, not only of the African, but also of the white people has been passed while the U.P. and the Torch Commando leadership vacillated in betraying the common white man.

Today, we have reached a stage when there is open collaboration between the Nats and the U.P. To destroy every vestige of free expression and organisation open to the oppressed people. In this welter of determined nationalist fascism on the one hand and the vacillations of the Parliamentary opposition on the other hand, the African National Congress came out boldly to oppose Nationalist tyranny. (APPLAUSE : LONG LIVE CONGRESS, LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE!)

The Bloemfontein Conference of the African National Congress, in 1949, marked the beginning of a new temper amongst the African people.

The programme of action passed that year, though very deficient in several respects, yet bears all over, the stamp of DEFIANCE; The new spirit of being self-reliant, doing away with deputations and dismissing from the leadership any Liberalist hangers-on. Since then, the A.N.C. has from time to time called on the people to demonstrate their growing consciousness against white basskap. (LONG CHEERS: A F R I K A ! !)

It is hardly necessary to recount Congress activity from that time. All things which happened are known history to all of us, but, one may be called upon to make an analysis of the upshot of this spirit of DEFIANCE.

Without under-estimating the services rendered by the African leaders of the so-called moderate type, the people, once and for all, decided to have no truck with leaders who did not share the aspirations of the masses/

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lll/ or reflect the spirit/

or reflect the spirit of the time. Men, who had held senior positions for years had to be jettisoned and a young, militant leadership has been thrown up by the struggle. It is one of the signs of growing political maturity among our people, that, today, unlike before, age and personal possessions are not attributes to qualify or disqualify one for the honoured position of leadership.

RACIAL CO-OPERATION.

The gradually growing spirit of co-operation among the oppressed people of this country is an achievement which your leaders, without sparing effort have been able to accomplish most successfully; The uprooting of racial prejudices is a gradual process, especially in a country like ours, where the whole divisive apparatus is fully brought into play. FASCISM THRIVES ON RACIALISM and all genuine members of the African National Congress must denounce racialism openly and fearlessly. Friends, we are not fighting to dominate other racial groups; But, we want to create a new Society in Africa. WE DO NOT WANT TO SUBSTITUTE MALAN WITH A BLACK MALAN. (NO DICTATORS IN SOUTH AFRICA !! M A Y I B U Y E I !

A NEW OUTLOOK.

There was a time, before Congress was engaged in mass activity, when concept for the future was in the minds of our leaders, a state in which the white financial sharks would be replaced with black bosses. The petit bourgeois leadership saw in Congress, an instrument whereby they could advance the interests of and gain concessions for the articulate amongst our people. THAT TIME IS PAST. Friends, our struggle has given our movement a fresh and virile orientation. A new orientation! It has become increasingly clear that exploitation is evil, whether it is practised by an African to an African. (Cries of DOWN WITH OPPRESSION!!

We can no longer tolerate or fight for a system in which the lot of the ordinary man is left to the fortuitous inter-action of selfish economic interests. The ordinary man - the so-called worker, has shown, in this struggle, that he is the only, true and consistent fighter for the rights of the people; The future must, of necessity, belong to them. The worker has invested his sweat and blood in the struggle, in order that South Africa should be a Country where he can live in peace and prosperity.

What have been the re-actions on the other side of the colour line? The campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, has produced diverse reactions from the white citizens of our country. Firstly, it has sharpened the cross-grained white fascists and the progressive forces of liberation; Various legislative enactments have been devised in the past four years, in an attempt to stem the tide of our progress. South Africa, is the only country which, even in time of peace still has a war measure (Regulation) in force - War measure 145. The Riotous Assemblies Act, The Native Administration Act.... All these are statutory provisions which are aimed at quelling the unrest among the oppressed people. YET, with all these legislative safe-guards, the Malanist regime has been shaken to such an extent that, still more draconian measures have been evolved to crush the liberatory movement of the African people.

With the assistance of Sir. P.Sillitoe, Chief of M.I.5 in the United Kingdom - - the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated in 1950. Diversionists, amongst our people (and ranks) tried to mislead the people by saying that this was a measure aimed at the S.A.Comunist Party.

We warned/

We warned our people and South Africa in 1950, as we shall repeatedly do so that, "an attack on the liberties of any group or individual is an attack on all the oppressed people". History has borne testimony to the correctness of our stand. (APPLAUSE: A F R I K A!!)

The so-called "Red Act" was mainly intended to crush the liberatory movements of the oppressed people of this country. This Act has defined a new and forceful tide of the people's desire for freedom, but could not, however crush it. The brave Sons and Daughters of Afrika, broke through its mesh and, in the disciplined and non-violent demonstrations of defiance, almost brought the Nationalist regime to its knees. (SHOUTS: FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME)

Today, Swart is piloting, through Parliament, two bills, which are putting the seals to the fascist character of the South African Government. Before long, these bills will be Acts and therefore Law. They provide for the most vicious penalties in any civilised country.

The South African electorate is being warned - the African people are on the march; These bills, soon to become Acts, will only serve to galvanise the oppressed people into a more determined opposition. We might suffer temporary set-backs but, the recoil will spell the doom to South African white oppression. (SHOUTS: A F R I K A!!)

Again, there has emerged, from the white camp, a large number of so-called liberals, who, shaken by the strength of the black man, are so afraid for their future, that they must now try to win the favour of our people, or try to be in such a position in relation to the struggle, so that they can be able to guide it along their own lines. Now, our people must beware of so-called Liberals. Liberals have for a very long time been the back-room boys of the African National Congress. Liberals, have, for a whole century stumped the political growth of the African people. The time has arrived when these belly-crawling amphibians, should be ruthlessly exposed. Perhaps you wonder what I mean by "LIBERAL"? A Liberal, is an animal, commonly white in colour, though there are in the Liberal camp, found a few black cross-overs. A Liberal is a double dealer; He talks, persuades and wins over some of our people to the side of our oppressors. He (she) is mainly occupied in dividing our people, classifying them into civilised and uncivilised, as if civilisation is a congenital attribute of man. He (she) talks of a civilised voting standard for Africans and promises certain concessions and privileges for a certain type of African but collaborates with Malan to maintain the status quo. HE IS AN AMPHIBIAN. His terra firma is the status quo, his ocean is his imaginary friendship with the African people; BEWARE OF THESE PEOPLE!

I want to warn the African leaders that the temper of the common man is against all that Liberalism stands for; The people want full equality now! The people want to participate fully in shaping the destiny of their country; These they do not conceive as coming about (materialising) through gradualistic make-shifts which must take them another one hundred years. They want freedom now. FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!! (LONG & PROLONGED APPLAUSE: A F R I K A!!)

The Defiance campaign has also precipitated, from the white camp, into our ranks, genuine true democrats amongst them. There is a small but growing number of white people, who, tired of paying lip-service to the struggle of

V/the Africans/

the Africans, have come out courageously and associated themselves with the Defiance campaign. It is a difficult decision for an African to make, when he must voluntarily go to gaol. His fears are mostly to the rigours of jail life. With a white man, apart from physical fear, there is the added stigma of being a traitor to white supremacy; THE SACRIFICE IS GREATER! Let us therefore carry on our movement in the full knowledge that - our army is growing day by day and that, our army, being an army of justice and fair-play has active supporters even the other side of the colour line.

Now, Friends, what of the future? Indeed there are dark clouds hanging over us. Never before has the future of the African looked so gloomy. South Africa, today, has become one big prison for the black man. The Government, will spare no effort to inflict as many casualties as possible amongst our ranks before it gives in; Furthermore it must be understood that before the goal of liberty is reached, all the Colonial countries, including America will spare no effort to buttress the reactionary powers in our own country. This is a colossal struggle, it calls for sustained energy and effort; But, the foundations of this citadel of oppression have been shaken. The maniacal frenzy of the Minister of Justice, the increasing truculence of the police are indications of the cracks on its walls. How long those walls will stand in our country will depend on our determination and efforts.

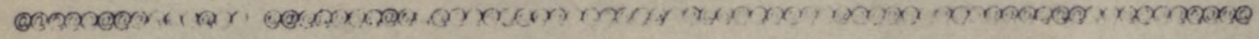
Let us march together, confident of the future. We have made a worthy start for a worthy cause. WE CANNOT FAIL. THE OPPRESSOR IS ALREADY DEFEATED. He knows that some day, he must give in. THERE LIES OUR STRENGTH AND THEREIN, HIS WEAKNESS. Morally, there is no justification for oppression and yet, there is no case against us. (SHOUTS OF: INKULULEKO NGELEPHU IXESHA ! ! !)

FRIENDS, as the sinister clouds of reaction gather over us, there is an increased demand on every one of us to intensify our efforts. WE MUST NOT BE WEAK, WE MUST NOT FALTER. WE MUST FACE THE TASK, WHICH DESTINY LEFT TO US TO PERFORM. FOR ONLY IN THAT SPIRIT, THAT DEFIANT SPIRIT, SHALL WE ACHIEVE: -

F R E E D O M I N O U R L I F E T I M E .

(P R O L O N G E D C H E E R S : A F R I K A !)

M A Y I B U Y E .



Umsebenzi wethu kukuchoba induma sibophe amanxeba, singene endleloni esinga enkululekweni.

SIZAKWENZANI NGOKU???????????

Abantu sibamanyilo bathetha ulwimi oluaye. Tina ke ngoku masiqinise amasebo ombutho. Masiqhine iqhina lomanyano, siqinise ababuthakathaka; Someleze abathandabuzayo, sishumayeze intlanga ziqondo ukuthi asilwi nazo, kodwa, inkohlakalo nempatho emdaka asiyamkeli. Sibaxolelele ukuba sifuna ukuhlala nabo, kodwa amalungelo ethu ukuba abasiniki sizakuwathatha.

Okwesibini, masakhe imanyano zabasebenzi, emigodini, elwandle, edolopini, ozi-fama masimise umbutho, nomanyano zabasebenzi. Okokugqibela, masimise amashishini ethu, sahlukane nokuxhasa amadoda asicinezela kwa-ngale mali sithenga ngayo; Nxa senjenjalo, sithenga ingcinezelo.

Pambi kokuba ndiyoke, mandenze umbulelo ngembeko endiyifumeneyo nxa bendijikeleza, nokundinyamezela kwenu. U-Monqameli, u-Prof. Matthews, uzakuba apha kwakutsha nje, intambo mazipinle kuye. ENKOSI... NDISATSHAYA.....

A F R I K A !! A F R I K A !!! A F R I K A !!!

INKULULEKO NGELETHU IXESHA: MAYIBUYE: A F R I K A.

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And you, brothers of our fighting family, do you remember how we started? With what we started? You were alone and persecuted, rejected, despised and numbered with the transgressors. But you fought on with deep faith and did not retreat; You were tortured but you did not surrender; You were cast into prison but you did not yield; You were exiled from your country but your spirit was not crushed; You were driven to the gallows but went forth with a song. You have written a glorious page in history..... You will not recall past grievances; You will ask for no reward.

But for the time being let us think of the battle, for only the outcome of the battle will decide our fate and future. We shall go on our way into battle, soldiers of the Lord of Hosts, inspired by the spirit of our ancient heroes, from the conquerors of Canaan to the rebels of Judah. We shall be accompanied by the spirit of those who revived our nation, Zeev Benjamin Herzl, Max Nordau, Joseph Trumpeldor and the father of resurrected Hebrew Heroism, Zeev Jabotinsky. We shall be accompanied by the spirit of David Raziel, greatest of Hebrew commanders of our day; And by Dov Gruner, on/8/ the greatest of Hebrew soldiers. We shall be accompanied into battle by the spirit of the heroes of the gallows, the conquerors of death. And we shall be accompanied by the spirit of millions of our martyrs, our ancestors tortured and burned for their faith, our murdered fathers and butchered mothers, our murdered brothers and strangled children. And in this battle we shall break the enemy and bring salvation to our people, tried in the furnace of persecution, thirsting only for freedom, for righteousness and for Justice.....

"THE REVOLT" by MENACHEM BEGIN."

MAYIBUYE ΔΔΔ

AN

CAPE PROVINCIAL ANNUAL  
CONFERENCE

OF  
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BY DR. J.L.Z. NJONGWE, ACT. PRES.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Africans, Friends,

It is my pleasant duty to welcome you, to this, the fortieth annual conference of the Cape A.N.C.; In wishing you a happy stay, I am encouraged by my knowledge of the hospitality of the residents of Korsten, where you are assembled.

At this time, your deliberations assume national importance; From this house must emerge a definite, clear and concise plan, on the mode and form, the liberation movement must take. The non-violent aspect of our campaign remains unchanged.

It might assist the delegates if we, at the outset cast our eyes to the past and also to the present, thus making it possible to foretell the future in the light of our experience. Before delving into the past and analysing the present, let me re-state the policy and principles of the African National Congress.

1. DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

The A.N.C. is wedded to the ideal of democratic government, based on the broad will of the people. To us, the ideal of democracy is attainable. To postulate that the white man knows best, is, to us, utter nonsense and wholly unacceptable. Democratic government means, to us, the attainment of full citizenship rights for all, irrespective of race, sex or creed. We reject, as political dishonesty and hypocrisy any theory of apartheid, basskop or trusteeship or any other name by which our humiliation, as a people, goes; In particular, we must reject the doctrines of the present government, which are an imitation of Hitlerite fascism. The A.N.C. and its allies, the S.A.I.C., demand, will fight for, and attain full citizenship rights for all. Any idea of a loaded franchise must therefore not be entertained, as that would be a betrayal of the vast majority of workers and peasants who have borne the brunt of the struggle against Malanism.

2. AFRICAN NATIONALISM.

The attainment of a democratic government in South Africa, must be based on African Nationalism. By this, we understand the development of a single South African nation, out of these apparently divergent groups. The prejudices in our present society are not inherent, they are man-made, fostered for the benefit of a few who wish to entrench themselves into power and exploit the rest. The language, culture and colour differences are not necessarily divisive forces, if all South Africans made an effort towards building a single, united and prosperous, independent Nation with an undivided loyalty to South Africa.

3. NATURAL RESOURCES AND LAND.

To us, it is inconceivable that there should be poverty, malnutrition and starvation in a rich country like South Africa. The exploitation of the natural resources for the maximum benefit of the people and, not line the pockets of a few, seems rational - I should say, inescapable conclusion. The ownership of huge tracts of land by land barons whilst the majority of South Africans, both black and white have no homes, cannot be tolerated.



4. LABOUR.

The tragedy of our present economic system is revealed in the wasteful use of our labour resources. There is a shortage of skilled labour, but in order to maintain the frail super-structure of white domination, the economy of the country is stifled. We stand for the total abolition of colour bar in industry and the opening of all avenues of employment to all South Africans.

5. EDUCATION AND HEALTH.

We reject the Eisellen report as the recommendations contained therein are founded on racialism and fascist ideology. Our educational policy is simple: Compulsory education for all under sixteen years of age. We stand for one uniform system of education for all sections of the population, having in mind, constructive adaptation of the different cultures to fit in with the system. As far as disease is concerned, the way to combat it, is not by having to build more hospitals, but to secure for all, decent wages and decent houses and generally to provide such social conditions as will nourish a healthy and vigorous population.

I could add a few more, but these are basic and should be understood by all. With ill-will towards none, we wish to build a truly democratic South Africa. The existence of various racial groups in the country is not/ incompatible with this aim. Let me say again that we reject apartheid of the Nationalist brand or the trusteeship of the U.P. and the Liberals. We demand the right to determine our own destiny. WE WILL GET THAT RIGHT... YES. WE WILL.

I wish to proceed now with the enumeration of the achievements of the Defiance Campaigns:-

- (1) UNITY. During the campaign, we have politicised the people and welded them into a single united people ready to struggle for freedom.
- (2) NATIONAL PRIDE. Today, out of the campaign, has emerged a conscious national pride, never before witnessed in this country. The changes are not material and therefore, unmeasurable, but they are an important development of the liberation movement.
- (3) ORGANISATION. During the campaign, the organisation has grown beyond our fondest expectations. Today, in the Cape, we have a membership of over sixty thousand; The target is half a million by December 1953. IT CAN BE DONE. The organisation requires no introduction to the people because, it has become their organisation, expressing in unmistakable terms, the desires and aspirations of all South Africans, be they black or white.
- (4) A F R I K A ! The salute of freedom has become household, even children make this salute of freedom; The clenched fist of solidarity and determination; The thumb, the awakening of the African from three centuries of exploitation, oppression and humiliation, have become the most feared symbols by the oppressors of our country.
- (5) FREEOM SONGS. Out of the struggle, have emerged songs of freedom, expressing the pent up passions and emotions of the regeneration of the African people; Who does not feel inspired and moved by these words? WENZENINA UMZ' ONTSUNDU? SENZENINA? SENZENINA?, which expresses the yearnings and aspirations of the African people.

The power of music in conducting a liberation struggle should never be underestimated; Every man, woman and child must learn and sing the songs of freedom.

(6) VOLUNTEERS. Our Volunteers, who have gone to the prisons of our oppressors have emerged, tried men and women, capable of conducting, organising and sustaining a complex and protracted struggle of liberating the millions of oppressed and exploited South Africans; They have set an example of tolerance, which has won them the admiration of the whole world. TO THE VOLUNTEERS AND THEIR INVINCIBLE SPIRITS AND COURAGE, may I say:- LONG LIVE THESE GLORIOUS SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRIKA, HISTORY, RIGHT AND JUSTICE ARE ON YOUR SIDE, A F R I K A I I

(7) LEADERSHIP. We used to have a leadership of sorts, but the Defiance campaign and its accompanying hazards has weeded out all political scorpions and opportunists. The struggle has produced honest, disciplined and sincere leaders steeled in the crucible of tough campaigns, <sup>AN</sup> goals and vicissitudes of our freedom struggle. FROM THE PEOPLE HAVE ARISE THE PEOPLE'S LEADERS!

(8) RELIGION. The campaign has brought about a revival of the spiritual values bringing people nearer GOD, in their daily conduct. Indeed, their faith in God has given birth to faith in themselves. When they say with all sincerity, "LEAD KINDLY LIGHT, AMID THE ENCIRCLING GLOOM, LEAD THOU ME ON" Yes, there is a future, after all and all this suffering is not futile.

(9) DISCIPLINE. The development and success of passive non-violent resistance (that is the campaign of the Defiance campaign) is dependant on the possession by participants, of a keen sense of self-discipline. THIS WE HAVE ACHIEVED!

(10) THE WHITE OUTLOOK. The most striking and remarkable feature of our campaign has been the unmasking and exposing of whites in South Africa. To quote from the "E.P. HERALD" of Port Elizabeth of the 21st January 1953:-

"We must win the co-operation of our non-European people and demonstrate to them that TO OPPRESS THEM IS NOT OUR SOLE INTENTION". We do not need to accuse them, neither do we wish to elaborate and analyse this statement. It is South African. THEY MAKE SUCH DAMAGING ADMISSIONS. We do not need to discuss this further, but, we recognise such statements and we remember.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE. At the moment, Parliament is in session and the Minister of Justice is piloting, through the house of Assembly, two Bills intended to smash and destroy the liberatory movement. Whipping, which is nothing new in South Africa (Mr. Swart's emblem, the "Cat o'Nine tails), the boers used it for years on the black backs of our people (Vividly in our minds is-BETHAL) and it must be remembered that the liberatory movement was conceived and given form despite and in spite of the sjambok. Parliament is busy today discussing a Bill intended for its own destruction. We, who are not part of Parliament, will not be intimidated and shall therefore not deviate from our chosen path of our liberatory struggle nor, from our guiding principles. All that Swart is doing is fanning the fires of liberation and bringing, for our people, freedom nearer; We do say, however, that, if the destiny and the future of South Africa is to be left for shaping to the Nats, then, that future is indeed "S W A R T".

Our programme for the next few months is simple, but much depends on its conscientious application and immediate implementation; Here are three points for consideration and to repeat, for immediate application: -

IV.

(a) ORGANISATION. Branches must be built into strong units under tried sincere and active leadership. The organisational machinery must be brought to the highest systematic and efficiency level. WARDS OR GROUPS must be created and these must function in accordance with instructions from H.Q.; Every home must be a Congress branch and every heart must dedicate itself to the struggle for freedom and hatred for tyranny, oppression and exploitation. IN THE EVENT OF CONGRESS BEING BANNED AS AN ORGANISATION. WE, THE PEOPLE, MUST HOWEVER, BE PREPARED TO CONDUCT THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE BY WHATEVER MEANS AT OUR DISPOSAL.

(b) TRADE UNIONS. These must be formed wherever there are workers; The A.N.C. must organise and lead the workers in the DOCKS, RAILWAYS, FARMS THE CIVIL SERVICE AND IN ALL INDUSTRIES, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY. THIS IS A BIG TASK, A VERY BIG TASK, BUT IT IS WITHIN OUR ORGANISATIONAL REACH. IT IS OUR DUTY.

(c) ECONOMICS. It has become necessary that people should organise and marshall their spending power. To obtain this, CO-OPERATIVES, whose aim must be service at the cheapest rates, must be formed. WE MUST SUPPORT SUCH ENTERPRISES! Where Non-European businesses are established, it is treachery and sabotage to spend somewhere else, because, money spent in an oppressor's establishment is used to tighten the bonds of slavery and perpetuates basskap. Those who willingly and gladly betray their people (Inywagi) must be ostracised, socially, economically, religiously and politically; THIS POLICY WE WILL PERSUE WITHOUT APOLOGY AND WE WILL DO SO, RELENLESSLY AND RUTHLESSLY.

CONCLUSION AND A WARNING. In the conduct of the struggle, you, as the vanguard, will be called upon to make far-reaching decisions. Any decision made, must be based on a proper scientific analysis of any given political situation. The objectives aimed at, must be clear before such a decision is implemented to AVOID UNNECESSARY AND USELESS HUMAN EXPENDITURE OF ENERGY AND EFFORT. Reacting to Government decrees, can be dangerous because, the initiative is with those who make decrees; We, on the other hand, are forced into the defensive. We have time on our side, the D.C. has given us the initiative and we must maintain it. The security of the people must exercise our minds but should not offer an excuse for mental and political inertia. Friends, Sons and Daughters of Afrika, allow me to wish you a fruitful and successful conference. THE END IS NOT IN DOUBT. SWART'S MEASURES ARE SYMPTOMS OF THE LAST GASPS AND CONVULSIONS OF A DECAYED, DEGENERATED AND DYING FASCIST REGIME. A F R I K A ! ! M A Y I B U Y E ! !

( LONG PROLONGED APPLAUSE; LONG LIVE CONGRESS; AFRIKA! )

Here is another priceless "SPARTACUS QUOTATION": -

Tell them what our voice says; We say that the world is tired of them, tired of your rotten Rome. The world is tired of the wealth and splendour that you have squeezed out of our blood and bone. The world is tired of the song of the whip. It is the only song the noble Romans know. But we dont want to hear that song anymore. In the beginning, all men were alike and they lived in peace and all men were alike and they shared among them what they had. But now, there are two kinds of men, the master and the slave. But there are more of us than there are of you, many more. And we are stronger than you, better than you. All that is good in mankind belongs to us. We cherish our women and stand next to them and fight beside them. But you turn your women into whores and our women into cattle. We weep when our children are torn from us and we hide our children among the sheep, so that we may have them a little longer; But you raise your children like cattle. You breed from our women, and you sell them in the market to the highest bidder.

From Howard Fast's "SPARTACUS".

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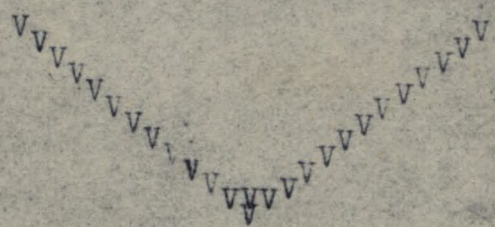
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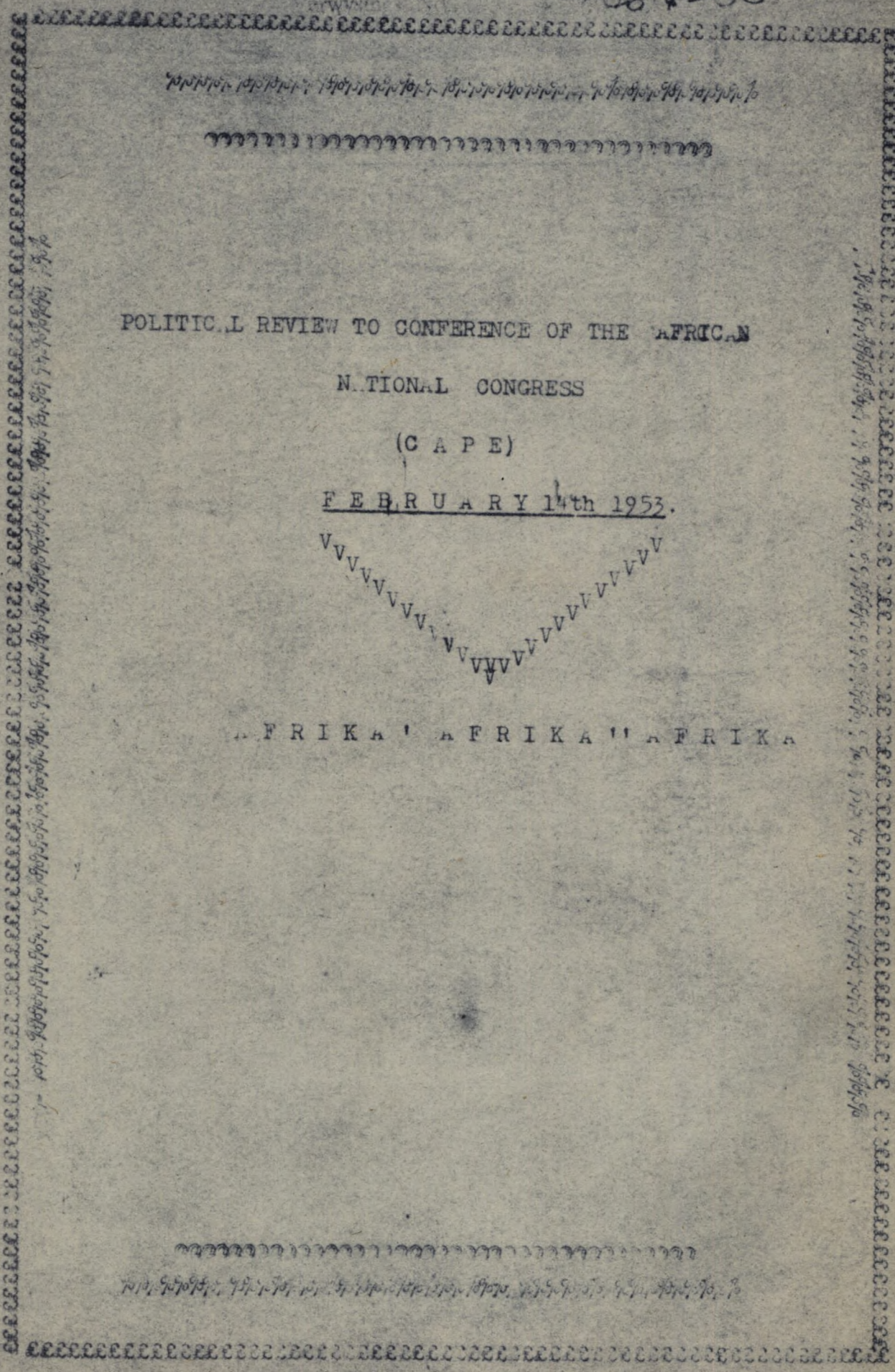
POLITICAL REVIEW TO CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS

(C A P E)

FEBRUARY 14th 1953.



A F R I K A ' A F R I K A ' A F R I K A



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POLITICAL REVIEW PRESENTED TO CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS (CAPE) FEBRUARY 14th 1953.

Fellow Africans, today in South Africa we live in a fascist country. For decades we have suffered and undergone racial discrimination political subjugation and economic exploitation. We have tolerated an alien imperialistic rule imposed on us by a White minority. This system of oppression was foisted on us in the guise of civilisation mission of the part of the Europeans, and in deed there was a tendency amongst our leaders to give credence to the European messianic myth. We were oppressed but we waited Micawber-like for things to take a turn for the better.

But now the mask has been ripped off and beneath it we are seeing the ugly, sordid face of fascism. To-day in South Africa the freedom cherished and fought for by men for centuries, freedom of speech, freedom of the press freedom to organise have disappeared. The notorious Suppression of Communism Act and all other laws and regulations that have been employed in the last four years; the light-hearted attitude to death evinced by Swarts shooting order to the police; the brutal treatment of political prisoners; the police spies and informers; the tapping of telephone and interference with private correspondence, all these have become a regular feature of South African Life. Fascism (umbuso ka Ndlovu Ayiphatwa), has arrived in an open and naked form.

But why should White South Africa resort to fascism in an endeavour to maintain the mythical Baaskap has made it necessary for the whites to turn to fascism with all its gruesome paraphernalia to keep the African people in bondage. It is the prestige of the White man not sufficient now to keep the primitive African in check? Why does it take so much to-day to outrage the conscience of the whites.?

Let us remember fellow Africanst that always fascism is a sign of decay, a sign of weakness on the part of and an indication of growing might of the National Organisation. The fascists have realised that the day is over when the African could be ruled by bluffs. The organisation of the people is such that the true basis of white rule, namely armed force is being exposed.

On May 1950 the African people in the Transvaal staged a tremendous demonstration against the Malanist government when they stayed away from work. Again on June the 26th 1950 the first general strike of the Non-Europeans in South Africa achieved a remarkable degree of success. For the past seven months the Africans and their Allies have been engaged in a sustained campaign for the defiance of Unjust Laws. As a result of this campaign great gains have been registered by the National movement. There has been created a big mass movement of the people. The eyes of the people are opened and they are experiencing a tremendous upsurge of political consciousness. The political aims and objectives of the African people have been placed before the whole world. As a result of the campaign our people have unprecedented unity and confidence in themselves and their destiny. Our people from becoming the object of history have become the subject of history - planning and executing their own future. They are a force to be reckoned with and their power is growing daily.

Apart from the mighty movement of the people towards freedom there is a fact that politically and morally the white people in South Africa are not fit to rule. For hard and scientific facts of government they have substituted shallow generalisations, debunked racial theories..and prejudice. The contradictions in South African Societies are irreconcilable. The ruling class is completely isolated from the camp of progressive mankind, There are the facts that have forced the South African government to resort to fascism as a creed and method of maintaining its power over the majority of the South African people. In their blindness the Broederbond cliques are turning a naked barbarism to stop the inexorable march to freedom of the African people.

This is true of all political parties whether it is nominally represented by the United Party or the Nationalist Party. The present group in power is merely the worst section

.....of the whites and their shameless representatives. Throughout our campaign the United Party has been as hostile as the Nats. They have made feeble protests at various sessions of the government but their reactions have never indicated any fundamental disagreement with the Nats over the policy of maintaining a slave system in South Africa. In a few months time there will be an election in South Africa or rather an election farce. At this election the whites are going to be called upon to decide whether the Africans should be chastised with whips or with scorpions - whether there should be more apartheid or less apartheid. That is really the issue.

Quite clearly we as a people are interested in the election but we must be certain that we cannot expect anything that is going to be in our favour to emerge from the election. Similarly we cannot take seriously the appeal of those who call themselves liberals or "friends of the African People". They are a weak, ineffective force in South African Politics and yet they expect us to leave our future in their hands. They still call on people to wait on the goodwill of the Malans, Strydoms, Swarts etc. With that crowd one can do nothing but fight. In short Sons and daughters of Africa we have to rely on ourselves and our own independent organisation and leadership.

It is therefore to the programme of the African National Congress and its allies that the people of South Africa look to find guidance towards a future free, united, democratic, prosperous S. A. in which racial discrimination is outlawed. Internationally our policy is to build up friendly relations with all people on the basis of equality and mutual respect. We place ourselves in the camp of those people who hate colonialism, imperialism and racialism. We support all people engaged in a struggle to free themselves from foreign rule. Internally we aim to achieve a united South Africa in which all national groups will live together and create a free, democratic, prosperous S. A. We desire a society in which the resources of South Africa will be exploited for the benefit of all and not for the profit of a few. That, simply put, is our policy, and it is the only sane and correct policy for South Africa.

#### WHAT THEN ARE THE TASKS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION ?

The only weapon of the African people is organisation and unity of action. Properly organised and united we cannot only halt fascism but can smash it for ever. In the face of government intimidation we have been able to maintain our organisation in-tact, but this is not sufficient. We must now build up our forces for a quick offensive. In the next two months we must engage in a tremendous build up of our membership. Improve our administration and re-organise ourselves with the Mandela plan. We have got to organise not only branches but also wards in every place where the people are. In church, welfare organisations, schools colleges, sports organisations, in the civil service we must place men who will be loyal members of Congress. This particularly so in the thickly populated industrial areas. In the rural areas we must create a spirit of loyalty to Congress discussions and resistance to oppression. Within eight weeks our organisation in the cities and towns must be such that we are able at short notice to call on the people for any kind of mass action we may decide on and be successful. Not only that but we must be certain that our organisation is so strong that no amount of threats or intimidations can ever destroy it. If every African home is a branch of Congress then to destroy Congress the fascists will have to destroy the people. We must also inculcate in our people a spirit of discipline so that they will learn to receive instructions only from the proper quarters. That is the best way to combat agents who spread false rumours. This is a dangerous period and people must be sure when they perform any action that it is within the instructions given by properly constituted authorities in Congress. If every branch wants to follow its own policy and does things in its own way we may as well give up the struggle. We must act as a united army under a single, tried, centralised leadership.

...To give support to our organisational measures we must issue a great deal of material and if possible, a newspaper which can reach urban rural people in their own language. In pamphlets, leaflets and news Papers we must bring to the notice of the people every anti-African measure. Every little example of oppression we must educate the people on and in that way keep them in a permanent state of readiness for action. We are happy that the National H.Q. has taken over a News Paper which was run by the youth and we hope attempts will be made to see that we have additions of the paper to serve our people in their languages.

The present lull in the A-C was necessary, especially in the Cape to effect a complete re-orientation in our perspective about the struggle in our organisation and propaganda machinery. The situation to-day is not as it was in June 26th 1952. Your leadership is ready now to carry the organisation and the people to new heights of struggle and to big new advances. The key to the situation is the Mandela Plan which will gradually unfold before you in the next few months.

Sons and daughters of Africa, your organisation has a clear policy it has a plan and has a vanguard capable of leading a complex struggle through all its phases. Let us think only of victory and half the battle is done - the other half is organisation if we can plan and organise a complex struggle we are ready to form a government.

A F R I K A ! A F R I K A ! ! ! A F R I K A ! ! ! !

INKULULENA NGELETU IXESHA.

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- ~~116 St~~
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**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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