

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NATIONAL
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE 42nd ANNUAL CONGRESS HELD
AT DURBAN, 19th DECEMBER, 1954.

FOREWORD.

This 42nd session of the African National Congress takes place at a time when some of our highly placed leaders have been detached from you and thrown into the wilderness, by a Government of men who cannot conceal their fear of the rising tide of the political consciousness of the African people, and the knowledge of their ultimate disappearance into political oblivion. In the light of these circumstances, I regret that due to the political persecution placed upon me and others by the Nationalist Government, it will not be possible for me personally to present the report to the Conference, as is the case by custom. Nevertheless, the report is being placed before you for your consideration and discussion. I have every confidence that your decisions, arising from this report will be worthy of the people who have been deprived of everything that they ever possessed in this Country, but who are resolved, as never before, to regain all that is due to them as a free people in a free world. I am confident that no amount of ban, exiles or political persecutions will deter the progressive forces in the Country from the path which they had chosen, namely a perpetual and consistent fight until victory is won. The Executive report placed before you, enclose the following documents:

Presidential address by the President-General, Chief A.J. Luthuli; (b) Opening address by Dr. M.G. Naicker, President Natal Indian Congress; (c) Fraternal messages from South Africa and Abroad; (d) List of banned and banished leaders; (e) Nationalist Laws. Maye Buye Africa.

Signed O.R. Tambo----Acting General Secretary."

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. G.M. NAICKER, PRESIDENT OF
THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS.

P. 236-243 Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The National Executive Committee of your Congress has done me a great honour by inviting me to declare open your Annual Conferences here. I was very pleased to accept your invitation and will wish to take this opportunity at the outset of thanking you for the great honour you have done me, particularly at a time when the ban imposed on me by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism is in force. The invitation you have extended to me symbolises the great, unbreakable links which have been forged between our Congresses and between the African and Indian peoples---Indian people we represent. Today we find a great bond of friendship and understanding, that has grown between our peoples through the joint heroic struggle for freedom launched under the banners of our Congresses, and it is my fervent hope and prayer, that jointly we shall advance together with all true democrats in South Africa to the goal which we have set to achieve--- freedom in our life-time. Your Conference meets at a time when grave issues face, not only people of our Country but the peoples of the world. Today, in every country, in all the

continents of the world, the forces of peace and freedom are making great headway. The days of Colonialism and Imperialism are rapidly coming to an end, and we see the emergence of free and independent nations on the continent of Asia, a continent which has been subjected to centuries of colonial exploitation. Because the forces of imperialism have received the shattering blow in Asia, it is only natural that Africa should assume a place of tremendous importance to those who have exploited Asia hitherto, but Africa, long described as the dark continent, is today astir. From the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cape Point, powerful forces of liberation are making themselves felt, to enable a 150 million people of this continent to take their rightful place within the family of nations through their own democratic government. We in South Africa, have no hesitation in making our stand clear on the international question. As oppressed people, believing firmly in the ideals of democracy, we totally reject all forms of imperialism and colonialism. We reject the exploitation of man by man. We make common cause with the world-wide movement for peace, and are pledged to make positive contribution towards this peace for which mankind yearns. We make this contribution in particular by opposing all forms of racial discrimination. In our hearts we are convinced that in racial discrimination lies the seat of a massive global conflict and this conflict we are pledged to avert. As protagonists of peace, we are the enemies of war, and are opposed to the armament race which is now in progress. We stand for total banning of the Atom and Hydrogen Bombs. Because we stand for world peace, and against the exploitation of man by man, we find ourselves in strong opposition to the policies which have been consistently pursued by th.

the White ruling classes in South Africa, before and after the coming into existence of the Union. The policy of segregation and apartheid based on the maintenance of White domination has today brought our Country to the brink of disaster. More and more people in the Country are beginning to realise that like peace, freedom is indivisible. Laws, which in the past affected only one sector of the people, invariably the African people, are today being extended to the rest of the people of the land. Freedom and liberty of the people, Black and White, are in danger. It is only a matter of weeks since Dr. Malan resigned, and today, more strongly than ever before, the Country finds itself under the rule of a group firmly pledged to the policy of apartheid and all that apartheid stands for.

The Strijdom-Verwoerd era has commenced, and the anti-Nationalist forces in the Country realise that even greater attacks on democracy and freedom are on the way. Our beloved Country is heading towards chaos and disaster, under a policy which has resulted in increased racial tension, in a climate in which there is little respect for human dignity. A small minority group, are seeking to impose on the majority an Afrikaner tribal rule, a rule which seeks to perpetuate a caste structure in South Africa, under which the non-White people are to remain in perpetual subjection. South Africa has reached the parting of the ways. Those who rule us have chosen the narrow and bigoted path of Afrikaner tribalism, embodied in the theory of apartheid. With deep regret we are forced to admit that the vast numbers of the White electorate of the Country have given their support to this basic policy of apartheid.

It is in such an atmosphere that African nationalism is asserting itself in the Union. Let us remember, that never in world history has any single movement for national liberation failed in achieving its object, and I am confident that in South Africa too, the movement for national liberation is destined to triumph notwithstanding all the obstacles which may exist today. A movement for national liberation can become reactionary in character. Nationalism under anti-democratic leadership can become a great threat to the basic values for which we stand. Afrikaner Nationalism is an example of how a movement essentially progressive in its initial stages, has today become a great threat to democracy, and has become the spearhead of fascism in South Africa. African Nationalism too, under wrong leadership, can become an anti-democratic force giving rise to the emergence of Black fascism in the Union. It is to the credit of the leadership of the African National Congress that African Nationalism has chosen the path of democracy, notwithstanding the environment in which it has emerged. In the slogan of the African National Congress, is not South Africa for the Africans, but South Africa for all her peoples of all creeds and nationalities. Today the African National Congress is the most important factor for democracy in the Country for the A.N.C. enshrines the hopes and aspirations of the nine million oppressed Africans to be free in the land of their birth. The A.N.C. seeks to achieve this freedom, not at the expense of any other group, it seeks to exercise the freedom for its people among the rest of free South Africans.

The political maturity and the ideals of the African National Congress is clearly demonstrated in its call for the convening of the Congress of the People for the convening of the Congress of the People, for the convening of the Freedom Charter, for the convening of the Congress of the people, the call which your Congress made

last year in Queenstown has resulted in the launching of a movement of freedom for the first time jointly sponsored by African, European, Coloured and Indian peoples. The convening of the Congress of the People is the most important task which faces all true democrats of all colours in the Country today. Let me express the earnest desire that before you meet in your Annual Conference next year, this mighty assembly of South African people will have taken place, and that the Charter for Freedom will have been drafted, enshrining the hopes of the millions of our land, particularly those who are voiceless today. Let me assure you, on behalf of the Indian people, that the Indian Congress will do everything in its power to make the Congress of the People a success and that we shall answer unflinchingly to the call of your President-General, to enrol within the ranks of the 50,000 volunteers for freedom. I visualise the Freedom Charter as one of the most historic documents to emerge from South Africa. It will not only in the clearest possible terms state what freedom is, but will be a document by which all South Africans will be judged, whether they stand for freedom and democracy, or for oppression and segregation. While we are engaged in this great organisational task of convening the Congress of the People, the Government of the day, is not hesitating in its attempts to stifle the true voice of democracy in the Country. I am, however, convinced that banning orders and deportations will not halt our forward march to freedom and democracy. Action on the part of the Government against our leaders will only make our people even more determined to resist injustice and oppression. While we talk of freedom and organise our people to make all South Africans truly free,

the rulers of South Africa are continuing to bring measure after measure for the perpetual subjugation of the non-European people. The most hated apartheid measures of the Nationalists is undoubtedly the Bantu Education Act, a law which seeks to make the African people a subject people for all times. There can be no compromise with the principle which seeks to enslave a people and, therefore, this act has to be fought with all the resources available to the democratic forces of South Africa. All South Africans should realise that the people of the Western Areas in the Transvaal has presently engaged in a bitter struggle in defence of their homes. What is happening in the Western Areas today, will happen in many parts of South Africa tomorrow, if the Group Areas Act is allowed to be implemented. The race zoning plans submitted by local authority under the Areas Act, demonstrates how tens of thousands of people are to be removed from their homes to satisfy the eulogy of apartheid. We will have to unitedly oppose this obnoxious law with all our might. The African National Congress has come of age, and with its present leadership, no democrat in South Africa should have any hesitation in making common cause with the African National Congress for the achievement of democracy. The Indian people have already made the decision. Not only have we been equal parties in the great Defiance Campaign, a campaign which will fill a glorious chapter in the liberatory struggle of our Country, but we are present working as great allies together with European and Coloured democrats. It is our task to strengthen that alliance so that it becomes unbreakable. I would like to have been present at this assembly. I would have liked to have

heard Chief Luthuli deliver his Presidential address, and inspire us to make even greater contributions to the cause of liberation. I would have liked to have sung with you the songs of freedom, led by Chief Luthuli, and to hear his voice which has moved so many in so short a time. But Chief Luthuli and I cannot be with you today, because of the ban imposed on us. But a day will dawn when Swart and his Cabinet will be forgotten and when South Africa will be free, When men and women will meet to talk of freedom and to build a free society without fear and hatred. I urge you, in the name of South Africa, to work unceasingly towards that great freedom we all desire, and we assure you that we will work unceasingly for our common objective. In name of freedom, I have now the pleasure in declaring your Annual Conference open. History has placed the torch of freedom in your hands, may you hold high its flames. Afrika".

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY
A.J. LUTHULI PRESIDENT-GENERAL.

"Sons and daughters of Africa. Afrika, Afrika, Maye Buye, Maye Buye. I greet you all on behalf of myself and thousands of others within and without the Congress who share with you our hope for the attainment of freedom for all in our land in the not distant future. I ask you to receive special greetings and best wishes for a successful conference from your banned and banished leaders, who are with you in spirit. Thank God that divine providence has not endowed Minister Swart with the power to ban Congress out of the people's hearts. I ask you that your loving remembrance of our own banned and banished leader should

embrace the banned and banished of our allies in the Liberatory Movement. As an act of remembrance and dedication of ourselves to the cause of freedom in our land, I would ask the Conference at this point to stand and perform the acts which I have proposed to Mr Speaker. The wholesale banning of our leaders should challenge us all, banned and unbanned, to devote ourselves unreservedly to the cause of freedom."

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Notable Victories?-----"Notable Victories.---

We find ourselves so busily engaged in the terrific political battle in our country that we miss to note the gains we make here and there, no matter how small. In my opinion, despite the ruthless intensification of the apartheid policy, we have on the credit side a few notable victories. The success of the Congress of the People Campaign. We have so much to do to rally all sections of our Country to the Congress of the People Campaign, but it is making no extravagant claim, when I say it grips the imagination of the common man wherever the campaign has reached. The frantic way in which the Government is seeking to cripple the campaign is evidence of its political potency. Let us intensify our call for 50,000 volunteers---freedom volunteers. I can see through the Congress of the People thousands and thousands of South Africans from all sections of our multi-racial nation marching together to freedom as a direct result of this campaign. In any case the campaign has already enlarged and consolidated our United Freedom Front considerably.".....

....."The rise of the spirit of resistance among workers, this year, especially in Durban. We witness

with joy the rising tide of opposition by African employees at your unsatisfactory conditions of service. We single out for mention, the dock workers, the United Tobacco Company workers, and workers in some Pinetown factory. Congress, at both National and Provincial level should establish closer co-operation between its unpaid Unions, leaders and organisations. We regret the sell-up of labour interests made by the recent so-called Unity Conference, which ended up as a Dis-Unity Conference on that. In support of the apartheid policy of the Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, it refused to recognise African Unions or mixed Unions, with African membership."

"The story of our suffering, I feel called upon to remind the African people of the grim fundamental facts of our situation which are painful reminders of our enslavement by the White South Africans, While it is true that the propaganda of the Nationalist Government through the information section of the Native Affairs Department, tries to cleverly conceal the evils of apartheid by promises which are nothing but deceptive palliatives, yet on the other hand we should be grateful to the Nationalist Party Government for the--ambiguously making it plain, that in the interests of perpetuating White domination, they will stop at nothing in their determination to realise their goal of keeping Non-Whites in a state of permanent servitude. What is surprising is that in the face of this frankness, you should find some African people in positions of influence, counselling the African people to submit to the status quo. These false persons who generally support the trail of the African people by false reasons, such as these-half a loaf is better than no loaf; the African people are not yet ready for freedom; convert the White man first by being moderate in your demands; indulging in wishful thinking, they ideally say,
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that without exerting ourselves, God in his own time will give us freedom. They forget that God has long been waiting for the African Freedom Volunteers, whom he could harness to the noble cause of bringing freedom to all people in Africa. These false leaders would have the African accept the shadow for the substance, and rendering himself guilty before God of having a perverted sense of values, which exalts expediency above principles and a mere mess of pottage. Crumbs of apartheid above freedom, our basic God-given heritage. What are some of these grim facts of our situation. In order to convince you of the seriousness of our situation let me remind you of some of the grim facts of our situation.

(a) Decline of Liberalism in the Union of South Africa.

It is a sad commentary on the attitude of White South Africa that in the Union of South Africa, Liberalism should be held to such extreme and malicious scorn, that any White person showing any leanings towards liberalism, is regarded as a renegade and so shunned, if not completely ostracised. It is a measure of the littleness of our little Union of South Africa that such great South Africans as the late J.H. Hofmeyr should have been abused, even by members of their own party. White South Africa should know, Africans applaud and honour those Europeans who work for the liberation of Africans on the basis of making the Union of South Africa a true democracy for all people regardless of their colour, class or creed. Hence we are grateful to the formation of the Congress of Democrats, with which the African National Congress is in alliance in the Liberatory Movement, especially in the campaign of the Congress of the People. We are grateful also for the existence of the Liberal Party, between whom and ourselves there exists a warm sympathetic

11. (a)

understanding and friendly co-operation on specific issues where our policies agree. Let me here most emphatically state ^{that} while the African National Congress must naturally work for its own growth, yet it is equally committed to the policy of forming a multi-racial United Democratic front, to challenge the forces of reaction in this Country.

(b) The ascendancy of the force of reaction. We must not be blind to the fact that the "baasskap" spirit of the Boer Republics is in the ascendancy in the Union. This accounts for the fact that every day the United Party is becoming indistinguishable from the Nationalist Party. The long-awaited for new Native Policy of the United Party can be described as being a mark-time order from the drill-master, Mr. Strauss, with an occasional march backwards order, as in the case of their decision not to give recognition to African Trade Unions, whereas the Party at one time seriously considered giving recognition to African Trade Unions. After all, both the United Party and the Nationalist Party vie for the position of being guardians of the traditional Native Policy of South Africa, and the essence of this policy is the "baasskap" spirit of the Boer Republics, where each White farmer was a supreme lord of his African servants.

(c) The economic advance of the African is deliberately curbed by legislation which is re-inforced by hostile public opinion. This curb of our economic advancement became marked after Union, when in 1913, Africans were deprived of the right of buying land in freehold title. The grim story of our being robbed of opportunities for economic advancement, is too long to narrate in a Presidential address.

(d) Deliberate efforts to suppress and warp our human

personality. Leaders of White public opinion take every opportunity to present us in the world as sub-human beings, incapable of assimilating civilisation. This vilification has been going on since the Whites first met us. This matter of dwarfing our personality and trying to make believe we are nobodies, is the worst sin the White man has committed against the Africans. In the Bantu Education Act of Dr. Verwoerd, an effort is being made to use the school as an instrument of dwarfing our human personalities. The African child is to be made to feel that he is the inferior of the White child.

(e) World Scene. We are grateful as we always have been to progressive opinion in the world that has not hesitated to champion our cause in the Union of South Africa. We watch with interest development towards full democracy in West African territories under British Rule; The British Government must not allow its policy to be dictated by White settlers who selfishly try to grab as much wealth as they can from Africa. Otherwise she will find herself confronted with man-made situations as in East Africa or extremely strained relations as in Uganda and Bechuanaland, where people rightly resent the banishment.....What must we do to meet this challenge of being spiritually, if not physically destroyed as people. Let me conclude my address by asking you this question:

What must we do to meet this challenge of a people spiritually if not physically, destroying us as a people."

(a) "We must join our national organisation, the African National Congress, where the true significance, purpose and

and probable disastrous outcome of Government policy would be explained to us by our own people who work for our liberation. all, the White man has told you that he wants to make you his servant forever, and so what good thing can there be for you in this policy? Do not listen to propaganda of the information section of the Native Affairs Department. (b) Develop in you the spirit of resisting anything that curbs or limits the development of your talents to their fullest capacity. (c) Cultivate the sense of service and sacrifice without which Africans can never gain freedom. Freedom comes only to people who are prepared to pay dearly for it. Afrika! Mayebuye! P.O. Grafton, via Stanger Natal. 12th December, 1954."

REPORT TO THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE HELD AT
THE BANTU SOCIAL CENTRE IN DURBAN ON THE
16th-19th DECEMBER 1954.

(a) "Our National organisation is facing a serious crisis. The existence as the leader and spokesman of the African people is gravely threatened by the actions of the Nationalist Government. Among other things, therefore, this Report deals with the very vital and urgent question of organisation, a question that must in the end determine whether the African National Congress should revive the attack on the Government and continue actively and seriously to fight for the right and dignity of the African people in their fatherland. It is the duty of every delegate at this Conference and every Congressman and every lover of and believer in the cause of African freedom, therefore, to do all in his power to prevent the calamity and ensure that the Congress shall emerge triumphantly from this crisis. We shall win if we

we follow and diligently carry out the instructions and directives of the Conference and National Executive Committee of our Congress.

(b) Political Review. The March to Fascism.

After six years of Nationalist rule fascism has arrived in South Africa. The first five of the six years were occupied in the building of the legal framework of the naked police state. After sweeping to power on a wave of intensified racialist propaganda, the Nationalist machine set to work. The reactionary anti-people legislation inherited from former South African regimes was made more efficient. What have been mere practices before, were transformed into rules of law, and measures previously scattered in different Acts of Parliament were consolidated, because into single comprehensive species of legislation. These laws were comprehensive not because they detailed and defined laws, but because they left all powers of making laws to individual Ministers. Into this category came the Group Areas Act, the Bantu Authorities Act, the Population Registration Act, the Native Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Native Resettlement Act and the Suppression of Communism Act. In the last Act, the Nationalist Government, following the Hitler pattern, prepared the legal machinery for crushing the most militant opponents of their rule, the working class and national liberatory organisation. Fascism does not arise until conditions call for it. It arises when the ruling class can no longer look forward to unlimited profit and to acquiescent people willing to be exploited. As the political consciousness of the people grows and their organisations become more mature and effective in their struggles for economic and

and political rights, the ruling class drops the methods of peaceful flattery, promises and bribery and employ force as the ordinary means of enforcing their rule. It is true that force is always there, but before the rise of fascism force is resorted to in times of crises. Under fascism the crisis becomes a permanent feature of life and force and intimidation become the ordinary, everyday method of rule. Here in South Africa the methods of the Nationalist Party Government arose, which the ruling class must continue to use increasingly in its fight against the people. As the acts passed in the first five years of Nationalist rule were not achieving their purpose, and the non-European liberation organisations were stemming the tide of Nationalist onslaught, more Acts of Parliament and administrative orders and regulations became necessary. More amendments to the Urban Areas Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Land and Trust Act, Urban Bantu Authorities Act and others. Finally the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act were passed to meet the situation created by the historic campaign for the defiance of unjust laws. The Nationalists have acted in complete disregard and contempt of the rule of law and the rights of Parliament. In the Public Safety Act they made provision for the Executive, when it deems necessary, to declare a state of emergency to suspend all laws and assume dictatorial powers. Today there are more reactionary laws, the Schoeman anti-labour laws, the Verwoerd notorious Bantu Education Act and streamlined Trust Regulations. Meetings are totally banned in rural areas, and virtually banned in urban areas. The foremost leaders of the national liberation organisations and leaders of Trade Unions

have been banned from political activity. Persons have been exiled and deported without trial and without regard to the welfare of their families. Newspapers have been banned, fighters for freedom have been convicted for protesting against unjust laws, armed police intimidate people at meetings and homes, raids and searches are now commonplace, and to crown it all our Secretary-General has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment with compulsory labour for a crime unique in history, namely attending a gathering in order to partake of or be present while others partake of refreshment (in the nature of tea and/or edibles and/or a meal). Yes, fascism has indeed arrived in South Africa. What has been the reaction of the people to it? On the Parliamentary front there has been no opposition to the Nationalist at all. There has been not even an attempt or formal protest on the part of the United Party in particular. This is understandable. As the representative of an important segment of the ruling class, this party could not very well oppose the anti-popular legislation. The groups represented by the United Party in their shortsightedness acquiesced to the reactionary policies of the Nationalists, crude as they were. The policy of the official opposition in Parliament can therefore be deemed as one of surrender all along the line. The same may be said of the Liberals under the former trade unions. Although they did now and again give expression to the formal protest against isolated acts of Nationalist tyranny, they have made no attempt to actually resist the onslaught of the fascists outside parliament. Not only did the Liberals and those of their kind encourage the illusion of social change through parliament among themselves, but they spread the illusion even among those who have no parliamentary rights

at all. The one major force which has fought the Government consistently and organised the people against fascism has been the African National Congress and its allies. No action of the Government, no matter against which group it has been directed has not evoked condemnation and resistance from the forces allied to and under the leadership of the African National Congress. In this connection we recall the freedom strike in the Transvaal on the 1st of May, 1950, the first nationwide political strike on the 26th of June, 1950, The Cape Coloured protest strike on the 7th of May, 1951, the Witsieshoek clash in November, 1950 where thirteen Africans were killed, nine committed to terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to five years, the demonstration of 100,000 people on the 6th of April 1952 against three hundred years of White domination, the most historic Defiance Campaign which began on the 26th of June, 1952- a day which has truly become a national day for all South Africa, and a day on which we remember all those who laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa, a day of re-dedication and pledge. The Defiance Campaign in particular is not only the most important event of this period but was the highest form of struggle ever undertaken in South Africa. It produced a solid and strong democratic front between Africans and other oppressed groups. It indeed changed ^{the} political situation in the Country. In these political struggles, two other important things happened.

1. The African National Congress became recognised and accepted by all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals in this country as the true voice and leader in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.
2. June 26th was set aside as a national day, a day on

which fighters for freedom remembered all those heroes who laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa, a day of re-dedication and pledge.

Wrong Views. All fighters for freedom are warned against the danger of underestimating and minimising the fascist beast and to falling victim to the propaganda of the enemy and enemy agents. The enemy and his agents are not only brutal and ruthless, but also cunning, deceitful and brazen. They do not hesitate to exploit the basest and meanest prejudice or racial or sectional differences and fear. No lie is too big or too terrible for them. They will use any dirty or nasty thing in order to achieve their purpose of dividing, confusing and rendering their opponents impotent. He who repeats to Congressmen the ideas and propaganda of the enemy is undermining the cause for which the Congress stands. The African National Congress stands for freedom, equality and justice for all, irrespective of race, colour or prejudice. Having described the six years of Nationalist rule as a period of determined effort to destroy everything democratic and progressive in the political, economic and social life of South Africa, and having cited the long list of obnoxious and iniquitous laws which added to existing oppressive and discriminatory laws form a massive wall of dark reaction and cruelty, we should also show the reverse side of the picture, the credit side, as it were. Apart from the wealth of experience that we ^{now} possess, our cause has now gained an army of some 10,000 Volunteers, men, women upon whom the cause of African freedom has been indelibly imprinted. Furthermore these six years of struggle have created a general political consciousness among the mass of the people. They have given us a Luthuli. The year 1954 was the year for the preparation for a new period, a

a period for the changing of tactics, a period for an advanced form of organisation to prepare for advanced forms of struggle. The Congress of the People and the Resist Apartheid Campaigns are the two Campaigns on which to base our future struggle. The Resist Apartheid Campaign is an issue on which we mobilise our forces in the sense of our right and our organisation. On the other hand, the Congress of the People Campaign will open a new phase, another turning point in the history of our country, when, for the first time, a people's charter should be drawn up by the masses of all walks of life and from all racial groups in the country. A Charter of a new South Africa. We are striving to bring to the masses of our Country the vision of a new South Africa, a South Africa wherein there shall be no starvation and in which racial antagonism will be eliminated and all alike who share in the natural resources and prosperity of the country. While it is dangerous to underestimate fascism and the power of the ruling class generally, it is equally dangerous to overestimate the power and popularity of these reactionary and barbaric hordes. No force is more powerful than the power and will of the people. If the people are organised and united, their power is invincible. The organised power and united action of the people will defeat the fascist demon in South Africa. We must therefore organise the people properly, and activate them and lead them against the forces of fascism and reaction.

Widen the Anti-Fascism front. We know that in every country where the fascists came to power they did so because the masses of the people did not wage determined struggles against those fascists. And in some instances as in Germany and Italy because the masses of the people suppor-

ted them. Here in South Africa too, the fascists came to power because the mass of those who have political rights, those who decide government and administrators supported our local fascists. Fascism came to South Africa as a result of an electoral majority in an election in which non-Europeans have no say. From the point of view of the ballot box therefore, the non-Europeans can do nothing to their overlords and tyrants, yet all concerned can successfully resist and defeat these oppressors. They must be fought outside parliament, in the towns, on the farms, in the economic, political and industrial spheres. They must be fought everywhere. The policy of the African National Congress in this connection is inter-racial cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality. The policy of the African National Congress is proclaimed boldly to all interested groups and organisations and to the world at large. Our policy is co-operating with other racial groups through their national organisations, and has made great strides and constitutes a very real threat to the present regime, which is anchored on the idea of racial exclusiveness and domination. In the fight against fascism we must see to it that more and more of the other groups are part and parcel of the struggle. The Africans as the leading element in this alliance must do all they can to see that the Coloureds are really part of the fight, similarly with the Europeans. The Indian People led by the South African Indian Congress and inspired by that tried and tested leader, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, are old and trusted allies. We hope that the vigorous and active, though small, Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation will grow strong and swing more representative groups among their respective

people to our side."

"Part Two. International Situation."

"the African National Congress as a leading political organisation in the country and a representative of the people of South Africa, has a foreign policy opposed to that of the Government who represent less than 20% of the country's population. The White rulers in South Africa support the war aims, imperialism, and white domination. During the Second World War, the President-General of the African National Congress appointed a special committee in 1943 to examine the place of an African in the post-war period and in the light of the Atlantic Charter. The document drawn up by the Committee covered the international and national policy of the African National Congress, which was unanimously adopted at the National Conference in December, 1945, and finally published in a booklet entitled 'African Claims in South Africa'. This policy has been endorsed by the successive Presidents of the African National Congress and was sharply raised by Luthuli's Presidential Address last year. The cardinal points of our foreign policy are, opposition to war and a uncompromising stand for world peace, and opposition to colonialism and white domination. Africa, the second-largest continent with its 200 million people and richly endowed by natural resources is ruled over by no less than six colonial powers. These powers are counted amongst the greatest powers in the world. Therefore the struggle to free South Africa and indeed all Africa is a serious problem that will mean a struggle against six major imperialist nations and their satellites such as Malan, Roy Welensky, Blundell and others. This is a formidable prospect. And yet the dynamics of history say that the

imperialists are doomed to ignominious defeat at the hands of the oppressed Africans. Already the whole continent is awakened and is tramping the road to freedom. The nature of our programme, the forces ranged against us, mean that the freedom of Africa can never be a local problem- an internal or domestic affair. However we look at it, the freedom of Africa is an international question. It is true, the struggle will only be fought by the Africans themselves under their own independent leadership but they will have to keep a very clear eye open for international developments detrimental or advantageous to us. We must look for allies and without going any further we must ask ourselves the following regarding any prospective ally:

- (i) Is this Country or group in the imperialist camp or in the anti-imperialist camp?
- (ii) Is this Country or group for equality or for racial discrimination?
- (iii) Is this Country or group pro-African or anti-African freedom?
- (iv) Is this Country or group anti-colonialism?

On the answer to all these questions we will base our attitude to any country. As you all know, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 sharply focussed the attention of the United Nations on the problem of racial/discrimination in South Africa.

We once more wish to record our highest appreciation to the United Nations Organisation for the continuous support it has given us, particularly do we want to do so to the United Nations Commission on racial discrimination in South Africa and those countries who have supported our cause despite strong opposition from the imperialist countries, who are in league with South Africa. We are aware of the reasons for this attitude on the part of the imperialist coun-

tries. The liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial people will bring an end to the huge profits they are making through the cruel exploitation of subject peoples. The expulsion of colonial powers in the great land of Asia is a source of inspiration to the African people. The emergence of the two great powers in this continent, China and India, both enemies of war and imperialism, have shattered the hopes of the imperialist powers and made their rule impossible even under the military might of the United States of America, Great Britain and France. We have year in year out expressed our great concern over imperialist wars in Indo-China and Malaya. We now not only enthusiastically salute the victorious struggle of the Viet Minh against the powerful imperialists of France and America but have every reason to celebrate this victory and the end of the war in this part of South-East Asia. Yet, friends, the brutal wars are still being waged in Malaya, Kenya, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco-- all of which are in the continent of Africa except Malaya. We express our solidarity and sympathy with these countries in bitter and bloody struggle, not excluding the people in British Guiana and other oppressed peoples in other parts of the world. We call upon the British and French Governments to withdraw their armed forces and to release the gaolled leaders and thus pave the way for permanent peace in the world. We appeal to the civilised world, to all democracies and peaceloving peoples to call for an immediate peace in Kenya and other affected places, to save innocent and defenceless people from the horrors of war."

"Africa and World Peace. The rise of the national liberation movements in Asia and the Pacific regions and the loss of those vast countries as war bases and centres for invest-

ment has forced the imperial powers to turn their eyes on Africa. Here the imperial powers of Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain have either their chief or their only colonial dependencies. The rivalries amongst these colonial powers contain the seed of an extremely dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa. To protect their markets and investments, to crush the national liberation movements and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa and to ensure an abundant cheap labour supply, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent. America has land, sea and air bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia. There are British military bases in Egypt, East Africa, Somaliland and the Sudan. The Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean in 1944 writing in 'Optima' of June, 1953 a quarterly review published by the Anglo-American Corporation, put the matter very clearly:

'The spread of Communism to China and the uncertain political situation in other countries in the Far East are bound to have the effect of contracting the sources of supply of certain raw materials necessary for the manufacture of armaments, which will result in the intensification of prospecting and development in Africa.' According to him, the role of the two Rhodesias and Kenya, should be to protect and develop sea communications, to be ready to send forces overseas and to develop its industries to maximum capacity for war needs. To do this, he says, it will be necessary for the three colonies to come under one Central Command. In 1946 the "Rand Daily Mail" made the position equally clear: 'The British decision to quit Palestine, Burma's secession from the Commonwealth, the weakening of the ties with India and the uncertainty of Britain's

tenure in Egypt have hastened the adoption of plans for a new Commonwealth defence system.....Kenya is the new Centre of Commonwealth defence and South Africa its arsenal". It will thus be seen that the struggle for national liberation is inextricably linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism. It will also be seen that the people of South Africa and of this continent will be the first victims of a future war, Their industries will produce armaments, their raw materials will be used not to develop their own economies but to destroy those of others. It is precisely because of this fact that the question of war and peace has become of immediate concern to us all. It is also because of this fact that we welcome the participation of our leaders in the Peace Movement. It is because of this dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa that we urge the widest section of our people to take up the cause of peace and to uphold it until the scourge of imperialism is vanquished from the face of the earth."

"Part Three, General Activities for the Year 1954".

"Congress of the People". The most important resolution of the 1953 Conference of the African National Congress was on the Congress of the People, which read: 'Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to make immediate preparations for the organisation of the Congress of the People of South Africa, whose task shall be to work out a Freedom Charter for all the true people and groups of the country. To this end the Conference urges the African National Congress Executive Committee to invite the National Executives of the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation or any other democratic organisation, for the purpose of placing before

them the plan of the Congress and obtaining their co-operative support in creating a truly representative Convention of the Peoples of South Africa'. In terms of this resolution a Conference was called on the 21st March, 1954, at Tongati, Natal. In this Conference a sub-committee was appointed to draw up plans which subsequently were adopted, according to which a National Action Council for the Congress of the people was set up consisting of eight members from each sponsoring organisation. (See Annexure 'A').

The National Action Council on the recommendation of the African National Congress appointed Mr. T.E. Tshunungwa as National Organiser for the African National Congress. The full report of the activities of the Congress of the People which forms part of this report, is herewith attached and shall be read to Conference by Mr. T.E. Tshunungwa."

"The Western Areas Anti-Removal and Resist Apartheid Campaign."

At the meeting of the National Executive on the 17th-18th April, 1954, in Cleremont Township, Natal, the National Executive carefully considered after a full report by the Working Committee, the gravity of the situation created by the decision of the Nationalist Government to forcibly remove the non-European people from the Western Areas of Johannesburg. It came to the conclusion that the matter had assumed dimensions of national importance, and that the responsibilities of the Anti-Removal Campaign must be under the supervision of the National Executive itself, working through its agencies. It made an appeal to all sections of South Africa, Black and White, to unite and oppose by all means possible the cruel scheme of Dr. Verwoerd. On the 18th May, 1954, the National Executive of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.O.D. and the S.A.C.P.O.

approved a plan of campaign now known as the 'Resist Apartheid Campaign' in terms of which was fixed the 26th-27th June as the Western Areas Day for Campaign and Solidarity throughout the country. On these days, meetings and conferences were called in Natal, Transvaal and the Cape Province. The President-General, Chief A.J. Luthuli, made a clarion call to the nation for 50,000 "freedom Volunteers", both for the Western Areas as well as for the Congress of the People. The response of the people and their very high spirit shocked the Government and showed a clear demonstration of the peoples' solidarity. The significance of the Western Areas Day was marked by the reaction of the entire ruling class press and comments of the people in the areas where meetings were held. The Resist Apartheid Campaign embodies all Apartheid measures, in particular:

1. Bantu Education; 2. Native Resettlement Act;
3. Pass Laws; 4. Group Areas Act; 5. Suppression of Communism Act; 6. Anti Trade Union Measures.....

.....

"Activities of National Officials.

It was significant that the Transkei should have been visited by the four leading officials of the African National Congress. This vast territory is the largest single unit occupied by the African peasants and has not been properly tackled by the African National Congress in the past. As a result of arrangements made by Mr. Sisulu during his tour of the Cape Province, a Conference was held on the 1st of May. Both Chief Luthuli, President-General and Dr. Conco, acting Treasurer-General visited Umtata, the capital of the Transkei, to attend this Conference. Due to the ban imposed on Chief Luthuli not to

attend public gatherings, Dr. Conco opened the Conference and a message from Chief Luthuli was read to the conference. Later the National Organiser visited the area. The tour of the Secretary-General was particularly successful in the Eastern Cape. A series of meetings were arranged for him, culminating in a big regional meeting at Veeplaats on Sunday, 28th March at which meeting close to £100 was collected apart from a sum of £22 collected by the Woman's Section. The Korsten Branch donated to the head office a new typewriter

"The National Executive wishes to express its appreciation to the Eastern Cape Region, Korsten Branch, Women's Section, and not forgetting Grahamstown, Cradock as well as Queenstown. The Provincial Conference of the Cape Province held at Uitenhage in June was opened by the President-General, whereat he made a call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers. The Secretary-General opened the National Conference of the African National Congress Youth League at Uitenhage at the same time. By far the most important visit of the year was that of the President-General to the Western Areas of Johannesburg, which is threatened with forcible removal by Dr. Verwoerd. On his arrival on the 10th July, at Jan Smuts Airport, he was served with a banning order, one of which prohibited him from attending public gatherings as from the time he received the order. Nevertheless, close to 10,000 people assembled at Sophiatown on the 11th July to meet a People's Leader. On the advice of the Working Committee, he did not personally address the gathering but his message was enthusiastically received, in which he said that the removal of the Western Areas was a testing ground in the implementation of the outrageous tyrannical apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. He called on all South Africans to consider no

sacrifice too great in opposition to this scheme. Other activities of the officials were Dr. Conco's visit to the Transvaal; The Transvaal President, Mr. Moretsele's visit to Natal; The Acting-President, Dr. Njongwe to the Western Areas; and the visit of the National Organiser to the Transvaal and to Natal. Apart from the visit of the National officials, it is recommended that the interchange of Provincial officials be encouraged."

"Bans. We have already referred to the banning and deportation orders but we must mention a number of leading officials who have been affected by these laws during the year. (For a list of banned people, see Annexure 'B'). Congress officials, Chief Luthuli, President-General; W.M. Sisulu, Secretary-General; Dr. J.L.Z. Njongwe, Acting-President, Cape Province; O.R. Thambo, Acting Secretary-General; R.M. Matji, Provincial Secretary, Cape; J. Motshabi, Provincial Secretary, Transvaal; M.B. Yengwa, Provincial Secretary, Natal; and J. Matthews, President of the African National Congress Youth League have been banned during the last year. The new method which the Government is using is that of deporting Congress leaders to some obscure corner of the country. This began with the deportation of Mr. Sibande from Bethal, the deportation of the Ficksburg Branch Secretary to Basutoland; during this year Mr. A.S. Gwentshe and Mr. J.M. Longisi have been deported from East London to the Transvaal. Mr. Yengwa from Durban to Mapumolo. The National Executive recommends that the exiled, arrested and banned leaders continue to be regarded as leaders, provided that any conference --provided that at any conference a vote of confidence is passed on each and every one so that those whose activities are considered to be the detriment of the organisation do not hide behind the bans and may in fact be expelled."

"Part Four. Organisational Problems"."The Scheme Envisaged".

- (a) It should be based on small, manageable units.
- (b) Several of these units should be united under and controlled by a sub-committee consisting of leaders of each unit.
- (c) Units sub-committees are to be responsible to branch committees.
- (d) All units/^{and units} sub-committees to be equipped with the knowledge necessary to enable them to carry out their duties and functions.
- (e) Branch committees to be responsible for seeing to it that all units and units sub-committees are activated and efficient.
- (f) Greater use to be made of the printed word, but where and when this becomes impossible to make use of the word of mouth.
- (g) Provincial Committees to be more alive and to exercise their supervisory and administrative control strictly and conscientiously.
- (h) Each member of a provincial committee to be personally responsible to the provincial committee for the proper and efficient functioning of a given branch and units and units sub-committees under the control of such branch.
- (i) Each member of the National Executive to take an active and leading part in the work of the provincial committee in his province.
- (j) For the purposes of proper and efficient administration each member of the National Executive to be given some aspect of our national life to study and periodically

report on to the Executive. The National Executive to pay special attention to the work and activities of the provinces.

Now how are we going to begin, how are we going to start remedying the weakness mentioned above? The answer to this question lies in the hands of the delegates at this Conference. However, whilst recognising that the remedy lies with this Conference, your Executive offers the following recommendations

1. That Conferences should adopt the re-organisation scheme suggested above and instruct the provinces to act upon it early in the new year.
2. (a) That every secretary of the African National Congress from the highest to the lowest must undertake a compulsory course of training for at least three months.
 (b) That every member of the Executive must undertake a course of theoretical, political and organisational training for at least two months.
 (c) That every Freedom Volunteer must take a course of political and organisational training for at least one month.
 (d) That before elections are conducted members must be informed of these conditions."
4. That anybody who deliberately distorts or undermines the policy and decisions of the Congress should be dealt with immediately.
5. That it be the accepted duty of all branches to build up a powerful mass youth organisation which must be subordinate to the branch and also the women's section.
 Lectures for courses mentioned above already available, and provinces are asked to place their orders. In conclusion, Sons and Daughters of Africa, we are placing this Report before you for most careful attention and

consideration. We have implicit faith in this assembly of delegates who have come from all corners of South Africa, and we are fully confident that from their deliberations there will emerge concrete and far reaching decisions which will raise the organisational efficiency, and with it the political effectiveness, of the African National Congress, and thus place the liberatory movement and the progressive forces on the path to inevitable victory. Friends, you are all aware that Mr. Strijdom, the fanatic of the Nationalist regime, has replaced Dr. Malan and displaced Mr. Havenga. Thus the predictions of your leaders have once again proved true—as we have warned you before, we are heading for a fully fledged fascist state not unlike the Hitlerite regime in Germany. The Strijdom-Verwoerd-Swart combination is possibly the greatest political misfortune that has ever befallen this unhappy land. We can now promise you nothing but greater hardships, more forced labour, bannings and deportations on an unprecedented scale, concentration camps, a suspension of the rule of law and other manifestations of the principle of "government by brutal force", which will apply as much to the non-European people as to the non-Nationalist European people of this country. There can be no doubt that the salvation of the people of South Africa today lies with the mighty strength of the African National Congress and its allies and in the knowledge that history and the world are on our side, and provided we are determined to resist fascism and increase the pace of our march, we must see victory and freedom within our lifetime. Long live our banned leaders! Long live the Liberatory Movement!"

SCHEDULE NO. 15.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF E.P. MORITSELE AT
THE ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE A.N.C. TVL. 1954.

"Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen. This Forty-Second session of the African National Congress (Transvaal) assembles at a time when the struggle for national liberation and independence has assumed dimensions hitherto unknown in the annals of the fight between the oppressor and the oppressed. The world over, the oppressed peoples have come out in open defiance of their enemies. On the other hand, we witness attempts by the reactionary imperialist powers under the influence and leadership of American imperialism to plunge the world into another blood-bath, that will bring nothing but death, misery and starvation to suffering humanity. With this object in view, the imperialist-capitalist powers are intensifying their oppression and exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial masses. The enslaved masses everywhere are very much indebted to the progressive powers such as the U.S.S.R., China, the new Democracies and India for the role they are playing in international politics. Were it not for their existence, together with the peace and freedom-loving peoples of the world, then slavery would have been the order of the day in every colonial and dependent country. Needless to say, that the subject people of South Africa, who are today living under semi-fascist conditions, would have been in a much more hopeless position. It must be understood that our salvation is linked with that of oppressed and freedom-loving peoples of the world. My reference, in this address, to the international situation is to re-assure you that South Africa is part and parcel of the world and not a unique and mysterious piece of land that has very little or nothing in common with the rest of the world,

as Dr. Malan and his clique would want the civilised world to believe."

South Africa

"The position of the non-European in general and that of the Africans in particular has never been a happy one in South Africa. But with the advent to power of the Nationalists, this position has been very much aggravated. There is no fundamental difference in policy between the present and past Government--be they Nationalist or United Party. The policy of all White South African Governments has been, and still is, that of keeping the African in a state of perpetual subjugation. In other words, the African is treated like a beast of burden and must remain a hewer of wood and drawer of water until doomsday. It is against these ignominious policies that the A.N.C. is leading the millions of toilers onto their national emancipation. Because of the evergrowing consciousness of the people coupled with the effective leadership given by the African National Congress, the Government in their fear of the masses, have decided to unleash various forms of terror with a view to intimidating and breaking up the organisation of the people. At this juncture it behoves me to remind you that--in what circumstances I have been elevated to the Presidency of the A.N.C. (Tvl.) It was only after your democratically elected leaders such as Nelson Mandela, David Bopape, J.B. Marks and others were gagged and commanded by the "almighty" Swart, Minister of Justice, to resign from the A.N.C. and never to become members again, that you called upon me to take up the leadership. Since then, I have tried to execute my duties to the best of my ability. This attack on your leaders and organisation does not show signs of abating. On the contrary, it is being intensified. Daily, more and more of the leaders of the A.N.C. are being removed against the will of the people. Swart has gone so far as to ban Chief Luthuli, our President-General, and has confined him to the lower Tugela.

Not satisfied with the banning, the Minister has now banished from their places of domicile three of the noblest Sons of Africa, namely Gwentshe, Longigi and Yengwa. They have been torn away from their families and sent to some of the remotest parts of the Union of South Africa, and made to live under the most primitive conditions. The Government is aiming at removing progressive leadership and outlawing progressive organisations, such as the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation and, last but not least, the Congress of Democrats. The Malan Government derives its support from the most politically backward and reactionary section of the white electorate in this country, the big farmers and land-lords. This section of the white community has swallowed, hook, line and sinker, the Government's policy of apartheid which is oppressive in form and in content. The results of the recent Provincial Elections were disappointing but not surprising. They exposed the political shallowness of the electorate, and their readiness to fall victim to the clever demogagy of the Nationalist politicians. They are running away from reality and civilisation. Because of these and other successes, the Government has become bolder in forging ahead with its plot to transform South Africa into a police state. In this "triumphant" march towards fascism, the so-called White opposition has collapsed. So now the only effective opposition to the Government are the national movements and their allies. Theirs is to grapple with the potential fascist beast to the bitter end. The Government of the day has attacked the African in all walks of life: their general attitude is characterised by the following legislative measures."

"Our Tasks". "The President-General, Chief Luthuli, on the occasion of his ban in Sophiatown, made an appeal to the country for volunteers to organise Congress and to stop the Western Areas Removal Scheme of Dr. Verwoerd and company. This call must receive the full response and support of every branch of the A.N.C. throughout the Transvaal. Where necessary, every member of the A.N.C. should become a volunteer. The Transvaal should give at least 25,000 volunteers. Another significant political development in the country is the call issued by the A.N.C., calling for a Congress of all the people of South Africa, irrespective of their nationalities. This call is being supported by the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation, and the Congress of Democrats. This Congress must lay the bases for the co-operation of all the peoples of South Africa. The Government has provoked and attacked, but we have remained disciplined. In other words, we have not allowed the Government to choose the time, the place, and battle-ground for us. Today, I say to the African people: Intensify your organisation, and stand by awaiting instructions."

SCHEDULE NO.16.

AFRICAN LODESTAR, VOLUME 6 NO. 1
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"It is normal procedure at the beginning of each year to take stock of the events of the preceding year, the triumphs and victories, disappointments and broken hopes. In other words, it is customary to hold a post mortem and present the findings of the relevant and interested parties. But I shall do no such thing, for to do so in this journal would be to underrate the effect of an ancient past on an unhappy position in which we find ourselves. Also, there is a view covering only the immediate past years, would have to be counter-balanced by a vision extending only to the end of the present year. Let us then, sons and daughters of Africa, hold a post mortem upon the whole sordid history of colonialism and imperialism in our beloved Motherland, in order the better to be able to counter-balance the path of inspired vision of a distant future when the sacred soil should have gone back to the tiller. Glancing back in the past, delving back into the far-off past, we can picture the South Africa of 302 years ago. It was only 1 year and 9 months since Johan van Riebeeck had landed at the Cape, ostensibly to erect only a refreshing and replenishing station with no ulterior motive, seeking not to enslave and rob any man of what is his, but to cultivate fresh vegetables and 'buy sheep and cattle from the savages with no fixed abode who roamed the country by the great sea-waters'. Thus one of the numerous talons of the octopus, that is, white civilization, found a foothold on our beloved motherland, Africa. Thus began an era of plunder

usurpation, of looting and robbing, of deceit and deception, as ever the world has known or is likely ever to know. Throughout two centuries the greedy and blood-thirsty nations of Europe, led by the Islands of Britain, unleashed a campaign of subjugation that Africa never shall forget. It was against countries far ahead in the science of war and disregard for human life that Africa was initiated into a new way of life. Resistance to tyranny and refusal to be wiped out of existence as a people. This tragedy and drama that is Africa's history, becomes the more remarkable when we consider the fact that in the old order of African society, when a man was a man, and as such had his duties, responsibilities and obligations to his fellow-men, it was the tillers of the soil, the herdsmen and shepherds, who pitted their strength against the armies who killed and battled, not for the freedom of mankind, nor for the prosperity of all humanity, but to loot and plunder and a few pieces of silver and gold per day. It was against these paid murderers, coming from generations of professional debased human beings, the renegades and moral refuge of England, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Prussia, Belgium and France, that the sons of Africa took up arms to preserve their way of life, their homes and families and their religion, their green pastures that teemed with wild game. Even, when cold logic, superiority of arms, the neverending stream of missionaries, decreed that Africa shall be destroyed, its inhabitants shall be enslaved, its way of life shall die, the people by their resistance declared that 'I will not die, I will live'. In this year of 1954, 302 years since imperialist

contamination defiled our sacred motherland, we have a rich and glorious past to draw inspiration from. Our task is by no means an easy one. This year, more than the past, will see an intensified effort on the part of the ungodly to make yet another concentrated effort to render a deathblow to our aspirations for brotherhood and comradeship of mankind. The renegade, the coward, the loyal Natives amongst us, those out of whom years of oppression and corruption have knocked out all sense of manhood, will call from the wilderness for compromise, for respite, for bargaining with the enemies of Africa and all that she stands for. From their ivory towers they shall extoll the people to take the sacred 'sic' promises of the unsacred. No one of the slightest knowledge of the tragedy that has befallen compromisors and relenters, can fail to appreciate the futility and danger of placing any trust in the word of those who hurt us 'for our own good'. The Youth will have to give a straight-forward and practical answer at this conference, not only by passing the resolutions, but by painstakingly translating those resolutions into hard facts, thus giving our reply to Mr. W.M. Sisulu's injunction to 'make 1954 a year of mass youth activity, to wipe out fascism from the country of our birth.' The answer of the youth to the challenge of 1954 is simply this, to refuse to admit the existence of the word 'impossible', expunge it from the dictionary, and because they refuse to admit it, make the otherwise impossible fact, freedom in our life-time.

Editor.

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