

SCHEDULE NO. 12.

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

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

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

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Union. It was in 1949 that this militant ^{programme} took shape and received the approval of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress. It is well to point out that in this programme of action, many forms of carrying on the militant programme of action were agreed upon in principle. Non-violent Passive Defiance Campaign of great fame was only one of the forms of militancy."

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

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

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

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

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

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"In the Rest of Africa and the World",

"Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole. This accounts for our taking active part in the Pan-African Congress Movement. Our active interest in the extension of freedom to all peoples denied it, makes us ally ourselves with the freedom forces in the world. It is a matter of great concern to us that most of the territories in Africa are still under the grip of the imperialist powers of Europe, who maintain colonialism that keeps the inhabitants of these territories in subjugation and poverty. There are encouraging signs that the people in some of these territories are becoming politically conscious. We condemn most strongly the imperialist powers controlling these territories, permeating the most progressive moves of the people by tyrannical suppression. I would cite here the indiscriminate shooting and bombing of the African people by the authorities in Kenya on the pretext of restoring law and order, when in fact it is to maintain their imperialistic hold on Africa. The revolt is no doubt prompted by legitimate aspirations of the African people, and so extension of freedom to the people of Kenya should be the

reply of the British Government and not bombing and shooting. We also strongly condemn the action of the British Government against the banishing of the Kabaka for Uganda for supporting his people in their demand for self-government."

"I would reiterate here too our stand on the Protectorate question, namely that we are most strongly opposed to the incorporation of the High Commission territories by the Union Government. We are entirely opposed to the increase in the number of people subject to the racial and discriminatory policies of the Union of South Africa. The incorporation would result in the increase when we are fighting for the liberation of Africans and other peoples in the Union. Let me state unequivocally that we regard it as an unfriendly act towards Africa, the allowing of the United States of America to establish air bases in Africa, nor do we welcome the making of central Africa by the British Government a war arsenal, since the forced withdrawal from India, and its precarious hold and maintenance in the influence of the East and Middle East. Africa likes to enjoy peace and prosperity in freedom and would like to ally itself with the forces of peace and freedom, and so it does not like to be made a war zone in any war the warmongers may plunge the world in."

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"How will these disabilities be removed?

Certainly not as some people fondly and foolishly believe that it will be by the voluntary benevolence of the White man. These, the disabilities will only be removed, as has happened with other people in other lands, all through the ages to our day, by the united struggle of the oppressed people themselves to exert pressure on

the rulers to grant them freedom, and so, I call upon all Africans who truly desire to see these disabilities removed, to join the African National Congress, to fight in comradeship with other oppressed people for the attainment of freedom which is the main key to the removal of the imposed disabilities. Afrika, Mayibuye. Yours in the National service, A.J. Luthuli, President-General"

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SCHEDULE NO.13.

"NO EASY WALK TO FREEDOM"

By N.R. MANDELA.

"Introduction: At this critical stage for our struggle for freedom and democracy in our country, and at a time when the Government is making it impossible for the oppressed people to meet and discuss their destiny as human beings and banning the leaders of the people with the hope of crushing the liberatory movement, it has become more important than ever before that we compile our literature so that the people who are going to continue the struggle for a happy and prosperous South Africa are educated and guided on the tasks that lie ahead. Here we produce a statement submitted to the African National Congress (Tvl). by Mr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, then president of the A.N.C. (Tvl). before he was banned by Minister Swart from talking to his people and leading them to freedom. But because the statement gave a thorough analysis of the political situation particularly in our country, the Executive of the A.N.C. (Tvl). decided to submit this statement to the recent Conference of the province as a Presidential Address. To us, the Youth League and the African people, Mr. Mandela, although banned by the clique of frightened men in Parliament, is and will remain the leader of the people. This dynamic and historic address, which in fact is the best ever in the annals of the oppressed peoples movement in South Africa, should serve as an inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for freedom and the elimination of man's inhumanity to man. To Rolihlahla Mandela, the illustrious son of Africa, the gallant and courageous fighter for lasting peace and democracy, we say that no matter where

he may find himself today, no matter what hardships he may suffer, the masses can not be bluffed nor intimidated. This his sufferings are but temporary. What he has taught us is invaluable -- the lead he has given us is enough to make us carry on the struggle and we shall not rest nor tire until oppression, exploitation of man by man, until domination of one group over another is completely abolished and eradicated in this our Motherland, South Africa. Africa's cause must triumph. R.N. Resha, President, A.N.C.Y.L. (Tvl)."

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"Since 1921 and year after year thereafter, in their homes and local areas, in provincial and national gatherings, on trains and buses, in the factories and on the farms, in cities, villages, shanty towns, schools and prisons, the African people have discussed the shameful misdeeds of those who rule the country. Year after year, they have raised their voices in condemnation of the grinding poverty of the people, the low wages, the acute shortage of land, the inhuman exploitation and the whole policy of white domination. But instead of more freedom repression began to grow in volume and intensity and it seemed that all their sacrifices would end up in smoke and dust. Today the entire country knows that their labours were not in vain for a new spirit and new ideas have gripped our people. Today the people speak the language of action: There is a might awakening among the men and women of our country and the year 1952 stands out as the year of this upsurge of national consciousness. In June 1952,

the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, bearing in mind their responsibility as the representatives of the downtrodden and oppressed people of South Africa, took the plunge and launched the campaign for the Defiance of the Unjust Laws. Starting off in Port Elizabeth in the early hours of June 26 and with only thirty-three defiers in action and then in Johannesburg in the afternoon of the same day with one hundred and six defiers, it spread throughout the country like wild fire. Factory and office workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, students and the clergy; Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Europeans, old and young, all rallied to the national call and defied the pass laws and the curfew and the railway apartheid regulations. At the end of the year, more than 8,000 people of all races had defied. The Campaign called for immediate and heavy sacrifices. Workers lost their jobs, chiefs and teachers were expelled from the service, doctors, lawyers and businessmen gave up their practices and businesses and elected to go to jail. Defiance was a step of great political significance. It released strong social forces which affected thousands of our countrymen. It was an effective way of getting the masses to function politically; a powerful method of voicing our indignation against the reactionary policies of the Government. It was one of the best ways of exerting pressure on the Government and extremely dangerous to the stability and security of the State. It inspired and aroused our people from a conquered and servile community of yesmen to a militant and uncompromising band of comrades-in-arms. The entire country was transformed into battle zones where the forces of liberation were locked up in immortal conflict against those of reaction and evil. Our flag flew in every

battlefield and thousands of our countrymen rallied around it. We held the initiative and forces of freedom were advancing on all fronts. It was against this background and at the height of this Campaign that we held our last annual provincial Conference in Pretoria from the 10th to the 12th October last year. In a way, that Conference was a welcome reception for those who had returned from the battlefields and a farewell to those who were still going to action. The spirit of defiance and action dominated the entire conference. Today we meet under totally different conditions. By the end of July last year, the Campaign had reached a stage where it had to be suppressed by the Government or it would impose its own policies on the country. The Government launched its reactionary offensive and struck at us. Between July last year and August this year forty-seven leading members from both Congresses in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley were arrested, tried and convicted for launching the Defiance Campaign and given suspended sentences ranging from three months to two years on condition that they did not again participate in the defiance of the unjust laws. In November last year, a proclamation was passed which prohibited meetings of more than ten Africans and made it an offence for any person to call upon an African to defy. Contravention of this proclamation carried a penalty of three years or a fine of three hundred pounds. In March this year the Government passed the so-called Public Safety Act which empowered it to declare a state of emergency and to create conditions which would permit of the most ruthless and pitiless methods of suppressing our movement. Almost simultaneously, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act was passed which provided heavy penalties for those convicted of Defiance offences. This Act also made provision

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for the whipping of defiers including women. It was under this Act that Mr. Arthur Matlala who was the local of the Central Branch during the Defiance Campaign, was convicted and sentenced to twelve months with hard labour plus eight strokes by the Magistrate of Villa Nora. The Government also made extensive use of the Suppression of Communism Act. You will remember that in May last year, the Government ordered Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J.B. Marks, David Bopape and Johnson Ngwevela to resign from the Congresses and many other organisations and were also prohibited from attending political gatherings. In consequence of these bans, Moses Kotane, J.B. Marks, and David Bopape did not attend our last provincial Conference. In December last year, the Secretary-General, Mr. W.M. Sisulu, and I were banned from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg for six months. Early this year, the President-General, Chief Luthuli whilst in the midst of a national tour which he was prosecuting with remarkable energy and devotion, was prohibited for a period of twelve months from attending public gatherings and from visiting Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and many other centres. A few days before the President-General was banned, the President of the S.A.I.C., Dr. G.M. Naicker, had been served with a similar notice. Many other active workers both from the African and Indian Congresses and from trade union organisations were also banned. The Congresses realised that these measures created a new situation which did not prevail when the Campaign was launched in June 1951. The tide of defiance was bound to recede and we were forced to pause and to take stock of the new situation. We had to analyse the dangers that faced us, formulate plans to

overcome them and evolve new plans of political struggle. A political movement must keep in touch with reality and the prevailing conditions. Long speeches, the shaking of fists, the banging of tables and strongly worded resolutions out of touch with the objective conditions do not bring about mass action and can do a great deal of harm to the organisation and the struggle we serve. The masses had to be prepared and made ready for new forms of political struggle. We had to recuperate our strength and muster our forces for another and more powerful offensive against the enemy. To have gone ahead blindly as if nothing had happened would have been suicidal and stupid. The conditions under which we meet today are, therefore, vastly different. The Defiance Campaign together with its thrills and adventures has receded. The old methods of bringing about mass action through public mass meetings, press statements and leaflets calling upon the people to go to action have become extremely dangerous and difficult to use effectively. The authorities will not easily permit a meeting called under the auspices of the A.N.C., few newspapers will publish statements openly criticising the policies of the Government and there is hardly a single printing press which will agree to print leaflets calling upon workers to embark on industrial action for fear of prosecution under the Suppression of Communism Act and similar measures. These developments require the evolution of new forms of political struggle which will make it reasonable for us to strive for action on a higher level than the Defiance Campaign. The Government alarmed at the indomitable upsurge of national consciousness, is doing everything in its power to crush our movement by removing the genuine representatives of the

people from the organisations. According to a statement made by Swart in Parliament on the 18th September, 1953, there are thirty-three trade union officials and eighty-nine other people who have been served with notices in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. This does not include that formidable array of freedom fighters who have been named and black listed under the Suppression of Communism Act and those who have been banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Meanwhile the living conditions of the people, already extremely difficult, are steadily worsening and becoming unbearable. The purchasing power of the masses is progressively declining and the cost of living is rocketing. Bread is now dearer than it was two months ago. The cost of milk, meat and vegetables is beyond the pockets of the average family and many of our people cannot afford them. The people are too poor to have enough food to feed their families and children. They cannot afford sufficient clothing, housing and medical care. They are denied the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, old age and where these exist, they are of an extremely inferior and useless nature. Because of lack of proper medical amenities our people are ravaged by such dreaded diseases as tuberculosis, venereal disease, leprosy, pelagra and infantile mortality is very high. The recent state budget made provision for the increase of the cost-of-living allowances for Europeans and not a word was said about the poorest and most hard-hit section of the population -- the African people. The insane policies of the Government which have brought about an explosive situation in the country have definitely scared away foreign capital from

South Africa and the financial crisis through which the country is now passing is forcing many industrial and business concerns to close down, to retrench their staffs and unemployment is growing every day. The farm labourers are in a particularly dire plight. You will perhaps recall the investigations and exposures of the semi-slave conditions on the Bethal farms made in 1948 by the Reverend Michael Scott and a Guardian correspondent; by the Drum last year and the Advance in April this year. You will recall how human beings, wearing only sacks with holes for their heads and arms, never given enough food to eat, slept on cement floors on cold nights with only their sacks to cover their shivering bodies. You will remember how they are woken up as early as 4 a.m. and taken to work on the fields with the indunas sjamboking those who tried to straighten their backs, who felt weak and dropped down because of hunger and sheer exhaustion. You will also recall the story of human beings go toiling pathetically from the early hours of the morning till sunset, fed only on mealie meal served on filthy sacks spread on the ground and eating with their dirty hands. People falling ill and never once being given medical attention. You will also recall the revolting story of a farmer who was convicted for tying a labourer by his feet from a tree and had him flogged to death, pouring boiling water into his mouth whenever he cried for water. These things which have long vanished from many parts of the world still flourish in S.A. today. None will deny that they constitute a serious challenge to Congress and we are in duty bound to find an effective remedy for these obnoxious practices. The Government has introduced in Parliament the Native

Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill and the Bantu Education Bill. Speaking of the Labour Bill, the Minister of Labour, Ben Schoeman, openly stated that the aim of this wicked measure is to bleed African trade unions to death. By forbidding strikes and lockouts it deprives Africans of the one weapon the workers have to improve their position. The aim of the measure is to destroy the present African trade unions which are controlled by the workers themselves and which fight for the improvement of their working conditions in return for a Central Native Labour Board controlled by the Government and which will be used to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the African worker. The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, has also been brutally clear in explaining the objects of the Bantu Education Bill; according to him the aim of this law is to teach our children that Africans are inferior to Europeans, African education would be taken out of the hands of people who taught equality between black and white. When this Bill becomes law it will not be the parents but the Department of Native Affairs which will decide whether an African child should receive higher or other education. It might well be that the children of those who criticise the Government and who fight its policies will almost certainly be taught how to drill rocks in the mines and how to plough potatoes on the farms at Bethal. High education might well be the privilege of those children whose families have a tradition of collaboration with the ruling circles. The attitude of the Congress on these bills is very clear and unequivocal. Congress totally rejects both bills without reservation. The last provincial Conference strongly condemned the then proposed

Labour Bill as a measure designed to rob the African workers of the universal right of free trade unionism and to undermine and destroy the existing African trade unions. Conference further called upon the African workers to boycott and defy the application of this sinister scheme which was calculated to further the exploitation of the African worker. To accept a measure of this nature, even in a qualified manner, would be a betrayal of the toiling masses. At a time when every genuine Congressite should fight unreservedly for the recognition of African trade unions and the realisation of the principle that everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests, we declare our firm belief in the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that everyone has the right to education; that education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among the nations, racial or religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. That parents have the right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying policy of the supremacy of the white men. The attitude of the Government to us is that: 'Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them under our feet. We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.' But there is nothing inherently superior about the herrenvolk idea of the supremacy of the whites.

In China, India, Indonesia and Korea, American British, Dutch and French Imperialism, based on the concept of the supremacy of Europeans over Asians, has been completely and perfectly exploded. In Malaya and Indo-China British and French imperialisms are being shaken to their foundations by powerful and revolutionary national liberation movements. In Africa, there are approximately 190,000,000 Africans as against 4,000,000 Europeans. The entire continent is seething with discontent and already there are powerful revolutionary eruptions in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Tunisia, Kenya, the Rhodesias and South Africa. The oppressed people and the oppressors are at loggerheads. The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is not very far off. I have not the slightest doubt that when that day comes truth and justice will prevail. The intensification of repressions and the extensive use of its bans is designed to immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement. But gone forever are the days when harsh and wicked laws provided the oppressors with years of peace and quiet. The racial policies of the Government have pricked the conscience of all men of good will and has aroused their deepest indignation. The feelings of the oppressed people have never been more bitter. If the ruling circles seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels them to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule our country. But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above, we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been

considerably raised and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day. The ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened. This is a development of the highest importance because in a country such as ours a political organisation that does not receive the support of the workers is in fact paralysed on the very ground on which it has chosen to wage battle. Leaders of trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the A.N.C. In the past we talked of the African, Indian and Coloured struggles. Though certain individuals raised the question of a united front of all the oppressed groups, the various non-European organisations stood miles apart from one another and the efforts of those for co-ordination and unity were like a voice crying in the wilderness and it seemed that the day would never dawn when the oppressed people would stand and fight together shoulder to shoulder against a common enemy. Today we talk of the struggle of the oppressed people which, though it is waged through their respective autonomous organisations, is gravitating towards one central command. Our immediate task is to consolidate these victories to preserve our organisations, and to muster our forces for the resumption of the offensive. To achieve this important task the National Executive of the A.N.C. in consultation with the National Action Committee of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. formulated a plan of action popularly known as the "M" Plan and the highest importance is attached to it by the National Executives. Instructions were given to all provinces to implement the "M" Plan without delay. The underlying principle of this plan is the understanding that it is no longer possible to wage

our struggle mainly on the old methods of public meetings and printed circulars. The aim is: (1) to consolidate the Congress machinery; (2) to enable the transmission of important decisions taken on a national level to every member of the organisation without calling public meetings, issuing press statements and printing circulars; (3) to build up in the local branches themselves local Congresses which will effectively represent the strength and will of the people; (4) to extend and strengthen the ties between Congress and the people and to consolidate Congress Leadership. This plan is being implemented in many branches not only in the Transvaal but also in the other provinces and is producing excellent results. The Regional Conferences held in Sophiatown, Germiston, Kliptown and Benoni on the 28th June, 23rd and 30th August and on the 6th September, 1953, which were attended by large crowds, are a striking demonstration of the effectiveness of this plan, and the National Executives must be complimented for it. I appeal to all members of the Congress to redouble their efforts and play their part truly and well in its implementation. The hard, dirty and strenuous task of recruiting members and strengthening our organisation through a house to house campaign in every locality must be done by you all.

From now on the activity of Congressites must not be confined to speeches and resolutions. Their activities must find expression in wide scale work among the masses, work which will enable them to make the greatest possible contact with the working people. You must protect and defend your trade unions. If you are not allowed to have your meetings publicly, then you must hold them over your machines in the factories, on the trains and buses as you

travel home. You must have them in your villages and shanty towns. You must make every home, every shack and every mud structure where our people live, a branch of the trade union movement and never surrender. You must defend the right of African parents to decide the kind of education that shall be given to their children. Teach the children that Africans are not one iota inferior to Europeans. Establish your own community schools where the right kind of education will be given to our children. If it becomes dangerous or impossible to have these alternative schools, then again you must make every home, every shack or rickety structure a centre of learning for our children. Never surrender to the inhuman and barbaric theories of Verwoerd. The decision to defy the unjust laws enabled Congress to develop considerably wider contacts between itself and the masses and the urge to join Congress grew day by day. But due to the fact that the local branches did not exercise proper control and supervision, the admission of new members was not carried out satisfactorily. No careful examination was made of their past history and political characteristics. As a result of this, there were many shady characters ranging from political clowns, place-seekers, splitters, saboteurs, agents-provocateurs to informers and even policemen, who infiltrated into the ranks of Congress. One need only refer to the Johannesburg trial of Dr. Moroka and nineteen others, where a member of Congress who actually worked at the National Headquarters, turned out to be a detective-sergeant on special duty. Remember the case of Leballo of Brakpan who wormed himself into that Branch by producing faked naming letters from the Liquidator, De Villiers Louw,

who had instructions to spy on us. There are many other similar instances that emerged during the Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley trials. Whilst some of these men were discovered there are many who have not been found out. In Congress there are still many shady characters, political clowns, place,seekers, saboteurs, provocateurs, informers and policemen who masquerade as progressives but who are in fact the bitterest enemies of our organisation. Outside appearances are highly deceptive and we cannot classify these men by looking at their faces or listening to their sweet tongues or their vehement speeches demanding immediate action. The friends of the people are distinguishable by the ready and disciplined manner in which they rally behind their organisation and their readiness to sacrifice when the preservation of the organisation has become a matter of life and death. Similarly, enemies and shady characters are detected by the extent to which they consistently attempt to wreck the organisation by creating fratricidal strife, disseminating confusion and undermining and even opposing important plans of action to vitalise the organisation. In this respect it is interesting to note that almost all the people who oppose the "M" Plan are people who have consistently refused to respond when sacrifices were called for, and whose political background leaves much to be desired. These shady characters by means of flattery, bribes and corruption, win the support of the weak-willed and politically backward individuals, detach them from Congress and use them in their own interests. The presence of such elements in Congress constitutes a serious threat to the struggle, for the capacity for political

action of an organisation which is ravaged by such disruptive and splitting elements is considerably undermined.

Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world, a revolution is maturing: it is the profound desire, the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy for ever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery. To overthrow oppression has been sanctioned by humanity and is the highest aspiration of every free man. If elements in our organisation seek to impede the realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm. To do otherwise would be a crime and a serious neglect of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organisation. Kotane, Marks, Bopape, Tloome and I have been banned from attending gatherings and we cannot join and counsel with you on the serious problems that are facing our country. We have been banned because we champion the freedom of the oppressed people of our country and because we have consistently fought against the policy of racial discrimination in favour of a policy which accords fundamental human rights to all, irrespective of race, colour, sex or language. We are exiled from our own people for we have uncompromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America and her satellites to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and the cobalt bombs where millions of people will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal and greedy appetites of the imperial powers. We have been gagged because we have emphatically and

openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace and to fight against the war policies of America and her satellites. We are being shadowed, hounded and trailed because we fearlessly voiced our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya. The massacre of the Kenya people by Britain has aroused world-wide indignation and protest. Children are being burnt alive, women are raped, tortured, whipped and boiling water poured on their breasts to force confessions from them that Joma Kenyatta had administered the Mau Mau oath to them. Men are being castrated and shot dead. In the Kikuyu country there are some villages in which the population has been completely wiped out. We are prisoners in our own country because we dared to raise our voices against these horrible atrocities and because we expressed our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people. You can see that 'there is no easy walk to freedom anywhere, and many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow (of death) again and again before we reach the mountain tops of our desires.' 'Dangers and difficulties have not deterred us in the past, they will not frighten us now. But we must be prepared for them like men who mean business and who do not waste energy in vain talk and idle action. The way of preparation (for action) lies in our rooting out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will cleave its way to (Africa's) freedom.'

N.R.D. Mandela, President, African National Congress, Transvaal, 21st September, 1953."

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