

SCHEDULE NO. 17.

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"Dear Sir Winston Churchill,

We are not at all astonished by your beliefs and outlooks towards your fellow men. We take into account that you are a product of the Victorian Era, that despicable and debased period during which hordes of mercenaries set off on a robbing and pillaging spree that ever was foisted on an unsuspecting world, particularly Africa, Asia and America. You can therefore expect to convince no one but yourself, and dupe no one, but those of your morally degenerate brothers and sisters, who in any case are beyond redemption, who have been brought up to look on with equanimity and like you, to even take part. Remember Sudan, South Africa, where you took part? - whilst everything that man cherishes, his land, his freedom, is stolen and trampled underfoot. Having seen and tasted all this, we the African Youth, emphatically declare that we desire to see no extension of that rotten kind of life to any other people in the world. We would, therefore, you leave the people of Korea, Vietnam, Malaya and Guiana in peace. Further, we deem it no recommendation for your upbringing that an old man like yourself, who by now ought to know better, still encouraging, propagating and defending that rotten way of life that has splayed the world for the last five centuries. It is meant the establishment of just laws administered by impartial tribunals, you say. This after the Evelyn Baring, George Erskine, Thackeray mockery of justice in Kenyatta's case, and the continued negation of justice in Kenya.".....

"As mere human beings you can be forced to terms, and the world of the oppressed is doing just that and more. They



are shaking the imperialistic shackles from their bruised and bleeding wrists and ankles. If you don't believe that, ask your comrade in crime, France, and the two of you just look at Malaya, Indo-China, Kenya, Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Nigeria. The writing is on the wall in big luminous letters. To the Youth of the Colonial slave countries we say, 'youth mark this, though the grown-up people might only work for a span of life that is ahead, we are but on the threshold of life. Whether or not our old age, our last day of life will be spent in the jungles of Malaya and the swamps of Vietnam, in the hovels and slums of Algiers, Kampala, Nairobi or the forest of Kera-Nianga, in the alleys of Vrededorp or the stinking insanitary tin shacks of Maroko, depends on our efforts, and our efforts only'."

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"And so the war in Kenya still goes on. The history of this legalised murder of innocent Kikuyu people should always be borne in mind, particularly by the vanguard of the struggle for liberation in this country. If we do so, we shall learn a lot about the dirty tricks to which imperialists can stoop in order to destroy the struggle of freedom loving people, and we need to be alert."

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"History is being made in Kenya. It is indeed the history of White civilization. It is a history of brutality and blood. It is a blank blood-stained page in British history, which in the humane society of the future, will make very sad reading. It is the history of imperialism in decay. How are the defenceless people of Kenya defending themselves against this barbarism set loose? They are using all methods that a people in their position must necessarily resort to. Retaliation, strikes, boycott of



business, the people are fighting back. This is the story which imperialist organs will never reveal."

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 Article, "Why Colonial Day of February 21st?":-

"On February 21st, 1946, the Indian sailors in Bombay took to arms and revolted against the British colonisers. As a consequence of this revolt, a series of similar revolts took place in the army, the airforce and the Indian police force. Brutal British colonial repression resulted in workers, and students revolting as well. Strikes and demonstrations took place throughout India. These events are considered by the Indian people as a stage in their fight for national independence, which they now enjoy. On February 21st, 1947, 20,000 students demonstrated in Cairo on that day for the withdrawal of British troops. This demonstration was a reply of the Egyptian youth to the bloody repression employed by the British against the patriots who fought against British military occupation. Many youths were injured in the fights that took place, but this demonstration was a set-back to oppression which withered and became powerless in the face of the united forces of the people. On February 21st, 1948, the Conference of youth and students of South-East Asia proclaimed this date, the day of 'international day of struggle against colonialism and solidarity with the youth of colonial countries'. This conference which was convened by the W.F.D.Y. and the I.U.S. decided to commemorate this day annually among the youth of the whole world as a symbol of unity in the fight against colonialism. The World Federation of Democratic Youth has always raised its voice and fought against



colonialism. It therefore adopted February 21st as an official day in its calendar. The second World Congress of the Y.W.D.Y. held in Budapest in 1949, recognised the established tradition of this day and ratified it as an international day to be celebrated by all young people. The greatest of all colonial youth day celebrations in South Africa took place in Alexandra Township on February 21st, 1953, convened jointly by the African National Congress Youth Leagues. On this memorable day more than 20,000 youth of all races staged a tremendous welcome to President of the people, A.J. Luthuli on his first official visit to the Transvaal. During colonial youth day week meetings of solidarity were held in support of the youth of Kenya, Malaya and Vietnam. Scores of postcards pledging solidarity were also sent to that venerable leader of the African people in Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. Every year on February 21st the World Federation of Democratic Youth calls upon the youth of colonial countries to fight for their national independence. It calls too on the youth of the metropolitan countries to oppose colonialist crimes and to express solidarity with the youth of the oppressed peoples. Long live the W.F.D.Y., Long live the national liberation movements of the peoples for the liberation of mankind."

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"Whatever the Northern boundaries of Southern Africa is stated to be, there is no denying the geographical unity of the Union of South Africa, South West Africa, Portugese East Africa and the Protectorates. The recent annexation of South West Africa by the Government of Malan was opposed not only by the outside world but also by all politically conscious Africans. The opposition was not based on the denial of the geographical oneness of the two regions, nor



even on a belief that a political identity of each must be forever maintained, but simply on the score that the baasskap leadership of South Africa, has no claims to bringing about that unity. Such a unity is known to mean the intensification of the oppression and the exploitation of the Africans. It is upon grounds such as these that the incorporation of the Protectorates is unacceptable to the African people. The political status of these areas is by no means the embodiment of the ultimate wishes of the African people. At a given stage in the political development the African people asked for Britain's protection. The revolt of the Basutu against measures to disarm them, that of the Bechuana against the deposition of their hereditary ruler, as well as the swallowing up of vast tracts of land by European land speculators in Swaziland, are all positive demonstrations of the fact that the people are in sore need of protection from the protecting powers. The fact that the cheap labour of the mines and farms comes largely from these protectorates and Mocambique, emphasise the economic unity of South Africa. As reservoirs of the Union's cheap labour policy, these areas are nothing more than colonies of South Africa. The position today, therefore, is simply that the Africans in these areas are the victims of blatant and merciless colonial oppression and exploitation. The chief colonial oppressors are the British, Portugese and the South African Herrenvolk. South Africa is legally an independent country. Politically it is a semi-colonial fascist state with semi-colonial status. The struggle against colonialism must be brought to its historic conclusion, especially throughout Britain's third empire, Africa."



"In memory of the gallant sons of Africa". It deals with the sinking of a war-ship on February 21st, 1917, in which a number of African youths were drowned, and it says:

"They were going to fight in the first World War of 1918 against German Imperialism. They died helplessly in defence of love, friendship and peace for mankind the world over. Today as we celebrate colonial youth day, the youth must remember those gallant sons of Africa who laid down their lives for an ideal which the youth of today are struggling to achieve throughout the world. In paying tribute to those gallant sons of Africa, the youth today must take an example from them to fight the forces of fascism, which are now facing us in our country. We warn the imperialist war-mongering nations today, that in any future war that purports to promote imperialism and capitalism, we shall not fight."



SCHEDULE NO. 18.

AFRICAN LODESTAR.

ARTICLE: "1955 - THE YEAR OF DECISION".

"The decision of the Nationalists to carry on with the removal of the Western Areas and to enforce the notorious Bantu Education, has ushered in a new situation in this country; a situation characterised by:

- (a) The sharpening of the contradictions between the oppressive group headed by the Nationalists on the one hand and the oppressed masses headed by the Congress Movement on the other hand.
- (b) The tremendous upsurge of political consciousness amongst the masses.

These conflicting tendencies - progressive and anti-progressive could not but be intensified at such a stage - when the Nationalist bandits have set at top gear their repressive machinery; when their full-fledged police-state with its terror and violence has become a hindrance to the further development of the country, and when the masses of the people have reached a point of NO RETREAT.

The elimination of the Nationalist fascists - hangmen of the people, is the major task of the day - it is a just cause in the interests of human dignity, justice and peace. But it will take the best sons and daughters of this country to do it.

What then are the obvious tasks of a militant Youth Movement in such a situation - in a situation when 'protests' and 'demonstration' can be more or less regarded as impotent; when to speak of 'opposition' without following up by action' has become meaningless?



The new tasks facing the Youth are inseparable from the demands of the situation. We will only be able to stand the only when we can analyse and appreciate the day to day changes and orientate our actions accordingly.

Hence today arise the burning need, firstly to be in a state of preparedness for the approaching conflict between the progressive and retrogressive forces, and secondly the need to keep in pace with, and develop the ever-growing political consciousness of the masses. These two tasks are in fact closely inter-related - one can never improve the organisational state of preparedness without arousing the political consciousness of the people. Up to now our organisational weakness lies precisely in the fact that we have the tendency of lagging behind the masses. Such issues like the fight against rent increases are clear example of tailism on our part, i.e., the attitude of leaving the fight in the hands of opportunistic 'anti-rent' committees. We must always be in the vanguard and take up all issues without, of course, necessarily eliminating alliance and co-operation of non-Congressites. Only by so doing will we be able to gain the confidence of the people - will we be able to isolate opportunists and careerists.

The specific role of the Youth will be fully fulfilled only if we fight on two fronts: On the one hand serve as the spear-head and shock-brigade of the Liberation Movement and on the other hand broaden as wide as possible the base of the Youth Movement itself. It is only a broad, disciplined Youth Front which can successfully serve as propagandists, agitators and organisers for the Liberation Movement.



Verwoerd's 'Bantu Education' and the slave-labour Youth Camps provide good agitational platforms to rally the broad masses of the Youth and Students and nurses are showing in the fight against segregated and inferior education must be exploited and developed. The high-school students, in particular, must be used as organisers for the withdrawal of children from Verwoerd's schools, whilst the introduction of Apartheid to the Universities can be used to rally and link up the struggle against fascism with the participation of even non-African students. The fight against the Youth Camps - the twin brother of Bantu Education as applied to the working Youth must go in hand with the fight against the Pass -- the Pass is, in fact, the key-factor in determining the functioning of such labour camps -- It enables the police to 'pick out' the 'unemployed' which means in fact smelling out of the so-called 'foreign natives' - 'foreign to decent standards of living.

My emphasis on the need for fighting specific issues, to start with of course in conflict with the sensationalist attitude of 'fighting the whole system'. The first step as far as we are concerned is to show the masses that the 'removal scheme' is robbery raised to the second power - then to show the people how the 'Group Areas' have been deliberately coined to rob the people of property rights thus rendering them propertyless victims to be pass-ganged into the army of cheap labour. They will link up for themselves the function of the Pass, the beer-raids in this general oppressive machinery.

Let us realize therefore, friends, that the success or failure of the onward and upward march will



depend not only on courage and militancy but also on our ability to maintain iron discipline, and to have the broadest links with the people. Let us realise that we shall achieve all this by getting out of the offices, by seeing to it that committee meetings are of a reportage nature. Let us go to the people. The masses of the Youth in the locations are ready to throw away the 'reference books'. They are only waiting for our lead."

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT.

The most urgent problem which faces the democratic youth of our country is the problem of raising their political understanding.

Many of our youth, particularly the student youth and the intellectuals, find it difficult to participate fully in the struggle of the people because they find it difficult to solve the ideological problems which sometimes confront them in the struggle. Some of our working youth, who are our best cadres and activists, sometimes fail to show a proper understanding of the nature of the liberation movement. Many of our youth still shout for action, believing that if we have action today, to-morrow will see the establishment of true democracy in our country. But this is not so. The fight for liberation is a long and difficult task, particularly because it must be waged on many fronts and it must solve many problems. The imperialists and their fascist lackeys are fighting a desperate battle on all fronts today, precisely because they are fighting with their backs to the wall.

Vigilance is therefore an essential characteristic of those who are politically conscious.



What then, is the position on the ideological front? Ideas and ideologies do not come from nowhere or from some mysterious source. They are closely related to the society from which they spring. In fact the dominant ideas in any society are the ideas of a particular group, i.e., the dominant group in that society.

The most dominant ideology in South Africa is the ideology of Apartheid. Its most uncompromising and rascist advocates are the Verwoerds and the Strijdoms. But although the voices of this clique are the shrillest, these men are by no means soloists. For their song is echoed in a more or less discordant style by the Strausses, some ministers of religion, buffoons and downright criminals. This is indeed a mixed gathering, and it is exactly its colourfulness which exposes the emptiness and utter bankruptcy of this ideology of Apartheid. All this crowd, however dissimilar they might appear, are united in upholding Apartheid as the last word in Western Civilisation. although each has his own idea as to what Apartheid really means.

Of course, these parasites have a vital interest in a philosophy which justifies the enslavement of the African people. Make no mistake about it - the destruction of the evil philosophy of Apartheid means the destruction of these.

It is interesting that there is an extension of this philosophy even among non-Europeans and Africans. I am referring to those persons, who, before they became careerists, formed the right-wing of the liberation movement - the national-minded bloc - or pure African Nationalists. These are the people who have suddenly discovered that the



African people have gone Red, that the African National Congress is a Communist-led organisation. From this position of pure African Nationalism, these men and women find their words coinciding remarkably with those of the police and the Swartses. Naturally enough, these poor dupes always end up as spies and political pimps.

Then there is the ideology of Liberalism and the Liberal Party. For all their tearfulness (Cry, Cry, the Beloved Country) and sympathy, the Liberals do not really believe that this system under which the people live and which has given birth to Apartheid, is evil and should be destroyed. The Liberals are a very hard-working people with a healthy eye for facts and yet more facts. They have produced some really valuable literature both factual and fictitious. They have a good understanding of the miserable lives of the Africans.

And yet the Liberals are not interested in changing and destroying the system under which the Africans live. They are only interested in reforming it. Instead of no representation, they want Africans to be represented by six white men in Parliament. Instead of the 'Verwoerd Prayer Book Pass' they would have 'exemption Passes'. The Liberals seriously believed that the Africans must wait patiently whilst they, the Liberals, reform the system. The Liberals want the African people to look on whilst the Liberals argue about the oppression of the African people with the fascists of South Africa.

The Ideology of Liberalism is doomed to fail. It will fail because it is wrong; it is wrong chiefly because it is out-of-date. It is a political anachronism. It is a pipe-dream."



"THE STRUGGLE AGAINST PASSES."

Report of the National Consultative Committee to the Joint Executives of the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., S.A.C.P.O., S.A.C.O.D., and the S.A.C.T.U.

"The Struggle Against Passes."

1. Is this a new struggle?

The struggle against passes has gone on, sometimes fiercer, sometimes quieter for many years. The new round of struggle which is opening as a result of the threat to extend the passes to African women, does not mark the beginning of the struggle but only a new phase. It opens up the possibility of widening and making changes in the whole struggle against passes and of rousing great sections of the people for the struggle.

2. Can Victory be won in a single battle?

In such a long drawn out war as the war against the pass laws it would be foolish to expect that victory can be won by a single action of the people. The pass system is the foundation of the whole cheap labour system in South Africa; the ruling class will not easily be forced to give it up. It follows, that victory in the struggle against pass laws must not be looked for in every minor skirmish against the enemy. In a long drawn out battle, there will be many minor victories, minor defeats, many advances, many retreats. But final victory for the people means the end of the cheap labour system of South Africa, can only be achieved finally by the overthrow of the ruling class, and by the winning of the Freedom Charter as the ruling policy of South Africa.



3. Is the present struggle item of any importance?

The present struggle against passes for women can well prove to be the decisive turning point of the whole long drawn out war. There is no aspect of the pass system which will cause such bitter opposition as this; and the present situation therefore enables us to bring thousands of new militant fighters into the struggle, to rouse those who have become accustomed to and tolerant of the pass laws for a new effort and to awaken the conscience and the resistance of those sections of the people white, coloured, Indian, who do not themselves directly suffer under these laws.

4. Is this a struggle of the women alone?

Clearly the women are in the front rank of the battles now opening. They are the victims the government has singled out for its latest attack. But the struggle is not one for women alone. It is one in which women and men must join together, each helping, assisting and encouraging the other as circumstances demand. By themselves, the women can perhaps resist the latest attacks. But their resistance would be stronger and lead more surely to victory if the menfolk fight with them. But even a temporary victorious resistance of the women to the present attack will not end the struggle against the pass laws. Alone, it will only postpone the day of the attack till the government can muster greater force. It will only be a breathing space before a new attack in a new direction. This must be a joint campaign of men and women, whose aim is to end the pass system and the government which upholds it.

5. Is the slogan 'Women shall not carry passes' correct?

It is argued by some, that the present battles will be decided, won or lost on the question of whether the



the womenfolk take the new passes. Therefore, it is argued, the political line of the campaign must be to encourage women under no circumstances to accept the passes. From this line of policy, it is clear, develops the concept that the pass laws can be fought and beaten only by acts of passive resistance--individual or collective--by acts of steadfast refusal on the part of the women to accept the new passes. No one can deny that such acts would be of tremendous significance, advancing the struggle of the people and giving new moral and enthusiasm to the whole campaign. Nothing should therefore be said or done which would encourage such acts of defiance, passive resistance.

But this is not the only way to fight, nor even the best way. Even widespread acts of passive resistance alone cannot, in the long run, deter the government from its course, if it is determined to use all its force, authority and power to enforce its will. This was one of the lessons taught us by the Western Areas Removal Campaign, which we cannot forget. We must not let our enthusiasm blind us to the prospects of overwhelming government force,---mass deportations, sackings from jobs, evictions from homes etc.--which can be unleashed against passive resisters, to break their resistance. Passive Resistance is good, effective, valuable at the right time, in the right circumstances. But it is not the only way. And those who hold it out and despair, and to their loss of confidence in our movement.

6. What other slogans can be advanced?

There are other ways of struggle against the pass laws, each of which has its place. Pass laws can be fought by demonstrations and strikes, by petitions and meetings, by boycott and resistance and disobedience, by active



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