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FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

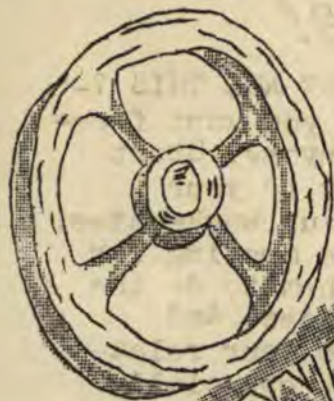
SPECIAL
ISSUE!

CALL

P.O. BOX 2264
DURHAM.

MAY, 1955.
ISSUE.

ON WITH THE JOB!



FORWARD
TO
FREEDOM

JUNE • 25 • 26 • D-DAYS

ONWARD TO THE C.O.P.

Now the news is out! The Congress of the People will take place on Saturday June 25th and Sunday June 26th. It will take place Kliptown, Johannesburg. It is less than two months to go; and in that time, the progressive movement must arouse the whole country so that delegates pour in, in their thousands to this great assembly, meeting on a historic day.

THERE IS a great deal to do before we can say "Now we are ready; the people are ready; our Congress of the people will be a tremendous success."

WHAT ARE the things the Congress activists and COP Volunteers need to do? Right away, starting from today, demands must be gathered in from the people for the Freedom Charter; and at the same time delegates must be elected!

WHAT IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE? - It is an assembly of delegates of all the people of South Africa, where they can speak of Freedom, and how to get it; there they will adopt a Freedom Charter drawn up from all the views of all the people everywhere of what they would do; if they could make the laws.

WHO CAN SEND DELEGATES TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE? - Any group of men and women, no matter how many they are; they should live in the same block or street or village or town; or they should work together in the same factory or office or shop or farm.

HOW ARE DELEGATES TO BE CHOSEN? - By a vote of the people who came together in a meeting in a house, or in a hall or wherever they may meet, where they can talk over and agree on what they want in the Freedom Charter and what their spokesmen to the Congress of the

People must say.

WHAT ARE DELEGATES TO DO? - They are to travel to Johannesburg, so as to arrive not later than 10 a.m. Saturday morning, June 25th 1955. In Jo'burg, they are to report to offices of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats or the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation. They are also to bring their own blankets. Where they have no friends to accommodate them for the night, accommodation will be provided.

WHO IS TO PAY FOR THEIR FOOD & TRAVELLING? - Those who elect the delegate must pay for his travelling, and give him 5/- for his food. If they are willing to speak of freedom, they must be willing to collect money to help win it! Those who can, should collect food-mealies, potatoes, rice, for the delegate to take to the Congress of the People delegates' kitchen.

CAN YOU SAY: "I HAVE DONE MY FULL SHARE?" IF NOT - GET ON WITH THE JOB!

WHAT IF MONEY CANNOT BE RAISED? -

If every effort to raise the money fails, or if no one at your meeting can leave work to travel to Johannesburg, appoint a friend or relative who lives on the Witwatersrand to represent you. Write and tell him that he is to attend - speak for you, and tell him what you want him to say. Tell him to take your letter to one of the Congress offices, and ask for a delegate card.

WHAT IF YOU KNOW NO PEOPLE ON THE RAND? -

Then write to the Congress of the People Committee at Post Office Box 11045, Johannesburg. Tell them what kind of people you are, where you live, and where you work. Tell them what demands you have for the Freedom Charter. They will find a suitable person to represent you at the Congress of the People.

HOW DO DELEGATES GET CREDENTIAL CARDS? -

As soon as delegates have been elected, write to the Congress of the People Committee at P.O. Box 2299 Durban for a delegate's card, or ask your local Congress Branch Secretary for one. Fill it in carefully before giving it to the delegate.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE WITH DEMANDS FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER? -

They should be written out, in any language, and send it now to the Congress of the People committee, saying how many people were present when they were discussed, and which town or place of work they come from. Or if time is too short, there is space for it to be written on the back of your delegate's card.

WHO IS TO ORGANISE ALL THIS? -

You are; because you want freedom as much as anyone. Start by yourself; talk to your neighbours and your work-mates. Organise a little meeting for them. Then get them to do the same in other places. And write about it to your relations and friends, especially in the country-side and the reserves. But YOU DO IT!

WHEN IS THIS TO BE DONE? - NOW! RIGHT AWAY, TODAY!

There is no time to lose. Delegates have to be elected; money for their fare collected. So do it now! The Congress of the People is on June 25th and 26th.

*WE MUST HAVE A DELEGATE
FROM EVERY SUBURB AND
TOWN IN NATALOO*

IS THIS POSSIBLE? - We say, "Yes" it is!" But it depends on you and your organisation, and upon how quickly you get working to carry out all the following suggestions. These are the things your organisation should do now, without delay.

1. Discuss in your Congress Branch meeting or COP Committee meeting how you can divide your area up, canvassing it block by block, calling the people in each block to have a meeting, where they can discuss demands and elect delegates. Try, if possible to cover every block of your area, call at least one meeting every night.

DEMANDS & DELEGATES: That's the Job for You! 3.

2. At every meeting, try to get the people present, - or some of them if it is a very large meeting - to form themselves into a committee to collect funds for the delegates travelling expenses. See that one person is appointed convenor or Secretary of the Committee, to handle funds, and to keep in touch with you for all arrangements that have to be made.

3. Don't forget to tell the people at the meeting that they must all - repeat all - write to their friends and relations, especially in the reserves, the mines and the European farms, telling them about the Congress of the People and getting them to send delegates in too.

4. Check through your own members: Where do they work? Has each one called a meeting in his factory or shop or office building to get a delegate elected. Where do they live? Has each one called a meeting in his own street or block to get a delegate elected. What other bodies do they belong to? Churches, trade unions, Advisory Boards, etc. Has each one got his other organisation busy working for the Congress of the People, canvassing their own supporters about it? If not, start now with all these things

5. Please keep in touch with - the Congress of the People Secretariat, P.O. Box 2299, Durban Let them know what you are doing, how many meetings you are calling, how many area drives you have made how many delegates you have organised. Unless they know how the campaign is going, how many delegates are going to attend and so on, they cannot

CALL TO VOLUNTEERS!!

A volunteer is an organiser and a leader of the people. Starting right away, now without delay, he must organise people to formulate their demands. We must call people together, explain to them the Freedom Charter, encourage them to speak out, listen to their demands, and record their demands and send them into the Congress of the People Committee. For some volunteers a start can be made in their own factories or their own place of work - where lunch-hour discussion with his work-mates can be arranged. For all volunteers, a meeting of neighbours in a house, perhaps only of one street or block, can be called together. From these small beginnings we must branch off, going from street to street, from block to block, organising meetings, explaining, listening, recording. For the next few months, volunteers must work like missionaries, without resting. It should be our aim to meet with one group of people or another every night, systematically covering our whole town or locality so that no citizen of South Africa is left out of the discussions on the Freedom Charter.

possibly make the arrangements for travelling etc.

ACT NOW, TODAY!

SOME QUESTIONS & ANSWERS.

CAN ORGANISATIONS SEND DELEGATES TO THE CONFERENCE?

YES, they can, if they want to do so! We want tried representatives of the people, elected by the people themselves in their houses and places of work - not representatives of organisations and committees. Delegates from organisations are not what we want for a People's Parliament! And this goes for your own organisation. Don't just send a delegation from your branch; organise the ordinary people about you; and if you do it properly, your members will be elected as delegates to the Congress of the People, representing not organisations but people, voters!

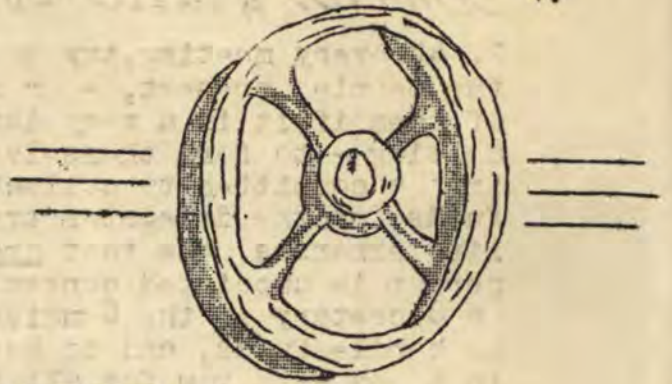
WHO WILL PAY THE COSTS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE?

As explained before, those people who send delegates must pay the costs of his travelling and give him something to put into the common feeding fund when he gets to Johannesburg. Witwatersrand will pay for all the costs of the national Congress of the People at Kliptown. Other areas will pay for their own travelling expenses, plus 5/- per delegate for food.

**NO EXCUSES
FROM VOLUNTEERS!**

There can be no excuses for failure. Every conceivable assistance has been given to activists and volunteers.

GET ON WITH THE JOB!



**AFTER C.O.P.
WHAT NEXT?**

A BIG task faces the volunteers after the Congress of the People meets at Kliptown on the 25th and 26th June 1955.

THIS IS the task of continuing with the work of organising COP local committees in all areas and to work for the implementation of the Freedom Charter which will be adopted at Kliptown.

THEREFORE, volunteers and local COP Committees must not think that their job is done once the Congress of the People is held.

THEY MUST REMEMBER THAT...

A VOLUNTEER IS SOMETHING SPECIAL!

He is more than just a Congressman, who pays his subscriptions and attends his Branch meetings. He is, above all that, an active worker for the Congress cause. He is one who gives up his spare time and his leisure, his evenings, week-ends and holidays, to do active work for the Congress movement. He is one who takes on himself the work of explaining, convincing and teaching others that our cause is right. He is a leader of his people in the long hard struggles for freedom.

WE MUST CONTINUE WORKING UNTIL
WE ACHIEVE FULL FREEDOM FOR ALL!!

5.

THEREFORE, A VOLUNTEER MUST BE
A DISCIPLINED WORKER !

He must always be ready to do work with others on whatever the majority has decided must be done. He must be ready to carry out the orders and the wishes of his Congress and COP Committee. He must be ready to help others, but also to learn from them, to listen to others and their advice. He must be prepared to work together with other volunteers, loyally without petty disputes and squabbles.

THEREFORE, A VOLUNTEER MUST
LEARN TO LEAD !

Those who join our Volunteers Corps must learn to understand our Congress Movement and what it stands for. They must study and learn to understand how our people live, and how their lives can be bettered by freedom. They must learn to use their knowledge and understanding to guide the people they live and work amongst on all the daily problems and troubles of their lives. They must learn how to pass their own understanding on to others, in the buses, and trains and streets and factories, so that they can become real Leaders of the community, helping and guiding others towards their freedom. Such people are volunteers! They are something special! There is no prouder title in our movement or amongst our people than the title of "Freedom Volunteer". Those who hold it, must live up to it!

WHAT THEN are volunteers expected to do after the COP.

A VOLUNTEER MUST ORGANISE.

In the first place he must organise other Congress men

and women to join the 'Freedom Volunteers'. He must explain to them what is expected of a volunteer, and fire their imagination with the glorious freedom that active work can win. He must call together all the volunteers in his neighbourhood, and band together with them into a working, neighbourhood group. He must pledge himself to carry out the decisions of his Group, and respect the authority of his officials. He must go out with his group, into the streets and houses and working places of the people, explaining Congress policy to them, winning them to support the Congress and to unite with others in the campaigns the Congress is conducting for the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

A Volunteer is a Freedom organiser! A volunteer must plan! He must meet regularly each week, with his group, and discuss what the group is to do to help in the Congress campaign of the moment. He must decide with his group what each and all of them are to do to carry the Congress campaign to the people of his area. He must plan to use all his week spreading the Congress idea and the Congress message in his home area and his working place. He must plan how to bring the people of his area into the whole nationwide campaign which Congress head-quarters is conducting and how to win the peoples' confidence for the Congress movement. He must check up on what was decided the week before, and see that it was thoroughly carried out by all his group. And he must plan to see that the weaknesses and failures of last week are not repeated against in the future. A Volunteer is a freedom planner.

OUR OBJECTIVE: *Liberation of mankind!*

6.

A VOLUNTEER MUST WORK!

HE must carry out loyally, with all his ability, every detail of everything he agreed with his group to do. He must set a high standard of reliability, and of devotion to the Congress cause, which will encourage others to copy him. He must strive to be the most active worker in every aspect of every Congress campaign, in his area or his place of work. He must always get others, from inside the Congresses and from outside it, to work and grow to be Congressmen and Volunteers. He must seek to win the trust of the people, by doing every freedom task that arises with all his strength. And he must keep eyes and ears open for every opportunity to put in a word for Congress policy, and to strike a blow for Congress campaigns. A volunteer is a freedom worker!

A VOLUNTEER MUST TEACH !

He must teach people that the road to freedom lies through unity with their fellow-men in the struggle led by Congress. He must teach them that their freedom will only be won through their own efforts, and that their strength lies only in unity and organisation. He must teach them to see, in all their little struggles and campaigns, seeds of the great national struggle for freedom which is going on and moving towards victory. He must spread amongst the people understanding and knowledge, by distributing to them the Congress leaflet and pamphlets and the publications like New Age, Inyaniso, Fighting Talk and Liberation which support Congress aims. But to do all this, the volunteer must himself study, learn and discuss. He must study with his group the study notes which are being issued to volunteers through the medium of the "Call".

He must discuss with his group the problems which he meets that arise from the lives of his people. He must listen to the opinions of others and learn from them, so that he can become an expert in the field of organisation for freedom, and pass on to others the understanding which will help them to go forward. A volunteer is a student and a teacher of freedom.

It is not given to everybody to have the high qualities of a volunteer! That is why we say that a volunteer is something special! He is a leader and organiser of his people, who sets the cause of freedom higher than his own comfort and well-being.

Our volunteer movement was started to build the 'Congress of the People! This the first and greatest task before all Volunteers into this work, our volunteers must fit all the other daily, urgent tasks - the fight against Group Areas, Rent Increases, Bantu Education - like individual bricks in the building of a great wall.

THESE tasks are only a beginning! They demand of all the volunteers work and more work, patience and understanding, devotion to the people. That is why we say "A Volunteer is something special!"

Let us be worthy of that proud title of

VOLUNTEER.

Let us be able to say:

"All my life and all my strength have been given to the greatest cause in the world-the liberation of mankind."

The COUNTRY WE LIVE IN

The second of a series of lecture notes for C.O.P., Congress branch and Trade Union classes.

The first of this series was produced in our last issue. It was entitled "The World We Live In."

THE WAY of life of the people of South Africa has been shaped by imperialism. In the earliest days, when slavery was still common in many parts of the world, slave traders raided Africa, rounding up the people who lived here, and shipping them abroad like cattle to be sold on the slave markets. These slave-traders cared little about the way people lived in Africa. They came, they captured slaves and they departed.

NEW INVADERS..

BUT LATER, a new kind of invader came to Africa - the imperialist. He searched not for slaves to capture and ship to foreign lands, but for workers at low wages to exploit the people and the natural riches of the land. At first, the imperialists found little to interest them in South Africa. Farming in many places was poor, unable to develop along the great plantation lines of other colonial lands; there were no signs of oil or rubber or timber forests sugarfields or cotton such as drew the imperialists to America, to Malaya, Burma, India. There were no signs, in those early days, of precious minerals, coal, iron, gold and diamonds. And so for a long time, imperialism passed South Africa by, leaving it to a handful of white settlers to try to settle down and make a living by farming and supplying vegetables and fruit to passing ships.

MINERAL RICHES..

BUT ALL that changed 100 years ago, when diamonds were first discovered in the Northern Cape near Kimberley. Suddenly, imperialism became hungry for South Africa and her wealth. There was a new invasion of South Africa, not by men with arms, but by men seeking riches from exploiting the minerals and the people. First it was diamonds; then gold on the Witwatersrand; then coal, platinum, copper. In a short space of time, South Africa passed from a backward farming country to one of the world's richest sources of raw materials, and of riches for those who were to exploit the people.

THE NEW PATTERN..

THE IMPERIALISTS made South Africa to suit themselves. They made it a place where labour is cheap, a place where the natural riches of the country can be cheaply produced, a place where people are poor, oppressed and ruled by an iron hand.

IMPERIALISM'S first attack on the way of life of the people of South Africa was designed to break down their independence, to tear them away from their self-supporting farming and make it necessary for them to work for wages. The imperialists worked together with the white farmers, making allies of them against the black people. Together they stole South Africa's farming land from the people, first by armed invasion and conquest, made easy by the superiority of imperialist fire-arms against the assegais, and hide shields of the inhabitants. Gradually the African people were pushed back into smaller and smaller little islands of land. In 1913, armed conquest gave way to "law" - laws passed by a parliament whose authority came not from the people - because only a small white minority had votes - but from the overwhelming force of police and army behind it. In 1913, Parliament passed the Land Act, by which the white minority reserved for themselves for ever nine out of every ten morgen of South African soil. For the Africans - 8½ million people - 4 times as many as the white population - only one tenth of the land was reserved. Into this one tenth the overwhelming majority of the African people have been herded; here they try and keep body and soul together on tiny plots, overstocked, overcrowded and eroded. These areas - the reserves and so-called Trust Lands - are truly reserves of poverty; 3¼ million people live in them, many thousands with no land at all. Even those who have strips of land are unable to raise sufficient crops or cattle on their tiny plots to keep their families alive, and to pay the heavy taxes which have been imposed on them. And so these reserves of poverty become also reserves of cheap labour, from which every year hundreds of thousands of men trek to the towns and the European farms, to earn cash wages to supplement their farming income.

THE SYSTEM suits the imperialists perfectly; it makes for high profit in large-scale farming, Mining and industry. Wages remain low since the workers from the reserves have only to support themselves on their wages, while their families live and eat off their reserve farms. Conditions of housing, education, health and recreation are poor, since these workers are only "temporary" workers - working perhaps nine months or a year in the towns and then returning to their rural homes.

The PEOPLE NOW

IT IS this system of cheap, semi-rural labour which imperialism has perfected in South Africa, and which sets the standards of life and work for all other workers. Of the Africans in the Union, 3¼ million live in the reserves and trust lands; 2¼ million work on European farms as labourers or labour-tenants, who exchange their work for the right to live on their bosses property and grow a small patch of crops; ¾ million live in compounds attach-

to the mines and other great industries. But as gold and diamond mining developed, so manufacturing industries grew in the towns to supply them - clothing factories, engineering factories, food processing factories, etc.; 1½ million of the African people have gradually drifted away from the countryside to work in the town, in the factories and the homes of the white population. Though their cash wages are far higher than those paid to reserve workers who work on short contracts on the mines, even their wages and conditions are kept at a very low level by the standards which are set by the greatest employers of all - the gold mines.

LET US look at how some of these people live.

MINERS OF GOLD, COAL, DIAMONDS.

FIRST THE gold, coal and diamond mines. These are the richest in the world, paying over £26 million in profits each to the shareholders, many of whom are abroad in England, America and France. On the gold mines alone, there are 45,000 European workers, and 312,000 African workers. The average wage of the European worker was £803 a year; but of the African only £55 a year, with, perhaps, a further £13 a year as the value of the rations supplied to them. Thus a labourer earns perhaps one twelfth of the wage of a European worker. In mines in Britain or America, a labourer earns approximately two thirds of the wage of a skilled miner. From this can be seen how effectively imperialism has kept wages low in South Africa and profits high.

LAWS OF POVERTY.

A WHOLE system of laws has been passed by Parliament to keep things this way for the benefit of imperialism and the big farmers. Hut and poll taxes, payable in cash, to drive men from the reserves to earn cash wages; Masters & Servants Acts to force men to complete their contract of 270 shifts before they can change their jobs; Urban Areas Acts to keep the workers from settling in the towns after their contracts are complete, or from bringing their families into town during their contracts; Native labour Regulation Acts to protect "recruiters" who scour the reserves for labour without competing with each other and thus forcing up wages; laws like War Measure 1425 to stop the miners holding meetings to improve their conditions. Thus the laws of South Africa grow out of the needs of the rulers of the country - the imperialists and their allies, the big farmers.

(Owing to an error in typing the paragraph entitled "Land Barrons" appears on page 14.)

time the farmer pleases. There are also convict labourers, supplied to the farmers by the Government, kept in private farm prisons, and in all respects treated like slave labourers. So workers on farms, on an average earn even less than workers on the mines.

AND HERE too special laws have been made by the Union Parliament to protect the profits and privileges of farmers. Pass Laws to prevent the African workers moving away from the rural areas; Influx Control laws to keep Africans from entering the towns.

TOWN WORKERS^{oo}

LET US look at the town workers. Their numbers are growing every year. Of the 4½ million people in the urban areas, just over half are Non-Europeans. In manufacturing industries, whose ownership is exclusively in European hands, two out of every three workers are Non-European. Yet here too, imperialism has left its mark. In 1946 for example, the Non-European workers - two thirds of the total number of workers - earned an average wage of £117 a year each; while the European workers - one third of the workers - earned an average of £425 a year. Profits are high and wages low, and the living conditions of the workers is poor. Housing is bad, often unobtainable; wages only cover the barest necessities of life, poor unbalanced diets of mealie meal, bread, with little else to add, and second-hand cast-off clothing. Yet even this has been fought for and wrung from the unwilling employers by the workers' own organised struggles. Since the beginnings of industry, workers have banded together to form trade unions, and through long and bitter strikes and demonstrations, have gradually raised their standards above the minimum levels set by the mining companies.

HERE TOO, many laws have been passed to keep wages low and profits high. There is the Masters and Servants Act, which binds workers to their bosses and makes it a crime to disobey an order. There is the Mine and Workers Act which reserves all the highly paid jobs in mining and building - the so-called "skilled" jobs - for Europeans. There is the Industrial Conciliation Act which refuses any legal rights to trade unions of African workers; and the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act which outlaws strikes of African workers. There are the many pass and influx laws which make it illegal for an African to be more than seven days in a town without a job, and force him thereafter to work on farms or mines.

A SYSTEM OF OPPRESSION^{oo}

THIS IS the system imperialism has built to protect its high profits at the expense of the people of South Africa. Such a system - a system by which a small group of men grow rich at the cost of the misery, slavery, and poverty of many, is always in danger of overthrow by the oppressed people. This is true of South Africa also.

Imperialism can only survive by the use of force on the one hand, and on the other by dividing the oppressed people and turning their anger and discontent away from their real oppressors and against their fellow-oppressed. This is how imperialism survives in South Africa.

It has divided the oppressed, and tried to incite them into wreaking their anger on each other. To do this, it has sacrificed a small part of its profits and privileges to create different levels of oppression against the Non-European people. For the Coloured people there are privileges not granted to Africans - the right to do skilled work, to form trade unions, to move about without passes, in the Cape Province to vote. For a time these privileges served to protect the imperialists by dividing the Coloured people from the Africans; they made many Coloureds feel that their future lay not with the oppressed Africans in struggle against imperialism, but with the ruling class in oppressing and exploiting the Africans; and they made many Africans regard the Coloured people not as fellow-sufferers, but as the allies of the exploiters. So too with the Indian people - privileged to own land and trade in European areas, exempted from pass laws, free to join trade unions. For many years, imperialism lived in safety because of the divisions and the hostility it managed to create in the ranks of the oppressed and exploited

SHARING IN OPPRESSION

BUT IMPERIALISM has done more to protect itself. It has granted to a section of the European population the right to share in the benefits of exploitation of the oppressed colonial peoples. It has permitted the skilled European workers to enjoy many benefits - a monopoly of skilled jobs free from Non-European competition, high wages, good conditions of housing and health, the right to cheap domestic servants and a multiplicity of labourers and assistants. True, all this has cost the imperialists a small part of their profits, but it has been like the payment of insurance for them. It has been a payment made to win the European working people away from an alliance with the Non-European oppressed, to give them a stake in the continuation of exploitation and oppression and so to turn them into allies of imperialism and enemies of the oppressed people.

They RULE BY FORCE

FROM THESE hired allies, and from the most denationalised and declassed section of the oppressed, imperialism has built up a vast network of force - police, commissioners, superintendents and armies and workers - to suppress by force the national struggles and revolts of the oppressed. Alongside its armed men, it has raked a whole collection of supporters and hangers on - politicians who preach racialism and oppression as a new

holy religion, hooligans who use violence and assaults to terrorise the oppressed, professors and ministers of religion who "prove" the inferiority of the oppressed and the fitness of the imperialists and their supporters to rule.

THUS IMPERIALISM has built South Africa, and thus it rules.

PARLIAMENT..

PARLIAMENT - the body which makes the laws - has been carefully designed to ensure that it never acts against the interests of the imperialists. When it was first formed in 1910, the vote for Parliament was open not only to the European who had been bought over to the side of imperialism, but also to small sections of the Non-European people - to the Coloured men in the Cape Province, and to a few Africans who owned property in the Cape and Natal. In 1930 the predominance of the Europeans was increased by giving the vote to European women, but not to the Coloured or African women. In 1936, the vote of the African men in the Cape was changed. Their votes were recorded on a separate list, and they voted only for 3 special "Native Representative". The number of African voters in Natal was frozen, and has gradually dwindled away to nothing. The Africans in the other provinces were allowed to elect - not by direct vote but through block votes of chiefs, advisory boards and electoral committees - one representative in the Senate for the Transvaal and Free State, and one in Natal, and one each for the Eastern and Western Cape. Now there is a Government promise to abolish even this. The vote of the Coloured people of the Cape is under attack; Coloureds are to be placed on a separate list and vote only for special "Coloured Representatives". So Parliament gradually becomes more and more an exclusive meeting place for the representatives of the wealthy farmers, mine owners and industrialists - the imperialists- and their bought supporters amongst the European workers.

RULE BY DECREE..

BUT EVEN that is not the whole story. Gradually over the course of years, especially the last six years of the Nationalist Government, Parliament has passed more and more laws which give power to single people - usually Cabinet Ministers - to make regulations with the force of law, without referring these regulations to Parliament. Especially in regard to Africans, Parliament has become little more than a talking shop. The Native Administration Act and the Urban Areas Act give to the "Governor-General" powers to make laws affecting Africans without reference to Parliament or the people. In practice, the term "Governor-General" means the Cabinet, for whom the Governor-General is a mouthpiece. For the Africans he has been made "Supreme Chief" whose word is law. So too, for all other sections of the people, not excluding the Europeans, the Cabinet Ministers are gradually becoming men whose word is law, dictators without the restraint of Parliament. Even the limited "Europeans only" parliamentary system of democracy is dying out in South Africa, as the Nationalist Government with the assistance and support of the representatives of Non-Afrikaner imperialism, try to beat back the demands of the oppressed people, and to stifle their revolts by a brutal dictatorship.

IMPERIALISM, as we have seen, is only one stage in the long development of mankind, and men's lives, society and institutions. Before it there have come and gone different systems - slavery, feudalism, merchant capitalism. And imperialism itself is only a stage, a passing phase, which itself changes and develops. In its beginnings, when it is powerful and unchallenged, it manages to put on a show of democratic freedom. But as the discontent and revolt of the oppressed arises, it is forced to strip off its democratic pretences, and to reveal itself in all its nakedness as a rule of despotic power, based on force and racialism.

FASCISM.

WE ARE entering the last stage in the history of imperialism - the stage when democratic pretence gives way to open, terrorist dictatorship we call fascism! Fascism, the open, terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary, racialistic and blood-thirsty section of the imperialist ruling class. This is the system rapidly growing up in South Africa under the Nationalist Government. To challenge it, there is need for a close unity of all the oppressed people, together with all those democratic and liberty-loving sections of the European people, whose future is threatened by fascism.

SUCH AN alliance can not hope to defeat fascism only by seeking to change the government of the day. For fascism is not a particular body of men. It is something that grows out of the economic and social conditions produced by imperialism, and can only be defeated by such sweeping, radical changes in those conditions as will destroy for ever the breeding ground of fascism. Let us study what those changes should be, if the alliance is to destroy fascism, before fascism destroys the people.

ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER TO THE "CALL"

IF NOT PLEASE FILL IN THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS AND POST COUPON TO:-

The Secretary,
"Call" Committee,
P.O. Box 2264 - Durban. - together with 5/-.

NAME:

ADDRESS:

ERRATA:

Continued from page 9 - Sub-Heading: Land Barons:

LET US look at the European farms. Here there are over 2½ million Africans, of whom only about 700,000 earn cash wages. There are many different types of farm labour. There are some workers, especially on the large fruit farms and sugar farms, where the worker live like mine-workers in compounds and are paid cash wages, averaging about £20 a year. There are labour tenants, whole families who work for six or nine months in the year for the farmer, in exchange for the right to plough and graze animals on a small part of farm. He too is a contract labourer, tied to the farm by contract, and yet without any security to remain on his plot. He can be ordered off at any

(Now continue reading on page 10)

THE FOLLOWING LITERATURE IS AVAILABLE
AT: -

THE "NEW AGE" OFFICE,
6 Pembroke Chambers,
472 West Street,
Durban.

- "New China" by Ruth First 1/-
"Fighting Talk" ... May Issue.. 6d.
"Liberation" ... May Issue.. 1/-

Eg 2.3.3

PEACE WEEK 14-22 MAY, 1955

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEACE COUNCIL is organising a gigantic petition in support of world peace and the banning of atomic weapons.

THE NATAL PEACE COUNCIL calls on all activists in the progressive movement and on all peace lovers to assist in obtaining signatures of people residing in their respective areas, flats or locations and from fellow workers and fellow businessmen.

VOLUNTEERS TO GO OUT on organised drives to the factories during the lunch hours and after work and in the various areas on Sunday 14th May, 1955, are urgently required.

CALL TODAY AT 6 PEMBROKE CHAMBERS, AND OFFER YOUR SERVICES.

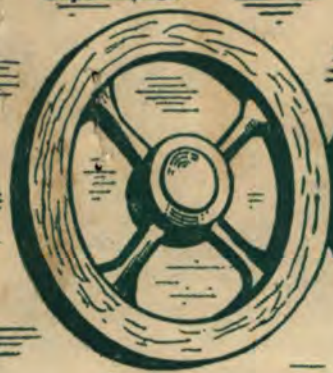
THE AIM OF THE NATAL PEACE COUNCIL IS TO OBTAIN AT LEAST 10,000 SIGNATURES IN NATAL.

THE CAMPAIGN WILL end with a Conference which will be held:

- at: The Surat Hindoo Association Hall
127 Victoria Street - Durban.
- on: Sunday - 22nd May, 1955,
- at: 2.p.m.

REVEREND D.C.THOMPSON, Chairman of the South African Peace Council will open the Conference.

ALL BRANCHES of the Congresses and other organisations are requested to send five delegates each.



speaking together

'Congress of the People' Bulletin

NO. 2. END OF AUGUST, 1954

What it means to be a VOLUNTEER

Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress has called for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers for the Congress of the People. Many thousands in different parts of the country have already answered the call. Many more are volunteering daily.

Coming so soon, when the tasks of the heroic Defiance Volunteers are still fresh in the minds of the people, there is bound to be some misunderstanding as to the tasks of the Freedom Volunteers. And in their desperate attempts to discredit and disrupt the movement, the enemies of the Congress of the People go to all lengths to spread deliberate lies and distort the real meaning of this great movement.

Firstly, it should be made quite clear that while the Congress of the People came about as a result of the radically changed political situation caused by the Defiance Campaign, the present campaign is NOT the continuation of the Defiance Campaign.

We realise that the entire South African political situation has changed; we must meet it with changed tactics and methods. Therefore, the tasks of Freedom Volunteers would be quite different to those of the Defiance Campaign.

The word VOLUNTEER is retained, firstly because it has become a word of honour in our struggle for freedom; secondly, because though they will have different tasks and duties, the Freedom Volunteers will be volunteers nevertheless, in the same struggle.

VOLUNTEERS ARE THE "SHOCK-BRIGADE"

the "Shock-brigade" of our non-violent army of Freedom.



They will be the active organisers against the apartheid menace. They will go from house to house, street to street, to the factories and farms, to schools and mines, to meetings, parties and weddings, everywhere where there are people; and they will be expected to carry the message of the convening of the Congress of the People, to gain support for it and to recruit new volunteers.

They will carry the message of light and truth to areas and to people who have for years and years been kept in deliberate ignorance and darkness. They will educate the masses about the

(continued)

TASKS of VOLUNTEERS

1 To undertake regular, active and intensive work in mobilising resistance to the apartheid policy of the Government. Volunteers must campaign against the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, the Western Areas Removal Scheme; as well as all local grievances of the people such as housing, passes, rents, and transport.

2 To carry to every corner of our country the message of the Congress of the People, and to gather in the people's demands for the Freedom Charter. Volunteers must visit every town, village, farm, factory, mine and reserve in South Africa. This is directly linked with the first task, for the Congress of the People must not be an abstract campaign, but must at all stages and on every issue be related to the actual conditions of the people.

3 To assist in every way possible in building the sponsoring organisations.

4 To assist in any other tasks required for the Congress of the People.

VOLUNTEERS continued from Page 1.

L.L., Jhbq., writes:

" Every right-thinking person, whether he or she be a churchman, teacher, nurse, cook, street sweeper, clerk, miner or a pilot will agree with you.

.....Many, many years back people used to think we are safe in the hands of the ruling class, by the ruling class I mean the VOTERS. But now we realise that those who thought that way are very much mistaken. Because should it not have been for the voters, those who are ruling today would not have been ruling. Something MUST be done!

Since the non-voter is in the majority and the voters in the minority, something shall have to be done to let the voices of the non-voter be heard, and heard in a very big way. That is, THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE."

dangers of the Bantu Education Act, the Group Areas Act, the Native Resettlement Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, and about every other Act that is insulting to our dignity as human beings and that aims to maintain the jack-boot of oppression on our backs till eternity.

They will speak to people, study their conditions, make careful note of their grievances and demands, and ensure that the smallest of these is conveyed to the organisers so that they can be expressed in the Freedom Charter.

They will bear in mind all the time that their foremost aim in carrying out their tasks as volunteers will be to strengthen the national organisations of the people.

They will ensure that by their work, propaganda and careful explanation they will educate the people sufficiently not to be provoked into violence which will be constantly attempted by the enemies.

Freedom Volunteers will carry out their tasks with courage, discipline and utmost devotion, with the realisation that their tasks will end only when our country, South Africa, is free from the bondage and oppression under which it has suffered for so long.

AUGUST 29th - MEETINGS WERE HELD IN MANY AREAS.

500 COPIES OVERSEAS

500 COPIES OF THE FIRST ISSUE OF "SPEAKING TOGETHER" WERE SENT TO PEOPLE AND ORGANISATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD



Your help is needed!

A separate office has now been opened for the National Action Council. The address is 8, Somerset House, Fox Street, Johannesburg; and the Box number: 11045.

There is a tremendous amount of clerical work to be done in the office, and volunteer helpers are needed. After you have finished work, and during the week-end, give up at least some of your time to assisting with this work. 'phone 33-0975 before calling at the office if you can only come 'after-hours', so that arrangements can be made to show you what work must be done.

See that this Bulletin is not wasted! Proper distribution is important - and if you read this Bulletin, you can help in distribution. Pass it on to another volunteer, or to someone you wish to enlist as a volunteer. Do not put it in your pocket and leave it there. Make "Speaking Together" one more weapon in organising a mighty Congress of the People.

CAPE WESTERN REGION holds FINE CONFERENCE

Cape Western Region has followed the Transvaal with a magnificent regional Conference, and once again police intimidation has only served to increase the determination and fighting spirit of the people.

The Conference, which was held in the Banqueting Hall, Cape Town, in the middle of August, was attended by representatives of 27 organisations.

When the police entered the hall in which the Conference was being held they were armed with a warrant to search for documents. They searched the pockets and brief-cases of many delegates - Europeans, Africans, Coloureds and Indians - including trade-unionists, housewives, advocates, a medical specialist and others.

The Conference was one of the most enthusiastic and representative gatherings held in recent years.

Opening the Conference, Mr. Lee-Warden, National Vice-Chairman of the Congress of Democrats said "The days of White domination are numbered, and the Nationalists know it. They fear the future and the people. That is why they find it necessary to send the police to our meetings."

When the call for volunteers was made, the majority of the people in the hall - close on three hundred - signed the volunteer forms. 15 additional members were elected to the Action Committee of the Congress.

In making the call for Volunteers, Mr. G. Ngotyana said that people of the Western Cape should try to contribute 10,000 of the 50,000 volunteers needed.

Mr. T. Ngwenya, regional chairman of the A.N.C., Western Cape, who presided at the afternoon session, said the congress was a great step forward in the struggle for freedom.

Mr. Gibson, of the Liberal Party, felt that a Freedom Charter would go down in history with the Magna Carta, the United States Declaration of Independence, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

Speakers also protested against the police raid.

National organiser on TOUR

A National Organiser for the Congress of the People has been appointed. He is Mr. T.E. Tshumungwa, and already he has visited many centres and reported on the enthusiasm with which the whole idea of the Congress and the Freedom Charter has been greeted.

The National Organiser has visited:-

QUEENSTOWN ⊗

where he reports at a meeting of the A.N.C., when the Call itself was read, verse by verse, "it caused a lot of sensation as it touches the very sentiments of all people oppressed in this country."

NATAL ⊗

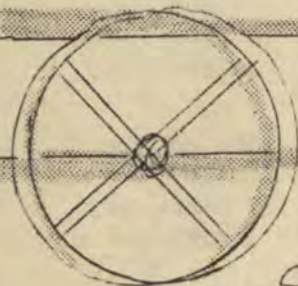
where a proposal was made that self-help and schemes for manual work, such as growing vegetables, carpentry, sewing, and so on, could be used as a means of keeping volunteers together when the campaign is over, of encouraging mutual aid and discipline and assisting those who are unemployed.

UMTATA ⊗

where he found the people deeply opposed to the Bantu Education Act and the Natives Resettlement Act, and are becoming bitter against all discriminatory laws.

Northern Natal to appoint organiser

Northern Natal will organise as a separate region from the rest of Natal. This Region has decided to appoint their own organiser.



NATAL REGIONAL CONFERENCE

at KAJEE HALL, LEOPOLD ST.

Sunday 5th September

1954 . 10.30 a.m.

Professor Z.K. Matthews has been invited to open the Conference

ENROL NEW VOLUNTEERS!

15

REGIONS IN THE TRANSVAAL

A full meeting of the Transvaal Action Council was held on 21st August. In addition to Action Council members, branch secretaries of sponsoring organisations were invited. The meeting endorsed a detailed plan of campaign for the Transvaal, and agreed to the division of the Transvaal into fifteen regions. The regions with their main towns are given below. If you know anybody in the various towns, or have suitable contacts, please inform Head Office.

1. MARICO-RUSTENBERG

Zeerust, Groot Marico, Ottosloop, Rustenburg, Koster, Thabazimbi.

2. LICHTENBERG - BLOEMHOF - WOLMARANSSTAD.

Lichtenberg, Coligny, Delareysville, Bloemhof, Taungs, Schweizer-Reneke, Wolmaransstad, Christiana, Maquassi.

3. POTCHEFSTROOM

Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Ventersdorp, Orkney, Blyvooruitzicht.

4. WATERBERG.

Ny Istroom, Potgietersrust, Warmbaths, Naboomspruit.

5. PRETORIA.

Pretoria, Brits, Bronkhorstspruit,

6. JOHANNESBURG.

WESTERN REGION: Sophiatown, Newclare, Coronationville, W.N.T.

SOUTH WESTERN: Dube, Pimville, Moroka, Jabavu, Orlando, White City, Kliptown, Albertsville.

NORTHERN: Alexandra, Kensington, Wynberg.

CENTRAL: Fordburg, Vrededorp, City and all suburbs.

7. WEST RAND.

Krugersdorp, Florida, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Maraisburg.

8. EAST RAND.

Germiston, Natalspruit, Edenvale, Alberton, Kempton Park, Modderfontein, Boksburg, Benoni, Brakpan, Springs, Delmas.

9. HEIDELBERG - VEREENIGING

Heidelberg, Balfour, Greylingstad, Nigel, Vereengigin, v.d. Byl, Meyer-ton, Evaton.

10. ZOUTPANSBERG. LETABA.

Pietersberg, Leydsdorp, Louis Trichardt, Tzaneen, Messina.

11. BETHAL-ERMELO

Bethal, Ermelo, Amsterdam.

12. MIDDELBURG.

Middelburg, Komdraai, Oogies, Witbank.

13. BAREBORTON-CAROLINA.

White River, Barberton, Nelspruit, Komatipoort, Machadadorp, Carolina.

14. STANDERTON, WAKKERSTROOM, PIET RETIEF.

Standerton, Volksrust, Amersfoort, Wakkerstroom, Piet Retief.

15. LYDENBURG - SECOCOENILAND.

Lydenburg, Belfast, Ohrigstad, Pilgrims Rest.



NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL MEETS ORGANISERS FOR FREEDOM

Police raid Council Meeting

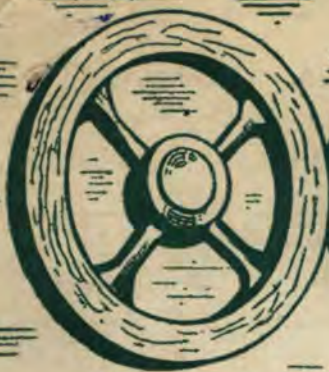
During the meeting of the National Action Council on August 15th, on the North Coast of Natal, 5 members of the Special Branch of the S.A. Police from Durban and Johannesburg raided the premises where the meeting was being held, and seized four documents.

The warrant stated that the document they sought "may afford evidence of the commission or suspected commission of (a) treason (b) sedition and contravention of (c) Act 27 of 1914 (d) Act 44 of 1950 and (e) Act 8 of 1953."

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution strongly condemning the action of the police. The resolution said: "The police are carrying out a systematic campaign of intimidating the people. . . . It is ridiculous to suggest that our peaceful meeting whose purpose was to advance the cause of democracy in South Africa had any criminal motives"

At the conclusion of the meeting, Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, who presided over the meeting, issued the following statement:

"The National Action Committee is most gratified at the progress made in our campaign in different parts of South Africa. I appeal to all organisations in the Union who believe in democracy to join us NOW as active participants in making the Congress of the People the mightiest assembly ever held in our country."



speaking together

'Congress of the People' Bulletin
No. 1. August 1954

Important decisions for the future of the campaign were taken at the meeting of the National Action Council in Durban on the 14th August. Watch for news of these decisions soon!

"B8"

A MEMORABLE CONFERENCE

Sunday 25th July:- the day of the Transvaal Provincial Conference of the Congress of the People, the memorable day of the 'banning' of the C.I.D. Special Branch. From early morning delegates streamed to the Trades Hall, men and women of the Transvaal, in no way intimidated by ruthless police interference at a previous conference.

Here was South Africa's answer to Swart - more delegates than ever, crowding the stairs and the hall, courteous and friendly, yet disciplined and determined. The police came too, brushing officials aside - arrogant pride going before its fall.

In came an old crippled woman, struggling on crutches. Willing hands helped her, pinned on her delegates badge with the proud words "Let us speak of freedom."

Many children came, in solemn groups, conscious of the importance of the occasion. People spoke proudly of them: 'Theirs is the future of South Africa. It is good that they come and learn.'

Many organisations were represented, many towns. Over twelve hundred delegates assembled, representing thousands of people - even the Special Branch of the C.I.D! For a credentials form was presented - 'Name of Organisation:- C.I.D.'

Dr. Conco from Durban, treasurer General of the A.N.C. opened the Conference, speaking of the historical importance of the Congress of the People, the vast gathering at which the deep desires of the people will be hammered out into the Freedom Charter, the peoples' demand for human rights.

Joe Slovo spoke of the Volkswil, the true will of the people, that will of which the Government knows little and cares less; of the tremendous organisational tasks ahead; of the ultimate achievement of the first true concourse of the people of South Africa expressing its inexorable will. And then the Call was read, the Call to Freedom

DECISIONS OF the Tr. Prov. Ctee.

1. Enrol as a FREEDOM VOLUNTEER
2. Encourage all your contacts at work and at home to enrol as FREEDOM VOLUNTEERS.
3. Make sure the organisation that sent you to the Conference is represented on the Provincial Committee.
4. Set up local CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE COMMITTEES - in your factory, street, farm, church, cultural or sporting club.
5. Inspire everybody with the message of the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, and inform them of all our aims and plans.
6. Discuss the FREEDOM CHARTER with people everywhere, and explain how they must stand in their demands for the Freedom Charter.

that never fails to move the hearts and minds of those who hear it.

Meanwhile application had been made to a Supreme Court Judge for an interdict on the presence of the police, for the right to conduct a peaceful lawful conference without unauthorised intruders. Notice was served on the C.I.D. to appear before the judge at 2.30 to show why they should not be ordered to withdraw from the Conference. (Continued)

CAPE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
IS TAKING PLACE ON AUG. 14TH

NATAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
IS TAKING PLACE ON SEP. 5TH

Collection Number: AD1812

RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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