

In justifying himself to the opponents and critics of Bantu education, Mr. Mnyanda has written extensively in the white press. A person of his standing does not enquire from the African people whether anything is good for them; having decided that his people are too ignorant to understand anything he speaks for them, sells them over cups of tea, all these things are said to be in the interests of his ignorant people.

Mr. Mnyanda has written with malice, attacking all who are opposed to Bantu Education. He says he is opposed to Bantu Education himself but (the inevitable BUT) his opposition will best be manifested by his participation in the implementation of bantu education. There are no moral grounds upon which bantu education can be defended therefore our Friends in Rula Street shout "half a loaf is better than nothing". What they omit naturally, is that the half a loaf is poisoned.

Mnyanda and Lemani cannot hide the true character of the Strydom - Verwoerd regime in a cloak of virtuous Godliness. The utterances and actions of the government are not intended to disguise their motives in imposing bantu education. The Nationalists are opposed to all beneficial progress on the part of the Africans. Theirs is the most coarse and degrading despotism ever to afflict our people. It would be calamitous for us to allow their mad ambitions to destroy what for the past fifty years we have striven to build - a truly united African Nation.

True the lights are dim; darkness and its forces appear to be invincible. We must learn to resist the tyranny of darkness and the superstition of apartheid whilst we await the dawn of light and progress.

But the history of mankind teaches that at the very moment that tyranny appears strong and impregnable its rule is doomed. The feverish schemes and panic measures undertaken by the ruling classes in recent years betray their fear at the growing strength of the people and their organisations. They know that the future does not belong to them or their agents in Rula Street or elsewhere but that TIME, JUSTICE AND HISTORY ARE ON OUR SIDE THE SIDE OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FREEDOM CHARTER !

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INTSHUTSHISO e NEW BRIGHTON: AMANQAKU OMBUTHO WESIZWE .

L-Buunga leDolophu yaseBhai ligqibe ukuba liqinise ukucinezelwa kwaBantu abahlala kule lokishi ngemithetho yentswala - bulungisa, lisiqinise isitropu sembandezelo, isetyenziswe ngoku - pheleleyo yonke imithetho yentswala-bulungisa ayenzelwe ukucinezela abantu ezilokishini nje ngoko uBulumante wamadlagusha wagqibayo.

L-Bhunga leDolophu labasusa abantu kwindawo zabo eKorsten leza kubafaka kule lokishi yase New Brighton apho lafika labatshutshisa ngeofente eziphakamileyo nangemithetho engqongqo yelokishi, zaphinda-phindwa ukunyaswa iifrente zezindlu ngelithi ixabiso lwempahla yokwakha liphakamile, ukanti ezo zindlu iso zezizindlu zakhiwa ngexabiso eliphantsi, azizange zidilizwe zakhiwe ngokuthha. Umntu osenwa namhlanje uthatyathwa nentsapho yakhe axhonywe kuDuladula ngamapolisa aye kulahlelwa ngaphandle kwelokishi apho aya kuba sisisulu seminye imithetho yengcinezelo. Kodwa ngesizathu sokuba izindlu zeBhunga le-Dolophu azenzelwanga ntlalo yaBantu, zakhiwa ngenjongo zokufumana ingeniso, ayongena kwingxowa kangxowankulu ilula into yokulahlela ngaphandle abantu.

FREEDOM CHARTER

WE, the People of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people ;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood , enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state , based on the will of all the people, can secure for all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

AND therefore , we, the people of South Africa , black and white together - equals , countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together , sparing neither strength nor courage , until the democratic changes here set out have been won .

* THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN ! Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same , regardless of race, colour or sex ;

All bodies of minority rule , advisory boards , councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government .

* ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS ! There shall be equal status in the bodies of state , in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races ;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs ;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride ;

The preaching and practice of national , race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside ;

* THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH ! The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans , shall be restored to the people ;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil , the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole ;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well being of the people ;

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All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

- * THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT ! Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

- * ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW ! No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

- * ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ! The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise and meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws, restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

- * THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY ! All who work shall be free to form trade Unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

* THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED ! The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life ;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books , ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free , compulsory , universal and equal for all children ;

Higher education and technical training, shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit ;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan ;

Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens ;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished .

* THERE SHALL BE HOUSES SECURITY AND COMFORT ! All people shall have the right to live where they choose , to be decently housed , and to bring up their families in comfort and security ;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people ;

Rent and prices shall be lowered , food plentiful and no one shall go hungry ;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state ;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all ,with special care for mothers and young children ;

Slums shall be demolished , and new suburbs built where all have transport , roads , lighting , playing fields , creches and social centres;

The aged , the orphans , the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state ;

Rest ,leisure and recreation shall be the right of all ;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished , and laws which break up families shall be repealed ;

* THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP ! South Africa shall be a fully independent state , which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations ;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war ;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by the upholding the equal rights , opportunities and status of all ;

The people of the protectorates - Basutoland , Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future ;

The right of all the people of Africa to independence and self govern - ment shall be recognised , and shall be the basis of co-operation.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY , AS WE SAY HERE:

" THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR ,SIDE BY SIDE,THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY . "

Amabobosi ezindlu aya kuchithwa , kuze endaweni yawo kwakhiwe izindlu ezifanelekileyo , baze bonke bafumane inqwelo zokuhamba , indlela , ukukhanyisa , indawo zokudlala , indawo zokulondoloza abantwana , nendawo zembutho ;

Abadala , inkedama , abalimeleyo , nabagulayo baya kulondolozwa ngumbuso ;

Ukuphumla , ukuzonwabela , nokuhlaziya , kuya kuba lilungelo labo bonke .

Ilali ebiyelweyo , namazala , ziya kubhangiswa , nemithetho eya hlukanisa abantu nentsapho zabo iya kuhlaziywa ;

* KUYA KUBA KHO UXOLO NOBUHLOBO ! UmZantsi Afrika uya kuba lilizwe elizimeleyo poqe , eliwahleneleyo amalungelo nokuziphatha kwezinye izizwe ;

UmZantsi Afrika uya kuzama ukulondoloza uxolo phakathi kwezizwe zomhlaba , nokulungisa zonke impambhano phakathi kwezizwe ngokuthetha , kunge ngamfazwe ;

Uxolo nobuhlobo phakathi kwabantu bakowethu luya kufumaneka ngokugcina amalungelo alinganayo , amathuba nobugakanani kubo bonke ngokufanayo;

Abantu bamazwana akhuselweyo anje ngoLaSuthu , Betshwana , eSwazini baya kukhululeka ukuba bazikhothele ngokwabo into abajonge kuyo .

Ilungelo labantu bonke baseAfrika ekuzimeleni nokuziphatha liya kuhlonselwa , lize libe sisiseko sentlangabezwano ;

MA BATHI KE BONKE ABATHANDA ABANTU BAKOWABO , NELIZWE LAKOWABO BATHI, NJE NGOKO NATHI SITSHOYO APHA :

" LA MALUNGELO SIYA KUWALWELA , SIMI OMNYE NGAKOMNYE BONKE UPOMI BETHU , DE SIYIZUZE INKULULEKO ."

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WINNING MILLIONS OF YOUTH TO OUR SIDE !

To many it might seem obvious that the major task of the African Youth Movement should be the building of a Mass Youth Movement capable of playing its part as the vanguard of the national liberation movement . To such people it might appear strange that in spite of a large number of favourable conditions the Youth Movement has failed to organise the mass of working , peasant and student youth into a million strong Youth Organisation . It is indeed strange and dangerous that this state of affairs should be allowed to continue . Apart from the purely objective conditions in the South African set-up , the failure of the Congress Youth League , for instance , to build up a huge and active Youth Movement can be ascribed to (i) historical facts and (ii) Wrong methods of work .

In 1944 when the Youth League was founded the most urgent need of the African National Congress was to put an end to the hesitancy , vacillation and depositions of the past . To create militancy and a measure of political clarity was conceived to be the major task of the people associated with the birth of the Youth League . This meant that for all practical purposes the Youth League was not a movement of Youth but a kind of pressure group that agitated for the adoption of certain attitudes in

the Senior Congress . The role of the Youth League as a pressure group hampered its development as a mass youth movement and this was probably correct at that stage .

But today after Freedom Day in May 1950 ; after June 26th 1950 ; After May 7th 1951 and certainly after the Defiance Campaign and the Great Congress of the People the whole approach in methods of work and tactics must change if progress is to be made . The policies and tactics which the Youth League agitated for in its earlier days have either been accepted or left behind by hard facts of experience and struggle . The Youth League today appears therefore to require adaptation to a different role and the tragic fact is that this is not sufficiently realised in the national movement as a whole , hence the present dangerous quiet on the Youth front of the Movement .

A million strong youth movement in South Africa has become a great need . The emphasis must be on youth work and the production of new leaders . Apart from the political tasks of mobilising the Youth behind the policies of the A.N.C. we must develop and widen the scope of Youth League activities so that it becomes truly representative of the Mass of Youth in the country .

To do this the Youth League must , it seems, get rid of the shady and discredited politicians who in different areas in the country are still using the Youth League as a platform for attacks on the leadership . We must weed out of the movement all those who do not want to work and struggle but merely fossilize development by engaging in sterile debates and slander . Using the draft charter of Youth Rights and the programme issued last year by the Youth League headquarters , the Youth must organise political rallies ; they must make the demands of the youth for sports , recreational and cultural opportunities part and parcel of Youth League work ; They must jointly with other youth organisations in the country organise festivals and country tours . In these activities the Youth League must draw upon and learn from the experiences of Youth Movements in other parts of the world , which in turn involves close co-operation with the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

By loyally implementing the humanitarian and nation building policy of the African National Congress ; by linking the struggles of the students with those of the urban and rural working youth , we shall achieve the task of Winning Millions of Youth to Our Side !

COMMENTS ARE INVITED FROM YOUTH: (EDITOR.... ISIZWE)

EVERYMAN FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

The African National Congress , together with its allies in the South African Indian Congress , the South African of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation have decided to launch a campaign for the collection of One Million Signatures of support for the Freedom Charter . This is a perfectly logical and necessary step after the Great Congress of the People had enshrined in one document all the most vital aspirations of the people of South Africa .

The massive campaign now embarked upon affords us with opportunities to make good whatever lapses we committed during the organisation of the Congress of the People . The aim of the campaign to obtain one million reasons why the Freedom Charter should become the Fundamental Law governing this country must be to create a solid base of men and women who are conscious of the need to strive for such a South Africa as is envisaged in the Charter.

This means we must in fact hand out Freedom Charter¹⁸ individually to one million persons and in return obtain a genuine pledge of support from one million fighters for freedom. This in turn presupposes a goodly stock of Freedom Charters and hundreds of Freedom Volunteers ready to carry the Charter to all parts of the country.

In order to facilitate the organisation of the campaign for the Freedom Charter we suggest the immediate formation of People's Consultative Councils at National, Provincial and local levels. These People's Consultative Councils, consisting of representatives of the Congress Movement generally should get down to work at once. Their first task will be to organise Mass Regional Conferences to get the campaign going. Authorised editions of the Charter must be obtained and also the forms on which the signatures will be inscribed of one Million "Comrades of the Charter".

As far as the A.N.C. is concerned the campaign for the collection of one million signatures for the Freedom Charter should be utilised as a means of building up our membership and streamlining the organisation. The perpetual financial problems and the absolutely unnecessary raggedness in our administrative machinery at ALL levels should receive attention and be solved in the midst of an active and enthusiastic campaign to win new people for the mighty army of liberation that is the Congress Movement.

We are confident that given readiness to accept direction from the Centre on the part of provinces and regions and a vigorous lead to all areas by the Centre this campaign will raise to new heights the preparation for the stormy times that lie ahead.

SAY NOT THE STRUGGLE NOUGHT AVAILLETH,
THE LABOUR AND THE WOUNDS ARE VAIN,
THE ENEMY FAINTS NOT NOR FALLETH,
AND AS THINGS HAVE BEEN THEY REMAIN.

AND NOT BY EASTERN WINDOWS ONLY,
WHEN DAYLIGHT COMES, COMES IN THE LIGHT,
IN FRONT, THE SUN CLIMES SLOW, HOW SLOWLY,
BUT WESTWARD, LOOK, THE LAND IS BRIGHT.

CLOUGH.

Iyahamba le Vangeli, igqib' ilizwe lonke. Izikolo zika velefutha ziyavalwa, NQWEBA. Ziyavalwa e NQUSHWA. Ziyavalwa e VEEPLAATS. Ziyavalwa e DESPATCH. Ziyavalwa e HUMANSDORP. Ziyavalwa e BHAI. Baya shukuma phesheya kwe NCIBA ----- NDIBALA NTONINA!!!


UMTH'OLUSHICA

IT IS NOT UPON THEE TO
FINISH THE WORK, NEITHER
ART THOU FREE TO DESIST
FROM IT.

THIS JOURNAL IS DEDICATED
TO THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO
ARE DAILY PERSECUTED IN
THEIR LIVES FOR THEIR
ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR MANKIND'S
FREEDOM.

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THIS JOURNAL (ISIZWE) IS
WRITTEN, COMPILED AND
PUBLISHED BY WELL KNOWN MEN
WHO HAVE FEARLESSLY ESPOUSED
THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM.

M. MATJI OF P.O. BOX 1204
PORT ELIZABETH IS RESPONSIBLE
FOR POLITICAL MATTER
APPEARING IN THIS ISSUE.

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RESISTANCE TO TYRANNY...
THAT IS OBEDIENCE TO
GOD.

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Bewysstuk No.
 Gekry by..... *D. Zuyani*
 deur..... *A. G. G. G.*
 T..... *Ngobele Street, 15 NB.*
 Datum..... *5/10/55*

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IS SOUTH AFRICA A POLICE STATE ?

This is the astounding question for which an answer is sought by some of the most influential newspapers and magazines in our country today . Is South Africa a Police State ?

The enquiry appears to have been made necessary by the recent mammoth raids ordered by the Nationalist Government on 50 real and imaginary organisations and their leaders . The operation was a big one , which compelled even the staid , imperturbable editors of the kept monopoly press to look up and take notice .

But where were the words of righteous indignation from those men , condemning outright and without qualification , these gross violations of liberty by the authorities - these clear symptoms of a fully grown police state ?

No. Instead of that we got a series of editorials and articles by political commentators considering soberly and objectively the grave question as to whether South Africa was or was not a police state . The exhaustive enquiry was followed by an almost unanimous verdict on the part of the Press of this country to the effect that whilst South Africa might some day become a police state it could not yet be described as such !

Thus , despite the total ban of meetings of more than ten persons in the Reserves ; the almost total ban of meetings of the Congress Movement in the rest of the country ; the banning of newspapers ; the proscription of political leaders of the people and the removal from them of the privilege of earning a living ; the expulsion of members of Parliament of whom the governing party disapproves ; the deportation of individuals by administrative decree ; the forcible shifting of populations ; the identity cards or passes which all have to produce on demand by the police ; the legalised violation of family rights and the sanctity of the home ; the undisguised and wholesale indoctrination of children in schools ; the dismissal of teachers who are non-conformist ; the unseen power and influence of the special branch of the C.I.D. ; despite all this incontrovertible evidence , the leaders of White opinion are not yet convinced that fascism is a present-day reality in South Africa .

Or perhaps what they really meant was that a police state did exist, but only for Africans , Indians , Coloureds and a few misguided Europeans ? In other words a police state did not exist for all those who expressly or tacitly accepted Apartheid , Segregation , White Baaskap , Christian Trusteeship , or any other name by which racial oppression and injustice goes in South Africa .

Whatever they meant , this and other incidents show to what extent the white press in this country is used as an instrument against the freedom of the people of South Africa . We also perceive from this to what extent we are indebted to the brave and gallant band that struggles against the fascists and our indifference to preserve the progressive publications and journals . WE MUST GIVE ALL SUPPORT TO "NEW AGE" and other People's journals that proclaim the truths about life in South Africa - the police state .

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(The new Bantu Education Syllabuses for the Higher Primary School Course which reveal the Verwoerd plot against the African people , in all its heinous nakedness , has not received a line of comment from the White Press. There is a conspiracy of silence designed to conceal from the people the dangerous implications of the Bantu Education System. The Congress movement must break through this veil of silence . Let us tell the people the truth which the government and its agents are trying to hide - ED.)

AFRICAN CULTURE AND THE BIG LIE TECHNIQUE

The Nationalist Government of South Africa in common with all systems based on oppression , exploitation and injustice , depends for its existence on a very liberal use of the propoganda technique of the "Big Lie"

Having anticipated the tremendous opposition which their attempts to indoctrinate the African children would evoke , Dr. Verwoerd and his henchmen such as Dr. Eiselen , Mr. De Villiers and others , invented a Big Lie to justify the use of African languages as the chief medium of instruction in our schools and the encouragement in the pupils of "respect and love for Bantu culture and customs " .

The lie that is being assiduously spread by the Native Affairs Department and its numerous agencies and publication of which "Bantoe" is the most vociferous is that :

- (a) The use of the vernacular medium is to encourage the "Bantu in the love of his own culture , languages and background".
- (b) That the protagonists of Bantu Education , Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Eiselen , Mr. Du Plessis and the rest , love the culture of our people MORE than those Africans who were not educated under the Bantu Education system . According to Dr. Verwoerd and his associates "the Bantu intellectual of today is a black European , far removed from the culture of his people " .

THIS IS LIES , LIES , ALL LIES .

In the first place the Nationalist Party spokesmen are the last people in the world to pretend any attachment to the life of the African people in any aspect whatsoever , least of all culture . It need only be pointed out that the present government spends sleepless nights planning war against the entire African people . Since the Nationalist Party came into power more and more ^{Laws} designed to maintain our people in bondage forever have been passed . This has been a government of restrictions , compulsion and oppression . No group of men has hurled threats and insults at the African people and Non-Europeans generally with the frequency of the Nationalist Party whether in Parliament or at Nationalist Party conferences . These men certainly do not love the Africans and certainly cannot love the things that belong to the Africans such as their heritage , customs and languages .

Furthermore on the purely cultural front - in music , literature , in the study of the anthropology of the African people, in art , what contribution have the proponents of Apartheid made ? We are not referring to the ridiculous essays produced from time to time in which it is sought to prove "scientifically" that the Africans have an inferior intelligence and cannot appreciate the arts . We want to know what serious contribution in African music, literature , or culture has been made by those supporters of Apartheid who today are so anxious to convince us that they are lovers of "Bantu " languages and culture .

In fact the only Europeans who have contributed anything towards the development of our culture - our languages , music and literature are heartily despised by the Nationalists as "Kaffirboeties" and "Liberalistic interfering missionaries" . The people who pioneered the setting of African languages to writing , compiled grammars and translated the bible from English , French or German into the African languages , are today reviled in the speeches of cabinet ministers as people "who spoilt the Native by teaching him that he was the equal of the whiteman. " Europeans who have done much to foster interest in African music , musical instruments and art in the world are referred to in the same contemptuous way as persons who have "betrayed the whiteman" . All those scientists who wrote of the African cultural systems as worthy of study on their merits as revealing the inherent oneness of humanity have no place in the Nationalist Party's hall of heroes .

In other words the bigoted supporters of Apartheid and White Baaskap hate all positive and progressive aspects of African culture. It is therefore a fine cheek on their part to pose as lovers of "Bantu" languages , customs and culture when they seek to gain support for their notorious Bantu Education System .

Secondly the people who have played and are playing the most vital role in the development of African languages , music , art and culture are precisely those African intellectuals upon whom the Native Affairs gang have the temerity to cast all sorts of aspersions .

The culture , the literature and the thought of Rome received the great impetus that led to its development and full bloom from the study of Greek culture .

The Barbarians of Western Europe laid the foundations of the magnificent structure of so-called Western civilisation during a period wherein interest was revived in the culture of Rome and commonly referred to as the Renaissance .

Similarly the Imperialist European who organised the slave trade in Africa and eventually turned the whole continent into one vast colonial preserve played (very often unconsciously) an objectively revolutionising role in Africa in the development of new ways of thinking and the stimulus to the building of a modern society . It is true that whilst Africa is oppressed it will not be able to develop to the full its culture . After all no oppressed and starving ^{man} has time to express his feelings in a poem or a play .

But even under conditions of oppression and exploitation the African intellectuals whom the Bantu Educationists belittle have performed great deeds in the cultural sphere and indeed ONLY the African intellectual who has freed his mind from the artificially imposed bonds of a caste society and can draw freely from the cultural heritage of world civilisation is qualified to perform this task .

Thus we can point with pride to that sensitive student of Man and his nature, the poet Mqhayi whose works in the Xhosa language enriched not only the Xhosa language but LANGUAGE wherever it is used as a medium of expressing thoughts . We point to Rubusana , Soga , Jolobe , Mesatywa , Jabavu , Jordan , Sinxo , Dube, Vilakazi , Nyembezi , Dlomo , Masinga , Flaatzje , Matlala , Paulos-Mopeli , Luthuli , Mattheys , Molema , Zora , Tshane , Victoria Swartbooi .

These are just some of the outstanding Africans who have used the different African languages as a medium of expression in poetry , novels, essays and plays . They have done more than will ever be done by any product of Bantu Education to develop African languages and culture .

In the field of music the same African intellectuals who are looked down upon by Verwoerd and his kind , have played a great role . They have developed a music that is as essentially African as it is truly universal. We need only recount the names of men like Mohapeloa , Masiza , Tyamzashe , Caluza , Sidyiyo , Myathaza , Bokwe , Moerane , Kumalo and others too numerous to mention . In art we have Pemba , Mahl , Sekoto , Bhengu , Mancoba .

All these writers , composers and artists have received a great deal of inspiration from close contact with and intensive study of the cultural productions of other nations and peoples and NOT as the Bantu Educationists now suggest by cutting themselves off from world culture and progress by ceasing to study , perhaps the chief vehicle of world culture for the Africans , namely , the English language .

A further fact to be noted about all these African producers of culture is that they wrote not for the tribe nor even for the African Nation - they wrote for humanity . They never , in any of their work preached hatred , contempt or oppression of anyone but desired the Freedom and well-being of all . That is the real reason why they have earned for African intellectuals , the hatred of Verwoerd and his minions .

By "Bantu Culture" the Bantu Educationists mean a return to tribal divisions and outworn social practices ; They want a return to superstitions and illusions such as Apartheid and Race are ; They mean backwardness and impotence for the Africans in the atomic Age ; They seek death for our Nation .

OUR people must beware of the Big Lies spread by the prophets of Bantu Education . This is not education at all , but a blatant system of indoctrination designed to make our people accept an inferior status. We must fight all the time and everywhere against this evil . Let there be no compromise with Bantu Education !

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UBUBEDENGU bamaDLAGUSHA .

Uburulemente bamaDlagusha kwelilizwe bufumane amandla abo ngokusebenzisa ubuxoki inihla nezolo .

Obona buxoki buphambili abatshila ngako bobokusebenzisa olo lwiri umntwana alisebenzisa kokwabo ekumfundiseni . Abapostile bale mfundo yobukhoboka bathi bathanda izithethe nemasiko abantu . Mabakhuthazwe abantu , batsho ooreno , de ngathi uAfrika isiko nesithethe sakowabo unokusifundiswa ngookrebe abanjengo Velefutha , oo Eiselen noDe Villiers . Xa bengobani bona ?

Bubuxoki obo , bubuqckolo bobubedengu !

Imini nobusuku akalali amaDlagusha aphotha izabatha zokubabisa amaAfrika awenze amakhoboka . Kwimbali yoluntu akukho burulemente bakhe benza imbandezelo , unyanzeliso ngesikhonkosi , ingcinezelo , intshutshiso nongcikivo , lwamaAfrika njengobu-burulemente bama-Dlagusha . Asingawo na laraDlagusha akhuthaza ukucanjaliswa kwamaAfrika ezifameni zamaDlagusha , kuthwaxwe abantu bakowethu ngeemvubu nemibobo yenjilaba . Ngobani bona ukuba bangathetha ngokuthanda izithethe zabantu ? Yintoni entle abakhe bayenzela umntu ? Bagale nini ukhlonela ilwimi , incubeko , nenqubela - phambili yabanye abantu ?

Intetho yamaAfrika , ingoma nencubeko iphuhliswa zingqondi zawo ezinyenjwa ngamaDlagusha ngokwala ukuthengisa ngobuntu bomntu .

Siya zigwagwa ngebakani yethu , ithongo lakwa thongo , uMqayi wenTab' Ozuko omvumvuzele umbethe wokuchumisa isiXhosa wade wathululela ilwimi zazo zonke imvaba . Yinto ni na amaDlagusha ayifundise ukubalwa kweencwadi ngoo Rubusana , Soga , Jolobe , Mesatywa , Jabavu , Jordan , Sinxo , Dube , Vilakazi , Nyembezi , Dlomo , Masinga , Mofolo , Flaatsje , Matlala , Paulos-Mopeli , Luthuli , Matthews , Molema , Zora Futshane , Victoria Swartbooi , Sibala ntoni na ! Phantsi kwemfundo kaVelefutha asokuze sibafumane abanje .

Engomeni soze siphinde sibafumane phi oo Mohapeloa , Masiza , Tyamzashe , Caluza , Sidiyo , Myataza , Bokwe , Moerane , Kumalo .

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Ebukhobokeni buka Velefutha sakuba phina isizalo esinyulu sokukhula abazobi nabatshezi abanje ngoo Pemba , Mahl , Sekoto , Bhengu , Mancoba ?

Zonke ezi ncutshe zifumene inkuthalo ngokuthululelana neemvaba zencubeko zezizwe ngezizwe nangokusebenzisa ulwimi lwesiNgesi . Kulo mrango ka Velefutha lophinda libe phi ithuba lokuphemfumlelana ?

Zonke ezingqondi , bonke aba baphuhlisi nabakhi bencubeko yeSizwe , babalela uluntu , bazoba betshezela ihlabathi nobunye balo . Kwimisebenzi yabo abakhuthazi hungcikivo , ntiyano , nambandezelo yolunye uhlanga ngolunye . Imisebenzi yabo iphemfuma umqophiso wemvela wokuba inkululeko yeyoluntu . Kungeso sizathu bethiyiwe nguVelefutha.

Masibuheshale kude ubuxoki bakhe , ma sisiheshe isihlelgu sokutshabalalisa isizwe ngokuyoba iintsana zethu .

THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS TO REPORT ON THE RACIAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA .

After reading through the latest report of the United Nations Commission on South Africa we feel that they are trying desperately to avoid the one unpleasant conclusion that the facts are forcing upon them. They are unwilling to tell the world that this Apartheid policy far from being some new method of solving racial problems is a new dressing for a fairly old and familiar friend - namely, class exploitation and colonialism .

It would be extremely embarrassing for the members of the commission to "discover" this - that they are themselves closely related to Apartheid - one of the illegitimate children of the capitalist system . Hence the verbal twists and turns of this latest report .

We are going to suggest to them a composite definition of Apartheid which in their moments of privacy they will acknowledge to be reasonably accurate :

Apartheid is a system of rule whereby a political party, with support gained from a minority of the population by means of rabid , demagogical appeals to racial emotions, acquires a complete monopoly of all state power, and establishes over the majority a ruthless system of oppression and exploitation designed to make available to a tiny privileged oligarchy of mining magnates, industrialists , financiers and feudal landlords , of cheap , docile labour , where , when and for whatsoever purpose it is required .

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(6) A

OPPORTUNIST RENEGADES

It was only to be expected that as the struggle of the people for National Liberation became sharper and more complex, there should be found members of the Movement who rather than continue would throw in the towel and give up the fight.

That is not the phenomenon that we wish to draw attention to in this article. What we would like our people to notice is the kind of excuse, reason or propaganda made by these notorious renegades to justify their actions in betraying the people's struggle.

In the last six years it will have been noticed that just before and after every militant mass action undertaken by the movement, some individual or group of individuals has sprung up, made completely unwarranted criticism of the national leadership and then vanished from the struggle and turned up as members of the Moral Rearmament or some other such political monstrosity.

Now here is the remarkable thing. The moment such people run away from the organisation or are expelled from it by reason of their disruptive activities, then they swing round and start attacking their erstwhile colleagues as "Communist"; "Dominated by Indians"; "Tools of Moscow and India"; "Extremists"; "Untrue to the principles of African Nationalism"; "Authoritarian" and so on and so forth. Whether it is Jordan Ngubane or Potlako Leballo, whether it is Vundla or McDonald Maseko.. any African politician, the moment he is discredited or exposed by the people as cowardly and opportunistic, turns round and uses the same old silly wives' tales as those who have gone before him.

Needless to say to such men, everything the A.N.C. says or does is wrong. They continually issue pontifical statements advising the movement on how it should run its affairs. When their unsolicited advice is rejected they pour scorn on the movement and do their best (or worst) with the grateful assistance of the government to undermine its campaigns and activities. In all these efforts the renegades are rendered all possible assistance by all sorts of non-descript individuals, un-African organisations and publications. They also eventually find themselves a political home in one or other holidaying organisation such as M.R.A. Liberal Party and others of such ilk. Thus whilst co-operation with fighting organisations such as the S.A.I.C. and the C.O.D. are said by them to be undesirable, they consider it proper to join hands with European organisations which are pledged to maintain Colonialism and exploitation in Africa.

Our people must keep a careful eye on these gentlemen and study their behaviour pattern. We must learn to recognize the language and arguments presented by these reactionaries when they are chucked out of the Movement for Liberation, in order that we might the better isolate these worthless renegades and render them harmless to our noble cause.

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AMAKIYO - KIYO

Asothukanga thina nte zaziyo xa sibona abantu abathile benyebelazela njekngoko iDabi leNkululeko liya likhula.

Eyona nte sifuna ukutsalela iingqondo zomzi kuyo yindlela aba bangatshi bamakiyo-kiyo abazama ukuzikhusela nayo. Kule miryaka mithandathu indluleyo bakusoloko kumane kuqhaphuka abantu abadyoba iinkokheli ngodaka. Kuthi kusajongwe leyo, shawaka bangene kwi M.R.A. neminye imibutho enegeni.

Bathi abantu abanjalo bakukhuthi we embuthweni ngenxa yokudungudela

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THIS TIN OF PAINT COST ELEVEN LIVES //

It was an unusually warm day for Port Elizabeth was that October day; the calm sunshine had temporarily subdued the arrogance of the uncontrollable South Easter. It was indeed a day to justify the hilarious laughter and happiness of the hardworking men who gathered every Saturday at the many "games". On this lovely day one enjoyed the antics of the hundreds of semi-clad and under-nourished black children as they played and sometimes fought in the filthy open spaces which divided the rows of "houses" in Port Elizabeth's No.1 slum area, the "Red" location at New Brighton.

Sotewu had not yet arrived in New Brighton, so that the police were absent from the entire scene where a macabre act was about to take place. There were still pretensions of liberalism on the part of Port Elizabeth's City Council; who was to dream that this Eighteenth day of October would result in the unmasking of the Council's liberalism and expose the ugly face behind the mask? It was the day that would be chosen by the fascists of South Africa to allow their filthy minds to run amock, their vicious iron heel to stamp its ugly mark over the graves of eleven innocent lives and tragically affect hundreds of other lives. On this day even Masabalala would be put in the shade.

The defiance of unjust laws campaign had been gaining momentum for weeks. Thousands of freedom loving patriots had been imprisoned for their participation in a glorious undertaking whose impact was being felt by the tyrants of the nationalist regime. The fire of the people's wrath swept the country. If the oppressors did not act, the wrath of the people would sweep them away too.

Racial oppression, that filthy disease of decadent men, was alarmed at the progress of the defiance of unjust laws campaign; fascism was panicky. An avalanche of retribution appeared constantly to be following it, spelling its ultimate doom, as more and ever more Africans threw in their lot with the progressive movement. Tyranny threatened, belittled, insulted, intimidated and victimised and still the freedom Volunteers refused to yield to apartheid. The freedom Volunteers refused to betray the glorious cause they had solemnly pledged to fulfil. The imprecations of the hate filled sadists who were in control of the gaols could not break the discipline nor the spirit of the determined freedom Volunteers who were serving long imprisonment sentences.

On this warm afternoon however, there was nothing to indicate that the borrowed tranquility of the people would be disturbed, least of all by the spectre of death.

Emanating from the local train was, among the passengers, an African who was connected with a tin of paint... This tin of paint cost eleven lives, thousands of pounds of property and even more in incalculable pangs of remorse, injury and pain.

This then was the tin of paint which enabled fascism to demonstrate its power and seize the initiative as the Government opposition of white South Africa vacillated and ignominiously betrayed its alleged principles. On this day, as the mask was ripped off, so the opposition of the so-called United Party and Liberals capitulated to the extent where they competed with each other in vilifying the people's movement and leadership in its struggle against the unjust laws; The struggle for freedom, peace and happiness. Thus the hypocritic policies of white basskap and apartheid were strengthened by the unholy marriage between the supposed opponents of Apartheid and its apostles.

An African, who it was alleged carried a tin of paint, was shot. The Minister of South Africa's version of justice who had for years inculcated into his "boys" of the South African police, the virtues of itchy fingers and trigger happiness, must have patted himself on the back as the pop-pop of his men's sten guns sounded in New Brighton, destroying and maiming men, women and children.

.... This day....

This day, fascism had good reason to feel triumphant, it rode on a wave; its filthy mind was content with its work of destruction; that being its fulfilment, thus its satisfaction.

The eighteenth of October 1952 would give new life to fascism. It would enable the fascists and white supremacists to strut and ride in their huge black packards for a few more years and, with the protection of their mercenaries to do their dirty work attempt to subjugate all opposition.

Thus "Sotewu" arrived in New Brighton. It became criminal to be in the city (the friendly and liberal city) of Port Elizabeth after the curfew toll at 9 p.m.. The liberal City Councillors of Port Elizabeth co-operated with the reactionaries, pledging their support for any and all measures which Verwoerd, Swart and the other white supremacists desired. So hundreds of African youth were sent to the potato farms of Bethal and further, following the pattern in other towns, Port Elizabeth made it a criminal offence for Africans to exist outside the will of Apartheid. Africans had to be registered and all the pass laws were implemented with a ruthlessness of madness. Pimps, informers, compromisers and sell-outs were created and given a lease of life; they might prosper at the expense of the people's freedom. The evil mockery of degenerate tyranny believed itself to have established its supremacy at last.

The inhuman insanity of fascism had however, made a grave error in assessing its victory, for the day of reckoning is still to come. Bullets and whips, as they will no doubt learn one day, do not win wars. These only enable temporary but cheap victories in the battle field of progress to those who depend for their strength on force. Against an idea however and an idea whose time has come, fascism's days are numbered and its destruction inevitable. The growth and consolidation of the progressive elements menace the ferocity of fascism. Thus the desperation of the Strydom-Verwoerd clique is matched against the confident people's movement which manifested its right to the future in the mighty demonstration at Kliptown recently.

Mankind has a long memory and will not forgive the fascists who shall be made to pay for the full measure of their crimes against humanity. For the people to achieve this it is imperative that they re-dedicate themselves daily to the cause of freedom; resolving to give and contribute their utmost in the holy and just struggle for freedom, happiness and peace.

All glory to those who have perished in this noble struggle; All glory to those who remain true to those martyrs who have made the supreme sacrifice in the battle against the evil forces of fascism.

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THE KILLING OF A HUMAN BEING IS AN AWFUL ACT,
BUT AS AWFUL WHEN THE VICTIM IS THE HUMBLE
WORKER OR PEASANT, UNKNOWN OUTSIDE HIS OWN
NEIGHBOURHOOD, AS WHEN THE VICTIM IS PLACED
IN THE SEATS OF THE MIGHTY AND HIS NAME KNOWN
IN EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH. IT IS CHARACTERISTIC
OF OUR HYPOCRITICAL CIVILISATION THAT IT IS IN THE
LATTER CASE ONLY WE ARE EXPECTED TO CRY OUT AND

EXPRESS OUR HORROR AND CONDEMNATION.

DE VALERA.

THOSE WHO ARE NOT WITH US ARE AGAINST US .

One of the results of the Nationalist offensive against the liberties of the people of South Africa is that it is forcing everyone to make up his mind and take sides . The days of pretence and fence-sitting are rapidly drawing to a close . People who are neither for Apartheid nor for Freedom are disappearing (thank Goodness !) . The decks are being cleared for the two Real antagonists in the struggle for Power in S.A. - the reactionary fascist camp and its hangers-on led by the Nationalist Party and the Democratic camp led by the African National Congress . In this great tussle those who are not with us are against us .

Last week the Port Elizabeth City Council took the final irrevocable step that placed them firmly within the fascists camp . The Council which has introduced more reactionary measures in recent times than the most Nationalist of City Councils in the Transvaal or the Free State , last Thursday adopted government regulations banning all meetings of more than ten Africans in the Port Elizabeth Magisterial area . These regulations are already applicable throughout the whole of the Reserves and the Port Elizabeth City Council is the first in the Union to adopt these viciously undemocratic regulations in an urban area .

As in the Reserves , the adoption of these regulations is a continuation of the hopeless task of halting the drive towards Liberation of the African people as led by the African National Congress .

The crisis in South Africa of which the desperate policy of Apartheid is only one of the symptoms is becoming daily more profound . As the problems mount so the government and its agents become more intent on crushing the opponents of their crazy regime . This calls for greater restrictions on the freedom of the people ; more irksome laws and more desperate measures which only further deepen the crisis and hasten the day of Apartheids doom . And throughout all this , with the blindness that has characterised despotic regimes throughout history , the tyrants believe that they can save themselves by silencing their critics .

We know that the adoption of these regulations by the Port Elizabeth City Council will be followed by other Cities and Towns in the Union . This drastic step is made necessary by the new and diabolical schemes that the government is determined to force through even if it has to virtually blackmail local authorities to do so . Rents are going to be increased to meet the uneconomic and expensive demands of the apartheid policy which requires a top-heavy machinery to run ; a general fall in the wages of the workers is in the offing ; the Bantu Authorities Act is to be forced upon the people ; the government realises that the people are becoming aware of the disgusting fraud that is Bantu Education and are anxious to prevent the organised boycott of Bantu Schools which could smash the whole scheme ; still harsher measures to control Africans in New Brighton are to follow . In order for all these to succeed the government realises that the African people must be silenced and their organisation the African National Congress crushed . Hence their decision to impose a total ban on African meetings within the Port Elizabeth Magisterial Area .

Needless to say none of the measures adopted by either the government or the City Council can halt the inexorable march of the African people and all progressive people in this country to Unity , Freedom , and Democracy in their Lifetime .

After decades of struggle the Movement for Liberation in this country has come unto its own . The policies and aims of what is now known as the Congress Movement find clear and comprehensive expression in the Freedom Charter which is a blueprint for the future government of the People, by the People , for the People . Our leadership is tough , disciplined and incorruptible .

In the face of all attack the people and the Movement grow more determined and gain more adherents among the millions of anti-imperialists in Africa and the world .

TO OUR PEOPLE AND TO ALL DEMOCRATS WE SAY ; -

MAKE EVERY HOME A BRANCH OF THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT , A CITADEL WHEREIN THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY WILL BE KEPT GLOWING BRIGHTLY UNTIL THE DAY OF FREEDOM DAWNS . FAITHFULLY CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS ; PLACE NO TRUST IN THE GOVERNMENT AND ITS AGENTS WHO DESIRE TO SPREAD LIES AND SLANDERS AGAINST THE MOVEMENTS AND THEIR LEADERS ; LEARN BY HEART EVERY LINE OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER !

TO THE SHORT-SIGHTED TYRANTS WE SAY ; -

WHEN THE WHOLE PEOPLE SIGH THERE IS A STORM ,
WHEN THE WHOLE PEOPLE STAMP THEIR FEET THERE IS AN EARTHQUAKE.

(ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS !

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak , to organise, to meet together , to publish to preach , to worship and to educate their children .

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad; Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting those freedoms shall be abolished .

- FREEDOM CHARTER -

ADANGENATHI ZINQAMEI !

Ixesha lobuhana-hanisi nokuchoph' arcinyeni liphelile . Sifikile eziphambukeni . Kulele mtwini ukukhetha phakethi kobukhoboka bamaDlagusha nenkundla yenkululeko ekhokhelwe ngumbutho weSizwe - iAfrican National Congress .

Kwephelileyo igwa lizibakaxe okukoxam kumachibi etyhefu endlobongela . Unyawo lokuqala , zingekashukumi phosheya kweLigwa ne Gqili , lithatyathwe sisixeko sase Bhai . Zonke intlanganiso zama Afrika , apho kuhlengene naphozulu kweshumi labantu ziphoswe kurudululu lwemithetho yengcinezelo .

AmaDlagusha afusiza asele kwenza emaphandleni . Aqhobosha umndilili we Sizwe esijonge kwinkalo yenkululeko . Watshat' unonkala , sokhe sibone .

Njengoko inyantlukwano itydalela enzulwini uRulumente wamaDlagusha nabathiyeli bakhe barudula yonke imfundo-mfundo naphambili . Mithethwana yengcinezelo ayenza mihla le ikhalezisa intshabalalo yobudlongo-dlongo bobuRulumente bamaDlagusha .

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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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