

The strategic significance of Matsieng, the Paramount Chief village, induced the Working Committee to visit this centre in conjunction with the Maseru District Committee in order to establish a sub-district branch there. This was done with great success. At Mohale's Hoek, we found that as the result of an administrative error, the meeting had not been properly publicized. The result was that we could not get a full audience. The Committee decided, therefore, to return home with only a representative chosen there to attend to our affairs in the meantime. You will have noticed, then, that in all we have six district branches so far.

Several district committees do not appear to understand, however, that once the Working Committee has inaugurated a District Branch and committee, they have to carry on and promote the work of the Congress in their respective districts, so as to allow the Working Committee more time to organise the whole country. The result is that some District branches, notably Butha-Buthe, have more or less ceased to exist, yet others continue to invite the Working Committee to their districts again while they stop work in the meantime. Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish to say that that state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue if your Congress is to achieve anything for this country. In the name of Basutoland and Africa, these committees are expected to sacrifice a reasonable share of their time, money and energy, to keep the wheels of Congress on the go all the time. They must exercise their own discretion and initiative on all district affairs in so far as they affect the people and the Congress. The Central Committee is at all times prepared to give advice and help wherever possible. The watch word for the districts must be local initiative.

(b) Extra-territorial Branches: After their return from the inaugural mass meeting at Maseru in January last, Mrs. Ellen Molapo and Mr. George Maeka, at the request of the N.E.C., courageously set out to spread Congress gospel among the Basotho on the Reef. The Working Committee gave official recognition to the first Reef branch of the Congress in March last, formed by the people of Moroka and Jabavu. Messrs. Malefane, Seotsanyana and Motebang were elected president, secretary and treasurer respectively. Within a matter of days another branch was established at Newclare under the leadership of Mr. A.C. Ts'ilo. Later a branch was reported at Orlando and only a few weeks ago, I was informed that a sizeable branch was formed at Germiston. In all, therefore, we now have four branches on the Reef alone.

The Committee elected by the first branch, viz., Moroka-Jabavu, was then requested to co-ordinate Congress affairs on the Reef as well as consolidate the various branches in order to foster better and effective organisation. In his report, Mr. Seotsanyana, general secretary of all the branches except Newclare, informs me that functional co-ordination and consolidation have continued satisfactorily but with impediments, as the Newclare branch still remains isolated. I have not received a report from this branch and would be glad to find any information regarding its progress.

In the Cape Province, some of our students and members of the Basutoland African Congress Youth League, rallied to the Congress call with remarkable enthusiasm and devotion. A branch was formed at Fort Hare and I understand that this branch commands the support of nearly all our students in that centre.

Not content with a small student membership, the scholars rallied farther afield to Port Elizabeth and East London where they found large numbers of their people clamouring for the Congress. Branches were immediately set up in these centres as well. But for lack of financial support from the Central Executive, the students would have gone much further; and I wish to assure them that they have the sympathy of this organisation

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and the Working Committee for not having been able to find sufficient funds for the good cause. Thus the position of our branches in the Cape is three. All these make thirteen major branches with several ward and village branches.

Although we have no branches in the Free State and Natal, some Basotho have individually registered their names in the meantime and the prospects are that the Basotho are anxious to form Congress branches wherever they may find themselves. I expect more of these branches soon. Membership of all these branches continues to grow at such a pace that statistical data cannot be accurate at any moment.

I wish to state, with emphasis, that B.A.C. branches in the Union are in no circumstances entitled to interfere with the Union's politics as has been inferred in some quarters. Our manifesto is now well known and it is the points raised in this manifesto alone which these branches, like all others, have to concentrate upon. No doubt there can be no sin in discussing Section 151 of the Union's South Africa Act and its implications as this section directly affects us and is a subject of our manifesto. This view does not, in any way, prejudice the right of those Basotho who may, as Africans, wish to support the African National Congress in their personal capacities. Their membership of that of that organisation is no concern of this Congress. It has been whispered to me, though not officially, that the A.N.C. has complained that our Union branches are a menace to that organisation. In the light of the foregoing, it will have become abundantly clear that this organisation has no desire to create racial discord in the A.N.C. or its work. The A.N.C. may have our full assurance that it has our sympathy and solidarity. Under this sub-section, I wish in conclusion, to draw the attention of the various committees in the Union to the fact that B.A.C. branches may not be formed and assume that name in the Union without the prior consent and official recognition of the Central Committee for obvious reasons.

3. WORKING COMMITTEE

This committee is an important organ of the Congress when the Conference is not in session. As the result of distance, the President, who lives in Maseru could not easily attend the regular fortnightly meetings. The Committee, which consists of five, all of the East save the President, therefore, decided to carry on with its work without the President, who could be met at such times only as it became absolutely necessary. Such occasions often arose when matters of great moment could not be thrashed without the head of the organisation. Members had, therefore, to race down to Masen from time to time to meet the President.

In face of several difficulties, your committee has, in my opinion, discharged its onerous task with much devotion and I feel sure they deserve all your gratitude for the very high standard of the Congress. As your National Secretary, I thank them for their co-operation and their helpful advice.

4. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A full-dress meeting of the National Executive was held at T.Y. on the 18th April, 1953. The meeting was very satisfactorily representative though Butha-Butha and Mafeteng were not represented. Most reassuring was the Reef delegation which was substantial. Mr. B.K. Tsoane, president of the Mats'ekhong Branch, and ex-officio member of the National Executive, intimated at this meeting that the Paramount Chief had called upon him to become her advisor, and that as such he would be required to resign his Congress offices. Mr. Patrick Mota, a member of the National Executive Committee, had resigned earlier for identical reasons. But I am certain that what we lost in the Congress we regained in the valuable services these two gentlemen have rendered for the better administration of our country.

At this meeting, several resolutions of political importance were adopted and it was decided that these should be submitted to this Conference which would, in turn, give a mandate, on behalf of the people, to the N.E.C. to act upon them. At an appropriate stage, these resolutions will be submitted to this conference. Like the Working Committee, the N.E.C. also deserves your appreciation for these services.

5. PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA

The absence of press facilities owned by your organisation has been a serious handicap under this head. You are no doubt aware that the large majority of papers which enjoy good circulation are controlled by those who would be reluctant to publicise and lend support to a liberatory movement. We owe a debt of gratefulness, however, to those editors who have done as best they could in face of fear to have our news releases published all over the world.

At all events it is gratifying to note that our press statements have been published in some of the leading papers and news bulletins of South Africa and overseas countries. These statements have also received fairly satisfactory transmission over the air and we have to thank SAPA, All-India Radio and the S.A.B.C. for the little they have done for this organisation.

Numerous bodies and political personalities throughout the world have been contacted by correspondence with great success. The Kenya Committee, the Seretse Khama Campaign Committee, the Africa Committee, the Youth Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the Nyasaland African Congress, the All-India Congress, Mr. F. Brockway, Dr. K. Nkrumah, Dr. Azikwe, and Mr. Paul Robeson (Consul for African Affairs, New York), to mention a few, have lent support to your organisation. The editor of "Tenimasunwon News Circulating Bureau", a Nigerian Press, has offered to publish all our press releases in the whole of West and Northern Africa as well as overseas. Mr. F. Brockway has pledged himself to fight against incorporation in every possible way as well as press for self-government for the Basotho without further delay. Referring to incorporation at the United Nations recently, the U.S.S.R. has noted, with grave concern, South Africa's insatiable appetite for "territorial aggrandisement" which is diametrically opposed to the United Nations Charter.

II. ADMINISTRATION

As indicated in my circular letter No. 2/53 of November last, administrative difficulties have increasingly become very real indeed. It is easy to understand that a body such as your Congress has certain minimum requirements without which it could not do its work for any length of time. Besides the bit item of stationery, we require such office machinery as typewriters, duplicators, stapling machines &c., all of which we do not have. The amount of administrative business requires full-time staff. But full-time staff is not possible without an office. This conference must consider seriously the building of an office immediately. For all these facilities we have depended, thus far, upon a few friends and well-wishers among the trading section of our Indian Community, and in by far the largest measure, the management of my firm, Messrs. Tayob Surtie (Pty.) Ltd. Members of this community have many times demonstrated that a friend in need is a friend indeed.

One branch has complained that our language medium in the press and in correspondence should be Sesotho. This may be correct but it must be understood that our press releases are intended, not only for the Basotho, but for the world at large, to whom we wish to appeal for assistance. These releases should not appear in the S.A. Dailies and the Air if they were in Sesotho. Whenever letters come to me in Sesotho, however, replies are in Sesotho; as also for English. In any case it must be remembered that both English and Sesotho are official languages in this

country. The use of both languages together is very expensive business as some of you should be aware. Wherever possible, however, both languages will be used as it is essential that the people should be able to read Congress matter as much as possible.

It has come to my notice that branches do not yet observe the Constitution strictly. I must appeal to delegates to see that the terms of the Constitution are observed at all times, particularly with respect to finance and meetings. We cannot afford to lower the standards of the Congress through lack of discipline as this would immediately kill the organisation. I wish to say, above all, that decisions of the Central Committee must be carried out to the letter if you wish the N.E.C. to control the Congress in the best interests of our nation. The kind of rowdyism reported at Middleburg reflected badly on the Congress.

III. POLITICAL & ECONOMIC

1. INTERNAL

(a) Incorporation: The White Papers had awful and shocking disclosures for the people of this country. As you will have learned enough of this from the President's address it is now only necessary to let you know that committees were appointed by the N.E.C. to study these papers and submit resolutions to this Conference.

(b) Ritual Murders: The Congress has always urged that a commission of enquiry should be set up to investigate this unhappy scourge. We have offered to give evidence to such a commission. We cannot agree that the conference which was held at Maseru a few months ago was tantamount to such a commission. We still hold that an impartial commission should be appointed, consisting of persons who will not be affected by the effects of perspective.

The Working Committee interviewed several persons, some of them connected with charges of ritual murders. This discloses awful methods used by the Police while investigating these murders. Our investigation of this information casts grave doubts on the authenticity of the charges and convictions. A large number of the people interviewed expressed similar doubts and generally it is known that a large body of opinion views this scourge with great misgivings.

(c) National Council: The Congress has repeatedly appealed to the powers that be to grant an appropriate measure of self government to the people of Basutoland. The rule of the proclamation is surely most intolerable for people at this stage of development. Not only are some of these proclamations contrary to our wishes, but they are never made known to the people who are directly affected by them. Above all they are printed in English only. With the Native Administration Proclamation of 1938 the rule of Proclamation was further extended considerably while it should have been restricted. How long will this continue? The report of the East Africa Committee shows that our stage of development more than warrants the right to us of self-rule in all but a few departments of state such as defence and external affairs.

We must now call upon Her Majesty's Government to recognise the legislative powers of the National Council without any more ado. Although this Council is often called "advisory", the Congress is unable to agree with this view as it is common knowledge that this Council took the place of a legislative organ, viz., the Pitso, when it was introduced in 1903. As all must have it, however, it was gradually shorn of its powers until it came to be known as merely "advisory". Membership of the Council must now be reviewed upon a basis of democratic principles and the necessary powers conferred. The Congress maintains that the position of our chiefs in the new deal should not be unduly hampered. It is easy to envisage a number of ways in which they could be integrated into a really democratic regime without discontent on either side. But we must bridge the gulf between chiefs and people.

(d) Colour Discrimination: The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, has vainly tried to vindicate discrimination based on colour, both in England and in the colonies and protects alike. He has gone out of his way to say that public hotels are not bound to give service to persons they disliked. By this he probably implies that these hotels may legally refuse essential services to members of whole racial groups. Is not this fantastic? If it has become legal in England, under the Tories, to treat other races in this way, we are not bound to legalise it here and we shall fervently oppose it while supporting the National Council which recently adopted a resolution making it a criminal offence to discriminate for reasons of colour. But we note, with grave concern, that the Tory Government is fermenting a race war if this policy is applied over a wider field.

2. EXTERNAL

(a) Events in Colonial Africa: Elsewhere in this report mention was made of the Seretse Khama Campaign Committee in London. This committee, in conjunction with the Labour Party, continues to fight for the return of Seretse, and solicits your moral and other support. We have reason to hope that when the Labour Party is returned to power, Seretse will return to Bechuanaland.

The people of South West Africa, through the Rev. Michael Scott, continue the fight for the return of their land and they have the support of nearly the whole of the United Nations.

The Central African Federation was foisted upon some seven million unwilling Africans, who, for fear of superior force have simply had to give way to be ruled by little more than 300,000 aliens. African representation in the Federal Parliament is little more than nil. Contrary to the foundations of the federation as represented to the world, the Confederate Party demands apartheid and has established a mighty nucleus of public support from which their eventual success can be assured. Asked to suppress ideological propaganda in the Federation, the British Government of today retorted that they could not interfere in the domestic affairs of a state, for the first time disregarding their pledge of partnership in the Federation. Fortunately, the Indian representative at UNC, Lady Krishna Menon, has succeeded to persuade the General Assembly to debate this sinister Federation.

The events in Kenya continue to take an even more dreadful turn. The R.A.F. Harvards bomb mercilessly and with impunity, any part of Kikuyu area with some of the largest bombs of modern warfare. Thousands of innocent Africans have been murdered in this and other ways. Moscow Radio has it that "there is no such thing as Mau Mau. The movement has been invented by British colonizers to serve them as a pretext for bloody terror against the Native inhabitants of Kenya. Dozens of Kenya villages were being razed and hundreds of peaceful Negroes shot out of hand by British troops and police, while heavy bombers were dropping bombs on the peaceful inhabitants of the country. To encourage murder, the troops were offered 5s. for each dead Negro".

As a result of some of these atrocities, an official enquiry has been set up from London to investigate as the "scoreboard" commanders will not reveal their misdeeds.

In Uganda the Kabaka has been deposed and deported to England for demanding the right of self-determination for his people. The country has now been left in semi-chaos after the manner of Bechuanaland. All-India Radio has posed a dramatic question: Should the Kabaka rather have been loyal to the British and disloyal to his people? We, like many, do not think that this is the way to retain the African Empire. The whole continent of Africa is, in fact, seething with nationalism. Our fight here in Basutoland is like a drop in an ocean of troubled waters. While imperialist powers wage wars for personal gain the oppressed peoples of the world, and Africa in particular, are on the march for freedom. There have been several demonstrations of organised resistance against foreign oppression in nearly every part of the continent and the African Empire.

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(b) General: The United Nations are perturbed by events in the colonial world in general. They have demanded political reports from the colonial powers. Britain will submit any other report on her colonies but not political. Why the iron curtain over colonial politics?

(c) Economic: It is now known through the utterances of Dr. Malan that if the education ban fails to bring us to our knees in order to accept transfer, the Union will impose trade sanctions on us. Dr. Malan has said that he could starve Basutoland, in particular, to submission in three months. We cannot believe in this fantastic statement. Dr Malan could, on the other hand, make things difficult for us unless we take adequate precautions.

The Congress must, therefore, set out to encourage increased production in every department of our economy, particularly agriculture. Certain citizens of this country in their respective districts have refused to avail themselves of the Pilot Scheme for no good cause whatever. The people must be told, in their own interest and that of their children, either to accept their scheme wholeheartedly, or to accept transfer and all that it means. I appeal to delegates from various centres to make this very clear indeed. This scheme alone offers the only hope of beating the major threat - starvation.

The British Government must be asked to expedite the Orange River Hydro-Electric Scheme to enable this country to embark upon a programme of secondary industries which are badly lacking in this country. We do not understand why this scheme, which is expected to be highly profitable, is being delayed. Surely there are several ways of obtaining the money needed immediately, having regard to the economic prospects of the scheme. In the meantime, potential competitors are already formulating plans to render it useless by establishing their own works.

IV. EDUCATION

The Union's Education Ban which takes effect this year has not come as a surprise to the people of the Protectorates. Indeed we have all anticipated it. The people are anxious to know, however, what plans the Administration has for the education of their children. It is learned authoritatively that nothing will be spared to see that our education does not suffer seriously. At the recent session of the National Council, the Director of Education disclosed that in the case of university education, it was not clear whether or not the ban would be extended to the Union universities which had had their doors open to Non-European students. Arrangements had been made, however, to send as many students overseas as possible if those universities were no longer available. The Council agreed that a deputation be sent to the proper authority to establish the true position. As yet we do not know the result of this enquiry.

The Director told the Council that plans were afoot for the immediate establishment of an inter-racial university in Central Africa to which our students would then be sent. The Basutoland High School would, in the meantime conduct post-graduate courses to fill the gap created by Fort Hare. These courses, he said, would commence in 1954 provided that the necessary staff was available.

With respect to secondary education, it was disclosed that a number of schools would be established and opened up over a period of time starting from 1954 to cater for post-primary school students. The Government of India continues to grant scholarships to our students. The Congress is considering the possibility of having these scholarships increased in view of present circumstances. At present we have a number of students pursuing various courses in India under this facility. It is understood that, altogether there are more than 500 students from Africa, studying in India in like manner. Although attempts have been made to

disparage the standard of Indian education, it might yet be as well to note our present difficulties. Beggars are not choosers. In any case the critics of education in India cannot be sincere as we know that its foundation is purely British. The P.M.S. has informed me that the medical degrees of Indian universities was still a subject of enquiry, the result of which would be communicated to me in due course as he was not certain what medical degrees conferred by Indian universities would be registrable in terms of the Basutoland Medical Proclamation.

While the Working Committee urges that Basutoland schools should remain open to students from the Union, it strongly feels that the matter of the education ban cannot be left where it stands. Nor can we, as British subjects in law, understand the presence of hundreds of white South African students in England, our protector. I urge this conference to adopt a strongly worded resolution condemning this ban and demanding action from Her Majesty's Government. If Britain fails to protect us in such vital matters as education, she might easily fail to protect us in matters of life and death struggle.

As previously announced there is a scholarship available to African students and tenable in England. I have since sent for the full particulars and application forms which have not yet arrived. As soon as these are available they shall be published. As the British universities session starts very much later in the year, however, intending applicants need have no fears unless they have alternative facilities.

V. ACTIVITIES

Congress organisation alone occupied so much of the Committee's time that very little could be done otherwise.

Shortly after the Congress was inaugurated in January last, however, a deputation was sent to the Paramount Chief to ask her to allow your organisation to do the work of the people. Our Paramount Chief was graciously pleased to give us this permission.

Negotiations have been going on between the P.C. and the R.C. on the subject of passes for Basotho women. The Resident Commissioner has informed us that the matter will be finalised as soon as possible.

When a certain branch failed to obtain the services of a Government officer who contended that he knew nothing about the Congress, it became necessary to obtain official recognition from the R.C. as well, even though we had previously interviewed the P.C. Hence another interview between the P.C. and her advisors and the R.C. and the Government Secretary on the one hand and a Congress Deputation of three on the other took place at Maseru on August 7, 1953. The result of this interview was recognition and that an incident such as the one mentioned above would not recur. Above all the Congress was assured of a free hand in the performance of its normal duties.

It may yet be of interest to inform the delegates under this head that the Congress is strongly opposed to the discriminatory policy of hotels in Basutoland. For this reason, when the hotel owners of this territory applied for the renewal of their yearly licences, the Working Committee objected to the granting of all ten licences on the grounds of colour discrimination. Although the liquor proclamation makes for legal discrimination, the hotels are not thereby empowered to discriminate as to food and sleep. The President of your organisation, therefore, appeared before the Liquor Licensing Board to put our case forward. The Board declined, however, to consider the objections on the mysterious ground that they had not been received in time.

M A Y I B U Y E I

Sgd. National Secretary
BASUTOLAND AFRICAN CONGRESS

31st December, 1953.

1st Annual Conference

Basutoland African Congress

Held at MASERU

On the 1st, 2nd and 3rd January 1954

MINIMAL REPORT

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I wish, first of all, to thank very heartily the Executive Committee of the Basutoland African National Congress for the singular honour which they have bestowed upon me in asking me to be here this day to open officially this their first annual conference. This is indeed a red-letter day in the annals of your congress. It is a red-letter day in the history of Basutoland. It is on this account, therefore, that I am extremely sensitive of the honour you have accorded me.

The African National Congress movement in the Union of South Africa is an old movement. It was born in the heart and bred in the soul of the African people. It is truly African in conception and truly national in scope. You have no doubt read and heard of the Bechuanaland African National Congress. You know of the Rhodesian African National Congress. You are aware, I take it, that the nationalism of the African National Congress is encompassing the entire surface of the continent of Africa - from the Cape to Egypt, from the African shores of the Indian Ocean in the East to the African shores of the Atlantic Ocean in the West. The Basutoland African National Congress is a necessary and very welcome complement of the sum total of African nationalism in the continent of Africa.

African nationalism - the very corner-stone of this Africa-wide congress - is founded upon fundamental and irreproachable principles. African nationalism does not mean hatred for the white man. African nationalism as conceived and propagated by the African National Congress is the self-determination of the African people of this continent. It aims at the creation and evolution of those social, economic and political circumstances which make it possible for the African people of this land to realise themselves to the highest possibilities in peace and amity and concord with the other nations of the world. Here in Basutoland like African National Congress should assist in the bringing about of peace and mutual understanding between the chiefs and the commoners, between the Basutos and other national groups to be found in this land. This, I submit, is a cardinal point of paramount importance.

The Basutoland African nationalism can never be too grateful to the chiefs. History teaches us that there have been instances when a great nation has sought and found and schooled a great leader. In the case of Basutos a great leader, a great chief - Moshoeshe - sought, found and schooled a great nation. It is Moshoeshe who made the nation, and it is the nation that owes to him an abiding debt of gratitude. You as a people cannot forget to thank him. And you as a congress of the people dare not forget Moshoeshe and his illustrious descendants. Basutoland chieftainship is not only the alpha but is also the Omega of Basuto nationhood.

In 1865, when the tide of war had left the fortune of the Basuto nation at a low ebb, Moshoeshe solicited and found the protection of the British Government of the great Queen Victoria of reverend memory. The Basutos can never be too thankful for the wisdom of their chief and the protection of the British Government.

I would like to repeat with emphasis that the action of Moshoeshe and the readiness of the British Government to give protection to the Basutos was not only an instance of supreme statesmanship on the part of Moshoeshe and one of shrewd diplomacy and greatheartedness on the part of the British Government, but it was also an epoch in the history of the Basutos. It has produced a triangle of happy mutual confidence. The Basutos as a nation have since been welded in thankful gratitude to their chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen. The chiefs have very good cause to be proud of the

confidence and the following which they have always enjoyed from their people. Chiefs and the people can never forget (as they have always demonstrated) their gratitude to and confidence in the British Government.

You, the African National Congress of Basutoland, will be sadly out of touch with reality - you will be in a lonesome and barren political wilderness if you should lose sight of the all-important fact. You have to realise that African National Congress everywhere persistently seeks the very best interests of the Africans in the very best possible way. Whatever you do as an organised body should be above board. If you have any suggestions to make to improve the lot of your people, if you have any complaints to make for the betterment of your people, make such suggestions and bring forward such complaints in such a manner as to be understood by those to whom such suggestions and complaints are to be made.

While it is absolutely necessary that you should realise the utter and inescapable need sometimes and the lasting value of sacrifice, I want to warn you. Do not be caught in the web of those delusions and ape those ill advised methods which in other parts of Africa and beyond have brought about untold and unnecessary misery.

You have to lead the people and not be led by the people. But it is your sacred duty to lead the people aright. You have to spotlight in the national life of your people great and worthy objectives. You will have to realise that in the life of your people, as indeed in the lives of every other nation upon the face of the earth, education is vital. It is the very essence, the very life-blood of a people. And when I consider this fact my mind (and your minds, I like to think) cannot escape thinking of the missionaries who long ago came amongst your people to dispel the forces of evil and darkness and to plant the light of knowledge. Your people cannot be too grateful to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Roman Catholic Church Missionary Societies for what they have done and are doing to educate and - what is infinitely more important - to christianise the Basutos. The Morija Training College and the Printing Press there are a visible monument of the great work the fruits of which (in the men and women who have passed through that establishment and the influence which has been shed upon the Basutos from there) will go on to bless this beautiful land. The Roman Catholic University College at Roma is the crowning peak of the educational labours of the Roman Catholic Church. The election of the Rt. Rev. 'Mabathoana as the first African Bishop in Basutoland is not only a great and courageous step but it is also a brilliant commentary on the evangelical work of the Roman Catholic church. All the church buildings and the swelling congregations of this church are not half of the testimony of the success of this church. The greater half, by far, of that testimony is implicit in the fact that this church has been so sincere and so thorough as to produce an African Bishop.

I have mentioned these facts quite advisedly. Education, I repeat, is tremendously vital. The leaders of this congress owe that trust of leadership very largely by reason of the fact that they have had, by comparison with their fellowmen, the superior advantage of being educated. All you educated amongst the Basutos are products of the educational efforts of the missionaries in this land and in the rest of Southern Africa.

This congress will do well to appreciate afresh the value of education. You will have to dedicate yourselves to a programme by which you will seek to consolidate the gains you have made in the field of education. You will also do well to seek to further the scope and widen the horizon of the education of your people. You will have to realise that no nation has ever educated and civilised itself unaided. When any nation has attempted to do that, it has shut itself up within itself and it has produced a narrow, intolerant and impracticable view of life. The great nations of the world from the very dawn of history have known and taken to heart this immutable truth. The great universities of the world have also appreciated this truth. I am personally very delighted to know that a number of Basuto young men and young women have gone overseas to learn and study and gain that wider vision which is the essence of a cultured man.

Basutoland is in very fortunate position. You can make or mar your own country. You can occupy any position in your country provided you are equal to the tasks. Education goes a very long way to making you equal to your tasks. You will have great tasks to tackle in this land. You have the problem of ritual murders to tackle. These people who commit these murders do this because they believe in superstition. No amount of argument or intimidation will make them see the murders in any light other than in that in which they have always seen them. Just as light dispels darkness, so the light of knowledge and the light that lighteth the world will dispel the darkness of ignorance, moral blindness and superstition. You will have to redouble your educational effort. You will do well to set your hearts upon and strive towards the goal of compulsory education.

There is one other question of national significance which cannot escape the serious consideration of this body. I am referring here to the question of the much discussed matter of the incorporation of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - into the Union of South Africa. Some of you have followed up the legal battles and quibbles relating to this question. Whether or not Basutoland should become a political unit of the Union of South Africa is a question of the highest importance to the Basutos. It is more so in this twentieth century and in a community of nations which profess christianity and calls itself by the name of democracy. In earlier times in history it was no violation of the moral conscience if one man arrogated to himself the preposterous powers of determining according to his whims, however outrageous and madly capricious, the destiny of another man whom he called his slave. In those dark days certain nations, in the eyes of certain other nations, had no independent right to existence. Not so two thousand years after the birth of Christ! After so many years of christianity it should not be so!

It was the Basutos who asked to be placed under the protection of the British. It is the Basutos and the British Government who should decide whether that understanding is no longer valid or necessary, or not. In the last analysis it is the Basutos who should ask for incorporation if it should ever become necessary or desirable. The consideration whether the South African Government treats its African people well or ill was never a condition attaching to whole question of incorporation.

One is glad to see that the Government and the people work in sweet harmony. The Government, through the assistance and collaboration of competent Europeans and Africans is doing a grant piece of work in reclaiming the precious soil of Basutoland.

One half of the joy coming to Basutoland is to see you people and what progress you people are making socially, economically and politically. The other half of the joy of coming here is to see and to be awe-struck by the wonder of scenery of this beautiful land. It is a treasure which you should hold near and dear to yourselves: one which you should help the Government to preserve and jealously look after.

I am glad to know that some of you have attained to very high positions in the administration of your country. This is proof of the pleasant fact that the Government has, in collaboration with other agencies, produced efficient and trustworthy men and women amongst you. You on your part will have to realise that you are duty-bound to cultivate and nurse a correspondingly high sense of responsibility.

The African National Congress everywhere stands for the principle that every man must be judged on his own merits and not according to the colour of his skin or the articles of his creed. This means that equal opportunities should be extended to all men- Black and White. We believe that it is upon this basis only that inter-racial co-operation is not only possible but desirable.

One is glad to see in your villages and even in the mountain outposts that the Basutos are taking to business and that in some cases they are making considerable progress. One hopes that more of you will interest themselves in commerce. In this connection I wish to express the hope that the Government and those in authority will take cognisance of this development and in consequence will make possible the establishment of more technical colleges where the Basutos will have the benefit of technical and scientific training so as to equip themselves for this important aspect of the national life.

I wish now to direct my remarks specifically to the leaders of the Basutoland African National Congress. I would like to remind them of the harmony and collaboration between the chiefs, the British Government and the people. I wish to remind them of their sacred trust, and I wish to remind them of some of the ideals which justify the formation of the African National Congress everywhere it is found. I sincerely trust that none of the leaders here will fall into the ever-present temptation of using the Congress for ulterior and unworthy motives. I do hope that the Congress here will not antagonise the chiefs and the government but that it will bring about greater harmony and fuller understanding between the chiefs, the government and the people; that you as leaders will lead the people in showing respect to the chiefs and advising them. I do hope that the leadership will fall into the hands of those who will be always conscious of a profound sense of responsibility, that the leaders will realise that Basutoland has neighbours with whom she must live in peace and amity.

Finally in opening this your first annual congress I wish the congress the very best of luck. I commend the congress to the chiefs and thank the British Government for the protection it has maintained over this territory for so many (and sometimes difficult) years.

Dr. J. S. Moroka,
P.O. Box 37, THABA-NKHE.

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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