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MEMORANDUM ON THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE SUBMITTED BY THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE SPONSORING ORGANISATIONS  
ON 21ST MARCH, 1954.

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1954

Annexure "A"THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

As a result of the historical call made by the African National Congress at its Conference in Queenstown, the National Executives of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation have decided to call on the people of South Africa to come together in a great assembly - THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

The South African peoples' movement can be proud of its long record of unbroken struggle for rights and liberty, but never before have the mass of South African citizens been summoned together to proclaim their desire and aspirations in a single declaration - A CHARTER OF FREEDOM.

The drawing up and adopting of such a charter of freedom is the purpose of which the Congress of the People has been called. Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future. Elections have been restricted to a small minority of the population; franchise rights, particularly in recent times have been threatened and curtailed. There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demand for freedom.

WHAT IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE?

The Congress of the People will not be just another meeting or another conference. It will be a mass assembly of delegates elected by the people of all races in every town, village, farm factory, mine and kraal. It will be the biggest single gathering of spokesmen ever known in this country. The representatives of the people who come to the Congress will consider the detailed demands of the people, which have been sent in for incorporation in the Freedom Charter, and will embody them into a declaration. This Freedom Charter will be the South African peoples' declaration of human rights, which every civilised South African will work to uphold and carry into practice.

By decision of the joint National Executive Committee of the sponsoring bodies, the Congress of the People must be held as soon as possible, and in any case, not later than June, 1955. In view of the tremendous number of delegates who will be gathering at the Congress of the People, a centrally situated place for holding the Congress is being considered. The exact date and venue of the Congress will be announced, in good time. The Congress of the People will be made the occasion for a great cultural festival of the national and folk arts of all sections of our population.

HOW WILL THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE BE ORGANISED?

The first task will be to make the whole country conscious of the Congress of the People, and to imbue them with a feeling of the tremendous importance of such a gathering. This can only be done through the greatest possible campaign of printed propaganda material side by side with a string of hundreds of meetings, house to house canvasses and group discussions. The central aim of all these activities will be to get citizens of the country to speak for themselves, and to state what changes must be made in their way of life, if they are to enjoy freedom.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, must be recorded and collected for consideration by the Congress of the people for inclusion in the Freedom Charter. In this way, it will become the Charter of the people, the content of which has its source in their own homes, factories, mines and reserves. It has been decided that all these demands must be formulated by October 30th, 1954.

CAN WE SUCCEED ON SUCH A SCALE?

The main burden of such a campaign of national awakening as this will fall on those politically conscious and active people who make up the membership of the national liberation organisations. If the campaign is to succeed, the message of the Congress of the People and the news of the Freedom Charter must be carried to every corner of the country. It is unthinkable that the funds can be found by the organising committee to hire the large teams of full-time organisers needed for this work.

But if there is sufficient understanding of the radical changes that such a campaign can make in the South African situation, then the same spirit of self-sacrifice and discipline, which was the hall-mark of the Defiance Campaign, will be created. With such a spirit, people will once again come forward, volunteering to give up their holidays, weekends and spare time without pay in order to carry the campaign into those parts of the country where there are no existing organised political groups. We must expect from the advanced people in all the Congresses, those sacrifices made by 8500 volunteers during the Defiance Campaign who sacrificed their liberty and their jobs in the cause of freedom.

We will create a corps of Freedom Volunteers, who will be the core of the campaign, and make themselves available to the organisers of the campaign for whatever work in whatever place they are required.

HOW TO SET ABOUT IT

To carry through the campaign, the four Congresses have set up "THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" composed of equal numbers of representatives of each body, which will act throughout the campaign, subject to the guidance and supervision of the sponsoring bodies.

A CALL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE has been adopted. Every Union-wide organisation without exception, is being asked to support and endorse this call. Those organisations who do so will be asked to appoint representatives to the National Action Council.

The aim is to establish CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE COMMITTEES on a provincial basis, and on a town, suburb, factory or street basis. At all these levels, attempts will be made to draw in the participation of every local organisation and group.

The immediate task is the establishment of Provincial Committees by the 30th June. These committees will be composed of equal numbers of representatives of each of the original sponsors. Their first duty will be to convene a Provincial Conference, to which every organisation possible will be invited, and which will elect additional members to the Provincial Committee.

Wherever possible, this procedure must be repeated on a town or district basis. Only through setting up such active committees on the widest possible scale, drawing in thousands of active workers to assist them, can the campaign succeed on its greatest scale. Through these committees, the demand of the people everywhere will be gathered, the people be canvassed and local delegations to the Congress of the People be organised.

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Above all it must be remembered that the creation of a network of local committees in every corner of South Africa will in itself be a major political achievement, which will be of tremendous value in every struggle of the future to achieve the demands set out in the Freedom Charter.

#### HOW TO MOBILISE FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

The message of the coming Congress of the People cannot inspire people unless everywhere it is linked in peoples minds with their own burning problems, and with the vital issues of the day. When speaking to farm squatters the Congress of the People must be linked in their minds with their own struggle against ejection from their homes; to town workers, with the fight for trade union rights and better wages; to the people on the trust farms, with the culling of cattle. Every vital issue, whether it be the eviction of people from the Western Areas, the introduction of apartheid at the Universities, the expropriation of property under the Group Areas Act, or the removal of voting rights under the Separate Representation of Voters' Act must be linked with all the propaganda for the Congress of the People.

#### WHO WILL VOTE?

Because of the long history of indirect and sham representation from which the Non-European people have suffered, it has been decided that the basis of election to the Congress of the People should be direct. That means that representatives elected by the people in any area or unit will go direct to the Congress of the People.

Every person over the age of eighteen, without distinction of race, colour or sex, will be entitled to vote for his representative.

Since the aim of the Congress of the People is to hear the desires of every group in South Africa, it is obvious that each voting unit will not be composed of the same number of people. If a European farm, employing fifteen African labourers decides to send a delegate, that is all to the good. On the other hand, large urban townships cannot be expected to send one representative for every fifteen inhabitants.

At this stage of the campaign, it is not possible to define precisely what will make up an electoral unit. It is only after the preparatory work has been successfully carried out that a more definite demarcation can be made, based on the number of local committees. In the last resort, local committees will have to decide what units in their locality will have to be represented, based on a target set by the National Action Council.

#### HOW WILL PEOPLE VOTE?

Election Day should be made the occasion for great political demonstrations and rallies in every part of the land.

Wherever possible, election of delegates should be held by public vote at a meeting of the electors. There may be cases however, such as on a mine or farm, where the holding of a meeting may not be possible. In such cases a canvass of the electorates by the local committees may prove to be the only practical method. It must be stressed that delegates to the Congress of the People are not delegates from local committees, but from the people in the areas where the local committee organises the work.

#### HOW WILL THEY GET THERE?

Thousands of delegates converging on the central venue for the Congress of the People must take place in an atmosphere of great political demonstrations. Where a large number of delegates are travelling together, Freedom Processions to greet them in every town they pass through, must be organised. Where possible, Freedom trains should be arranged to carry delegates, but where funds are not available for this, delegates should band together on a Freedom March, even though it may take some days for them to reach the Congress.

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It is obvious that the National Action Council will not be able to meet the bill for the expense of delegates. We are confident that if we have created sufficient enthusiasm for the Freedom Charter and the Congress, the electors themselves will be prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to see that their chosen representatives reach the Congress.

#### WHO WILL PAY THE BILL?

In spite of this, the National Action Council will require tremendous sums of money to see that a copy of the "Call" to the Congress of the People gets into every home in the land, and to see that delegates are provided for at the Congress. It is therefore most important that every unit taking part in organising the Congress of the People should seize every opportunity to collect funds from the people for the campaign.

Not only must every supporter be asked to pledge regular sums of money to the campaign, but in the countryside particularly, people must be asked to make pledges of cattle and other foodstuffs to feed the delegates at the Congress.

The campaign for the Congress of the People is not a campaign for members of the Congresses alone. All those who wish to hear the voice of the people must be encouraged to join in. There can be no neutrals.

Those people and those organisations who refuse to take part, will stand exposed as fearing the democratically expressed opinions of the majority of South African citizens, and will lose the support and allegations of all decent freedom-loving citizens.

In such a campaign as this, thousands of new active workers will rally to the support of those who have initiated and carried through the main burden of the campaign. New strength and new enthusiasm will grow in our ranks making it possible for us to lead our people forward to the winning of the Freedoms set out in the Charter which our people will write and adopt.

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SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT  
OF  
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
ON  
THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE,  
SUBMITTED TO  
THE 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS,  
HELD IN DURBAN  
ON THE 16TH, 17TH, 18TH & 19TH DECEMBER, 1954.

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SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT

OF

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

ON

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE,

SUBMITTED TO

THE 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS,

HELD IN DURBAN

ON THE 16TH, 17TH, 18TH & 19TH DECEMBER, 1954.

1. I have great pleasure in submitting to you a supplementary report on the Campaign for the convening of the Congress of the People, which was decided upon by the last conference of our Congress. In order to implement this gigantic task the conference instructed the national executive to call a meeting of the executive committees of the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and other democratic bodies which subscribe to the principle of full citizen rights for all, for the purpose of obtaining their co-operation in creating a "truly representative convention of the people of South Africa." A conference of the national executives of the above-mentioned organisations was consequently called on the 21st of March, 1954, to consider a memorandum placed before it by the African National Congress. The document, which is annexed herewith, marked "A1", explaining the aims of the Congress of the People, stated that:

"The main task of the Congress will be to draw up a Freedom Charter for all the peoples and groups in South Africa. From such a Congress ought to come a declaration which will inspire all the people of South Africa with fresh hope for the future, which will turn the minds of the people away from the sterile and negative struggles of the past and the present to a positive programme of freedom in our life-time. Such a Charter, properly conceived as a mirror of future South African society, can galvanise the people of South Africa into action and make them go over to the offensive against the reactionary forces at work in this country instead of being perpetually on the defensive, fighting rear-guard action all the time."

2. The unanimous decision of the four organisations, representing the African, Indian, Coloured and European people of our country, to co-sponsor the convocation of a national assembly of a mass character at the conference of 21st March, 1954, marked a great step forward in our struggle for democratic rights. This conference also set up a joint planning committee to draw up a Call for the Freedom Charter and a draft plan for the Campaign. The report of the planning committee was submitted to another conference of the joint executives during May, 1954. The plan of work annexed with the main secretarial report marked Annexure "A" and the Freedom Call is attached herewith marked Annexure "A2". The Freedom Call is an inspired document, expressing the conditions of our people, and will retain its impression on the sands of time in the annals of our country; its imprints are indelible for they are stamped on the lives of millions of our people who suffer from poverty, privation and oppression. The acceptance of the plan for the Campaign of the Congress of the People, which laid down the basis of obtaining mass support and which charged the organisations concerned to work on the broadest possible front by reaching the people in all walks of life, on the farms and reserves, in the cities, villages, towns, mines, factories and homes, afforded us a unique opportunity of consolidating our organisations.

It enabled us to work with the different sections of our people in closest co-operation for the achievement of a common objective.

3. When the National Council again met on the 15th August, 1954, under the Chairmanship of the President-General of the African National Congress, Chief A.J. Lutuli, to consider the details of action, it recorded the tremendous enthusiasm of the sponsoring organisations throughout the Union. Conferences already held on provincial and regional levels in the different parts of the country showed that the idea of the Congress of the People had captured mass imagination. The meeting, among other things, accepted a detailed plan of action for obtaining the support of other national bodies, popularisation and publicising of the Campaign, organisation of provincial and regional committees and enrolling and training of volunteers. The first stage of this plan has been completed in all its major aims in the following manner:

- a. Support of other organisations. Other national bodies have been twice requested to participate and co-sponsor the Congress of the People. To date the National Campaign Committee, the Textile Workers Industrial Union, and the African Laundry Workers Union have agreed to become co-sponsors and the matter is still under the consideration of the South African Labour Party, the South African National Union of Students, the Food and Canning Workers Union and other organisations. Co-operation of a large number of other organisations have been obtained on provincial and regional levels. It is regretted that the Liberal Party, after protracted negotiations, decided not to co-sponsor the Congress of the People. It did so as it was not prepared to participate in a Campaign which envisaged the drawing up of the Freedom Charter by the representatives of the masses of the people of our country.
- b. Publicity. The Campaign is publicised by means of mass meetings, conferences and written material throughout the country. Copies of the Freedom Call were printed and distributed in thousands in Zulu, English, Sotho and Xhosa. Bulletins and other written materials have been regularly issued both from the national headquarters and the provincial and regional centres. The Campaign evoked encouraging support from many sources. Among the messages received is one from Dr. Du Bois, the famous American Negro. Other messages include numerous international organisations and national organisations such as the Labour Party of Great Britain.
- c. Organisation. The branches of the Congress have been geared to accomplish the gigantic task successfully. A certain amount of confusion resulted from a mistaken view, prevalent in some quarters, that the Congress of the People was an organisation and not merely a campaign. This view has now been corrected and the position made clear beyond any possible doubt. Functioning provincial and regional committees of the Congress of the People exist in all the provinces of the Union and the state of each provincial organisation is as follows:-

Cape Province: A provincial conference, attended by representatives of the Cape Western, Cape Eastern, Border and the North Eastern regions was held at George during October, 1954. The conference resolved to zone the province into eight regions, in most of which active work has been undertaken.

Natal : A provincial committee was established at a mass conference held in Durban in September and has carried on active work since then. Natal has been zoned into three regions, the provincial committee also being for the coastal region. An active committee was set up at a North Natal conference and a Midlands Committee has already convened a regional conference.



Transvaal: A provincial committee was formed in the Transvaal in July and it has zoned the province into fifteen regions, in each of which it is hoped to set up regional committees. So far six of such committees have been formed and nearly all of the regions have been visited by teams of volunteers, and Congress of the People volunteers in the main centres of these regions; it is hoped to establish regional committees from these nuclei soon.

Free State: The provincial executive committee of the African National Congress has constituted itself into a provincial committee for that province. Several Congress branches have done solid work for the Congress of the People in their own areas. The Headquarters has posted an organiser in the province to assist the committee.

Organisers: Apart from a national organiser there are full-time organisers in the Transvaal, Northern Natal, Natal Coastal Region, Cape Eastern Region, Cape Western Region and Free State.

- d. Volunteers: A large number of volunteers have enrolled throughout the country. These volunteers are showing great enthusiasm for their work and it is our task to weld them into a network of groups, under the leadership and direction of their local committees. As a first step towards this a pamphlet "Welcome Volunteer" has been produced and distributed.

4. It has been apparent that the Government has singled out the Congress of the People for its most concentrated attacks, issuing banning orders to almost all active workers, whether listed or not. The whole of the original secretariat of the Campaign was immobilised by the action of the authorities. Among the first to fall was the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Mr. Walter M. Sisulu. The Government treat the Congress of the People as though it were a criminal conspiracy and will obviously stop at nothing to impede and hamper its work. It is a tribute to the members and the leaders of the sponsoring organisations that they have managed as much support for the campaign as they have in face of the heavy Government attack. In this period the organisations have again proved that they have the loyal support and allegiance of the majority of South Africans, and can count on the readiness of the people to rally to the call whenever and wherever the Call is made.

It is in the light of these facts, that the National Action Council at its meeting of 28th November, 1954 decided to speed up the whole tempo of the Campaign by:-

- (i) reiterating its decision that the Congress of the People be convened as soon as possible, but in any case not later than June, 1955.
- (ii) calling for the setting up of local and regional Congress of the people Committees, representatives of the people of all races, in all areas by not later than 30th January, 1955.
- (iii) calling for the submission of demands from all sections of the people throughout the country for inclusion in the Freedom Charter to be made not later than 15th March, 1955.
- (iv) Setting aside the period from March 15th to April 15th, 1955 for the election of the delegates to the Congress of the People.
- (v) therefore, called on all Congress of the People volunteers, all members of the sponsoring organisations and all supporters of the Congress of the People to work ceaselessly and conscientiously to complete all preparations for the Congress of the People in terms of this timetable.

6. There is a tremendous amount of work to be done in the forthcoming months. Congressmen throughout the country must make the Congress of the People a great success. Let the aspirations of the people of South Africa be reflected in the Freedom Charter. We must mobilise the masses of our people to proclaim their demands through thousands of committees throughout the land. Our people will

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demand their inalienable right to freedom and justice in a Charter which can and must incorporate the free wishes of the people for the attainment of freedom in our lifetime.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM!

MAYIBUYE AFRIKA!

MEMORANDUM ON THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE SUBMITTED BY THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE SPONSORING ORGANISATIONS  
ON 21ST MARCH, 1954.

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1. The essence of democratic government, as commonly understood, is that its policies and programmes of action must be an expression of the people. This arises out of the simple fact that the government of any country exists for the people and not the people for the government. In the last analysis any government is merely an instrumental reality, a means for achieving not the ends of the person or persons who happen to manipulate the machinery of government, but the ends of the people. This is what is implied in the well-known dictum 'government of the people, but the people, for the people'.

Regimes have undoubtedly existed in the past where the attempt was made to carry on the business of government on the basis of the expression of the will of one person or a group of persons representing only a section of the people subject to such governments. But although such regimes have endured for a season, they have no-where been able to survive indefinitely, for the simple reason that sooner or later the people have asserted themselves and have taken action to restore to its proper place of recognition the fundamental principle that the will of the people must prevail if stability is to be achieved by any regime. The Voice of the People cannot be stifled indefinitely. The people must and will speak in the end, however long they may have remained silent in the past. Human history shows that it is disastrous for the Voice of the People to go unheeded for too long.

2. No-one who examines the situation in South Africa in the light of these fundamental principles will deny that, as at present constituted, the government of South Africa is not based upon an expression of the will of the people. None of the governing bodies of the country - from Parliament through the Provincial Councils down to the smallest local authority, urban or rural, is based upon an expression of the will of the people. A minority of the population has arrogated to itself the right to govern by taking into account the will of only a section of the population. The vast majority of the people of the country is denied any voice in the councils of State by whose decisions their vital interests are affected, a state of affairs which they are not only expected to endure, but in which they are expected to acquiesce.
3. Moreover this situation is not the result of any accident or error of judgement. It is a matter of deliberate intention and design. The government of South Africa is avowedly and unashamedly based on the principle of a denial of a voice in the affairs of the country to the majority of the people. The dangers inherent in this state of affairs have been pointed out in and out of season, both by the leaders of the voiceless majority and by serious-minded and forward-looking leaders of thought among the privileged minority. All these have thus far been like voices crying in the wilderness, completely unheeded by the power-th t-be.
4. In the meantime relations between the different sections of the population have been deteriorating at a rapidly increasing rate. Suspicion and mistrust, frustration and despair, fear and insecurity - all factors which undermine the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation which ought to exist between fellow countrymen - are stalking the land. The country is rapidly being divided into two mutually antagonistic groups - a dominant white minority group, whose political parties are almost completely at one as far as their colour policies are concerned, and a dominated non-white majority, whose patience with the status quo is rapidly becoming exhausted.

5. Signs are not wanting, however, that thinking people in South Africa are becoming not merely concerned, but alarmed at the ever-widening gulf between the peoples of the country due to the continued disregard by successive South African governments, but more especially by the present government, of the interests of vast sections of the populations. Today it is not only the African who has to content with the despotism of the South African government. The legislation that has found its way to the Statute Book - the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, the Removal of Natives Bill, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, etc., all go to show that the government is becoming more and more reckless in its flouting of public opinion, white as well as non-white. Trade Unions, peaceful gatherings, the Courts, the Churches, the schools - all these institutions which normally should provide means for the expression of the will of the people are in real danger of being converted into mere vehicles for the expression of the will of a junta of self-opinionated politicians.
6. The time has arrived for the people to make their voice heard and to say in no uncertain terms: "thus far and no further." The need for a new approach to the problems of race relations in South Africa has become urgent. This need has been reflected in the re-alignment of political parties at present in progress combined with their attempts at the revision of policies and programmes which have outlived their usefulness. The emergence of the Liberal Party, the Federal Party, the defections from the United Party, the changed outlook of the Labour Party all show that the time is long overdue for a thorough-going re-examination of the place of the different sections of the population in the South African body politic. But the questions with which the country is confronted go beyond the competence of political parties whose membership is confined to one section of the population. The broad will of the people of South Africa calls for a much wider basis than that.
7. Already various organisations have put forward suggestions for the summoning of national conventions in which representatives of all sections of the population might participate with a view to discovering what can be done to draw together again the peoples of this country who have been so divided by the policies of successive South African governments.
8. The Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Church has undertaken to summon a conference of church leaders of all racial groups at which the question of the application of Christian principles in our multi-racial country will be considered. Under its auspices a preliminary conference of white church leaders has already been held, to be followed some time this year by the larger conference to which church leaders of different racial groups will be invited. But this conference whose value and significance must not be under-rated will be confined to church leaders, and important as the Churches may be in our national life, it is no disparagement of this to say that they do not speak for all sections of the populations.
9. The Institute of Race Relations also has in hand plans for the summoning of a national convention to which representatives of organisations operating among all racial groups are to be invited. That Convention, when it is held, will undoubtedly be marked by fruitful deliberations, but without being unjust to its sponsors, it is probably true to say that it will not be a true reflection of the views of all sections of the population as it is likely to be dominated by representatives of organisations and public bodies in which non-whites are either not adequately represented or not represented at all. No conference is likely to provide realistic answers to our problems unless the views of the non-white sections of the populations are fully and freely ventilated and accorded serious consideration. Already the South African Indian Congress, in reply to a request from the Institute for an expression of its views on the question of the holding (by the Institute) of a National conference of all the people of South Africa, which would review and analyse the position of the non-European peoples has pointed out that "this is a question which is primarily and in the first place the concern of the non-European people themselves, who are most directly affected and who form the majority of the population."

In other words it would be most appropriate that the initiative in this regard should have been taken by the non-European peoples themselves. The lead in this connection has been given by the African National Congress.

10. The African National Congress, the premier political organisation of the African people, at its last conference, held at Queenstown, in December, 1953 passed the following resolution:

"Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to make immediate preparations for the organisation of a "Congress of the People of S.A", whose task shall be to work out a "Freedom Charter" for all peoples and groups in this country. To this end Conference urges the African National Congress, National Executive to call a meeting of the national executives of the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Organisation, the South African Congress of Democrats and any other democratic organisation for the purpose of placing before them the plan of Congress and obtaining their co-operation in creating a truly representative "Convention of the People of South Africa."

11. The implications of this resolution are clear.

(a) The African National Congress, the premier political organisation of the largest section of our population, has resolved to take the lead in working for a fresh start in search for a truly South African policy, which will safeguard the fundamental rights of all sections of the population. The African people must bear their proper share to responsibility for working out the salvation of the people of South Africa.

(b) In this gigantic task which is obviously beyond the capacity of any single group to tackle successfully, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress has been instructed to seek the co-operation of other democratic organisations i.e. organisations which subscribe to the principle of full citizenship rights for all. Specific mention is made of certain organisations which are known to subscribe to this principle.

(c) The African National Congress and any other sponsoring organisation are directed to take steps to ensure that the "Congress of the People" is "truly representative" of the people of South Africa. If we are going to mobilise the opinion of the people of South Africa and to release their thwarted energies and secure their full co-operation in working for a New South Africa, we must ensure that the persons attending the Congress are truly representative of the people, which means that the people must be given an opportunity to elect their representatives at this Congress.

(d) The main task of the Congress will be to draw up a "Freedom Charter" for all peoples and groups in South Africa. From such a Congress ought to come a Declaration which will inspire all the peoples of South Africa with fresh hope for the future, which will turn the minds of the people away from the sterile and negative struggles of the past and the present to a positive programme of freedom for all in our life-time. Such a Charter, properly conceived as a mirror of future South African society, can galvanise the people of South Africa into action and make them go over the offensive against the reactionary forces at work in this country instead of being perpetually on the defensive, fighting rear guard actions all the time.

12. How is it proposed to give effect to this epoch-making resolution? The A.N.C. National Executive has already summoned a conference of the executives of certain organisations at which the feasibility of this dynamic proposal is to be considered. The following suggestions are put forward for the consideration of the sponsoring organisations:-

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- (a) Once the principle of holding the Congress has been accepted, the sponsoring organisations should make a public announcement of their intention to hold the Congress on a specified date.
- (b) For the purpose of electing representatives to the Congress of the People every person over the age of 21, without distinction as to race, colour or sex, should have the right to vote.
- (c) To this end the sponsoring organisations should undertake to prepare in various centres throughout the country a common roll of voters for the Congress of the People.
- (d) The sponsoring organisations should consider the appointment of a Delimitation Committee to divide the country into constituencies on the basis of the Voters' Roll and to decide on the question of the representation of the various constituencies.
- (e) Once the Delimitation Committee has completed its work, a date should be fixed for a General Election of Representatives to the Congress in which all adults shall participate on an equal basis.
- (f) This would be followed by the holding of the congress at a date and place to be decided upon by the sponsoring organisations.
- (g) The sponsoring organisations should, without delay, appoint a representative "Ways and Means" Committee to work out details.

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ANNEXTURE "A2"

WE CALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA  
BLACK AND WHITE - LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM!

WE CALL THE FARMERS OF THE RESERVES AND TRUST LANDS.

Let us speak of the wide land, and the narrow strips on which we  
toil,  
Let us speak of brothers without land, and of children  
without schooling.  
Let us speak of taxes and of cattle, and of famine.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS.

Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far  
from our families.  
Let us speak of heavy labour and long hours, and of men  
sent home to die,  
Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FARMS AND FORESTS.

Let us speak of the rich foods we grow, and the laws that keep  
us poor.  
Let us speak of harsh treatment and of children and women  
forced to work.  
Let us speak of private prisons, and beatings, and of  
passes.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

Let us speak of the good things we make, and the bad conditions  
of our work.  
Let us speak of the many passes and the few jobs.  
Let us speak of foreman and of transport and of  
trade unions; of holidays and of houses.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL ON THE TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND THE PREACHERS.

Let us speak of the light that comes with learning, and the ways we are kept in darkness.

Let us speak of the great services we can render, and of the narrow ways that are open to us.

Let us speak of laws, and government, and rights.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE HOUSEWIVES AND THE MOTHERS.

Let us speak of the fine children that we bear, and of their stunted lives.

Let us speak of the many illnesses and deaths, and of the few clinics and schools

Let us speak of the high prices and of shanty towns.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER

ALL OF US TOGETHER - African and European, Indian and Coloured. Voter and voteless. Privileged and rightless. The happy and the homeless. All the people of South Africa; of the towns and of the countryside.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children.

LET THE VOICE OF ALL THE PEOPLE BE HEARD. AND LET THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED. LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL ON ALL GOOD MEN AND TRUE, to speak now of freedom, and to write their own demands into the Charter of Freedom.

WE CALL ALL WHO LOVE LIBERTY to pledge their lives from here on to win the Freedoms set out in the Charter.

WE CALL ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO PREPARE FOR:

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE - Where representatives of the people of the people, everywhere in the land, will meet together in a great assembly, to discuss and adopt the Charter of Freedom.

Let us speak together of Freedom.  
Let us work together for the Freedom Charter.  
Let us organise together for the Congress of the People.

LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO FREEDOM!



6A.

BANNED LEADERS.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

1. TRANSVAAL

J.B. Marks  
M. Kotane  
W. Sisulu  
D. Bopape  
J. Mavuso  
M. Seperere

N. Mandela  
O. Tambo  
D. Tloome  
G. Sibande  
E. Motsaedi

Dr. D. Mji  
Dr. H. Motlana  
D. Nokwe  
G. Maeka  
G. Ngake

F. Boshielo  
J. Motshabi  
I. Mounakwe  
F. Morris  
A. Kunene

2. CAPE

J. Matthews  
Dr. S. Molema  
J. Ngwevela

R. Matji  
T. Ngwenya  
G. Tshume

O. Mphetha  
A.P. Mati  
L. Phillips

Dr. J.L.Z. Njongwe  
R. Mhlaba

3. NATAL

M.B. Yengwa

A.J. Lutuli

P.H. Simelane

T. Gwala

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS.

1. TRANSVAAL

Dr. Y.M. Dadoo  
A.M. Kathrada  
R.H. Desai

I. Bhoola  
S. Naigar

Nana Sita  
G. Sooboo  
P. Joseph

Maulvi I. Cachalia  
Y.A. Cachalia  
N. Thandray

2. NATAL

Dr. G. Naicker  
J.N. Singh

M.P. Naicker  
Debi Singh

Ismail Meer  
S.V. Reddy

F. Meer  
Cassim Amra

SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS.

1. TRANSVAAL

V.C. Berrange  
Percy Cohen  
Rica Hodgson  
H. Wolpe  
S. Rosenblat  
C. Williams

A. Fischer  
R. Bernstein  
Eli Weinberg  
M. Harnel  
A. Lipman  
G. Routh

Ruth First  
Hilda Watts  
Issie Wolfson  
A.P. O'Dowd  
L. Baker  
B. du Toit

Joe Slovo  
Jack Hodgson  
A. Selby  
M. Muller  
L. Joffe  
K. Kaplan

2. NATAL

Roley Arenstein.

3. CAPE

S. Kahn  
L. Warden  
B. Lan  
K. Gelvan

B. Bunting  
J. Tarshish  
F. Carneson

R. Alexander  
M. Butcher  
Dr. J. Simons

W. Kodesh  
B. Turok  
G. Coe

SOUTH AFRICAN COLOURED PEOPLES' ORGANISATION.

1. TRANSVAAL

James Phillips

2. CAPE

Frank Marquard

Hettie McLeod

BANISHED LEADERS

Yengwa

A.S. Gwentshe

J.M. Lengisi

G. Sibande

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NATIONALIST LAWS.

1.	Asiatic Laws Amendment Act .....	15/48
2.	Electoral Laws Amendment Act.....	50/48
3.	Aliens Registration Amendment Act .....	1/49
4.	Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act.....	53/49
5.	South African Citizenship Act.....	44/49
6.	General Law Amendment Act.....	54/49
7.	Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act.....	55/49
8.	Native Laws Amendment Act.....	56/49
9.	Unemployment Insurance Amendment Act.....	41/49
10.	Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act.....	15/50
11.	Suppression of Communism Act.....	44/50
12.	Group Areas Act.....	41/50
13.	Immorality Amendment Act.....	21/50
14.	Population Registration Act.....	30/50
15.	Bantu Authorities Act.....	68/51
16.	Suppression of Communism Amendment Act.....	50/51
17.	Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act.....	52/51
18.	Native Building Workers Act.....	27/51
19.	Separate Representation of Voters Act.....	46/51
20.	Electoral Laws Amendment Act.....	55/52
21.	General Law Amendment Act.....	32/52
22.	Group Areas Amendment Act.....	65/52
23.	High Court of Parliament Act.....	35/52
24.	Native Laws Amendment Act.....	54/52
25.	Native Services Levy Act.....	64/52
26.	Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act.....	67/52
27.	Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act.....	24/52
28.	Bantu Education Act.....	47/53
29.	Criminal Law Amendment Act.....	8/53
30.	Native Building Workers Amendment Act.....	38/53
31.	Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act .....	48/53
32.	Public Safety Act.....	3/53
33.	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.....	49/53
34.	Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Amendment Act.....	15/54
35.	Native Trust and Land Amendment Act.....	18/54
36.	Natives Resettlement Act.....	19/54
37.	Representation of Natives Amendment Act.....	36/54
38.	South-West Africa Native Affairs Administration Act.....	56/54

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PRE - CONFERENCE PRESIDENTIAL  
CALL TO  
BRANCHES AND OFFICIALS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS.

**Afrika! Mayibuye! Fellow Africans!**

We are nearing our important Annual event - the Annual Conference. This is an occasion important to any organisation, and it is even more so with us with an organisation that is Union-wide, with branches scattered all over the country. All roads this year lead us to Durban for our Annual Conference. A warm reception awaits us in Natal. Natal is all excitement at the honour of playing host to the Conference of her Mother body. It is a long time since Natal had this honour - over twelve years. Let us not disappoint Natal, and Congress generally, by poor attendance.

In a very special way this Conference is of special significance in that, branch members and Congress officials of all levels will be given an opportunity to demonstrate by their hundred percent attendance, that the bans imposed on our leaders by Minister Swart, have not in any way damped the spirit and enthusiasm of the rank and file, but, on the contrary, has fired each member in Congress with a fresh determination to double time, by willingly and happily carrying on an extra load of work, and by sacrificing one's time, possessions and abilities. This Conference will give us an opportunity of showing the Authorities that our leaders are leading in an able and healthy army which the lowest "Officer" and even a "Private", can give effective leadership in time of crisis, when commanding officers are killed or incapacitated. WE MUST DEMONSTRATE THAT CONGRESS IS NOT A ONE-MAN SHOW!!

CLARIFICATION OF CERTAIN MATTERS.

I have long desired to speak to branches and the public by way of giving greater clarity on some matters connected with our Organisation.

(1) The African National Congress is a Legal Organisation.

Some people are under the wrong impression that, because leaders of the African National Congress are being banned by the Minister of Justice so<sup>y</sup> therefore, Congress is an illegal body. That is not so. Congress is still a legal body, and it is no offence at law to be its member. No doubt, we are a thorn on the side of the Government, and sometimes the Police overstep their bounds by intimidating people against Congress. Do not be kept away from your Organisation by these unlawful intimidations.

(2) The significance of the Freedom Volunteers:

Subject to the pleasure of our National Executive, the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, for good and sufficient reasons, was brought to a halt after due consultation with our allies, the South African Indian Congress. The Volunteers of this Campaign were required to serve the cause of Freedom by courting arrest by defying the discriminatory laws which disgrace the Statute Book of the Union of South Africa. The objects of this Campaign were:-

- (i) To register our protest and opposition to these Unjust Laws;
- (ii) To awaken politically the non-Whites.
- (iii) To prick the conscience of White South Africa.

It is our view that we attained a fair measure of success in our objectives. Congress Membership increased, and an increasing number of our fellow-White South Africans came out openly championing our cause. It was during this period that the Liberal Party and the Congress of Democrats came into being. Some Churches and individuals in Churches came out more openly in protest against the wicked laws. As would have been expected, there was a reverse effect in so far as the Government was concerned. We witnessed a greater intensification of oppressive laws made in the vain hope of stemming the tide of the growing forces of Freedom-for-all.

Sometime this year, I made a Presidential call, asking for fifty thousand Volunteers, who were to be known as "Freedom Volunteers". There is some confusion among people as to the task of these Volunteers. Some people think that these Volunteers

are called upon to defy the laws as in the Defiance Campaign. This is not the case. It must be remembered that, shortly after the Defiance Campaign, we undertook to organise the Congress of the People, which will culminate in a great Assembly, whereat our multi-racial nation, through delegates elected democratically by people in all corners of the Union, will write our Freedom Charter - A South African Declaration of Human Rights. In order to organise and propagandise the Congress of the People, it became necessary to form a special Corp of Workers, whom we designated as Freedom-Volunteers. The task of these Volunteers is to visit men and women in their homes, in factories and all over, to enrol them for the Congress of the People, having duly explained to them the objects and significance of the Congress of the People. It should be clear to everybody that Freedom Volunteers are "Field-workers" mobilising the people for the great Congress of the People.

(3) RESIST APARTHEID CALL.

Whilst organising for the Congress of the People, we found ourselves faced with important specific issues as a result of the Nationalist Government of the Reverend Dr. Malan implementing its evil Apartheid Policies: I refer, particularly, to the Western Areas of Johannesburg Removal Scheme, the Bantu Education Act and the Rent Increase in Municipal Housing Schemes. It became necessary for us to organise intensive opposition to these measures. In order to do this effectively, a house-to-house, factory-to-factory, street-to-street, village-to-village, kraal-to kraal campaign has had to be carried out, in order to create and co-ordinate opposition to these specific measures, and so, our Freedom Volunteers, in addition to working under the banner of the Congress of the People, have to work also under the banner of "Resist Apartheid"!! You will see that for these two inter-related tasks - Congress of the People, Resist Apartheid - we need a large army of Volunteers ---hence my call for fifty thousand Freedom Volunteers.

I take this opportunity to re-iterate my Call, for Fifty

thousand/.....

- 4 -

thousand Freedom Volunteers who will enable us to carry out effectively our present double task of organising for the Congress of the People, and mobilising the people to oppose certain Apartheid measures. Every branch should have a respectable number of Freedom Volunteers.

In closing my message and Call, let me invite all Sons and Daughters of Africa to join our Liberatory Forces through joining the African National Congress.

REMEMBER THIS: THROUGHOUT HISTORY NO FREEDOM HAS COME TO ANY PEOPLE WITHOUT BLOOD AND TEARS. Africans cannot be an exception to this Divine Test, but take courage in the knowledge that, NO MATTER HOW DARK THE FUTURE MAY SEEM, RIGHT M U S T TRIUMPH OVER WRONG, and also REMEMBER that, NO NATIONAL MOVEMENT HAS EVER FAILED. SHALL YOURS BE THE FIRST TO FAIL IN HISTORY???

AFRIKA!!! MAYIBUYE!!!

Yours: THE CHIEF SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE

SIGNED: A.J. LUTHULI.

PRESIDENT-GENERAL, A.N.C.

P.O. GROUTVILLE MISSION.

10th November, 1954.

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Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege to convey to you on behalf of the S.A. Congress of Democrats a fraternal message of solidarity and brotherhood in the common struggle to secure democracy for South Africa and to secure it for all people in South Africa.

We wish you well in your deliberations, and hope that the results of your discussions will take us all forward toward our common objectives.

We are confident that the bond which has been forged between our two organisations in recent years - bonds which have been strengthened and tempered in the fire of struggle and police terrorism - will grow stronger still.

At this Conference your deliberations will have far reaching consequences for the whole National Liberatory Movement. As a part of that movement and one which by now has demonstrated beyond doubt its staunchness to the common cause, it will not be taken amiss if we comment on some of the matters that will be discussed.

In making this comment I am not just expressing personal views. No I am expressing the considered views of my organisation, which may assist the deliberations of the conference.

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

We are convinced that the Congress of the People, scheduled to take place before the middle of next year, can be a tremendous and significant force for mobilising the people. The successful holding of the Congress of the People by the scheduled date is perhaps, our most important and vital objective at this moment. We know that the struggle in the coming year will be hard and perhaps even more difficult than it has been up to now. Nevertheless we believe that with the close co-operation of our organisations with the organisations of the Coloured and Indian people this objective is capable of achievement, and will open the door to still further advances towards the free country and free people for which we work.

As a result of the Cape Western election our programme of full equality for all South Africans now has one spokesman in Parliament, Mr. Lee-Warden, the Vice-President of the S.A.C.O.D.. He will use the platform of parliament to announce to the country the aims of the Congress movement, to defend and uphold the Congress movement, and to expose the undemocratic basis of the elections of Native Representatives and of Parliament itself. He will expose and oppose in parliament and out, discriminatory and unjust laws, acting at all times as the servant of the Congress movement.

In addition because of his position in Parliament, free travelling facilities, etc., Mr. Lee-Warden will be a full-time organiser for the peoples' democratic organisations. How much stronger our whole movement would have been if we had eight such people available with such facilities, as we could have had by entering fully into the

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opportunities offered by the recent election.

ORGANISATION.

We believe that in spite of all the obstructions placed in our way by the government, the people look to the Congress movement, the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., and the S.A.C.O.D., for political leadership. We believe however that this is not enough. We have to win the fight to organise our supporters, since only an organised people can win democracy for South Africa. We must give the greatest possible attention to this aspect of our tasks.

The time has come for us to give a major priority to the organisation of the people and to keep before us always the slogan "Organise for Freedom."

Let us go forward together in our great struggle for freedom.

Mayibuye! Afrika!

ADDRESS FROM THE NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, S.A.C.O.D.

))))))))))

P. Beyleveld

National Chairman.



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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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