

(Pages 1 and 3.)
A.N.C. REPORT TO DURBAN CONFERENCE AN OUTSTANDING DOCUMENT

Comprehensive Review of Whole South African Situation

"AFTER six years of Nationalist rule fascism has arrived in South Africa," begins the report of the Secretary-General to the 42nd annual conference of the African National Congress, which is scheduled to open this week in Durban.

The report is a comprehensive and inspiring survey of the entire South African situation, and to permit our readers to follow closely the work of the conference, which is expected to be a landmark in South Africa's progress to freedom, New Age presents these detailed extracts from the report.

THE MARCH TO FASCISM

After six years of Nationalist rule, fascism has arrived in South Africa. The first five of these six years were occupied with the building of the legal framework for the naked police state. After sweeping to power on a wave of intensified racialist propaganda, the Nationalist machine set to work. The reactionary anti-people legislation inherited from former South African regimes was made more efficient.

In the Suppression of Communism Act the Nationalist Government, following the Hitler pattern, prepared the legal machinery for crushing the most militant opponents of their rule—the working class and national liberatory organisations.

Fascism does not arise until conditions call for it. It arises when the ruling class can no longer look forward to unlimited profits and to acquiescent people



Walter Sisulu, banned Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

willing to be exploited. As the political consciousness of the people grows and their organisations become mature and effective in their struggles for economic and political rights, the ruling classes drop the methods of peaceful flattery, diplomacy and bribery, and employ force as the ordinary means of enforcing their rule. It is true that force is always there, but before the rise of fascism force was resorted to in times of "crisis." Under fascism the crisis becomes a permanent feature of life, and force and intimidation become the ordinary, every-day methods of rule.

Here in South Africa the methods of the Nationalist Government are those which the ruling class must continue to use increasingly in its fight against the people.

CONTEMPT FOR LAW

The Nationalists have acted in complete disregard and contempt of the rule of law and the rights of Parliament. In the Public Safety Act they made provision for the Executive when it deems it necessary, to declare a state of

emergency, suspend all laws and assume dictatorial powers.

Meetings are totally banned in rural areas and virtually banned in urban areas. Foremost leaders of the national liberation organisations and leaders of trade unions have been banned from political activity; persons have been exiled and deported without trial and without regard to the welfare of their families; newspapers have been banned; fighters for freedom have been convicted for protesting against unjust laws; armed police intimidate people at meetings and homes; raids and searches are now commonplace; and, to crown it all, our Secretary-General has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with compulsory labour, for a crime unique in history, namely:

"Attending a gathering in order to partake of, or be present whilst others partake of, refreshment (in the nature of tea and/or edibles and/or a meal)."

Yes, fascism has indeed arrived in South Africa. What has been the reaction of the people to it? On the Parliamentary front there has been no opposition to the Nationalists at all.

UNITED PARTY

There has not even been an attempt at a formal protest on the part of the United Party in particular. This is understandable. As the representative of an important segment of the ruling class, this party could not very well oppose the anti-popular legislation. The groups represented by the United Party in their shortsightedness acquiesced in the reactionary policies of the Nationalists, crude as they were. The policy of the official opposition in

Defiance Campaign Changed Political Situation

The Defiance Campaign in particular is not only the most important event of this period but was the highest form of struggle ever undertaken in South Africa. It produced a solid and strong democratic front between Africans and other oppressed groups. It indeed changed the political situation in the country. In these political struggles two other important things happened:

1. The African National Congress became recognised and accepted by all democratic and progressive organisations and individuals in this country as the true voice and leader of the struggle for freedom, equality and justice.

2. June 26 was set aside as the National Day, a day on which fighters for freedom remember all those heroes who laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa—a day of re-dedication and pledge.

THE CREDIT SIDE

Having described the six years of Nationalist rule as a period of determined effort to destroy everything democratic and pro-

gressive in the political, economic and social life of South Africa, we should also show the reverse side of the picture, the credit side, as it were. Apart from the wealth of experience that we now possess, our cause has now gained an army of some 10,000 volunteers, men and women upon whom the cause of African freedom has been indelibly imprinted. Furthermore, these six years of struggle have created a general political consciousness among the masses of our people. They have given us a "LUTHULI."

Parliament has, therefore, been one of surrender all along the line. The same may be said of the Liberals and reformist trade unions. Although they did now and again give expressions of formal protest against isolated acts of Nationalist tyranny, they have made no attempt to actually resist the onslaught of the fascists outside Parliament.

Not only did the Liberals and those of their kind encourage the illusion of social change through Parliament among themselves, but they spread the illusion even among those who have no parliamentary rights at all!

A.N.C. AND ALLIES

The one major force which has fought the Government consistently and organised the people against fascism has been the African National Congress and its allies. No action of the Government, no matter against which group it was directed, has not evoked condemnation and resistance from the forces allied to and under the leadership of the African National Congress. In this connection we recall the freedom strike in the Transvaal on the 1st May, 1950, the first nation-wide political strike on the 26th June, 1950, the Cape Coloured protest strike on the 7th May, 1951, the Witzieshoek clash in November 1950, where 13 Africans were killed, 97 committed to terms of imprisonment, ranging from six months to five years; the demonstration of 100,000 people on the 6th April, 1952, against 300 years of White domination. The most historic Defiance Campaign, which began on the 26th June, 1952, a day which has truly become a national day for all South Africa and a day on which we remember all those who have laid down their lives in the struggle for a free South Africa—a day of re-dedication and pledge.

The year 1954 was the year for preparation for a new period. A period for the changing of tactics, a period for an advanced form of organisation to prepare for advanced forms of struggle.

The Congress of the People and the Resist Apartheid Campaigns are the two campaigns on which we are going to base our future struggle. The Resist Apartheid Campaign is an issue on which we mobilise our forces in defence of our rights and our organisations.

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NEW AGE

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AFRICANS HAVE A VOICE IN PARLIAMENT

Election Triumph in Face of Immense Difficulties

Cape Town.

"THE election result shows beyond any doubt that the African people are determined to play their full and proper part in the development of South Africa, and it is a clear mandate to me to voice in Parliament, as clearly as I can, their desire for democratic equality, for the abolition of the pass laws and of the host of other measures which are crippling their progress," Mr. Len Lee-Warden, newly elected M.P. for Cape Western, told New Age this week.

"While putting forward in Parliament the demands of the African people for full and equal rights, I will at the same time be making the case for racial harmony and peaceful relationship between the races of South Africa, without which our country and its people cannot prosper," said Mr. Lee-Warden.

Mr. Lee-Warden said that in spite of the small poll the election result was particularly gratifying since the campaign was fought in the teeth of fierce Government and police interference.

BANS, INTIMIDATION

"Not only was I banned from meetings at the height of the campaign, but the bans imposed on many of my leading supporters made it impossible to canvass more than a fraction of the area. In addition, the arrest of my canvassers and other police action was intended to intimidate the voters."

Another factor which contributed to the low percentage poll was the fact that the voters' roll, which had last been compiled in 1951, was hopelessly out of date. Of the 16,000 names on the roll, said Mr. Lee-Warden, not more than 5,000 are to be found at the addresses given.

A further reason for the low poll was the fact that on polling day itself, the central polling station had been transferred from the usual site, the Old Drill Hall, to a site out of the way and virtually unknown to the bulk of the voters.

"The confusion spread by the Liberals, who maintained that I

would not be allowed to take my seat if elected, also accounted for the small vote," said Mr. Lee-Warden.

Mr. Lee-Warden also pointed out that while on the face of it the Liberals had gained a large number



Len Lee-Warden, first Congress of Democrats M.P.

of votes in this election as compared with the previous election, it had to be remembered that they now had the support of Mrs. Joan Jonker-Fiske. If the number of votes she gained in the last election were taken with those given to Mr. Gibson, the total adds up to the votes given to the Liberal Party in this election.

DADOO'S MESSAGE

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo has sent a special message of congratulation to Mr. Lee-Warden and the African voters in a statement to New Age.

Stating that the voters have "delivered yet another tremendous blow for freedom and the right of the people to choose as their representative whomsoever they like," Dr. Dadoo adds:

"The voters deserve the heartiest congratulations of all patriots and democrats for the consistent courage which they have shown in the face of the fascist intimidation of the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart.

"I congratulate Mr. Lee-Warden on his very fine victory and am certain that he will, like his predecessors Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting, carry into the House of Assembly the voice of ten million non-whites for full and equal rights and opportunities and against apartheid and racial discrimination."



Greenwood Ngotyana, one of the driving forces in the election victory.

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