

LUTHULI



*SPEECHES OF CHIEF
ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI*

1898 - 1967

LUTULI

Speeches of Chief Albert John Lutuli

Compiled by
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[NOTE: A collection of the speeches and writings of Chief Luthuli, compiled by Mr Reddy, was originally published by the Unit on Apartheid of the United Nations, then reprinted by the ANC in *South African Studies*. An expanded edition was published by the German Democratic Republic, in co-operation with the UN Centre against Apartheid, in 1983. The South African edition of this collection, published in 1991, was edited by Prof. Fatima Meer.

The present version is greatly expanded with the inclusion of many additional items.]

FOREWORD

Chief Albert Luthuli was a man of universal wisdom, and exceptional integrity: a man of deep compassion, motivated into political action by his deep Christian commitment. The African National Congress is proud today to list him among its Presidents.

He bridged two distinct periods in our struggle for national liberation, the first when we used every government recognised platform to dialogue for change, and the second, when we were forced to develop our own oppositional structures outside of the state apparatus to force a revolutionary tempo. Chief Luthuli reflected in his leadership both these moods. On the one hand, his life is a testimony of patience and forbearance; on the other, of militant zeal. He exhausted all strategies before he came to the conclusion that the Nationalist door was firmly slammed in the face of the dispossessed. Thus his historic statement in 1952 that for 30 years he had knocked patiently on the racist door to no avail, obliging him, to turn to active defiance from outside the portals of the church and government bodies. His statement was taken up in the popular refrain.

*Vula Malan thina siya qonqotha.*¹

Today that door has begun to open.

Once charged into political activism, his oratory and leadership proved so potent that the government almost immediately slapped a banning order on him.

It is not usually realised that Chief Luthuli was banned and restricted to his home in Groutville for the best part of his political activism. He was elected to the Natal Presidency of the ANC in 1951, deposed from his Chieftainship by the government in 1952: that same year, he was elected President General, and that same year he was served with his first banning order. Those banning orders continued to be renewed, until his death. It is his wonder and ours that despite this, he led the most militant period of the ANC before its banning in 1960.

He had a great vision for South Africa and that vision is reflected in his speeches compiled in this volume, which together with his autobiography, "*Let my People Go*", is a proud testimony of our proud heritage.

We honoured him at the Congress of the People, with the *Isitwalandwe*, and the world honoured him, and we shared that honour with him, when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

We miss Albert Luthuli, yet his spirit lives on with us, the spirit that led us in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign and inspired us in both good days and bad.

¹ "Open the door, Malan, We are knocking!"

Nelson Mandela
September 1991

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² The previous article was published in *Drum*, Johannesburg. This is a different version published in *Ebony*, Chicago.

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MESSAGE TO THE SECOND PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, DURBAN, 1948³

I wish the Conference all success and the Indian people success in their struggle for freedom in South Africa.

"WE GO TO ACTION": STATEMENT ON THE LAUNCHING IN NATAL OF THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN, AUGUST 30, 1952⁴

Natal through its accredited delegates whose stand was fully endorsed at the Conference of the African National Congress, Natal Branch, held in Durban on March 15, 1952, supported the decision of the African National Congress to launch a campaign of non-violent passive resistance against discriminatory and unjust laws in the Union of South Africa with the object and hope of getting white South Africa to adopt a policy of allowing full democratic rights for all who qualify for them.

We believe with Archbishop Hurley of Durban who recently, in addressing the South African Institute of Race Relations in Durban, said: "The first Christian duty in race relations in South Africa was to convince Europeans that they could not claim the enjoyment of rights as a monopoly without sacrificing human justice. The second was to grant economic, cultural and political rights to Non-Europeans progressively in accordance with their stage of social evolution."

It grieves me to say that since the Union we have witnessed a diminution of democratic rights and privileges among the few Non-Europeans who enjoyed them when we had hoped that the liberal policy of the Cape would be extended to the northern provinces. We find ourselves deprived of opportunities to develop to our fullest capacity our God-given talents.

As Africans we are glad that at the invitation of the African National Congress the Indians and Coloureds, through their national organisations, pledged to support our Congress in its just struggle.

³ From: Natal Indian Congress. Agenda Book of the Second Provincial Conference, 1948.

⁴ The Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws - which was launched by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress on June 26, 1952 - was initiated in the Natal province at the end of August to allow time for adequate preparations.

We invite all, irrespective of colour, race or creed, who prize democracy to join our forces.

I am happy to announce today at this meeting of our Provincial Conference held at the Bantu Social Centre in Durban on August 30, 1952, that the Africans in Natal with their allies, the Indians, under the joint direction of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, are going into action against discriminatory and unjust laws tomorrow, August 31, 1942.

May God bless our Volunteers who are helping Natal to honour its pledged word so that in the final reckoning Natal will say "I too was there in the struggle to make the Union of South Africa a true democracy for all its people irrespective of colour, race or creed."

**“THE ROAD TO FREEDOM IS VIA THE CROSS”:
STATEMENT WHEN DISMISSED FROM CHIEFTAINSHIP
FOR REFUSING TO RESIGN FROM THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 15, 1952⁵**

I have been dismissed from the Chieftainship of the Abase-Makolweni Tribe in the Groutville Mission Reserve. I presume that this has been done by the Governor-General in his capacity as Supreme Chief of the "Native" people of the Union of South Africa save those of the Cape Province. I was democratically elected to this position in 1935 by the people of Groutville Mission Reserve and was duly approved and appointed by the Governor-General.

Thirty Years of Knocking in Vain

Previous to being a chief I was a school teacher for about seventeen years. In these past thirty years or so I have striven with tremendous zeal and patience to work for the progress and welfare of my people and for their harmonious relations with other sections of our multiracial society in the Union of South Africa. In this effort I always pursued what liberal-minded people rightly regarded as the path of moderation. Over this great length of time I have, year after year, gladly spent hours of my time with such organisations of the Church and its various agencies such as the Christian Council of South Africa, the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans and the now defunct Native Representative Council.

⁵ Public statement on November 15, 1952, when the Government dismissed him from his position as Chief of the Abase Makolweni Tribe for refusing to resign from the African National Congress

In so far as gaining citizenship right and opportunities for the unfettered development of the African people, who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door?

What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the Government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all: no adequate land for our occupation, our only asset, cattle, dwindling, no security of homes, no decent and remunerative employment, more restriction to freedom of movement through passes, curfew regulations, influx control measures; in short we have witnessed in these years an intensification of our subjection to ensure and protect white supremacy.

New Spirit of the People

It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that, under the auspices of the African National Congress (Natal), I have joined my people in the new spirit that moves them today, the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner. Because of my association with the African National Congress in this new spirit which has found an effective and legitimate way of expression in the non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, I was given a two-week limit ultimatum by the Secretary for Native Affairs calling upon me to choose between the African National Congress and the chieftainship of the Groutville Mission Reserve. He alleged that my association with Congress in its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign was an act of disloyalty to the State. I did not agree with this view. Viewing non-violent Passive Resistance as a non-revolutionary and, therefore, a most legitimate and humane political pressure technique for a people denied all effective forms of constitutional striving, I saw no real conflict in my dual leadership of my people.

I saw no cause to resign from either. This stand of mine which resulted in my being sacked from the chieftainship might seem foolish and disappointing to some liberal and moderate Europeans and non-Europeans with whom I have worked these many years and with whom I still hope to work. This is no parting of the ways but "a launching farther into the deep". I invite them to join us in our unequivocal pronouncement of all legitimate African aspirations and in our firm stand against injustice and oppression.

Servant of the People

I do not wish to challenge my dismissal, but I would like to suggest that in the interest of the institution of chieftainship in these modern times of democracy, the Government should define more precisely and make more widely known the status, functions and privileges of chiefs. My view has been, and still is, that a chief is

primarily a servant of his people. He is the voice of his people. He is the voice of his people in local affairs. Unlike a Native Commissioner, he is part and parcel of the tribe, and not a local agent of the Government. Within the bounds of loyalty it is conceivable that he may vote and press the claim of his people even if they should be unpalatable to the Government of the day. He may use all legitimate modern techniques to get these demands satisfied. It is inconceivable how chiefs could effectively see the wider and common interest of their own tribe without co-operating with other leaders of the people, both the natural leaders (chiefs) and leaders elected democratically by the people themselves.

It was to allow for these wider associations and intended to promote the common national interest of the people as against purely local interests that the Government, in making rules governing chiefs, did not debar them from joining political association so long as those associations had not been declared "by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government". The African National Congress, its non-violent Passive Resistance Campaign, may be of nuisance value to the Government but it is not subversive since it does not seek to overthrow the form and machinery of the State but only urges for the inclusion of all sections of the community in a partnership in the Government of the country on the basis of equality.

Spirit of Defiance

Laws and conditions that tend to debase human personality - a God-given force - be they brought about by the State or other individuals, must be relentlessly opposed in the spirit of defiance shown by St. Peter when he said to the rulers of his day: "Shall we obey God or Man?" No one can deny that in so far as non-whites are concerned in the Union of South Africa, laws and conditions that debase human personality abound. Any chief worthy of his position must fight fearlessly against such debasing conditions and laws. If the Government should resort to dismissing such chiefs, it may find itself dismissing many chiefs or causing people to dismiss from their hearts chiefs who are indifferent to the needs of the people through fear of dismissal by the Government. Surely the Government cannot place chiefs in such an uncomfortable and invidious position.

Will Remain in the Struggle for a True Democracy

As for myself, with a full sense of responsibility and a clear conviction, I decided to remain in the struggle for extending democratic rights and responsibilities to all sections of the South African community. I have embraced the non-violent Passive Resistance technique in fighting for freedom because I am convinced it is the only non-revolutionary, legitimate and humane way that could be used by people denied, as we are, effective constitutional means to further aspirations.

The wisdom or foolishness of this decision I place in the hands of the Almighty.

What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment and even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union in form and spirit of all the communities in the land. My only painful concern at times is that of the welfare of my family but I try even in this regard, in a spirit of trust and surrender to God's will as I see it, to say "God will provide".

It is inevitable that in working for Freedom some individuals and some families must take the lead and suffer: The Road to Freedom is via the CROSS.

MAYIBUYE!
AFRICA! AFRICA! AFRICA!

“LET US MARCH TOGETHER TO FREEDOM”: OPENING ADDRESS TO THE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, DURBAN, FEBRUARY 21, 1953

A Formidable Comradeship-in-arms

I am happy to have again the privilege of opening your Annual Conference. I assure you, friends, that it gave me the greatest pleasure to respond affirmatively to your invitation; it would have pained me greatly if circumstances had ordered otherwise.

Much to the embarrassment and anger of those among the Europeans who are the arch protagonists of the white supremacy policy in the Union and who seem bent on establishing themselves as dictators over all other citizens, both black and white, the emergence in recent years, especially since 1949, of a non-European political front in the Union, has presented a formidable challenge to the realisation of their selfish and nefarious aim of gaining complete political ascendancy in the Union. On the basis of giving to all people in the Union equal opportunities for full unfettered development, our non-European political front seeks to reinforce and enlarge the meagre and weak democratic forces found in the Union.

I am happy to speak to you as a living symbol of our unity-in-arms, representing as I do the African wing of our comradeship-in-arms, since events in the African National Congress have placed me in a position of representing and speaking on behalf of all Africans who owe direct allegiance to or come under the sphere of influence of the African National Congress.

This assertion of solidarity and effectiveness of our alliance is no premature or extravagant claim.

The universal approbation accorded our political programme by all freedom-loving people here and in the rest of the world is encouraging evidence of our becoming an effective force; even the utterances and actions of the governing party in the Union prove it. Let me refer you to two recent instances: recently in the course of presenting and defending his notorious twin bills, the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, the Minister of Justice, Mr Swart, in rejecting the plea by the Opposition to consult non-Europeans on the general unhealthy situation obtaining in the country, was forced to admit that "there was no one to consult since moderate Natives had no following". This conversely means that only the group he cannot consult with, namely ourselves, has a following and stands as an unseriously challenged political group among the non-European people.

Incidentally, what an admission of his lack of confidence in such widely publicised but bogus political frauds as Mr S. S. Bhengu's Bantu National Congress and the Supreme Council of African Affairs, both of which we have reason to believe, enjoy the active support and guidance of the Government party! The Government's admission and fearing concern of our growing influence among our respective communities is shown even by the most frantic manner in which, with the saddening acquiescence of the official Opposition the Government is rushing through in a most indecent haste to place on the Statute Book of the Union the two twin savage Bills to which reference has already been made. This is being done in an effort to stop the forward march of all the democratic forces in the land which present a serious challenge to undemocratic policies and laws in our country.

I am glad to note that the non-Europeans under the joint leadership of our Congresses have stood in the vanguard of the forces in the Union that have presented a determined opposition to those ferocious twin Bills so aptly described by many prominent and responsible leaders of white public opinion as "savage, brutal, barbarous, autocratic" and other synonymous epithets - a condemnation they so well deserve.

I would here like to assure the Minister of Justice that he must expect to witness continued opposition in action to these Bills even if sanity and justice in Parliament should be swallowed by reactionary mad forces which seek to plunge our beloved country into the abyss and atmosphere that characterised the unfortunate mediaeval Dark Ages.

In concluding this observation on our formidable alliance, I must state that ours is not a marriage of convenience but is a political alliance based on a common, genuine regard for true democracy, and is resulting in a growing spirit of friendship between our respective communities.

This comradeship-in-arms has withstood the onslaught of Government action and propaganda which sadly enough very often is carried out by or through members of our own communities who, through ignorance and fear but worse through selfishness, assist our oppressors directly or indirectly, and thus tend to sabotage, though ineffectively, our efforts to realise freedom in our lifetime.

As further concrete proof of the vitality and efficiency of our growing comradeship one is glad to note that, notwithstanding the deliberate incitement of Africans against the Indians by some in the Government party and its agents in an open invitation to Africans to join in the diabolic cry of reactionary selfish Europeans who vainly cry "Away with the Indian", except for a few insignificant voices of assenting response to this invitation, all shades of responsible African public opinion have replied that inasmuch as Africans were never responsible for the coming of the Indians to South Africa, so they shall never be a party to efforts to expatriate them; but rather on the contrary in our desire to see peace, goodwill and progress flourish in our country, we work for the creation of a partnership in the system of governing our country as shall give all people in the Union of South Africa, regardless of their colour, race, creed or land of origin, a voice in the Government of the country, and open unfettered opportunities for their full development, each according to his or her God-given talents.

A Tribute to the Heroes of our Liberatory Movement

I desire here, on behalf of all those here and elsewhere who desire freedom for all, to pay glowing and deserving tribute to all those men and women - old and young - in our respective communities who responded so magnificently last year to our call to struggle for freedom through our non-violent, Passive Resistance campaign.

History will undoubtedly accord them a place of honour in the annals of the progress of mankind. My remarks of appreciation and praise are directed to all and sundry who in any way contributed to the successful launching of our struggle: the eight thousand volunteers who courted imprisonment; members of families who willingly allowed their dear ones to make the sacrifice; the hundreds of what I call our ground staff who in a humble or in an exalted position made possible an organisation which resulted in a successful launching of our non-violent Passive Resistance campaign.

My last word to all these various participants is: KEEP MARCHING ON TO FREEDOM WHATEVER THE COST AND SACRIFICE.

Open Invitation to all True South Africans to Join the Army of Freedom

When I chose the subject "Let us march together to Freedom", I intended to say words of encouragement to those who are actively striving for "freedom for all in

our country", especially along the political front, for our respective Congresses are primarily and foremost political organisations and not social or cultural bodies. But I also desired to appeal deliberately and strongly to those who, while like us love and cherish freedom, either through fear or ignorance or a false sense of security or an honest doubt of our method of striving for freedom, are sitting on the fence or passively acquiescing in the *status quo*. I warn them of the great danger to their own personality of this state of indecision.

I invite them to an honest consideration and appraisal of our aims, policies and actions in the light of our situation in our country and see whether or not our policies are not the best in the interest of all in South Africa. I submit that the logic of facts in the situation as obtaining at present in the Union should cause them to see the unwisdom and the unreasonableness of their attitude of indifference or even hostility to our Congresses, an attitude which makes them in the final analysis disloyal to the best in them.

We are criticised by some as being too hasty and militant. To this accusation we plead that our experience is that since the Union our representations and protestations through the so-called regular channels have been either treated with contempt by the Authorities or conveniently ignored in their efforts to ensure the supremacy of the white man.

The so-called democratic institutions given us, such as Advisory Boards, Local Councils, the Bantu Authorities, communal representation in Parliament, etc., are a gross insult to and mockery of democracy in that, whilst they were diplomatically presented as elementary steps to the attainment of democracy, they have proved in practice to be blind alleys serving mainly as a delaying tactic to ensure the prolongation of the period of white domination over blacks.

We further plead that the history of the liberation of people from man's inhumanity to man has always been through a terrific struggle involving much sacrifice and suffering on the part of the oppressed and that, therefore, the oppressed in the Union can have no cause to believe that they can attain freedom otherwise.

All over the world and through all ages, liberation has come that way. The coming into being of the great democracy of the United States of America came that way; the birth or re-birth of great and noble ideas and ideals of Europe such as the cry of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity", etc., which formed the basis of our modern conception of civic rights, were won for mankind by the sacrifice and suffering of those who intensely and devoutly believed in these concepts of human rights. These men and women responded actively to the spirit of Divine Discontent in them.

Since Union we have witnessed a decided deterioration in making available to non-Whites opportunities for full development. Must we fold our hands in despair

when we see our people drift to ultimate impotence and perpetual slavery? God forbid that we should be so untrue to Africa and the cause of Freedom!

Let us set our spirit and conscience attune with the spirit of Divine Discontent that is within us, and together with freedom-loving people elsewhere serve faithfully the cause of Freedom in the world in general, and in South Africa in particular, and so help our beloved South Africa to march honourably with the rest of the democratic world to the final liberation of all mankind.

Mr Chairman, let me conclude my address by performing my real task which was to open your Conference and not to subject you to a long address as I have done.

I have great pleasure in declaring this sixth Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress open.

Afrika! Mayibuye!

INTERVIEW TO DRUM, MAY 1953⁶

Do you consider that Communism is a serious menace to South Africa?

No, I do not. The nature of our own movement at present is Nationalist rather than Communist. There should be room for all political parties among us. At the moment we are only concerned with rescuing ourselves out of the mire, and we cannot yet say which direction we shall follow after that. For myself, I would wish for Socialism, in the British sense - if I were in England I would vote for Attlee. But in Congress we have people of many different political beliefs - Capitalists, Socialists, and the rest...

Is there a danger of extreme nationalism in Congress?

There is no sign of it at present, and the fact that we have welcomed co-operation with other races shows that it is being avoided. We recognise the danger and are guarding against it.

Do you think there is hope for South Africa?

Yes, I do. But a bitter conflict can only be avoided if those in power can adjust their thinking to accept the sharing of power with others. Otherwise there will be no real peace in this country.

⁶ *Drum*, Johannesburg, May 1953

I firmly believe that the different races can live together amicably: but first they must abandon selfishness and fear. Most of the difficulties that the Europeans are now facing are the result of selfishness. We are like members of a family, who cannot live together if they are selfish or jealous of one another.

Will your Presidency mark a change in Congress policy?

Not necessarily. Our elections are not party elections. Anyone accepting the presidency of Congress should do so because he believes in the objectives of Congress. Any man worthy of being president by his ability and prestige should make his influence felt in the organisation so that what he says is given due consideration by his colleagues; but the final decision in any matter is the collective will of the executive or the National Conference, as the case may be. It should be clear from this that in general the policy before my election remains the same.

Will the policy of Congress be affected by the party in power?

As the Nationalists themselves have said, the laws we oppose were not passed by them alone. One which we consider most unjust, for instance, the Land Tenure Act of 1913, was passed by the South African Party, from which the United Party has evolved.

Do you think that there is a common cause between Indians and Africans?

Yes..... rest of the world, it would be absurd and contradictory if we were to shun working closely with Indians in our country. I therefore would oppose most strenuously any African who acted tyrannically and discriminatingly against other racial groups, including Indians.

Can Congress claim to be truly representative?

Yes. We genuinely represent organised African opinion in this country, and we are not influenced by any single clique. The fact that the last three Presidents have been in turn Xhosa, Basuto and Zulu, shows that there has been no tribal bias.

Are Africans still prepared to accept leadership from the Whites?

Since the 1936 Hertzog bills the African peoples have lost faith in the good intentions of the Whites to improve their conditions, and the Congress movement has become more and more a liberatory one. It is no longer possible for an African leader to appeal for better conditions only: what the people demand is political rights. By joining Natives' Representative Council the African leaders gave the Whites a last chance to prove their good faith, but they have not done so.

MESSAGE FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY ON JUNE 26, 1953

It is right and fitting that as your President-General, I should give you a message as we approach June 26th, a date that has become a landmark of special significance to the African people and their allies in the fight for freedom in the Union of South Africa.

My message takes the form of a special call to my people and our allies. I have every confidence that the call shall have a cordial reception which will result in a fruitful response from all.

THE MESSAGE

1. Ever since 1950, June 26 has become a special day in the calendar of the African people of South Africa. Unlike the other days, which are usually singled out for special marking in the South African calendars, this day has not been fixed as a statutory holiday by the white Parliament of the country. It is a day which has a special significance for the African people and their allies because it was chosen for them by their own organisation, the African National Congress; it was not set aside for them by those who have in other respects taken so much from them. For them it is not a day of rejoicing or frivolity but one of commemoration and dedication.

Day of Commemoration and Dedication

2. It is a Day of Commemoration, because on this day as directed by our "Parliament," the African National Congress, we must call to mind all those men and women from all walks of life - Chiefs and Commoners, Educated and Un-Educated, Leaders and Followers of various movements - who at different times in our history have laid down their lives or made other sacrifices in the struggle for our rights and our freedom. On this day in every place where Africans foregather - at home, at work or at play - they are called upon to recount to themselves and to others the heroic deeds of our forebears in defence of their homeland and of their rights as free men, not only in the past but also during the recent campaign.

It is a Day of Dedication, because Africans, remembering the past and bearing in mind their duty for the future must dedicate themselves afresh to work for the objectives for which they made the supreme sacrifice. "Not for nothing did they do it" - must be our watchword.

Beginning of Defiance Campaign

3. A year ago on this day the African National Congress in conjunction with their allies launched the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws - a campaign whose significance lay not alone in the fact that thousands of Africans and their allies made the sacrifice and paid the price called for by it, but also in the fact that an even greater number chose the path of freedom and having put their feet on that road are resolved not to turn back. The mental and spiritual freedom achieved goes far beyond the physical coercion imposed and endured.

Attack on Leaders

4. As is known to you all the attack of the powers-that-be directly upon our leaders and indirectly upon our organisation is proceeding apace. Almost daily reports are appearing about fresh bans and further restrictions imposed upon this or that leader of the African National Congress for alleged promotion of feelings of hostility between Black and White. Responsible leaders of the African National Congress have never stood for, nor preached, any such hostility. This is also true of our allies. On the contrary ever since its inception the African National Congress has advocated peace and goodwill between the races in South Africa on the only basis on which it is convinced that such a state of affairs can be permanently achieved - on the basis of equal rights for all. The African National Congress has asserted that it is a denial of such rights to certain sections of the population which is poisoning the relations between the different groups represented in South Africa. The silencing of individuals or groups by means of bans and orders will not disprove this fact, to say nothing of the fact that it will not alter the convictions of members of the African National Congress about the essential justice of their cause.

The Call...

What then shall we do on June 26, 1953, to commemorate our honoured forerunners and to renew our resolve to keep alive the sense of devotion which they demonstrated and the spirit by which they were inspired? I am inspired to call upon all Congress branches and members - and in this call I include our gallant allies:

1. On the evening of Friday, June 26, 1953, in the homes of all freedom-loving people, especially non-European - let there be a special act of commemoration and dedication, so that members of our households, young and old, may be reminded about the significance of this day. Let the older members of the household tell the younger, so far as they know it, the story of the struggle of the African people in particular and the non-European in general for their liberation both in the area in which they are located and elsewhere in the country. Mention specifically the names and the deeds of those known to them who have

made their contribution to the struggle, whether they were against us or were for us. Those who are away from their homes should be able to find suitable ways in which they can carry out this aspect of my call.

2. At a time when this is going on we should light a fire outside our homes or place a lighted candle or a lantern as a symbol of the spark of freedom which we are determined to keep alive in our hearts and a sign to our followers - freedom-lovers - that we are keeping the vigil on that night. What a mighty inspiration it would be to us if we were to see all these lighted fires all around at a fixed hour to remind us of the undying flames of freedom which must inspire our struggle until our objectives are achieved! Let this fixed hour be 9 p.m.
3. Each branch is asked to approach all the Ministers of the local Churches to observe the Sunday following June 26, 1953, namely June 28, *as a Day of Commemoration and Dedication*. On that day let everyone who can attend the special service decided upon share in the act of Commemoration and Dedication.
4. These injunctions are not intended to be exhaustive and so in addition any branch may embark on other activities in keeping with the spirit of the day.
5. All branches are required to send in a special report to Provincial Headquarters indicating how June 26, 1953, was observed in their areas. Provincial Headquarters in turn are required to report to the Head Office of how the commemoration was carried on throughout the Province. These reports should be collated and published in a special issue of the Provincial Bulletin for the information of all branches in the Province. The National Head Office will also in turn publish a special Bulletin for the information of all the branches in the Province as to how June 26, 1953, was remembered throughout South Africa.
6. This message, in all its sentiments and force, is intended equally for the other communities associated with us in our struggle for freedom. I commend it to the leaders of these communities and respectfully request them to accept it and graciously convey it to their respective communities for acceptance and action.

Yours in the National Service
A F R I K A

(Sd.) Albert J. Luthuli
President-General, African National Congress

**“A CHALLENGING SITUATION”: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
TO THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS, NATAL BRANCH, LADYSMITH,
OCTOBER 31, 1953⁷**

Mr Chairman, Sons and Daughters of *Afrika*,

On account of the ban imposed on me and other political leaders and Trade Union leaders, I cannot be with you at this year's Annual Conference of the Province of Natal. I am glad to have the opportunity to speak to you in *absentia* through the channel of the Presidential Address.

I regret very much this forced absence but I assure the powers-that-be that nothing they can do will disunite us or damp our resolve to gain freedom during our lifetime. Our common cause, whose justice is acknowledged by progressive world opinion, will always arouse in us a spirit of comradeship-in-arms. This feeling of oneness and the unquenchable longing of the human spirit for freedom give me, and I trust all of you too, the courage and resolve to risk all for the emancipation of Africans in their land. Never forget that AFRICANS ARE PRISONERS IN THEIR OWN CASTLE. At this moment when you are assembled in Conference, hundreds of Africans in this Province are homeless; hundreds are without employment and practically all of those in employment receive uneconomic wages; all Africans are denied the freedom to seek work where they desire; hundreds of children who desire to be in school cannot be on account of the inadequacy of school facilities.

The chain of bondage forged around us by white South Africa has many more links one could point to. The links I have referred to above are sufficient to remind you in concrete way that you are not free men and women in your own country.

The Challenge of our Present Situation

Whilst a presidential address may not be limited in its scope and nature by one theme or aspect, yet each address should have a distinguishing feature: a characteristic of its own. In this address the thought uppermost in my mind is “The Challenge of our Present Situation.”

Recent happenings in the political field are serious and present a sharp challenge to all freedom-loving people in our country. The Nationalist Government of Dr Malan was returned to office with an overwhelming majority.

⁷ The address was read to the Conference as Chief Luthuli was restricted under banning orders.

What is the significance of this? It means that a majority of white South Africans favour the oppressive policy and practice of the Nationalist Party. The demoralising wrangle within the United Party is further proof of this. In any case when it comes to the so-called "NATIVE POLICY" the two major parties think pretty much alike and merely use different words to express their common thoughts.

We, in the African National Congress, were never in doubt [of] the desire to oppress Africans found among a majority of the whites. We can only hope that the public utterances, declarations and actions of the Nationalist Government of Dr Malan will convince and convert to our point of view those of our people who look upon whites as our benevolent benefactors. We recognise with regret the sound of cowardly voices within our community counselling and urging our people to acquiesce in the *status quo*.

What would this mean? It would mean:

- (1) a betrayal of the endeavours and hopes of the immortal leaders of our race before and after the advent of the Whiteman to the present time. For these leaders in their own way and manner worked for the unification of African tribes in Southern Africa and resisted foreign conquest and domination;
- (2) an acceptance by Africans of a position of inferiority in their land;
- (3) assisting in our domination and eventual annihilation;
- (4) an admission by the African that he is inferior and has no sense of values, values such as an unencumbered right to enjoy human rights including the right of self-determination.

The Nationalist Government of Dr Malan has sharpened the challenge. One is either for freedom or oppression. We are challenged to take an unequivocal stand one way or the other.

Shall we follow those who counsel us to submit to domination or follow those who urge us to struggle and sacrifice to gain freedom? What is your reply at this Conference? What is your reply as an individual?

The African National Congress calls upon all Africans to reply by actions that will show the world that as a people we are determined never to submit to our enslavement by other human beings and that human dignity and honour compel us to struggle on until we make the Union of South Africa a true democracy for all.

REMEMBER! FREEDOM COMES AFTER MUCH SUFFERING AND SACRIFICE.

Some Recent Actions of the Nationalist Government

In order to appreciate fully the nature of the challenge presented to us by the Malan Government it is necessary to mention some of their recent actions.

- (1) Our leaders, political leaders and Trade Union leaders, are being ruthlessly muzzled. Their only sin is that they are awakening us to our rightful human heritage, namely freedom. Let me here, for myself and on your behalf, express deep sympathy with all men and women who, in any way, are victims of the actions of the Government in persecuting those who, by words and deeds, are devoting themselves unreservedly to the cause of making freedom a common possession for all people in South Africa.
- (2) One thing that is clear is that the Nationalists are working to a definite plan not only to keep non-whites in subjection, but to have the *Afrikaner* dominate all sections. Since being returned to power with a very large majority, they are showing a greater determination to crush and enslave us. The recent session of Parliament has seen an intensification of their apartheid programme. In this regard we note:

- (i) The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act.

- (ii) The attempt to place Coloured Voters on a Separate Roll.

- (iii) The Separate Reservation of Amenities Act.

One significant point about this act is that it glaringly shows the underlying purpose of all apartheid legislation and practice in the Union, namely, “SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL” AND NOT “SEPARATE BUT EQUAL” as some fondly believed.

- (iv) The Bantu Education Act.

This is the most poisonous of the segregation Laws in that it seeks to indoctrinate future generations of Africans with the apartheid philosophy which as we have shown means “separate and unequal” and therefore means a permanent domination of whites over blacks.

Nationalist Propaganda among Africans

Whereas former Union Governments relied almost wholly on Native Commissioners to make known to Africans their wishes, the Nationalist Government has established a separate specialised PROPAGANDA BRANCH of the Native Affairs Department, more respectably known as the “Information Service.” This propaganda agency works intensively in rural reserves and in labour

compounds and also among the so-called privileged Africans. Apartheid palliatives are winning to the apartheid band-wagon some men you would think could never be deceived and fooled by these Apartheid palliatives such as:

- (i) an appeal to tribal prejudices.
- (ii) promise of exclusive trading rights and employment in the civil service in the African Reserves.
- (iii) Management of our own affairs through Bantu Authorities which are in no way a democratic road to Parliament.

Judged against the bigger needs of the African people and against the needs of the majority of the people it should be clear that the acceptance of those apartheid crumbs is a betrayal of the best interest of the people.

These rights could and should be extended to all people in an integrated society for each to use voluntarily according to his inclination and capabilities. Apartheid in the Reserves will not give the people more land and yet scarcity of land is one of our paramount needs.

Apartheid in industry means low wages for Africans. Do not be deceived. Apartheid is no panacea for ills in African development. On the contrary, it is a hindrance to the full development of the African. It is by no means a *sine qua non* to his progress and development. On the contrary the African would fair better given free and full opportunities in a free South Africa.

To fall victims to the Nationalist propaganda is tantamount to Africans signing their own death warrant. We may not have the money to enable us to set up a counter information service among our people, but we can each one in our areas act as Congress propagandist or information agents. All in Congress should have the spirit of saying that so long as Congress principles are enshrined in our hearts we shall work hard in all legitimate ways to bring to nought and dismal failure all efforts of the Nationalist to sell apartheid among Africans.

Some Specific Means of Meeting the Problem of the Domination of Whites over Non-Whites

I have already indicated in a general way what may be done to work for freedom. I want to point out further some specific way in which we may meet the challenge of white supremacy. We should form a strong democratic front. I see two ways of forming this front.

- (1) I see it in continuing the objective of the founders of the African National Congress. I refer to the strengthening of the African front by a unification of African tribes under the banner of African NATIONALISM. Our Nationalism

should be progressive and liberal and thus embrace a co-operation with other communities on the basis of equality and an intense desire for the universal enjoyment of democratic rights by all people in the country.

The Nationalists are fostering tribalism in order to continue to divide us and so easily dominate us. We can only counter tribalism by a positive policy of African Nationalism.

(2) Creation of Multi-racial Democratic Front.

Our second weapon in meeting the challenge of white domination is to create a strong front of all freedom loving people in our country.

The African National Congress is pledged to this policy. We are pledged to work and co-operate with those who respecting us as a people, share our democratic aspirations and relentlessly oppose domination.

I have deliberately referred to the need for a multi-racial democratic front because there is much confusion on this subject in Natal, especially as regards our co-operation with Indians. Some in Natal are being misled by the Indian bogey. This is being fanned by Nationalist Party propaganda.

All people in their struggles seek allies. It is for that reason that Dr Malan seems to favour a REPUBLIC WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH.

Africans must get it into their heads that the stumbling block to their progress are the many discriminatory laws made by a white Parliament and not by Indians. What privileges Indians enjoy which Africans do not enjoy were given them by a white Parliament. Why hate the recipient and not blame the giver for not giving Africans those rights and privileges?

Even numerically the Indian can never be a danger to South Africa. It is only white propaganda that makes the Indian appear a mortal danger to South Africa. Study the following figures.

In the Union we have 8 million Africans,

2 1/2 “ Whites,

1 1/4 “ Coloureds,

1/2 “ Asiatics.

It is the 2 1/2 million whites who hold both political and material power, and are numerically five times the number of Asiatics in the country:

1 Asiatic to every 5 Whites,

1 “ “ “ 16 Africans,

1 “ “ “ 3 Coloureds.

To divert attention from them some whites try to frighten us with this Indian bogey.

Let us co-operate without fear with all people who share our objectives.

Congress is pledged to the creation of a partnership in the Government of our country.

The Path of Duty: Natal and the Non-violent Passive Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign

Numerically, we fell short of the goal set us and we did not succeed to bring the struggle into small towns. I thank most sincerely in the name of the Province those men and women – young and old – who in one way or another took part in the struggle and thus helped to maintain the honour of Natal. We thank also those who for one reason or another could not openly support us but, nevertheless, gave us invaluable moral support and in some cases financial support.

As leader in the Province I must frankly own up to certain weaknesses in our Province revealed by the campaign. Such as these:

- (1) Our thinking and action are still unduly dominated by tribal influences. This plays into the hands of the Government who, in order to rule and dominate us effectively, are indulging in the glorification of the tribal unit instead of fostering the growth of the spirit of unity and co-operation among us as a people.
- (2) Many are not clear what freedom is or implies. They make freedom synonymous with mere happiness and the possession of material wealth. So often you read this shameful advice given:

“Uma ningena uMzabalzo nilwa noHulumeni nolambisa izingane zenu.” (If you take part in the Passive Resistance Campaign and fight the Government, your children will starve.) This revealed a cowardly state of mind most unbecoming descendants of the brave Zulus of old who, in defence of their country, willingly paid the supreme sacrifice and joyously faced death in the battlefields exclaiming: UYADELA WENA OSUPHAMBILI (Happy are you who are already in the front line).

- (3) Some naively believe that one day the rulers will become so saturated with a spirit of benevolence and magnanimity that, without any

pressure and struggle on our part, he will voluntarily give us a share as equal partners in the Government of our country.

I mention these weaknesses in order to brace up Natal so that in the next call that Congress might make she may play her part more nobly than she has ever done. We must intensify our organisational work. This work requires faithful and devoted local workers.

Keep on the Struggle until Victory is Won

The whiteman is where he is – a position of dominance over you - because he voluntarily submitted himself to untold sacrifice in order to get possession of *AFRIKA*. He had to forgo immediate comforts in order to secure and maintain his hold on *AFRIKA*. We have to follow the same path of devotion and sacrifice if we are ever to share with the whiteman in the government of our country. Think not of yourself, but of the future of *Afrika* and your progeny.

It is your privilege and responsibility and honour to design and build the kind of *Afrika* you would like to see in existence within the next fifty years. MEET SQUARELY AND BOLDLY THE CHALLENGES OF OUR SITUATION. THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS PROVIDES YOU WITH A COMRADESHIP THAT WILL STRUGGLE ON WITH YOU THROUGH THICK AND THIN UNTIL VICTORY IS WON.

LONG LIVE *AFRIKA*!

MAYIBUYE ! AFRIKA!

INKULULEKO NGESIKHATHI SETHU!

(FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME!)

28th October, 1953.

**“FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!”: PRESIDENTIAL
ADDRESS TO THE 42ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, QUEENSTOWN,
DECEMBER 18-20, 1953**

SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF AFRICA,

AFRIKA! AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! INKULULEKO NGESIKATHI SETHU!
FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!

My first pleasant task is to join Mr Speaker in welcoming you all, delegates and visitors to this Conference of the African National Congress. It is most encouraging to me, as your President-General, to know that at a great sacrifice of your time and money, you have travelled, many of you, long distances to come to this conference, impelled by nothing other than a high sense of duty and loyalty to the cause of liberating our country, the Union of South Africa, from the exclusive domineering and selfish rule by whites to a true democracy where all people domiciled in the land have full civic rights and obligations. This annual getting together of ours may be a most unwelcomed event among those whites who mistakenly believe that denying us opportunities for free association and free speech will stop us from fighting for our rights and so ensure white domination over us. They forget that the urge and yearning for freedom springs from a sense of divine discontent and so, having a divine origin, can never be permanently humanly gagged and that human effort to artificially gag it by means of harsh discriminatory laws and by threats must result in suspicions, strains, and tensions among individuals or groups in a nation, as, unfortunately, is the state of things in our country, the Union of South Africa.

On the other hand, our annual meeting is an event always most welcomed and eagerly awaited for, by all freedom loving people in our land and in other countries who truly desire the realisation of peace in the world and know that no true peace and progress can be secured and maintained in any country so long as there are others in that country denied full democratic rights and duties. I am happy at this point, to express, on behalf of the African National Congress, the sincerest and deepest appreciation and thankfulness to the local authority of Queenstown for consenting to our meeting in their area of jurisdiction. When the African National Congress is *persona non grata* in many quarters among whites, it is most reassuring to find a white civic authority that does not indulge in the dangerous and undemocratic action of attempting to muzzle people from voicing their legitimate aspirations and feelings and so becoming guilty of doing a disservice to one's country, helping to create and increase discord, suspicion, tensions and strains in human relationships in the country.

Another pleasant task of mine, which I am happy to perform now, is that of thanking most sincerely, on behalf of the African National Congress, the Congress authorities and people in the Cape Province, at both the provincial and local levels, for consenting at very short notice to undertake, most willingly, the heavy responsibility of acting as hosts to this conference. In this connection, a special word of thanks is due to the local Congress branch and the people of Queenstown, who, in the circumstances, must bear the brunt of providing us all hospitality.

Last year, the annual Conference of the African National Congress honoured me greatly and placed on my shoulders the heavy responsibility of leading Congress at one of the most difficult and critical periods in her history and that of the Union of South Africa. Very significant moves and changes are evident in the Union and in the world. I may refer to some of these more specially later. I am glad to say that despite the ban imposed on some leaders of the people by the Government with the specific object of crippling the liberatory movement of the people, we are able to carry on the work of our Congress fairly effectively. We maintained the policy of working with other national organisations accepting our objectives and programme. In this connection I must specially mention the most active and effective cooperation between us and the South African Indian Congress.

My deepest appreciation and thanks go to my colleagues for their helpful and loyal support.

I must now pass on from the very necessary and pleasant duty of expressing appreciation and thanks, and address myself to some aspects of Congress activities, views and observations.

Some Significant Trends in our South African Situation

We, who are vitally concerned with the emancipation of Africans in their land should keep a keenly observant eye on events and trends in our homeland that manifest themselves from time to time in our country since prudence demands that our programme of action should take account of these trends and events. Within the compass of one address and having regard for the need for brevity, I can do no more than briefly touch upon a few illustrative instances.

Deterioration in Healthy Human Relations

Since Union, legislation discriminating most disastrously against non-whites, especially Africans, has increased in volume and severity. This has been due mainly to the ascendancy of conservative and reactionary forces among whites. These forces, at whose vanguard must be placed the National Party of Dr Malan, became more aggressive and virulent with the coming to power of the National Party in 1948.

Since that year we have witnessed an accelerated crescendo in the singing and acting of the apartheid song. All this has brought about suspicion, severe strains and tensions within and between the white groups themselves, but, even more so, between black and white. With apartheid as dominant note in the Union of South Africa, how could it be otherwise? From the utterances of the Nationalist leaders themselves, apartheid is intended to maintain white supremacy which, conversely, means the permanent subjugation and domination of non-whites by whites. Apartheid laws are being enacted in great haste and impatience and are being implemented in the same tempo and ruthlessness with studied utter disregard for

human feelings and sufferings of the people affected who happen to be voteless and, therefore, voiceless and defenceless non-whites. It is precisely because the vote is the key to the security of an individual in a state, that the African National Congress unequivocally demands full democratic rights now, during our lifetime and not in infinity.

The Group Areas Act

The basic wickedness of this Act is that it unashamedly robs people without compensation by the state of their property, often acquired at much sacrifice of hard-earned savings or by instalment, which is, in fact, a form of mortgaging one's future for that property.

We are told that the Act is meant to create better and healthier relations between the races. Even if this were true, which is not the case, what a price to pay! But the tragedy is that this argument is based on a fallacy that "in separation of races is automatic evidence of contentedness". History and general human experience have many examples that prove the contrary to be more in accordance with facts. How could non-Europeans in the Western Areas of Johannesburg, Charlestown in Natal and other areas affected by the Act be expected to be happy?

Industrial Laws

The influx control laws deny the Africans the fundamental human right to sell one's labour in the most remunerative market according to his ability and tastes. Taken together with other industrial laws of the country, these laws, with their colour-bar practice, create conditions most inimical to the interests of the African workers and make a mockery of the Union in the civilised world.

It becomes difficult to see how a country claiming to be civilised and to be Christian, could allow such discrimination to go on and how it could give white farmers permission to build private jails to ensure cheap labour.

The Separate Amenities Act

This Act removes from apartheid measures any sugar-coating which may have deceived some people to accept apartheid as a fair policy. The Act merely legalises the evil that was being practised. It removed the fig-leaf which concealed the nakedness of the unjust policy of apartheid and has showed up most convincingly the Nationalist conception of separation or apartheid. It revealed it as basically "separate and unequal" and not "separate but equal". In the African National Congress we stand for equality; hence we find ourselves so violently opposed to apartheid.

It is for that reason, basically, that we shall continue to oppose, by all legitimate means, apartheid acts like the Bantu Education Act. To add insult to injury is to

embrace without protest all apartheid laws because it is alleged that they are made for our protection and convenience. In the African National Congress, we shall continue to protest most vehemently against discrimination.

The Union of South Africa Becoming a Fascist State

The non-violent Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws has helped to show up most convincingly that the Union of South Africa under the Nationalist regime is fast becoming a dictatorship. The Nationalist Government of Dr Malan will go down in history not only as a government that has made the most tyrannical laws with sweeping dictatorial powers such as we find in the Suppression of Communism Act, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Amendment Act, but also as a most ruthless government in dealing with opposition to it. In and out of Parliament it has shown the tendency to crush anyone opposing it. On the pretext of fighting Communism and the non-violent Defiance Campaign, it has banned many leaders of political and trade union organisations. It has deposed chiefs who have tried to oppose government measures. On behalf of the African National Congress, I would like to express our sympathy to all who in any way have become victims of the ruthlessness of the Malan Government in suppressing free speech, free association, due to a guilty conscience of the public wrongs it has committed against those who have sought the welfare of the Union of South Africa in ways different from their own. As President-General of the largest political organisation in the Union, I call upon all freedom-loving people to regard no sacrifice too great in opposing the fascist Government of Dr Malan before it is too late.

Rise to Power of the Afrikaner under the Leadership of the Nationalist Party

Some of us are violently opposed to the Nationalist Party led by Dr Malan. Our opposition arises from the fact that we regard as undemocratic and un-South African, most of the political theories and practices, such as their master race theory, their idea of regarding civilisation as the whiteman's prerogative or exclusive possession, their claim to exclusive white supremacy and so on; but we must not be blinded by our opposition to them to admire them for the way they worked hard and sacrificed much to attain the position they are in.

Their success was due, *inter alia*, to some of these qualities, if my observation is correct: loyalty to an idea or ideal and a singleness of purpose in working for the realisation of that idea or ideal. The ideal was the founding of an *Afrikaner* nation, and so, *Afrikaner* nationalism became their focal point of rallying their people. We are now in a position in Union politics when we have two main opposing forces: *Afrikaner* nationalism and African nationalism. Some of us hope and believe that African nationalism shall remain broader, democratic and progressive, in keeping with the declared policy of the African National Congress of seeking to establish in the Union of South Africa a democracy which shall provide for a partnership in the

Government of the Union of South Africa within the present framework of the Union.

The Growth of the Liberatory Movement among Non-whites

It is well for us to note that the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, whilst retaining their full identity as national organisations in their own communities respectively are no longer isolated organisations but together with other national liberatory movements whose object is to awaken the political consciousness of the non-white and white masses and to get the present rulers in the Union to accept the non-white on the basis of equality and no other and extend to them full democratic rights so as to enable them to share in the government of the country. Further, we must regard our liberatory movement in the Union as part of the liberatory movement in the whole of Africa. In this connection, I am happy to say that the African National Congress is already interesting itself in the proposition of a Pan-Africanist conference.

We welcome the interest taken in this matter by the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr Nkrumah, the President of Egypt, General Naguib, and the Prime Minister of India, Mr Nehru.

The African National Congress has played a noble role in setting into motion the liberatory movement. It can well regard itself as being the vanguard of the movement in the Union. Contrary to the criticisms of some of our critics, it was the African National Congress that took the initiative in inviting other national organisations in the Union to discuss the matter of jointly prosecuting a militant programme against the oppressive measures by the present rulers of the Union.

It was in 1949 that this militant programme took shape and received the approval of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress. It is well to point out that in this programme of action many forms of carrying on the militant programme of action were agreed upon in principle. Non-violent passive Defiance Campaign of great fame was only one of the forms of militancy.

Some Significant Events in the Union of South Africa

The Non-violent Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws

The non-violent Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws organised and jointly launched in 1952 by the leading political organisations among the non-whites - the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Council - will rank as one of the most outstanding events in the political history of the Union of South Africa. Whether it is admitted or not, its effects have been profound and far-reaching. Many events have followed precipitously in its train. It accounts for the notorious short session of Parliament

which produced the twin anti-defiance Acts: the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. It brought about the hurried formation of the Liberal Party of South Africa. In Church circles and liberal circles, it has brought about talks on the need to hold a nation-wide National Conference to discuss non-European affairs, with the Dutch Reform Church seeming to take a lead in the matter. The Christian Council of South Africa and the Institute for Race Relations have spoken about the matter too.

The campaign has so sharpened the political issues in the country as to leave no room for middle-of-the-road individuals or groups. Hence the dissension in the great Smuts's Party, the United Party, and also the Labour Party of South Africa. Hence also the silence of some leading people in our own communities. One has to accept the justice of the claim of the non-whites for freedom and work unreservedly and openly for its realisation or be guilty of directly or indirectly assisting the Nationalist Party in its relentless and unmitigated oppression and suppression of the non-white peoples in their claim for free democratic rights. In a word, the non-violent campaign has caused much heart searching among some people and much ire and violent reaction with others in all communities. Much to the discomfort of the present rulers of the Union, the searchlight of the world has been focussed on the Union of South Africa more than ever before by the Campaign. Racial discrimination has become an international issue and no amount of talk about domestic jurisdiction will deceive the world regarding its true nature and effect.

What about its Effect on the Non-whites as a Whole?

It is no exaggeration to say that the effect of the Campaign on the non-white peoples as a whole, especially those who took an active part in it, has been profound and beneficial. It accelerated greatly the political consciousness of the people. It gave them a new feeling of courage and confidence in themselves as a people. But, even more profound, it forcefully brought them a new awareness of the potency of united and co-operative action among all oppressed people irrespective of colour or class. The cooperation of the non-white groups in the political sphere has come to stay whatever lying propaganda may be made against it. Prudence on our part demands its continuation.

I must, at this point, on behalf of the African National Congress, express the deepest appreciation and thankfulness of the African people to those who directly or indirectly assisted to make the Campaign the success it became. I must mention in particular in this regard the nine thousand men and women who, by the indelible ink of their sacrifice and sweat in jails all over the Union of South Africa, wrote in the history book of humanity the protest and opposition of ten million non-whites in the Union against studied oppression by the present rulers of the land since they came into our country three hundred and one years ago.

What Next?

A perfect legitimate question is being asked by well-wishers and opponents alike, but, naturally, with different motives.

The reply is that the Defiance Campaign, being one of the several forms in our programme of action, is kept in abeyance at our pleasure. But the struggle in some form will be carried on until we do reach our goal. What is important and that to which I direct my presidential call is that:

"We must keep up the spirit of defiance and thus keep ourselves in readiness for any call to service in the interest of our liberatory movement."

We can assure the world that it is our intention to keep on the non-violent plane. We would earnestly request the powers that be to make it possible for us to keep our people in this mood.

We call upon our people and all other freedom loving peoples to join our ranks in large numbers in order to give a death blow to the discriminatory laws in the Union of South Africa designed to hinder our progress and injure our human dignity.

Relation to Other Political Organisations

I have already indicated that the year 1952-53 saw the formation of new political parties initiated by the whites. They are the Federal Party, the Liberal Party of South Africa, and also the Congress of Democrats. Our general stand is that we are prepared to cooperate fully on the basis of equality with any national political party or organisation provided we share common objectives and common methods of achieving our ends. The cooperation would always be on the basis of equality and mutual respect for the individual identity of our organisations.

I should state further that on this basis of equality and mutual respect for the identity of our respective organisations we may cooperate on specific issues with any group if we feel that it is entirely in the interests of our liberatory movement to do so. It is appropriate to state here that the Liberal Party, then still an association, wrote us and sought understanding and cooperation on agreed issues.

We must be on guard against members of the African National Congress becoming members of political parties whose objectives are different from our own. Divided allegiance would be difficult for the individual concerned. In general, we should not give respite to the Government, and those who support it, by indulging in a dog-fight with other groups provided, of course, those groups by word and deed do not stand on our way. But, in frankness, I must say that any African desiring an unqualified emancipation of the non-whites, must join the liberatory movement through the African National Congress.

Notable Victories

I have already referred to the success of the Defiance Campaign. I must here put on record other victories won by the democratic front.

I must record with appreciation the fact that our policy of co-operating with other groups for our emancipation has withstood the onslaught of malicious propaganda by the Government and other enemies of the people. The Government has been frantic in its effort not only to enact and implement new apartheid laws, but to deprive people of the rights they already enjoyed. We are glad that so far the Government has failed to legally enact the Separate Voters' Act: I make an appeal to the Coloured community to join our liberatory movement and not be delayed by useless offers by the Government of what are merely apartheid palliatives.

In its hurry to enact and implement its unjust laws, the Government has not only been morally and politically wrong, but quite often legally wrong. As a result it has lost ignominiously many legal battles in its efforts to crush opposition to its undemocratic policy and practices. We note, with much jubilation, the invalidation of the ban illegally imposed on some of our leaders: I refer to the recent decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, on the Ngwevela appeal. Whether won or lost, we applaud the fight behind those appeals; by this judgement the higher organs of the judiciary of the Union have once more proved themselves to be bulwarks of legal justice and guardians of the rule of law.

In the rest of Africa and the World

Our interest in freedom is not confined to ourselves only. We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and in the world as a whole. This accounts for our taking an active part in the Pan-African Conference movement. Our active interest in the extension of freedom to all people denied it makes us ally ourselves with freedom forces in the world. It is a matter of great concern to us that most territories in Africa are still under the grip of imperialistic powers of Europe who maintain colonialism that keeps the inhabitants of those territories in subjection and poverty.

There are encouraging signs that the people in some of these territories are becoming politically conscious. We condemn most strongly the imperialistic powers controlling these territories for meeting the progressive move of the people by tyrannical suppression. I would cite here the indiscriminate shooting and bombing of the African people in Kenya, on the pretext of restoring law and order when, in fact, it is to maintain their imperialistic hold on Africa. The revolt is no doubt prompted by the legitimate aspirations of the African people: and so the extension of freedom to the people of Kenya should be the reply of the British Government and not bombing and shooting. We also condemn most strongly the action of the British Government in banishing the Kabaka of Uganda for supporting his people in their demand for self-government. In this condemnation we also include the continued deposition and banishment of Seretse Khama, and the high-

handed manner in which the British Colonial Office deposed a constitutionally-elected Government of the people of British Guiana and placed the territory under the autocratic rule of the Governor.

I would like here to reiterate our stand on the protectorate question: namely, that we are most strongly opposed to the incorporation of the High Commission Territories by the Union Government. We are entirely opposed to the increase in number of people subject to the racial and discriminatory policies of the Union of South Africa. The incorporation would result in the increase when we are fighting for the liberation of Africans and other peoples in the Union.

Let me state unequivocally that we regard as an unfriendly action towards Africa the allowing of the United States of America to establish air-bases in Africa, nor do we welcome the making of Central Africa by the British Government a war arsenal since the forced withdrawal from India and its precarious hold and maintenance of influence in the East and Middle East.

Africa likes to enjoy peace, prosperity and freedom and would like to ally itself with those forces of peace and freedom and so, does not like to be made a war zone in any war that warmongers may plunge the world in.

In this matter of working for the liberation of colonial peoples we applaud progressive elements in Great Britain and other colonial powers that fight against the oppressive policies of their governments and champion the cause of freedom for colonial peoples.

In the world scene I must express our gratitude for the continued interest taken by the United Nations in fighting against racial discrimination practised by some of its member nations. We note with deep appreciation the initiative taken in this matter by countries like India, under the leadership of its Prime Minister, Mr Nehru.

Conclusion

You will agree that the masses of the African people live in abject poverty in both rural and urban areas and so many Africans find themselves landless and homeless.

They find themselves suffering from hunger, malnutrition and disease. You must agree that the basic cause of this deplorable state of affairs is due, *inter alia*, to:

- (1) The inadequacy and crowdedness of the land allowed them, being only about twelve per cent of the land surface of the Union for eight million Africans, as against practically the rest for the 2½ million whites.

(2) The uneconomic wages they receive.

(3) The economic and political restrictions placed on them to make it impossible for them to exploit, each according to his ability, the resources of their God-given land.

How will these Disabilities be Removed?

Certainly not as some fondly and foolishly believe, that it will be by the voluntary benevolence of the white man. These disabilities will only be removed as has happened with other people in other lands, all through the ages to our day, by the united struggle of the oppressed people themselves to exert pressure on the rulers to grant them freedom. And so, I call upon all Africans who truly desire to see these disabilities removed, to join the African National Congress, to fight in the comradeship of other oppressed people, for the attainment of freedom which is the main key to the removal of man-imposed disabilities.

AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! INKULULEKO NGESIKATHI SETHU!

Yours in the national service,

A. J. LUTHULI
President-General, African National Congress

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**MESSAGE TO THE SEVENTH PROVINCIAL
CONFERENCE OF THE NATAL INDIAN
CONGRESS, DURBAN, FEBRUARY 5-7, 1954**

In the name of *Afrika* and Freedom I greet you all! ***AFRIKA! AFRIKA!
MAYIBUYE! INKULULEKO NGESIKHATHI SETHU*** (Freedom in Our Lifetime)!

Let us sing together to Freedom, "*Mayibuye i Afrika.*"

I am happy and proud on my behalf and on behalf of the African people I have the honour and privilege to lead under the banner of the African National Congress, to send you, our comrades, this *Afrika* message of greeting and expression of our deepest appreciation in the African National Congress for the most cordial and friendly active association with you. We have enjoyed it in our common and joint fight against forces of oppression in our land.

The way before us may be long and dusty, but ultimate success must be ours because, as confirmed by progressive world opinion, *our cause is just*. But as a *sine qua non* to the successful prosecution of our task, we must work in the spirit of sincere and unreserved devotion, sacrifice and service and bring into play virtuous human qualities such as patience, tact, forbearance, courage, vigilance, foresight, honesty, loyalty and love.

It is fitting and proper to impress upon you most strongly the formidableness of our task by reminding you that in the Nationalist Party of Dr Malan we are facing a ruthless, determined enemy of true freedom that would rather scuttle the ship of State than make civilisation and democracy a possession of all in our land, regardless of colour, race or creed, and that in our home front we have many well-meaning people who suffer from ignorance of the true import and significance of Freedom. Also, unfortunately, we are not free from Quislings in our midst.

We must fight on in all fronts along the path of non-violence and when, at times, the human weakness of despondency assails us, let us gain courage and inspiration, not only in the justice of our cause, but in its universality in all ages. We should be stirred to greater effort by the knowledge that it is our undeserved honour and privilege to be numbered among the followers of the heroes of freedom of all lands and ages: men and women who have so meritoriously championed the cause of Freedom.

With so much already done but still so much to be done - indeed with much at stake - we dare not be unfaithful to the noble cause and its noble heroes, past and present. If we do, we shall deserve the ridicule and scorn of our contemporaries and the contempt and curses of posterity.

As you leave the Conference room to translate your resolutions into action I assure you that the African National Congress leadership is determined as never before to spare no effort and to count no sacrifice too great in our joint effort to mobilise the masses and progressive forces in our land in the fight for Freedom.

AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! INKULULEKO NGESIKHATHI SETHU!

“RESIST APARTHEID”: STATEMENT TO MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG, JULY 11, 1954⁸

⁸ Chief Luthuli intended to address a meeting in Johannesburg on July 11, 1954, in protest against the Western Areas Removal Scheme - the forcible removal of Africans from their homes in Johannesburg to segregated locations. However, a banning order was served on him as he landed at Johannesburg airport. He then issued the following statement to be read at the meeting.

Sons and Daughters of Africa!
Mayibuye! Inkululeko Ngesikathi Sethu!

On account of the ban re-imposed on me last night, immediately after my landing at the airport, I cannot be with you in the flesh but I am with you in the spirit, and the spirit is a greater human force than the flesh. I am glad to bring to you not just the greetings and best wishes of your fellow-countrymen I have the honour to lead through the African National Congress, but to bring you also their messages of determination and assurance to be with you in your hour of trial, when forces of reaction, as represented by the Government of Dr Malan, seek to uproot you from your sacred shrines and castles - your homes - acquired through hard-earned savings. The fact that it is legalised robbery does not make the action less a sin.

Your invitation has given me an opportunity to reiterate my call for *Resist Apartheid Campaign*. We have met here today primarily to unitedly call for *Resist Apartheid Campaign* and for the Congress of the People Assembly whereat people from all walks of life in our multi-racial nation will have the opportunity to write in this great Charter of Freedom their aspirations on freedom.

The Western Areas Removal Plan of the Government represents their major implementation of their apartheid policy and, no doubt, is a forerunner to what will be done in other centres: and so our Resist Apartheid Campaign in connection with this scheme must be firm and decisive. The fate of Africans in the cities of the Union rests on the stand we take against this tyrannical action of the Government. As leaders, we shall do all in our power to consolidate the country to oppose the carrying out of this outrageous tyrannical scheme. I must here publicly acknowledge with the deepest appreciation the support already given us by individuals and groups from other committees, especially our allies in the freedom struggle: the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation. We are met here to express our utter resentment at the claim made by South Africa through its governments and parliaments since Union to determine and shape our destiny without ourselves, and arrogantly assign us a position of permanent inferiority in our land.

Contrary to the plan and purpose of God our Creator, who "created all men equal," and to us too, not to whites only, He breathed the divine spirit of human dignity. And so we have all the human and moral rights to resist laws and policies which create climate inimical to the full development of our human personalities as individuals and our development as a people. The laws and policies of white South Africa are no doubt inimical to this development. And so I call upon our people in all walks of life - Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, who died to save human dignity, teachers, professional men, business men, farmers and workers - to rally

round Congress at this hour to make our voice heard. We may be voteless, but we are not necessarily voiceless: it is our determination more than ever before in the life of our Congress, to have our voice not only heard but heeded too. Through gatherings like this in all centres, large and small, we mean to mobilise our people to speak with this one voice and say to white South Africa:

"We have no designs to elbow out of South Africa anyone, but equally we have no intention whatsoever of abandoning our divine right, of ourselves determining our destiny according to the holy and perfect plan of our Creator; Apartheid can never be such a plan."

Friends, let us make no mistake, the road to freedom is always full of difficulties. Before we reach the summit of freedom, many will have fallen by the wayside as a result of enemy action: and others through personal despondency may abandon the fight. But I call upon you as true sons of South Africa to be true to Africa, and count no sacrifice too great for her redemption. Now and here, I call upon all men and women present to pledge themselves and come forward to enlist themselves as volunteers in this noble cause of freedom under the rallying cry of *Resist Apartheid Campaign*. I am confident that this my call will, as in the past, provoke the greatest response which will shake to repentance the hearts of white South Africa.

Mayibuye!

CALL TO A. N. C. RANKS, NOVEMBER 1954¹

Urging Congress branches to ensure 100 per cent attendance at the forthcoming A.N.C. National Conference, due to begin at Durban on December 16, President Luthuli says that the occasion provides an opportunity to show

“that the bans imposed on our leaders by Minister Swart have not in any way dampened the spirit and enthusiasm of the rank and file, but on the contrary, have fired each member in Congress with a fresh determination to do double time by willingly and happily carrying an extra load of work and sacrificing one’s time, possessions and ability.

“This Conference will give us an opportunity of showing the authorities that our leaders are leading an able and healthy army, in which the lowest 'officer' and even a 'private' can give effective leadership in times of crisis, when commanding 'officers' are incapacitated.

“We must demonstrate that Congress is not a one-man show!...

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, November 25, 1954

“Natal is all excitement at the honour of playing host to the Conference of her mother body. It is a long time since Natal has had this honour – over twelve years.”

The Congress president goes on to deal with certain points which, he says, need clarification.

“The African National Congress is a legal organisation. Some people are under the wrong impression that, because leaders of the A. N. C. are being banned by the Minister of Justice, Congress is an illegal body.

“That is not so Congress is still a legal body, and it is no offence in law to be its member. No doubt we are a thorn in 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!”

Freedom Volunteers

Dealing with the freedom volunteers, the President says there is some confusion between the tasks of these volunteers and the volunteers of the Defiance Campaign. “Some people think that these volunteers are called upon to defy the law as in the case of the Defiance Campaign. This is not the case.”

Pointing out that the Defiance Campaign, having served a notable purpose, was “brought to a halt after due consultation with our allies, the S.A. Indian Congress,” Mr Luthuli says the first task of the freedom volunteers of today is to work for the Congress of the People “which will culminate in a great assembly, whereat our multiracial 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.”

The freedom volunteers' task is to visit men and women in their homes, in factories and all over, to explain the objects of the Congress of the People and enlist their support. The freedom volunteers are “field workers mobilising the people for the great Congress of the People.”

A further task of the freedom volunteers is to arouse opposition among the people against the Government's implementation of its “evil apartheid policy,” as concretely expressed in such measures as the Johannesburg Western Areas removal scheme, the Bantu Education Act and the rent increase in municipal housing schemes. Under the slogan “Resist Apartheid!” this campaign must be carried out as a “twin, inter related task” with the preparations for the Congress of the People.

Reiterating, his call for fifty thousand volunteers, Mr Luthuli concludes:

“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 must triumph over wrong, and also remember that no national movement has ever failed. Shall yours be the first in history to fail?

“Afrika! Mayibuye!”

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS, DURBAN, DECEMBER 16-19, 1954**

Sons and daughters of AFRICA,

Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye! Mayibuye!

I greet you all on behalf of myself and thousands of others within and without Congress who share with you our hope for the attainment of freedom for all in our land in the not distant future.

I ask you to receive special greetings and best wishes for a successful conference from your banned and banished leaders who are with you in spirit. Thank God that Divine Providence has not endowed Minister Swart with the power to ban Congress out of the people’s hearts.

I ask that your loving remembrance of our own banned and banished leaders should embrace the banned and the banished of our allies in the Liberatory Movement.

As an act of remembrance and re-dedication of ourselves to the cause of freedom in our land, I would ask the Conference, at this point, to stand and perform the acts which I have proposed to Mr Speaker.

The wholesale banning of our leaders should challenge us all - banned and unbanned - to devote ourselves unreservedly to the cause of freedom.

I am glad to report that despite the bannings, Congress work at both national and provincial levels has been carried on at a high level of efficiency but this was

possible only at great personal sacrifice on the part of those Congress officials who are still free of the notorious bans.

On your behalf, I am sure you would want me to thank all those who in any way have helped to keep the machinery going. I have much pleasure in publicly thanking them.

The treasury will submit to Conference a formal appeal for funds to enable us to meet special obligations Congress has to our banned and banished leaders and also to help us to meet our increased administration costs. I feel confident that our leaders at all levels - national, provincial and branch - will do all they can to get the masses to contribute generously to this special appeal for funds. Let me close my introductory remarks by thanking most sincerely the authorities of the City of Durban for allowing us to hold our Annual Conference in their area of jurisdiction.

Our warmest and sincerest thanks go to the authorities of the Beatrice Steer Y.W.C.A., Durban, for making available to us the excellent facilities of their great establishment to enable us to carry on under comfortable conditions the various activities of our Conference.

Last, but not least, we express our deepest appreciation to the Natal provincial division of the African National Congress for voluntarily inviting the Annual National Conference to come to Natal and for sparing no effort to secure facilities necessary for the convenience and comforts of delegates. In our warm thanks to the Natal provincial authorities of the African National Congress we gladly associate the local Congress organs and officials in the Durban District who must have borne the brunt of the burden of Natal playing host to the Annual Conference of her mother body, the African National Congress.

I must now bring to an end the felicitous aspect of my address and in conformity with traditional practice touch very briefly upon some activities and events in the political scene in our country, in particular, and the world in general, especially those events and activities that have a direct bearing on the noble task of emancipating mankind in Africa.

I. NOTABLE VICTORIES

We find ourselves so busily engaged in the terrific political battle in our country that we miss to note the gains we make here and there, no matter how small.

In my opinion, despite the ruthless intensification of the apartheid policy, we have on the credit side a few notable victories.

a. The success of the Congress of the People Campaign

We have still much to do to rally all sections of our country to the Congress of

the People campaign, but it is making no extravagant claim when I say it grips the imagination of the common man wherever the campaign has reached. The frantic way in which the Government is seeking to cripple the campaign is evidence of its political potency.

Let us intensify our call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers.

I can see through the Congress of the People thousands and thousands of South Africans from all sections of our multi-racial nation marching together to freedom as a direct result of this campaign. In any case the campaign has already enlarged and consolidated our united FREEDOM FRONT considerably.

b. The Christian Churches and Apartheid

There is no doubt that speaking generally the Church has made no noticeable impact on the political thinking of the Ministry in general and in the laity, both black and white. There have been lonely voices here and there that have condemned the South African Native Policy on Christian grounds.

There is a tendency, especially in the African section of the Church, to dismiss politics as other worldly matters. We do not expect the Church to back up any political party or theory but we do expect it to arm its adherents with Christian principles that will enable them to pass intelligent judgement in terms of Christian principles on any political programme or theory.

Whilst, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church and, may be, a few Lutheran Churches that support the Bantu Education Act of 1953, there is no unanimity among Church leaders as to what to do with schools in terms of the Bantu Education Act; it has come to us as a refreshing breeze to hear them give a unanimous categorical rejection of the Act on grounds of incompatibility with Christian principles of the apartheid principles and practices inherent in the Act,

In the African National Congress we support the uncompromising rejection of the Act by the Roman Catholic Church and the authorities of the Diocese of Johannesburg under the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves. This year will be remembered for the unequivocal public condemnation of the policy of apartheid by a good number of churches in the Union and overseas, especially the Church of England in Great Britain. It was heartening to hear the condemnation of apartheid coming from such a world-important body as the Assembly of the World Council of Churches which recently met in Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A.

We shall not forget the visit to our country of that great Christian crusader, Canon Collins. We thank God for men like Canon Collins who live the words of the Christian hymn which say "Let courage rise with danger".

c. The Rise of Spirit of Resistance among Workers

This year, especially in Durban, we witnessed with joy the rising tide of opposition by African employees to unsatisfactory conditions of service. We single out for mention the dock workers, the United Tobacco Company workers and workers in some Pine Town factory.

Congress in both national and provincial levels should establish close cooperation between itself and trade union leaders and organisations.

We regret the sell-out of labour interests made by the recent so-called Unity Conference which ended up as a Disunity Conference in support of the apartheid policy of the Minister of Labour, Mr Schoeman; it refused to recognise African unions or mixed unions with African membership.⁹

II. THE STORY OF OUR SUFFERING:

I feel called upon to remind the African people of the grim fundamental facts of our situation which are painful reminders of our enslavement by white South Africans. While it is true that the propaganda of Nationalist Government through the information section of the Native Affairs Department tries to cleverly conceal the evils of apartheid by promises which are nothing but deceptive palliatives, yet on the other hand, we should be grateful to the Nationalist Party Government for unambiguously making it plain that in the interests of perpetuating white domination they will stop at nothing in their determination to realise their goal of keeping non-whites in a state of permanent servitude. What is surprising is that in the face of this frankness you should find some Africans in positions of influence counselling the African people to submit to the *status quo*.

These false persons generally support the betrayal of the African people by false reasons such as these: "Half a loaf is better than no loaf"; "the African people are not yet ready for freedom"; "convert the white man first by being moderate in your demands". Indulging in wishful thinking they ideally say that without exerting ourselves God in His own time will give us freedom. They forget that God has long been waiting for African Freedom Volunteers whom He could harness to the noble cause of bringing freedom to all people in Africa. These false leaders would have the African accept the shadow for the substance, thus rendering himself guilty before God of having a perverted sense of values which exalts expediency above principles and a mere mess of pottage - crumbs of apartheid - above freedom, our basic God-given heritage.

WHAT ARE SOME OF THESE GRIM FACTS OF OUR SITUATION?

In order to convince you of the seriousness of our situation let me remind you of some of the grim facts of our situation.

⁹ The reference is to a conference in October 1954 which established the South African Trade Union Council.

a. Decline of Liberalism in the Union of South Africa

It is a sad commentary on the attitude of white South Africa that in the Union of South Africa liberalism should be held to such extreme and malicious scorn that any white person showing any leanings towards liberalism is regarded as a renegade and so shunned if not completely ostracised. It is a measure of the littleness of our little Union of South Africa that such great South Africans as the late J. H. Hofmeyr should have been abused even by members of their own party. White South Africa should know that Africans applaud and honour those Europeans who work for the liberation of Africans on the basis of making the Union of South Africa a true democracy for all people regardless of their colour, class or creed. Hence we are grateful to the formation of the Congress of Democrats with which the African National Congress is in alliance in the Liberatory Movement, especially in the campaign of the Congress of the People. We are grateful also for the existence of the Liberal Party between whom and ourselves there exists a warm sympathetic understanding and friendly cooperation on specific issues where our policies agree.

Let me here most emphatically state that while the African National Congress must naturally work for its own growth, yet it is equally committed to the policy of forming a multiracial united democratic front to challenge the forces of reaction in this country.

b. The Ascendancy of the Forces of Reaction

We must not be blind to the fact that the *baaskap* spirit of the Boer Republics is in the ascendancy in the Union. This accounts for the fact that every day the United Party is becoming indistinguishable from the Nationalist Party. The long-awaited-for new Native Policy of the United Party can be described as being a mark time order from the Drill Master, Mr Strauss, with an occasional "March backward" order, as in the case of their decision not to give recognition to African trade unions whereas the Party at one time seriously considered giving recognition to African trade unions.

After all both the United Party and the Nationalist Party vie for the position of being guardians of the traditional Native Policy of South Africa and the essence of this policy is the *baaskap* spirit of the Boer Republics where each white farmer was a supreme lord over his African servants.

c. The Economic Advance of the African is Deliberately Curbed by Legislation which is Reinforced by a Hostile Public Opinion

This curb of our economic advancement became marked after Union when in 1913 Africans were deprived of the right of buying land in freehold title. The grim story of our being robbed of opportunities for economic advancement is too long to

narrate in a Presidential address.

d. Deliberate Efforts to Suppress and Dwarf our Human Personality

Leaders of white public opinion take every opportunity to present us in the world as sub-human beings incapable of assimilating civilisation. This vilification has been going on since the whites first met us. This matter of dwarfing our personality and trying to make us believe we are nobodies is the worst sin the whiteman has committed against Africans.

In the Bantu Education Act of Dr Verwoerd, an effort is being made to use the school as an instrument of dwarfing our human personalities. The African child is to be made to feel that he is the inferior of the white child.

III. WORLD SCENE

We are grateful as we always have been to progressive opinion in the world that has not hesitated to champion our cause in the Union of South Africa. We watch with interest the developments towards full democracy in Western African territories under British rule.

The British Government must not allow its policy to be dictated by white settlers who selfishly try to grab as much wealth as they can from Africa, otherwise she will find herself confronted with man-made situations as in East Africa, or extremely strained relations as in Uganda and Bechuanaland, where people rightly resent the banishment of their hereditary heads.

IV. WHAT MUST WE DO TO MEET THIS CHALLENGE OF BEING SPIRITUALLY IF NOT PHYSICALLY DESTROYED AS A PEOPLE?

Let me conclude my address by asking you this question. What must we do to meet this challenge of a people spiritually, if not physically, destroying us as a people?

- a. We must join our national organisation, the African National Congress, where the true significance, purpose and probable disastrous outcome of Government policy would be explained to us by our own people who work for our liberation.

After all, the whiteman has told you that he wants to make you his servant forever and so what good thing can there be for you in his policy? Do not listen to propaganda of the Information Section of the Native Affairs Department.

- b. Develop in you the spirit of resisting anything that curbs or limits the development of your talents to their fullest capacity.

c. Cultivate a sense of service and sacrifice without which Africans can never gain freedom. Freedom comes only to people who are prepared to pay dearly for it.

AFRIKA! AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE!

INTERVIEW TO *DRUM*, JOHANNESBURG, JANUARY 1955¹

Is the African National Congress Communist – controlled? Does it represent the African people? Albert J. Luthuli, President-General of Congress, gives views on these vital questions in an exclusive interview with *Drum*.

Congress long ago decided that they would not discriminate against anyone because of his other political affiliations. So long as a member subscribed to Congress policy, which was first of all African unity, and secondly working for the welfare of the African people, and so long as he was an African, he would not be debarred from membership. Long before the present flare-up about Communists, there have always been members of Congress who were Communists – even before Congress adopted its militant programme. Congress did not ally itself with Communism because it had Communist members, and it even took a stand against Communism as such.

Recently Congress, like other organisations, has grown to be the spearhead of the liberatory movement. Anyone in the liberatory movement, so long as he pledges himself to work for the realisation of freedom for all people in South Africa, would be welcome. We have the Congress of Democrats now, who are part of the liberatory movement, and no doubt they have members who are ex-Communists; but there are also people in the Congress of Democrats who have never been Communists.

When we initiated the Defiance Campaign the people in it were the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. No one could honestly say that these two organisations were dominated by Communists. What is more likely is that our thinking was influenced by the success of the “non-violent passive resistance” of the Indian National Congress of India. People who say that the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws was initiated by Communists forget that Communism has never embraced “non-violence” as a basic philosophy for its struggles.

¹ *Drum*, Johannesburg, January 1955

The general plan to make Congress more militant was agreed on in 1949 under the presidency of Dr Alfred Xuma. A committee was formed at the time to study the form that militancy should take. No one in a sane mood would accuse Dr Xuma of being a Communist; and the same is true of his successor, Dr Moroka and also very true of Dr Moroka's successor, Albert John Luthuli.

As far as Mr Sisulu's visit to Moscow is concerned, it was a personal invitation, not an invitation to Congress; his visit was not in any way an official Congress visit. Professor Matthews also accepted a private invitation to go to America. On their return, both Mr Sisulu and Professor Matthews gave semi-official reports to Congress on their visits; but this does not mean that Congress was influenced either by America or Russia.

I believe Congress, in general, follows the foreign policy of Nehru; we wish to be neither East nor West, but neutral; and we welcome co-operation from those on either side who will help to further our aspirations for freedom in democratic set-up. If we get more support from the East than from the West, it is not our fault. In fact, to my knowledge, we have enjoyed considerable support from the West – perhaps even more than from the East – and I am grateful for it, as I would be grateful for legitimate support from the East.

The African National Congress has consistently, through its presidents and other leaders, indicated that they are interested in democracy within the present framework of the Union. There is nothing to suggest that behind Congress there are people working for Moscow. If ever I were convinced that Congress was working for Moscow, I would definitely resign.

What in fact South Africa is hearing from the African National Congress is the voice of African Nationalism rather than Communism. African Nationalism will become a much more powerful and appealing force than Communism. In fact our task as leaders is to make this Nationalism a broad Nationalism, rather than the narrow nationalism of the Nationalist Party.

Some people say that the fact that ex-Communists are elected to Parliament by the Cape Western constituency shows that Congress is influenced by Communists. It does not. These candidates have won their seats because of their part in working for the people locally; in fact this should be a lesson to White South Africa, that Africans will judge you by what you do for them, not by your ideologies.

I personally have a lot of friends in the West, and at present I have no friends in the East. But that does not mean that Congress is inclined to the West. So far as I know, Congress lays no bars to its leaders, duly invited, going to any country in the world.

It has come to my knowledge that Government propaganda against me has recently taken the form of telling Chiefs that they must not associate with me, because I

went to America in 1948, and got rotten ideas there. Yet when I went to America all my contacts were with churches, schools, colleges, organisations such as Rotary. I never adorned a political meeting or made any contact with any political organisation. In fact my programme was made by an American Mission Board in Boston, U.S.A., who had invited me to undertake this lecture tour of our Christian Churches in the United States.

One ex-Communist in Congress has said, "I would quarrel with my own colleagues if they were to use the Congress platform to further Communist objectives, because at present we are engaged together in a liberatory movement. When we have freedom, then might be the time to split and fight on ideological questions."

At present we are engaged in launching the Congress of the People assembly, which is being sponsored by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Coloured People's Organisation – but at the invitation of the African National Congress, as a result of the decision taken at the Queenstown Conference last year. The Congress of the People is entirely a Congress idea, to which others are invited in accordance with our principles. The idea originated with Professor Matthews at the Cape Provincial Congress; I cannot conceive of Professor Matthews being influenced in any shape or form by Russia. It is an insult to Professor Matthews to suggest (as was done by one police officer) that he was influenced by Paul Robeson in America.

I would be much surprised if ex-Communists formed as much as 1 per cent of Congress membership. I can quite believe that the banning of the Communist Party has led African ex-Communists in Congress to be more active than before within the Congress programme; but this does not mean that Congress is becoming more Communist.

MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF WESTERN AREAS, JOHANNESBURG, FEBRUARY 1955¹⁰

[Protest meetings were held in South Africa in February 1955 denouncing the government's use of force to remove African people from the Western Areas. Chief Luthuli sent this message to the people from his sick-bed.]

There are no guns or bullets or clubs which can destroy courage and unity, and as long as the people are courageous and united in their just struggle to save their homes, victory must be theirs.

Non-Europeans and Europeans in every part of South Africa must join in this struggle of the people of the Western Areas, not only to save their homes, but to

¹⁰ *New Age*, Cape Town, February 17, 1955

end the spread of the evil and fatal disease, apartheid, which we are bitterly learning can bring only chaos, destruction, strife and disaster to all the peoples of our country.

MESSAGE TO THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE, BANDUNG, APRIL 1955¹¹

I welcome most heartily the convening of the Afro-Asian Conference and congratulate all those responsible for organising this historic meeting. I deeply cherish the hope that the deliberations at Bandung, Indonesia, on April 18 will present the point of view of the African and Asian people for peace, freedom and democracy for all peoples.

We are living in a much troubled world which someone has aptly called a "mad-house." My prayer and wish is that this conference might help to contribute in bringing sanity to this mad world of ours which is suffering from a paralysing sickness engendered by fear and jealousy among nations.

PREPARE FOR CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE: MESSAGE, MAY 1955¹

On June 25 and 26, only five weeks from now, there will assemble in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, people from all corners of South Africa to attend the great Congress of the People – an event we have long awaited.

This assembly will take place at a time when the political situation in South Africa has never been so critical as it is today. The future of the country appears dark and great uncertainty has set in everywhere in the land.

No one is sure of his home any more; in various parts of the country the people are being haunted by the Group Areas Act; they are being removed in the Western Areas of Johannesburg; they are threatened with removal in the Western Cape, in Natal, in the Transkei and in other parts of the country.

¹¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, 7 April 1955

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, May 19, 1955

The educational policy of the Nationalists, particularly as expressed in the Bantu Education Act, deprives the children of the overwhelming majority of the population of real education.

The courts and the Constitution are being threatened.

The country is faced with an impending fascist republic built on apartheid, which has been condemned the world over.

This great day of the Congress of the People, therefore, will be a ray of light and will inspire new hopes for the future. It will be of great significance not only in South Africa but also throughout the world.

Re-dedication

I wish to remind you that the 26th of June, since 1951, has been regarded and celebrated as a People's Day in South Africa. This year we shall re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom in that great assembly of the people, where we shall write a charter for freedom.

The almighty God has spared me to serve my people and to make this clarion call, among other things to all the people of South Africa.

In the name of justice and goodness, I now appeal to all democrats and freedom-loving people of South Africa irrespective of race, colour or creed, to unite and work together for the Congress of the People.

I call upon everyone in the next five weeks to subordinate everything to the preparations for the Congress of the People.

MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE, JUNE 1955¹²

I was happy to get an invitation from the Action Council of the Congress of the People to send a message to the historic assembly, the Congress of the People, which will be meeting in Kliptown, Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa, on June 25 and 26, 1955.

A False Foundation made at the Foundation of the Union of South Africa

¹² The Congress of the People met in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on June 25-26, 1955. This message was recorded as Chief Luthuli was restricted under banning orders.

It should have been plain to the architects of the Union of South Africa that by excluding from the orbit of democracy the majority of the population, the non-whites, in the new state, they were laying a false foundation for the new state and making a mockery of democracy to call such a state democratic.

The National Convention, motivated by fear and selfishness, produced a constitution, oddly enough, with the approval and blessing of a supposedly Liberal British Government of the day, that belied the noble sentiments enshrined in the motto adopted for the new state: "*Ex unitate vires*" (Out of Union is Strength).

Position Worsening with the Years

Subsequent years since the founding of this exclusive union for "Europeans Only" have witnessed the growth and intensification among whites of the spirit of dominating over non-whites perpetually.

The spectre of the spirit of "For Europeans Only" has haunted the Union since, and has done incalculable harm, not only to the progress and happiness of non-whites who since Union have been victims of the so-called "traditional Native policy" of the Union, segregation or apartheid, but has done harm to the name and status of the Union and its general progress.

It must be doing much harm to the name and status of the Union in the world when its Prime Minister, in the person of the present Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom, could unashamedly declare to the world that the policy of his party and government is that of apartheid accompanied by *baaskap* (domination) of whites over non-whites for ever.

It must be hindering greatly the progress of the country to subordinate its economic progress to the policy of apartheid, as the Minister of Native Affairs has made a pronouncement to that effect more than once.

We thank the Nationalist government for its honesty but what harm their policy is doing to South Africa and race relations! In their dealing with non-whites the government of the Union ignores the fundamental truth so well expressed in the American Declaration of Independence: "Man is endowed with certain inalienable rights. Among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights governments are instituted." It is tragic to note that in the Union of South Africa the opposite has been true in so far as non-whites are concerned. Successive Union parliaments and governments have systematically, not only denied non-whites the fundamental human rights they should have, but have deprived them of some of their existing meagre rights such as freedom of speech; freedom of association; freedom to sell their labour freely in the most profitable market; freedom to receive universal education; freedom to participate fully in all organs of government in the country. These and other rights are human heritages of freedom and equality the state should ensure to all its people.

The Spread of the Spirit of Disunity among Whites Themselves

Human attitudes and tendencies once developed cannot be arbitrarily confined within set limits and so we find that not long after Union the spirit of fear, mistrust and disunity spread among the whites themselves. About 1914 General Hertzog, who later became the first Prime Minister under the first Nationalist government in the Union, complained that the General Botha government of which he was a member was too pro-British and so did not give *Afrikaners* their full rights in the new state. He began to agitate for a two-stream white policy. This led to his exclusion from a reconstituted General Botha cabinet. General Hertzog then formed the first Nationalist Party which since then has gone through some stages of metamorphosis for the worse until now we have the present Nationalist Party of Dr Malan and his recent successor, Mr Strijdom. This party, led by some fanatical racialists, follows step by step the policy of ruthless dictatorship over non-whites and, to some extent, over its opponents in the other white political parties. It is not being unfair to the Nationalist Party to say that it is becoming a real danger to the peaceful progress and status of the Union of South Africa.

The Challenge of our Day

Notwithstanding the false foundation on which the Union was founded the challenge that confronts us is not to help tear this compact of Union, but rather, to strive in hope and faith to amend the error of its founders who sought to make it an exclusive possession of whites only instead of a true partnership of all communities making up its multi-racial nature.

I am happy to say that this is not the objective of the African National Congress alone but is a policy endorsed by all freedom-loving people in our land. It is this objective which gave birth in circles of the African National Congress to the idea of working for the convening of a multi-racial assembly on a nation-wide scale to formulate a Freedom Charter for our multi-racial nation.

It is now a matter of history that happily this initiative of the African National Congress received the enthusiastic support of her allies - the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation - who jointly with the African National Congress became co-sponsors of the Congress of the People.

All freedom-loving people have been anxiously waiting for the convening of this historic gathering and so it came as most welcome pleasant news to learn that this projected great assembly was scheduled to meet in Kliptown near Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa, on June 25-26, 1955.

For all people working for freedom for all in the Union of South Africa, the assembly will be a crowning climax to a long period of organisational work in a

concentrated endeavour to rally the people of South Africa to participate in this historic and unique gathering, the Congress of the People, and to enlist, through appropriate national organisations as "FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL" - all freedom-loving people in our country.

Why will this assembly be significant and unique? Its size I hope will make it unique. But above all its multi-racial nature and its noble objectives will make it most unique since it will be the first time in the history of our multi-racial nation that its people from all walks of life will meet as EQUALS, irrespective of race, colour, and creed, to formulate a FREEDOM CHARTER, for all people in the country. June 25 and 26, 1955 will go down in history as a *significant landmark* - a turning point for the better - in the struggle of making the Union of South Africa a Paradise of Freedom for all its people regardless of their geographical and racial origin.

Generations to come, who I trust will then be enjoying freedom, will thank the Almighty for this occasion of June 25 and 26, 1955 at Kliptown, Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa. It is my hope and belief that the inspiration of this unique and most significant...¹³ will give a very strong momentum to our liberatory movement and so help bring nearer the day of the emancipation of the Union of South Africa from the shackles of the domination of one race over others as obtains at present when whites dominate over non-whites and the Nationalist Party attempting to dominate over all groups including whites who are its political opponents.

The ...¹⁴ of freedom will be consolidated and strengthened as never before by this great assembly, the Congress of the People. The challenge of the day for all those who truly love freedom for all will be to gear themselves to greater determination, courage, and unreserved surrender to the noble cause of freedom in our land and everywhere in the world where man is still denied it by his brother man. If we shun this challenge we shall rightly be held in contempt by our freedom-loving contemporaries in other lands but, worse of all, we shall earn the curse and disdain of posterity.

The sponsors of this great assembly and those who will associate themselves with it, whether they are present or absent, are under no illusions as to the magnitude of the task of liberating the Union from the error of its founders; nor are they so naïve as to think that this assembly will usher in a day of freedom we yearn for. But this day, no doubt, will stand as a bright torch or beacon of Liberty in the skies of South Africa that are already gloomily darkened by the dishonourable past action of those of its people who in the past and now have glorified and enthroned in the place of Moral Values the evils of racism, discrimination, apartheid and the like.

¹³ Word missing in the original microfilm

¹⁴ Word missing in the original microfilm

This task of gaining freedom in our multi-racial society is of considerable magnitude and will tax severely the determination and courage of the best of us. But the need and urgency of the task and the justice of the cause demand us to be willing to pay the supreme sacrifice for the noble cause.

The government of the Union, as did King Pharaoh of old in Egypt to the children of Israel, may increase the severity of its oppressive measures beyond anything we have so far witnessed even in what we now regard as the most ruthless acts, such as the Public Safety Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Riotous Assemblies and Suppression of Communism Act Amendment Act, Criminal Laws Amendment Act, Native Resettlement Act, etc. The suffering that awaits us in the pursuance of our task will make the present harsh laws as mere tokens of what was in store for us.

In my opinion worse than the ruthlessness of the Nationalist government is its cunningness in presenting in a camouflage fashion its poisonous apartheid policy. This camouflage is going to make some of the oppressed people fall prey to this cunning bait as already we see some of our people who ought to know better, giving their support to such apartheid laws as the Bantu Authorities Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, etc. These people seem to forget the avowed objective of the majority of the white people to dominate non-whites for ever. These non-white supporters of apartheid measures foolishly think that one can be your oppressor and benefactor at one and the same time - an impossible miracle. One is either a democrat or an oppressor and not both at the same time. By their own action and words the majority of the white people in the Union support the oppressive apartheid measures of the government and so are our oppressors.

In concluding this message let me pass on and commend to you the parting words of a friend of mine who said to me: "Chief Luthuli, remember that no movement of the people has ever failed in the world." It is this. If the movement of the people should fail in the Union of South Africa it will be you and I who will have shamelessly let down the CAUSE and the People.

Shall you fail the Almighty and the noble cause of Freedom? I pray not.

*AFRIKA! AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE!
INKULULEKO NGESIKHATHI SETHU!*

BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO DR YUSUF M. DADOO,

SEPTEMBER 2, 1955¹⁵

(Extracts)

In sincerely wishing you good health, strength and longevity of life, both for your sake and for the sake of the successful prosecution of our struggle for freedom, I wish to say that we are under no illusions as to what the attainment of freedom would cost us in pain and suffering before victory is gained. We know that those who directly or indirectly support the maintenance of the *status quo* will subject us to untold brutality, slander and abuse. In their efforts to fulfil their *baaskap* apartheid policy the Nationalist Party, supported by supporters of their policy, will unleash against us all the fury and ferocity, all deadly and diabolic measures in an effort to cow down to submission the masses of the oppressed people, but these efforts are sure to meet with ignominious failure for already we are witnessing heartening times of the awakening of the people...

The days ahead will see the growth of an effective army of liberation which will grow in strength and gain in momentum to become an avalanche that will strike a death blow to oppression in South Africa.

AFRICAN NATIONALISM¹⁶

It is proper and fitting that my friend and close colleague in Congress, Professor Z. K. Matthews, having acted for me the whole of this year as President-General on account of my illness throughout this year, should speak to Congress and the world, through the medium of the Presidential Address.

I embraced with great joy and eagerness the privilege extended to me by the National Executive to speak to conference through a special Presidential Message, if I felt that my health permitted my doing so. I am indeed very happy to be able to do so.

I would be untrue to the deepest human feelings if I did not, on behalf of my family and myself, commence my message by expressing our deepest thanks to the Almighty for bringing about my miraculous recovery. I would like to closely associate in these thanks to the Almighty the staff of McCord Zulu Hospital who were willing and devoted instruments in God's hands in bringing about this recovery. Our feelings - my family and myself - would not be adequately

¹⁵ From Treason Trial Transcript, pages 13,304-05. Full text must be in exhibit RF. 76.

¹⁶ Message to the Annual Conference of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein, December 16-19, 1955

expressed if I did not say that we were deeply touched by the concern and sympathy in my ill-health and the welfare of my family shown by many, many people in our land and abroad during those difficult times. It was this concern and sympathy which helped my family, especially my wife, to bear with such great fortitude the burden of my illness.

The African National Congress in recent years, especially the last seven years

The chief burden of my message is to make a brief appraisal - not flinching from even an agonising critical appraisal - of the reaction of the African people in general and the African National Congress in particular to the political situation in the Union of South Africa, as it has affected Africans in recent years.

It is a matter of common consent that the African National Congress has been unusually active in recent years: what is the background to this activity? Any appraisal of Congress activity and the general reaction of the African people to this activity must be preceded by a brief, if only cursory, reply to this question - "what is the background to our present Congress activity"?

The significance of and background to present-day Congress activity

In my judgement, this period in the national history of the African people will go down as one of the most outstanding periods in the all-round political awakening of the African people, despite the almost insurmountable obstacles put in their way by the white rulers of South Africa, who have selfishly created barriers to African progress and advancement in South Africa in order to promote their own selfish interests.

One of the most significant features in the development of our struggle is that the African National Congress in recent years, after much internal questioning and discussion, adopted a militant Programme of Action in 1949. This Programme was a direct outcome of a conviction that had been growing among the people that the white people in South Africa had no intention of extending democratic rights to the non-whites.

The discriminatory laws that disgrace the statute books of successive white governments from colonial days to the present day are proof of the white man's hostility to the progress of Africans and the non-white people in general. The Act of Union itself put the non-whites outside the orbit of enjoying citizenship rights in a supposedly democratic, civilised and Christian country. Time and space will not permit the enumeration of such diabolic discriminatory laws. But can any one with only a cursory knowledge of the position of things as affecting the African truly blame them under such circumstances for having lost confidence in the declared but as yet unexecuted - good intentions of the white governments that have in succession ruled South Africa?

It is under numerous bitter experiences and disappointments with white rule that Africans, under the leadership of the African National Congress, came to realise after their further betrayal in 1936 that the only correct course to take was no longer merely to struggle for the amelioration of economic and social disabilities here and there under which they suffered, but to attack the whole citadel of white supremacy and domination, protected by a network of discriminatory laws designed to keep the African people and the non-Europeans in general in a state of perpetual servitude.

Congress, in alliance with her allies in the liberatory movement - the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and latterly the South African Congress of Democrats - has consistently directed her resources and energies in resisting tyranny and oppression. On June 26, 1950, Congress together with her allies called upon the people of South Africa to observe this as a day of mourning and prayer, as a protest against injustice by white governments to non-Europeans. On June 26, 1952, the great Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign which was to have a great impact on the world and South African politics was launched.

Since then all along the line Congress has sought to develop in the hearts of the people a spirit of defiance of anything that degrades human dignity and arbitrarily sets limits to the development of any person's mental, physical and spiritual faculties to their utmost. Still on that historic day, June 26, 1955, in response to a clarion call issued by our Congress movement to the people of South Africa, black and white, the Congress of the People met at Kliptown and unanimously adopted the Freedom Charter as the basis for our struggle in the future. The Charter is now placed before you for consideration and ratification.

One is happy to record that during this period the African National Congress has emerged as the universally accepted leader of the liberatory movement in South Africa. In cooperation with other progressive groups, it is building slowly but surely a solid united front against oppression. No one can deny that in the last seven years Congress has played no mean part in mobilising all progressive forces regardless of race or class, into a growing, formidable army, which in due course will cleanse South Africa of all traces of domination, racialism and exploitation. The initial success which has attended the efforts of Congress in building up a solid opposition to apartheid has driven terror into the selfish hearts of the white rulers of South Africa, hence the shameful ruthlessness of the Nationalist Party Government in its attempts to stem the rising tide of freedom forces about to engulf and destroy this evil thing, "*Baaskap* Apartheid."

Some urgent problems in the present situation of Congress

We would be less than human if we would not have made grievous mistakes in our Congress under the militant Programme of Action which was adopted in 1949.

As intelligent people, we should take cognisance of our failures and shortcomings - and God knows, they are legion - and try to make them "stepping stones to success".

What are some of these problems and shortcomings? Here again time and space can only allow a fleeting mention of only a few.

1. We have busily engaged in a laudable effort to establish a spirit of defiance of unjust laws and treatment along non-violent lines and in getting Africans to see that no one is really worthy of freedom until he is prepared to pay the supreme sacrifice for its attainment and defence. We have, unquestionably, met with a measure of success in both our objectives since we can truthfully claim that Congress followers have shown marvellous restraint in the face of police provocation. We can also claim that we have established an inner core of bitterenders in fighting oppression - "the faithful few" of whom we can say as said Sir Winston Churchill to defenders of Britain in the Battle of Britain during the World War II: "Never have so many owed so much to so few." But for all this we cannot claim to have prosecuted our campaigns with anything bearing semblance to military efficiency and technique. We cannot say the Africans are accepting fast enough the gospel of "*Service and sacrifice for the general good without expecting personal (and at that immediate) reward*"; they have not accepted fully the basic truth enshrined in the saying "*no cross, no crown*".

It is time we took stock of methods of planning and prosecuting our campaigns. I would suggest that the incoming National Executive should be charged with the task of making a study of general organisational machinery with special reference to its fitness for our present situation.

2. Faced as we are with the battle for freedom, it seems a wise stand to say that the African National Congress should not dissipate its energies by indulging in internal ideological feuds - a fight on "isms". It is not practical and logical, however, to expect to be colourless ideologically. She must in some way define or re-define her stand and outlook as regards, for example, her interpretation of *African Nationalism* which she made the philosophic basis of our struggle for freedom. Fighters for freedom in Africa, it is fair to infer, were to be mobilised under its banner. It is also fair to infer that the African National Congress, having accepted the fact of the multi-racial nature of the country, envisaged an all-inclusive *African Nationalism* which, resting on the principle of "freedom for all" in a country, "unity of all" in a country, embraced all people under *African Nationalism* regardless of their racial and geographical origin who resided in Africa and paid their undivided loyalty and allegiance. Congress should not be ashamed to tell the African people that it is opposed to tribalism but for obvious practical considerations it must gradually lead Africans from these narrow tribal

loyalties to the wider loyalty of the brotherhood of man throughout the world.

3. There does seem to be laxity in the machinery of Congress resulting in lack of sound disciplinary behaviour in some Congress levels. Manifestations of such behaviour at any Congress level anywhere must create confusion and uncertainty in the ranks of Congress, especially among the masses, to say nothing about its most disastrous effect in lowering the dignity of Congress in the eyes of the world. This observation leads me to close this aspect of my "agonising re-appraisal" of Congress activity by repeating what I suggested earlier, namely that it might pay Congress handsome dividends in efficiency and dignity if from time to time it took stock of its workings and its machinery.

What of the future?

Let me close my message by drawing you away from our failures and disappointments to a vision of a glorious future that awaits us: a South Africa where all people shall be truly free. Our cause is just and we have the divine assurance that right must triumph over wrong - and apartheid is an evil policy and the methods by which the Nationalist Government seeks to get a following among the people are base and false. They are based on submission through coercion and not through acceptance by love - the only sure basis for any lasting acceptance. They are based on acceptance of apartheid by an appeal to the baser instincts of man: selfishness and greed, personal aggrandisement.

Let us march together to freedom saying: "The road to Freedom may be long and thorny but because our Cause is just, the glorious end - Freedom - is ours."

Let us truly pledge to work together in love of "*Freedom for all in our Lifetime*" - not just freedom for "Europeans Only" and as we march, pledge to struggle together for freedom. Let us draw inspiration from the Freedom Charter - THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN.

AFRICA! MAYIBUYE!
INKULULEKO NGESIKATHI STEHU!

Yours in the cause of Freedom,

A. J. Luthuli
President-General, African National Congress

MESSAGE TO CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIAN ACTION, LONDON, 1956¹⁷

I learned with delight that Christian Action was organising a meeting in London, England, to speak on the vital question of the Protectorates in South Africa. Thanks to the growing spirit of brotherhood in the world, especially among those men and women who truly believe in justice and fair play, a brotherhood that cuts across race, colour, and even creed, I am happy to feel that it is the spirit of brotherhood which prompted Christian Action to invite me to send a message of goodwill to this meeting. And so I, too, moved by the same spirit of brotherly fellowship, wish you in this meeting God's blessing. I pray that its deliberations may bring forcefully before the people and Government of Great Britain, the needs of the Protectorates, and the legitimate wishes of their inhabitants. May such a forceful reminder result in making Great Britain more mindful of her responsibilities to these territories, which yearningly expect her, as the protecting power, to lead them to full self-realisation along the democratic road.

On this question of the High Commission Territories in South Africa, I must advise, at the outset, that the African people in South Africa would consider it to be an unfriendly act on the part of Great Britain, if she should ever consent to the transfer of these territories to the Union of South Africa without the consent of the people of each Protectorate concerned. Such an action would make Great Britain an accomplice in the policy of apartheid of the Union of South Africa, a policy which rightly, has received world-wide condemnation, since it results in the violation of the universal declaration of fundamental human rights contained in the United Nations Charter.

For myself, I am confident, however, that the British sense of justice and fair play would deter any British Government from ever acting in such an unfriendly way towards the African people: since it would be a shameful and dreadful betrayal of the people of the Protectorates, and would greatly shake whatever confidence the people of the Colonies have in her. It would disastrously strain and embitter black-white relationships, not only in the Protectorates, but throughout Africa, and earn her the anger and contempt of freedom-loving people everywhere.

The propaganda of successive Union Governments has subtly attempted to frighten the people of the Protectorates, and Great Britain, to agree to the annexation of these territories to the Union, by stressing the wide measure of economic dependence of Protectorate Africans on the Union, since large numbers of them come to the Union labour centres for wage earnings. I feel that the Union Government underrates the sense of values of the Africans of the Protectorates. They are not likely to trade their potential opportunities of becoming a free people for a mess of pottage that would land them on the lap of the apartheid monster. I

¹⁷ From Carter-Karis Collection

cannot see them voluntarily surrendering themselves to exclusive white rule in the Union of South Africa, a rule that would submit them to permanent white domination, and all the evil consequences that flow from it.

The potential material resources of the Protectorates, when fully exploited for the benefit of the inhabitants, seem adequate enough to meet the needs of the people reasonably. But it must be sadly admitted that successive British Governments have shown culpable neglect of the Protectorates, with the result that at present they cannot adequately meet the needs of the inhabitants. Apparently, Great Britain forgot that her inescapable primary concern as a protecting power was to develop fully the resources of the territories for the benefit of their inhabitants.

It is never too late to mend. This state of affairs in the Protectorates poses a serious challenge to the British Government, and the British people, to launch without delay a bold, co-ordinated, comprehensive development programme that will train and harness the African people of this territory to contribute to that development for the benefit of the people. Such a comprehensive, all-round development plan must be designed to give the people full expression in all spheres of human activity - social, economic, religious, and political.

Such an undertaking would bring about beneficial results. It could well be a practical demonstration to other Colonial powers and Dominions of the possibilities of securing the co-operation of the African people in a development scheme, that is not a blind alley when it comes to political development, and not hedged in by discriminatory regulations and practices that hinder the unfettered development of the African people, and so causing them to be frustrated and unco-operative. I can well see such a scheme, properly run, becoming a stimulant to forces in other parts of Colonial Africa, including those in the Union of South Africa, and the Central African Federation, to work hard and with hope for the full emancipation of Africans in the lands of their birth, notwithstanding hostile forces that work for white supremacy.

It is most fitting and encouraging that such a challenging meeting should be convened by a Christian Group, for the Church of Christ, if it is to be true to the mission assigned to it by her Master, must boldly challenge the conscience of the rulers and the people to create in their country conditions that would bring about the realisation of Christ's programme, which He enunciated to be "to preach good news to the poor, proclaim release to the captive, and the recovery of sight to the blind, to set free the oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

I speak as one belonging to an oppressed group - the non-white in the Union of South Africa - where discriminatory, oppressive laws, in growing intensity, are bearing heavily on non-whites. We are witnessing a terrific onslaught by the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government, on the limited civil liberties more or less, hitherto enjoyed by non-whites. This is bringing about unprecedented human suffering on non-whites in the country - disastrous displacement of people

from their long-established homes, the muzzling and banishment of people who protest against these and other atrocious injustices, are the order of the day. But yet we are not despondent. We are encouraged in our struggle for freedom by seeing our stand of opposing apartheid vindicated by the justice of our cause, and the undoubted growth of the freedom front in our country. It is also encouraging to us to find our cause attracting the support of such organisations as yours. I wish to say in all sincerity how much we appreciate the moral support we are getting from CHRISTIAN ACTION, and other Christian and secular agencies in many lands.

Long live justice and fair play!
Long live freedom!
Long live Africa!
Africa!

STATEMENT PROTESTING THE CLOSING OF THE SOVIET CONSULATE OFFICES, FEBRUARY 1956”¹

The Government’s allegation that the Consulate of the U.S.S.R. has been responsible for subversive activities amongst the Non-European people in the Union is sheer propaganda, declares Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, in a statement to *New Age*.

Chief Luthuli says that African National Congress, as the representative of the majority of the people of South Africa, deeply regrets that the Nationalist Government should make Non-Whites the excuse for its malicious propaganda against a friendly nation.

“The African National Congress urges the Government to reverse its action in the interests of peace and healthy relations among nations.

“As a people who believe in world peace and in the principles of the United Nations Charter, we cannot but deplore the action of the Nationalist Government, and so call upon all freedom and peace-loving people in our land to protest against this action of the rulers of South Africa who in so many ways have shown themselves to be the arch-enemies of democracy.”

Chief Luthuli concludes his statement with the words: “The freedom and peace-loving people of our land must demonstrate to the world that beyond any doubt, they stand with all freedom and peace-loving people in the world such as the people of the U.S.S.R.”

¹ *New Age*, February 23, 1956

MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS, JOHANNESBURG, APRIL 1956¹

In sending you fraternal greetings and wishing your Annual Conference all success, I would like to centre my brief remarks on the question. "What is your task in South Africa?"

An annual conference is always an occasion for stocktaking where both the backward look and the forward look are made. I would ask you in making an appraisal of your activities in the past year and laying out your plans for the coming year to ask yourselves what your task is in our present situation in South Africa when we find ourselves faced with the most savage and fanatical Government that shows no signs of being willing to share democratic rights with all people in the country regardless of their race or colour. The Government of the Nationalist Party despite adverse world opinion, seems bent on making democracy a possession of "Europeans only."

Each session of Parliament sees the statute book of the Union loaded with new oppressive discriminatory legislative and administrative enactments which press hard on non-whites and on all who champion the cause of an oppressed people. The task before us is most urgent and exacting, faced as we are with fanatical rulers who would bring the country to ruin politically, economically and otherwise, rather than do all the right things towards all sections of our multi-racial nation, especially the non-whites who at present are the hardest-hit victims of the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government. The situation challenges all lovers of freedom for all to fight on until the forces of oppression are defeated.

Your task as an all-white political party that is in full fellowship with the premier political organisations amongst non-whites is not an easy one at all.

You have a special mission to convert white South Africans to your viewpoint of regarding all people, regardless of their race or colour, as equals and therefore deserving of being accorded all democratic rights to enable each individual to develop himself to his fullest capacity.

A wide acceptance of this viewpoint would result in the categorical rejection of the policy of apartheid which is inflicting on non-whites, solely on grounds of race and colour, indignities and atrocities so derogatory to human dignity that no human being should be made to bear them.

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, April 12, 1956

Unfortunately at present, white South Africa in its treatment of non-whites ignores, to her harm, fundamental spiritual values such as:

Righteousness and not injustice uplifteth a nation; Magnanimity and not selfishness and pettiness bring honour and greatness to a people; Brotherliness and not racial arrogance brings about harmony and co-operation in a nation, especially a multi-racial nation.

It will not pay white South Africa to live by the jungle law of “might is right.” The lesson of history is that those who rule by an iron hand eventually suffer an ignominious end. Your task – our task – is to save white South Africa from bringing about its own destruction. Apartheid will prove a terrible Frankenstein one day.

Finally, your task is not an easy one because as lovers of freedom for all, you will be persecuted and abused by white South Africa with the oppressed whose cause you champion. But even worse than this you may find yourselves suspected of ulterior motives by some of the people you are trying to liberate. All this should not daunt you and divert you from the struggle for freedom for all in our country.

“SOME ASPECTS OF THE APARTHEID UNION LAND LAWS AND POLICY AS AFFECTING AFRICANS”: PAPER READ AT THE CONFERENCE ON THE GROUP AREAS ACT CONVENED BY THE NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS, DURBAN, MAY 5-6, 1956

One fundamental cornerstone of human security is the possession of adequate and safely secured land rights for all citizens in a country. Insofar as the African is concerned the Union apartheid land laws are notorious for denying him adequate and safely secured land rights.

Speaking generally, the African is not only denied freehold tenure in the so-called African areas save what little land he held in freehold before the passing of the Natives Land Act, 1913, and also what little land he may have bought within the Released Areas made available by the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936; but even in the African reserves, his so-called natural home, where about one-third of the African population live, he has no security of tenure. These reservations are State lands merely set aside for African occupation under conditions which place him at the mercy of the African chief and the Native Affairs Department of the Central Government.

The desire of White South Africa to ensure its permanent domination over Africans has made it, through a Parliament of Whites only, to deny Africans, not only political rights, the only fundamental bulwark of the rights of citizens, but have denied them economic rights without which no people can realise a civilised way of life.

This shameful limitation of economic rights as affecting Africans is seen at its worst in the limitation of their land rights and I hope to show briefly how the apartheid land laws of the country affect them.

Apartheid Land Pegged in 1913

The principle of racial zoning given effect to in the Group Areas Act, 1950, was first designed and implemented in the passing of the Natives Land Act, 1913. This law put into legislative enactment the principle of territorial segregation and separation of land rights between Africans and non-Africans.

This Act was opposed most strenuously by the African National Congress under the leadership of the late Dr J. L. Dube. The Act provided that:

"except with the approval of the Governor-General, a Native might not acquire from a person other than a Native, nor a person other than a Native from a Native any land or interest in any land outside the Native Area described in the Schedule to the Act, and that without such approval no person other than a Native might acquire land or interest in land in a Scheduled Native Area."

The area of land thus scheduled for Africans was about 10 ½ million morgen being only about 8 percent of the total area of the Union. The remaining land, approximately 132 million morgen was practically entirely in White ownership, whereas the Whites numbered then as now only about one-fifth of the population of the Union.

Land Set Aside by the 1913 Natives Land Act Inadequate

The inadequacy of the land set aside for Africans was admitted even at the time of the passing of the Natives Land Act; hence a Commission known as the Beaumont Commission was immediately appointed by the Union Government of the day, to consider how additional land could be appropriated and set aside for Africans.

It is sad to report that on account of the insatiable land greed of Whites in South Africa to own large tracts of land - often far in excess of their legitimate needs and generally beyond their ability to farm them beneficially - the mild recommendations of the Beaumont Commission proved to be unacceptable to White South Africa, nor were those of "Local Committees" appointed to water

down the proposals of the Beaumont Commission to make them more acceptable to Whites.

Final Pegging of Land Set Aside for Africans

It was not until 1936 in the Native Trust and Land Act that, in the form of what was called "released areas" did the White Parliament of the Union decide that 7¼ million morgen of land should be added to the African areas within ten years as a final settlement of the division of land in South Africa between Africans and non-Africans. Of the non-African land practically the whole of it is owned or occupied by Whites. This final allocation of land to Africans, when fully realised, would have given them land about 13 percent of the total area of the Union, i.e., Europeans who are about one-fifth of the population would own practically 87 percent of the Union.

It is sad, but most revealing of the avaricious nature of Whites, which makes them indifferent to legitimate African land needs, that despite the solemn pledge of Parliament in 1936 to buy additional land for Africans within ten years, by 1954, about eighteen years after the passing of the enabling Act (the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936), only about 63 percent of the promised land had been bought. Successive Union Governments since 1936 found themselves thwarted in their implementation of Parliament's solemn promise by the reluctance of White farmers to sell their land to the South African Native Trust for the purpose. In the face of this opposition the present farmers' government, the Nationalist Party Government, is now saying that it is going to soft-pedal the purchase of land and concentrate its efforts on rehabilitating and developing existing land for Africans. This neglect of a solemn pledge made by Parliament is clear proof that White South Africa wants apartheid without paying for the cost it involves. It is the African who is made to bear the burden and suffer the ills inherent in the apartheid policy, notwithstanding the fact that Africans, in no uncertain terms, have made clear their opposition to the apartheid policy on the ground that it is not in the best interest of the country as a whole.

The Right of an African to Buy Land Only from Another African in a Scheduled or Released Area a Mockery

The total land set aside in final allocation was about 18 million morgen. Of this land only about two million morgen was held in freehold tenure by Africans in the whole of the Union at the time of the final pegging in 1936 of land set aside for Africans.

It was, therefore, a mockery of the worst kind for Parliament to give Africans a legally restricted right and which, further, was for all practical purposes unrealisable since there was not enough freehold land among Africans.

African Areas Inadequate and Defective

It is generally admitted that even the final quota of land set aside for Africans under the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936, was most inadequate even at that time. Further, these areas possess physical defects that militate greatly against their capacity to carry satisfactorily human and animal life found in them. This congestion is borne out by the fact that the principal sectors of these areas showed an average density per square mile of about 60 as against that of 20 for the whole Union according to the 1936 census.

In addition, most of these areas consist of broken hilly country and suffer from much soil erosion.

It is most important and urgent that White South Africa, supporting as it does territorial segregation, should make available to Africans land sufficient to enable those of them living on the land to make a living reasonably in accordance with civilised standards of life.

We support the policy of promoting development in African areas. This development should be carried out concurrently with plans to make available to Africans more land. We are convinced that no amount of development of existing African areas will make them carry human life in these areas above subsistence level.

It might be appropriate to reiterate here that in the African National Congress we stand for the policy of creating in the Union of South Africa a common society where all people would be free to engage in any occupation of their liking anywhere, where an opportunity presents itself. In such a free society the question of setting aside land for this or that group would not arise.

Property Rights of Africans in Urban Areas

The different provinces of the Union had various restrictions on the entry and stay of Africans in their respective urban areas and in general, with a few exceptions such as the restrictions in gold mining areas, all provinces, except the Orange Free State, had no legal restrictions debarring Africans from buying or leasing land in an urban area. But the basic pattern of segregation having been set by the 1913 Natives Land Act, which applied throughout the Union with the specific exception of urban areas, it was clear that something had to be done in urban areas. This need brought about the Native Urban Areas Act, 1923, and the successive amendments to it which, with the principal Act, were consolidated into the Urban Areas Act of 1945. These urban areas laws, *inter alia*, prohibited Africans from acquiring land by purchase or lease from a non-African in an urban area save with the approval of the Governor-General; they also called upon the Local Authorities to set aside land for the establishment of African locations and hostels where all Africans, except those who fall under exempted categories, would be forced to reside as municipal tenants.

Before Union and during the open period after Union some Africans had acquired freehold landed property in such areas as Sophiatown and Lady Selborne in the Transvaal and in some urban and peri-urban areas in Natal and in the Cape. On the whole the buying was not extensive.

To quote an instance: in Durban, Malvern and Westville Africans owned in all freehold property only to the extent of 125 acres valued at £90,000 in about 1951.

Africans and the Group Areas Act, 1950

Some Africans erroneously suggested that the Group Areas Act was designed to affect Indians and to some extent the Coloured people. Such people must now be getting a rude shock to find that Africans have been the first victims of racial zoning as witness the ruthless removal of Africans from Sophiatown to Meadowlands in Johannesburg, and to find that many African-owned places are now threatened with removal such as Lady Selborne in Pretoria and some African urban communities established on African-owned land in Natal towns such as Newcastle, Charlestown, Vryheid and others. The Cape, too, has such African communities.

These removals are being prosecuted with all haste and ruthlessness among Africans so much so that where the provisions of the Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act prove inadequate and slow, the Group Areas Act has had to be aided and supplemented by passing kindred legislation such as the Resettlement of Natives Act, 1954, under which removals at Sophiatown were affected and the Group Areas Amendment Bill, 1956, now before Parliament. This Bill seeks, *inter alia*, to amend the Group Areas Act to make it possible for the Government to bring about removals in such places as Lady Selborne which so far fell outside the orbit of the Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act.

One tragic aspect of these removals is that Africans affected by them are given no compensation, nor are they given in the new area to which they are moved freehold sites to replace the freehold sites they lost through the removal.

It is to safeguard itself from being delayed or halted in any way in this matter of urban removals of Africans that the Government is rushing through this present session of Parliament a Bill which will bring about an Act that will stop aggrieved Africans from seeking through an interdict the protection of the courts of justice whenever they feel that their rights are in jeopardy. This is another case of shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

The Nationalist Party Government has made it clear that under no circumstances will an African ever be allowed to hold land in freehold title in or near an urban area and so an African must regard himself as a sojourner in an urban area, being permitted there as it were on sufferance, for only as long as he is employed in that

urban area and behaves in a manner satisfactory to the Local Authority and the Government.

I must here point out that the legislative restriction on African freehold tenure and the implication of Government policy make it futile to allocate to Africans in an urban area an African group area in which they may reside or buy land since non-African owners of such a proposed African group area would have to get the permission of the Governor-General before they could sell their land to Africans. It is evident that the Group Areas Act helps completely to deny Africans the right of ever owning land in freehold in an urban centre. The end result is that Africans will be thrown out for good from urban areas as holders of freehold land and only remain as tenants in Municipal Locations.

It should be plain to all that one main purpose of this policy is to bring about undemocratic control over Africans in urban areas. Denying African freehold rights in urban areas makes it easy for White authority to control the nearly three million Africans living in urban areas of the Union and so it is that we find these millions living under the most insecure conditions imaginable. This insecurity tends to make some of these Africans show a docility to White supremacy that does most humiliating dishonour to their own human personality.

Displacement of Africans in Rural Areas

Urban Africans residing on African-owned land in urban areas are not the only victims of this ruthless policy of removing people and making some of them to become displaced people as in Nazi Germany.

Africans residing in rural areas in what are known as "Black spots" are to suffer the same fate. These "Black spots" are African areas that find themselves surrounded by non-African land, usually White lands. The Natives Land Act, 1913, and the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936, forbid such a state of affairs since rural Africans, in terms of some of the provisions of these two laws, are to reside in "Scheduled Native Areas" or in "Released Areas" save those that reside as labour tenants or squatters on European farms.

There are many such "Black spots" throughout the Union and the aim of the Government is to eliminate them completely.

In our province of Natal most of these "Black spots" are found in the Northern Districts, especially in the Magisterial districts of Newcastle, Dundee and Klip River. Some of these, such as Kumaloville near Besters, have already been given notice to get ready to move.

Everywhere under the rule of the Nationalist Government there is "Removal", "Removal", and "Removal", and Africans are unsettled and uneasy.

These removals involve Africans in heavy financial losses as the properties from which they are uprooted represent a life's savings made at great sacrifice of other necessary essentials of life such as adequate housing and food and the schooling of children.

In urban centres it further involves Africans in heavy transport expenses to and from work practically daily as, speaking generally, Africans are generally moved to areas that are very far - ten miles or thereabouts - from the main centres of work. Added to this is the inadequacy of transport facilities causing many workers to get up too early in order to get to work in time.

All this suffering means nothing to a ruthless, callous Government determined to uphold White supremacy at all costs by oppressing and crushing Non-whites.

A Brief Comment on the Tomlinson Report

The challenge of the Tomlinson Report demands that before I close my paper I should briefly make reference to some aspects and implications of this important report which, for good or ill, is likely for a long time to come to provoke an unusual awareness on African affairs in the Union.

The report sets an unqualified seal of approval on the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Party and rejects completely the sound policy of creating a common society in our multi-racial nation if peace and progress are to be promoted in the Union.

The report goes to great pains and details to make proposals for the implementation of the policy of apartheid and lays much stress on the need for promoting a co-ordinated programme of development in existing African areas.

We grant that in some phases of development it puts forward constructive suggestions with which we have no quarrel; but on grounds of principle and general practicability the African National Congress must reject this report since it advocates and promotes the policy of apartheid which, in all sincerity, Congress believes will bring about ruin to the Union of South Africa.

The report abounds in many inexcusable flaws for a Commission which makes claim to an impartial and scientific approach to its task. Unfortunately its assumed air of scientific authority may make White South Africa accept its findings without subjecting them to a critical scrutiny whilst at the same time shrinking from accepting the sacrifices - financial and otherwise - called for by the report. Already the Nationalist Party Government in its white paper on the report, whilst naturally welcoming the report as a vindication of its policy of apartheid, nevertheless, openly refuses to accept as authoritative the methods of implementing the apartheid policy as put forward by the Commission. The Government asserts that it is its sovereign prerogative to decide on how much of the report it accepts and on the

means and ways it may adopt in implementing the apartheid policy supported by the Commission. In other words the Government is not prepared to call upon White South Africa to brace itself to make the sacrifices, financial and otherwise, demanded by an acceptance of the policy of apartheid. Apart from setting South Africa on the wrong road to the solution of the problem of human relationship found in our multi-racial nation the report may indirectly influence White South Africa to content itself with a negative approach to apartheid since it would have conveniently shirked the responsibility of meeting the inescapable sacrifices called for by an honest, though mistaken, approach to apartheid.

I wish to conclude my brief comment on the Tomlinson Report by referring pointedly to what I call: "The flaws in the Tomlinson report".

(a) The whole report is based on an unscientifically proved acceptance of apartheid. It ignores the evident economic forces that are promoting integration. During the Nationalist Party rule the number of African urban dwellers has increased daily.

The Commission itself concludes that in the white areas - European farms and cities - there will always be a large African population. Likewise in African areas, in some capacity or another, there will always be a considerable number of whites: to say nothing about those who will be running industries on the borders of African areas.

(b) The development of industry in the African areas envisages the investment of private European capital in the African areas where it will obtain cheaper labour than exists in so-called white urban centres. In other words exploitation will be carried on by perpetuating the cheap labour policy.

(c) The Tomlinson Report, read together with the Nationalist Government's white paper on the report, exposes what a great fraud apartheid is. Why should the Government run away from nursing its baby, apartheid, properly?

(d) The Commission shamefully ignored to face the important and urgent question of the inadequacy of land set aside for Africans when all fair-minded people admitted as way back as 1936 that the land set aside for Africans was insufficient and so the unjust land division made in 1913 and 1936 remains unaffected. The Commission ignored to recommend the appropriation of additional land for African areas. It did so on the doubtful hypothesis that the "developed African areas" would be able to carry more people by giving an eight acre plot to each African peasant farmer qualified to live by farming. The Commission with satisfaction envisaged the peasant farmer producing on this land a minimum income of £60 a year.

When the Commission did think about additional land for African areas it recommended that efforts be made to recommend the incorporation to the Union of the already populated British High Commission Territories. Why the Commission did not feel itself called upon to call upon White South Africa to sacrifice by giving up some of the large tracts of land it holds is difficult to understand.

(f) Political participation of the Africans:

The Commission ignored the fundamental standpoint that in one country there can be only one sovereign body - Parliament - in which all people in that country should be adequately represented.

The African in the seven puppet kingdoms of the Native Affairs Department is not likely to remain for long satisfied with ineffective local government when laws affecting him continue to be made by Parliament in which he is not represented democratically.

Let me close this brief comment on the Tomlinson Report by calling upon all leaders in our liberatory movement to make a careful study of this apartheid report.

In closing my paper let me call upon you all to say:

AWAY WITH APARTHEID!

We stand for a united South Africa of all the people!

We say away with the sectionalism of the Nationalist!

Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye!

Mayibuye Afrika!

A REPLY TO MR JORDAN K. NGUBANE'S ATTACKS ON THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, JUNE 5, 1956

Mr Ngubane has written most voluminously in several issues of the *Indian Opinion* making scathing and unjustified remarks about the African National Congress and its leadership.

It is my duty as President-General of the African National Congress to be its protector and sponsor. In this capacity and from personal convictions I shall attempt to reply to some of the charges Mr Ngubane levels against Congress and its leadership. It is impossible for me to remember all that he has said, but relying on memory, I shall reply to some of his main criticisms.

Gross Inaccuracies and Insults

In his articles Mr Ngubane makes a lot of unfounded and inaccurate allegations which he proceeds to use as a basis for his arguments that Congress is taking a wrong course, or is going to Moscow, or is moribund, or inactive. I find it my duty to expose the incorrectness of these allegations and to ask Mr Ngubane to employ the services of a more reliable detective agency than the one he is apparently relying on for his facts and information about Congress.

Let me start on a personal note. There is no foundation to the allegation that I had attached conditions to my re-election as President-General of the African National Congress in December last year. If I had made such conditions I would have told conference so before allowing my name to stand for re-election. Even the condition he alleges I made is such that it could never have been constitutionally carried out by conference for it is not conference that determines where Congress Headquarters shall be; that is the duty of the National Executive Committee at its first meeting after election. The Congress Constitution does not provide that the Headquarters should revolve around the President-General, but merely requires the Working Committee to be elected from among members of the National Executive Committee who are resident within a fifty-mile radius from the Headquarters with the President-General as *ex-officio* member of the Working Committee.

Gross injustice is done to me by this incorrect Ngubane statement which he uses as a basis for a false conclusion that a section of Congress is using me for its own ends. Throughout his articles in reference to myself Mr Ngubane breathes in some form or another insulting allegations that I am so weak as to allow myself to be used by unscrupulous men in Congress. He represents me as a feeble helpless man unable to challenge the forces that are “making me the laughing stock of the world,” or as too politically immature to appreciate the significance of the alleged manoeuvres, or as so wedded to office that I would hold it at the expense of my personal honour. How else could one explain Mr Ngubane’s statement that the “Left is committing me to ridiculous policies in an attempt to make me the laughing stock of the world?” He adds insult to injury when he presents me as a most unprincipled leader by suggesting that I am opposed to present Congress policies. The world must be wondering why I am not resigning from Congress.

He continues to heap insult on injury when he poses as my confidant and thereby insinuating that I am so disloyal to Congress that I disclose to him Congress confidential and internal matters. How otherwise could any one interpret his

statement that “in Congress things are done behind my back” unless it be that I told him so?

It is not true that I declined an invitation to visit one of the People’s Republics. I never had such an invitation. My attitude towards countries of the world is one of neutrality. I realise that there are good and bad things from both the West and East and I am prepared to take from each what I regard as good for *Afrika*.

I would be glad to visit any country in the world if an opportunity presented itself. I would decline a visit to a country only if I felt that such a visit would not be in the best interest of our liberation movement in the Union of South Africa.

May I add that my attitude towards world trends or ideologies is fairly definite and set and no visit to any country is likely to change my view on the current ideological philosophies and practices.

What I regard as important, as I have already said, is to gain the sympathy of liberal and progressive people in all countries with no other purpose than to further the CAUSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM in *Afrika* in particular, and in the world in general.

When I say Freedom I mean true freedom and not the false freedom of the fraudulent apartheid policy of the Nationalist Government inflicted on the people of the Union of South Africa by the Nationalist Party.

The imputation that I have special followers in Natal who were thrown out of the National Executive Committee is not in accord with truth in that I have no special followers in Natal who, as it were, are my clique. I am personally very much averse to cliques in any organisation. If there are cliques or pressure-groups in Congress I am not associated with any. My followers are all Congressmen and women in the Union and many others not formally registered in Congress books but fully sharing Congress aspirations and accepting unquestioningly its leadership in the political sphere. My unanimous re-election last year to the position of President-General shows that I claim all Congressmen and women as my followers. I would be most untrue to this solemn trust if I thought and acted otherwise.

I am happy to feel that our Natal men who were not re-elected to the National Executive Committee do not, as Mr Ngubane apparently does, see in their non-re-election “a deliberate move to show the world who the real bosses are in Congress.” In passing let me suggest to Mr Ngubane that the boss in Congress is the democratic majority obtained in voting on any issue. Our Natal men who were not re-elected accept gracefully the results of a democratic election. They are not petty or sour about the results. Mr Ngubane’s statement is a veiled insult to them in that it suggests that they are so insular in their outlook that they would allow sectional and parochial considerations to outweigh national interests. I am happy to feel that responsible Congress men in Natal are above such pettiness and insularity.

Incorrect Allegations Affecting Other Leaders in Congress

Mr Ngubane makes incorrect statements affecting other leaders in Congress. About Professor Z. K. Matthews: It is not true that Professor Matthews was forced to refuse to stand for re-election as President of the Cape Branch of the African National Congress by the so-called Left Wing. The fact is that Professor Matthews asked to be excused this year from holding a responsible position in Congress for a reason Congress accepted as reasonable and justified. If we accept Mr Ngubane's version of why Professor Matthews was not re-elected to the Cape Presidency then Professor Matthews becomes guilty of misleading Congress by a false reason he proffered and Congress fares no better for this version makes it to appear so unintelligent as not to see through Professor Matthews' false excuses. What an injustice this baseless Ngubane version does to both Professor Matthews and to Congress! I would in all earnestness ask Mr Ngubane whether he realises how much damage, directly or by implication, his unfounded and unfair statements make to people's names and honour.

About Dr J. L. Z. Njongwe: In trying to justify his theory that Congress is controlled by Moscow Mr Ngubane says that Dr Njongwe "has been quietly shunted out of the limelight." I should point out that no doubt Dr Njongwe will ever remain Congress in spirit, but his active participation in Congress was terminated by the order of the Minister of Justice, Mr Swart, who ordered him to resign from the African National Congress. Why does Mr Ngubane not accuse Mr Swart of "quietly shunting out of the limelight Dr Njongwe?" Is it because Mr Ngubane is not aware of this fact? I wonder. He certainly cannot be trying to appease Mr Swart. This would be very much unlike the Ngubane we have known all along.

A Charge that Congress is Going to Moscow

An unfair and unfounded charge that Congress is communistic runs through almost all of Mr Ngubane's articles on the African National Congress. Mr Ngubane must be aware that this is a very serious charge to make against any person or organisation and when one takes into account the fact that communism has been outlawed in this country one would expect him to make more thorough investigations before rushing to print. I have in the past said that Congress has always had amongst its ranks people who are communistically oriented. I have never been refuted in this statement. It was so even before Dr Xuma's time and it is still so today. I would say that such people have taken such an active part in Congress that some of them have been in the National Executive for years long before I became an active leader in Congress. It is significant that the "African Claims," a document drawn by the African National Congress in 1944 during Dr Xuma's presidency, bears the signatures, among others, of at least two known members of the then Communist Party of South Africa. Could it be seriously suggested that "African Claims" was leading Congress to Moscow? I might remind

Dr Ngubane that his own Vice-President, when he was President of the African National Congress Youth League in Natal, was also at the same time Chairman of the Durban District of the Communist Party. Was Mr Ngubane's Youth League going to Moscow?

Let me examine some of the reasons Mr Ngubane advances to show that Congress has gone red. He gives as one of his reasons the cold-shouldering by the African National Congress conference of a letter written by Dr Xuma. Can it be suggested that a body like Congress in conference with a heavy agenda (which incidentally was not finished) should suspend its proceedings to attend to representations made in an indirect manner?

Another reason that Mr Ngubane advances is that some Congress officials have decided to shut their minds to anyone not favourable to the Congress of Democrats. Mr Ngubane forgets that officials are elected representatives of conference and for their action are answerable to delegates at conference and not to interested and inspired individuals who come to them to make representations at odd times and places. If Mr Ngubane, Dr Xuma and others are really concerned about Congress and her policies they have the channels open to them in the Xuma Constitution of Congress (which incidentally is still in force). They have to start at their local branch meetings and from there carry their representations to conference. This is the only democratic way of influencing conference. I do not see anything red there, Mr Ngubane; or are we seeing with different spectacles? After all Congress is an organised and responsible body with a set of programme and rules of procedure.

The Freedom Charter

Mr Ngubane reserves his bitterest attack on Congress for its participation in the Congress of the People and for its subsequent ratification of the Freedom Charter made at this assembly, the Congress of the People. Here, surely, is naked Communism for all to see: the nationalisation of certain branches of industry and commerce, the re-distribution of land amongst those who work it etc. Perhaps before we proceed to answer this charge an historical background of the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter would be called for. The African National Congress at its conference in Queenstown in 1953, on a motion of the Cape Provincial Conference, accepted a proposal of having a Union-wide assembly to draw up a Charter of Freedom. The African National Congress immediately sought the co-operation of its allies in the freedom movement who at that time were the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation as it was duty and honour-bound to do so before it could invite the co-operation of other bodies. Jointly with her allies the African National Congress proceeded to invite other groups. Finally the African National Congress conference had to bring the Freedom Charter before its conference for ratification or otherwise. Does Mr Ngubane blame the majority in conference for having expressed itself against the Ngubane or any other minority wish? I might, whilst on this, explain that it is not correct to say that the Natal

conference objected to the Freedom Charter. Natal clearly indicated that it accepted unreservedly the principles reflected in all the main clauses of the Freedom Charter. It merely thought it unwise to have padded the Charter with variable details in an all-time charter.

Mr Ngubane poses as an expert on the Communistic doctrines of Marx, Lenin and Engels and finds the Freedom Charter a Congress implementation of these doctrines. I do not claim to be such an expert, but I deny categorically Mr Ngubane's charges and I dare him to prove them. The most that could be said about the Freedom Charter is that it breathes in some of its clauses a socialistic and welfare state outlook, and certainly not a Moscow communistic outlook. Mr Ngubane is concerned that the Charter calls for the nationalisation of certain branches of commerce and industry - in actual fact the number of such industries and commercial undertakings so mentioned in very limited; the Charter in this regard reads: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people; the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people; all people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions." "The Land shall be shared among those who work it." Mr Ngubane would like the world to believe that this is a document preaching the Moscow communistic creed. In modern society, even amongst the so-called capitalistic countries, nationalisation of certain industries and commercial undertakings has become an accepted and established fact. Only the uninitiated and ignorant would suggest that the Union of South Africa is going to Moscow because its Railways, Broadcasting and Post Office services are nationalised. Some industries in South Africa have been nationalised - or partially so - and are owned completely or in the main by the Government. Such is the position in the industrial sphere of the Electricity Supply Commission, Iron and Steel Corporation, SASOL and some others. We have the South African Reserve Bank, the Meat Control Board, the Maize Control Board and Deciduous Fruit Control Board etc., which are Government-controlled agencies that are set up to ensure that the economic even balance is maintained in the supply of money, of meat, of maize, of fruit etc., and through which the Government maintains an effective measure of control over certain commercial and industrial undertakings. Would Mr Ngubane because of all these agencies of control call South Africa a socialistic state, to say nothing of calling it a communistic state? Would Mr Ngubane say of the British Welfare State and the Indian Socialist State that they are going to Moscow? The Nationalist Government in our country has passed an Act against monopolies. Would Mr Ngubane seriously suggest that because of this the Union of South Africa is on the road to Moscow?

The Freedom Charter calls for ownership of land in freehold and proposes that the land, regardless of colour, should be fairly distributed among those who use it. Is this not in conformity with the old established Congress policy of claiming a right for any individual to live and engage himself in any occupation of his choosing

anywhere in South Africa? Certainly those Africans who have to live on the land must be assured of sufficient land on which to make a living and this cannot be done with the Africans possessing at the most thirteen per cent of the land. Would Mr Ngubane rather support the Tomlinson Commission's report which confines the so-called African farmers to peasant farming promising each family not more than ten acres of land?

After attacking the African National Congress of going to Moscow, Mr Ngubane with his half-baked knowledge of Congress affairs, proceeds to suggest that the Congress of the People is being made a permanent organisation, the motive being to make Congress a subsidiary body of the so-called Congress of the People. We would remind Mr Ngubane that it was never intended that the Congress of the People should be a permanent organisation. It was merely a name given to an organisation that was to assemble for the purpose of drawing up a Freedom Charter and it ended upon fulfilling its function of drawing up such a Charter in Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 26, 1955. Now, from where does Mr Ngubane get this secret information that there is a move to make the Congress of the People a permanent organisation?

What we have is a Consultative Body. To consolidate our experiences gained during the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People campaign and to co-ordinate our future joint efforts in the freedom struggle we wisely established a Co-ordinating Committee in which the allied Congresses are equally represented. It must be noted, however, that this Committee is purely advisory. The Executive Committee of each Congress and the conference of each Congress are free to accept, reject or modify in any way the recommendations of this committee. I see nothing in this to warrant the suggestion that it is a trick to create an organisation in which the African National Congress will be a junior partner. Why should Mr Ngubane insinuate that the other allied organisations would league against Congress and not work with it in a friendly way? Shall we infer from this allegation of his that in the Liberal Party he is suspicious of his fellow-members who belong to other racial groups, other than his own: white, Coloured and Indian? If he is not, why should he insinuate that the relations among the allied Congresses are governed by suspicion of one another? The overriding interest of the African National Congress is in creating an atmosphere of trust in our multi-racial nation. The fears expressed by Mr Ngubane that the African National Congress would be in the minority and so committed to policies it does not like if it accepts the principle of co-ordinating committees falls off in the light of the position explained above. The African National Congress is not interested in making its African majority a tyranny to other groups. It appreciates that the essence of true democracy lies in the majority seeking through discussion rather than in the mere counting of heads to accommodate to the utmost the legitimate wishes of the minority. The African National Congress has no desire to make the African majority the "tyranny of numbers." It is only interested in establishing a bond of true friendship amongst all sections of the South African population on the basis of true democracy.

It is unworthy of Mr Ngubane to attempt to frighten the African National Congress and the African people generally from co-operating with other national organisations representing other racial groups by wrongly suggesting that Africans would be called upon to make sacrifices other sections of the South African community are not willing to make. I consider this approach to the freedom struggle as being narrow and nationalistic and unworthy of a liberal Mr Ngubane claims he is. Fighters for freedom in this country are continually being drawn from all sections of our population. The African National Congress is the spearhead of this movement and does not intend to shirk its responsibility in this regard, especially on the flimsy ground that Africans are being called upon to make more sacrifices than other sections of the population. Besides, the insinuation is not true, and is unfair to people in the other racial communities who have sacrificed for freedom in our land as proved by those who participated in the 1950 Protest Day and in the great Defiance Campaign of 1952. In these campaigns all racial groups in South Africa actively participated and made sacrifices deserving of praise and not scorn by anyone genuinely desiring the liberation of Africa. I have said it in the past, and I repeat it here, that to me *Afrika* is a land for all who are in it who give it undivided loyalty, whatever their racial origin might be. I believe in and work for the acceptance of the conception of all in *Afrika* being known as Africans and merely differentiating, if such a differentiation must be made, by referring to their racial origin.

A Liberal, Mr Ngubane, Accusing the ANC of not Being Nationalistic

I am aware that the 1949 Programme of Action of the African National Congress is based on African nationalism as a philosophy of struggle. The African National Congress has not abandoned this philosophy of building up national consciousness amongst its tribalistic people. In the present state of development of the African people it feels this is its major duty and a necessary contribution to the building up of a broader African outlook - the united democratic nation of South Africa and eventually the United States of Africa. The African National Congress is opposed to the narrow chauvinistic nationalism (which is nothing but racialism or tribalism) relentlessly pursued by the Nationalist Party in the Union and echoed by some misguided individuals in our own community.

It is being wrongly suggested in some quarters that the African National Congress has abandoned its 1949 Programme of Action by its acceptance of the Freedom Charter, and by co-operation in the political field with other groups sharing its hopes and convictions. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Freedom Charter merely lays down certain broad objectives which on the basis of equality and fairness we should strive to realise through the liberatory movement in our multi-racial nation, but the 1949 Programme of Action, a purely African National Congress document, was the first step the African National Congress took in plotting out a militant programme of action, as distinct from objectives. It is naïve to suggest that this was the final word in the laying down of the fighting programme of Congress. Since then important developments in the prosecution of

the struggle have taken place, and these would of necessity cause the African National Congress to revise its programme in the light of the needs and circumstances of the day. Since then we have had such developments in joint action as the Dadoo-Naicker-Xuma Agreement which established closer co-operation between the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress; June 26, 1950, Protest Day; June 26, 1952, Defiance Campaign; June 26, 1955, Congress of the People.

Elsewhere in his articles Mr Ngubane concedes that “one of the changes brought about by the Defiance Campaign was that it transformed what was the liberation struggle of the African people into the fight of all democrats against apartheid totalitarianism”; but he narrows down his outlook by seeking to get the African National Congress to confine its co-operation to the Liberal Party, whereas the African National Congress is interested in forming as broad a liberation front as possible which could include the Liberal Party even with its qualified programme. I charge that Mr Ngubane reveals himself as a mere propagandist for the Liberal Party, concerned with getting recruits for his party by falsely vilifying the African National Congress, especially its leadership.

Mr Ngubane is disturbed by the groundless fears that in working with its present allies Congress is losing its identity and independence. (Could he say this if Congress were in alliance with the Liberal Party which it would have sought were it not for the limiting aspects in the Liberal Party programme?) In doing so Mr Ngubane reveals himself as a racist and not a true liberal and alternatively as ignorant or unaware of the profound political changes that this country has undergone since 1948. These changes, I daresay, have far from making Congress a weak and dependent organisation, enhanced its prestige and strength amongst the African people, amongst the other racial groups in the country and in the eyes of the world at large.

I am not surprised that Mr Ngubane’s knowledge of the African National Congress affairs and its inner workings has become so rusty and imperfect because since he ceased to be President of the African National Congress Youth League, Natal, in 1950, he has never held a position of leadership in any of the organs of the African National Congress and Youth League. It is obvious, therefore, that Mr Ngubane relies on hearsay information about the African National Congress; some of it, no doubt, emanating from enemies of the African National Congress. I cannot, therefore, excuse Mr Ngubane for posing as an expert on African National Congress affairs and as one of its leaders when he ceased long ago to be a member of Congress.

Mr Ngubane in his fertile imagination sees a rift in Congress which I honestly have not discerned. I have said before that Congress being an omnibus liberatory movement rather than a party must inevitably have within its fold people with different political inclinations, but all subjecting their personal inclinations to the overriding needs of our day which are to fight and defeat apartheid in whatever

form it might be masquerading. It is conceivable that there would be different shades of opinion within Congress ranging from the Left Wing to the Right Wing, but those have not organised themselves into schools of thought acting as pressure groups within Congress. Mr Ngubane allows his imagination to manufacture active opposing groups each struggling for supremacy over the other and he even makes bold to give these wings leaders, hence the “Sisulu Wing,” “The Liberal Christian Centre Wing,” presumably led by me, and we have only to wait for a few more instalments by Mr Ngubane to have the Right Wing leader named.

I know my mind very well and require no one to interpret it for me. I note that Mr Ngubane assigns me to what he describes as the Christian Centre group. I detest being labelled, but even more seriously I resent the suggestion that if I were given a free hand I, and others he assigns to the Centre, would choose to work with the Liberal Party, thus implying that some forces, which he terms the Left Wing, are forcing us against our will into channels we do not desire. As a Congressman I cannot conscientiously work in unqualified alliance with the Liberal Party with its present qualified programme of action limited to fighting on constitutional lines and limiting franchise by an educational qualification.

To us in the African National Congress these are fundamental deficiencies in the Liberal Party programme. But, notwithstanding these limitations in the Liberal Party, the African National Congress, in its eagerness to make as broad a freedom front as possible, has established a friendly relationship with the Liberal Party by entering into a mutual understanding of co-operating on specific issues whenever the views of the two groups do not conflict.

Mr Ngubane is being extremely unfair and false when he suggests that it is the Liberals only who stand for “a clear-cut policy of equality and opposition to the Colour Bar.” Whatever we may dislike in the Congress of Democrats, we cannot honestly accuse them of being racialistic; indeed one wonders whether in actual practice they do not show freedom from prejudice much more than any other white group in the country and desire without limitation to extend to non-Europeans all the benefits of modern civilisation; in short, they accept in full the African National Congress objectives and programme of action.

In my opinion Mr Ngubane seems to suffer from an illness of divided loyalties, and he strives hard to appear a member and supporter of the African National Congress and the Liberal Party at one and the same time; this is an impossible position which will eventually earn him the dislike and contempt of both.

With what he regards as an air of sweet reasonableness Mr Ngubane concludes his diatribe against Congress and its leadership by what he calls a “constructive approach.” I confess I could not find in words or in spirit any constructiveness in the so-called “Constructive Approach,” as Mr Ngubane more than anything else elaborated the alleged sins of commission and omission of the African National

Congress and elevated to heights of glory the Liberal Party of South Africa which according to him should be called the “Greater South African Party.”

The African National Congress knows where it is going, and Mr Ngubane has deviated a long way from the path he once tread in 1950 and before as the Youth League leader. The African National Congress on the basis of its Programme of Action will strive to attain the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter with a full sense of responsibility to the African people and their aspirations. The African National Congress will carry on the programme of African liberation and freedom for all to the best of its ability, praying as it works: “HELP US GOD.”

MAYIBUYE! AFRICA!

P.O. Groutville
5th June, 1956

FREEDOM DAY CALL, JUNE 1956¹

In his national Freedom Day Call, ANC President-General Albert Luthuli calls on all lovers of freedom in our land to commemorate the past deeds for freedom and to rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom.

“Let us in all humility remember that we of this age and hour are not the first and only ones who have struggled for the liberation of the people of our land, and it behoves us to recall the men and women who, in defence of freedom, sacrificed most devotedly.

“We should recognise June 26 for what it truly is – a symbol of something real and continuous; a spirit, which having its roots in the past, is sustained in the present by an undying common hope of a glorious future.

“Wherever they may be, in their homes, at work, travelling along the highways, I call on all men and women and children of our land who love and value freedom to pause at the stroke of 9 p.m. on this day and enter into a ceremony of a united spiritual fellowship with thousands of freedom lovers throughout the length and breadth of our country.

“Wherever possible people should assemble in small or large groups to observe this fellowship. Using a lamp or lantern in a darkened room, but preferably a bonfire, all should kindle a flame as a symbol of a torch of freedom that the fighters for freedom, united in fellowship, are resolved to carry in the gloomy skies of South

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, June 21. 1956

Africa, darkened by the oppressive apartheid laws made by Parliament of whites only.

“We should at this ceremony of fellowship recount the noble deeds done in the cause of freedom and sing the songs of freedom. It is at this ceremony that we should rededicate ourselves by repeating: ‘Until freedom becomes a possession of all in our dear land of South Africa, I pledge myself to count no cost too great to gain this freedom.’

“At this moment we should tangibly show our rededication by offering to our Freedom Fund.

“I call on all Congress members, supporters and sympathisers to enter into all the activities planned for the week before June 26.

“*Afrika. Mayibuye. Freedom in our Lifetime!*”

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE ANNUAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE OF THE NATAL BRANCH OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, PIETERMARITZBURG, JULY 1956¹

(Press report)

“The struggle for freedom must go on no matter how hard the struggle might be! It must go on because Freedom is the noblest human attainment for which man throughout the ages has willingly paid the supreme sacrifice,” declared Chief Albert J. Luthuli, in his presidential address to the annual provincial conference of the Natal African National Congress, held last weekend.

Chief Luthuli, who was making his first public appearance since his banning two years ago, speaking with great emotion said: “To be back with you again is an occasion I would not miss for anything. It makes one feel so good. It gives me the inspiration one needs so much after a long period of enforced isolation.

Struggle Must Go On

“It is appropriate at this stage in thinking about our subject: ‘The Struggle Must Go On!’ to pay tribute to those men and women who have suffered or died for freedom in our country. If all those lovers of freedom are not to have died or suffered in vain it behoves those of us who still, in some way, can act, to play our part faithfully.

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, August 2 and 9, 1956

“Even if some desert the cause, ‘the faithful few’ must carry on the struggle.”

In reply to his own question, “Why are we in such earnest that the struggle must go on?” Chief Luthuli said:

“It must go on because freedom is the noblest human attainment for which man throughout the ages has willingly paid the supreme sacrifice.

“Man in his best moments yearns for it.

“The Atlantic Charter shows this!

“The United Nations Charter shows this!

“The Bandung Declarations show this!

“The Kliptown Freedom Charter – Our own Charter – shows this!

“It must go on because otherwise we would be so untrue – so disloyal to our dear Africa for too long despised and called a dark continent: A continent of wild beasts, of deadly diseases, of human savages – you.

“To this day some white citizens including some Ministers of the Crown still openly tell the world that Africans are primitive and savage: many despise you and call your grown-ups 'boys,' make your men do domestic work and make them wear real boys' kitchen suits.

“It seems the whole underlying purpose in all this is to emasculate the men and make them lose their dignity and personality.

“We must convince the world of our worth! Nothing could convince the world more than our willingness to die for freedom.”

Although South Africa was passing through dark days in the hands of the Nationalist Government with its strong leaning towards fascism, and despite the numerous oppressive laws passed during the last session of Parliament, Chief Luthuli said:

“When a people come to the realisation of their plight and begin to fight back unitedly there is surely room for jubilation and optimism.

“The fight equally is being fought on every front. The fight has been won by the S.A. Table Tennis Association, which has gained international recognition. It is raging furiously between the S.A. Soccer Federation, a

non-colour-bar body, and the S.A.F.A. which is for Whites only. We congratulate our sportsmen for upholding the dignity of the Non-White peoples of this country.

“Our optimism was heightened a few days ago by the announcement in the press that the Interdenominational African Ministers’ Association is calling an All-in Conference to discuss the apartheid policy of White South Africa.

“The African National Congress has always been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid and has refused to compromise with this evil thing. In keeping with our stand we assure the Interdenominational Ministers’ Association of our full support for this bold and timely move and sincerely congratulate our African Spiritual Fathers for this.”

Calling on Africans of all shades of opinion to LUTHULI the call of the Ministers, Chief Luthuli said:

“Attending this Conference will give the people a rare opportunity of thinking together, planning together and I hope of acting together.

“Our womenfolk, too, have given us cause to be optimistic of the future. Their magnificent and brave stand against the Government’s decision to extend the pass laws is to be highly commended.

“In wishing the women all success in their struggle I call on our women in Natal to rally in full force in defence of their most meagre freedoms: they must rally to the cause whatever some of our conservative men might say.”

Stating that the majority of the world’s population were in support of the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa for freedom and democracy, Chief Luthuli concluded by calling on the people to take courage and say: “The struggle must go on! The cause is worth striving for!”

He rejected any suggestion that he had any reservations whatsoever in regard to the Freedom Charter. He said:

“I charge you to go back to your locality and translate your pledge and resolve ‘That the Struggle Must Go On!’ into action by seeing to it that you mobilise your area to the cause of our Liberatory Movement. Attend to the local needs of your people.

“Preach faithfully and correctly the Congress message in your area, which means that you must see to it that the Congress programme and directives are implemented.

“I repeat: Translate Congress resolutions into action!

“Remember: We must, in our lifetime, be able to change our Freedom Charter to say:

- The people are governing!
- All national groups have equal rights!
- The people are sharing in the country’s wealth!
- The land is shared among those who work it!
- All are equal before the law!
- All are enjoying equal rights!
- There is work and security for all!
- The doors of learning and culture are open to all!
- There are houses!
- There is security!
- There is comfort for all!
- There is peace and friendship!

“And, we must be able to say: *AFRIKA ISIBUYILE!*”

MESSAGE SENT TO CANON COLLINS IN 1956

Good evening, Canon Collins. I have just been making a tape-recording of a message that I am sending to your Group.¹⁸ I was told by a mutual friend that you wanted me to send you a message. I have quite a little audience here around me in the house of a friend who has been doing the recording for us. I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of speaking to your Group, separated though we are by distance, yet one is happy that we are one in spirit. Receive greetings to our mutual friends.

I still look forward to coming to England accompanied by my wife: we look forward to being guests some day of Christian Action. Of course, there is always - this, that one or other of us must stay behind. But we do not want to waste our brains very much in thinking about that for the moment. We have not forgotten your inspiring visit to South Africa some time back. One wonders whether we shall be given the privilege of seeing you again here. But what a hope!

You may have heard from press reports about the meeting of the African leaders recently held in Bloemfontein under the auspices of the African Ministers`

¹⁸ Defence and Aid Fund for South Africa, London.

Federation.¹⁹ It was a most inspiring meeting, and really I was happy that it took place. Let me just say a bit about it.

The Conference met to consider the report of a Government commission which, under the chairmanship of Professor Tomlinson, was charged with the task of making a social economic study in order to commend a co-ordinated development plan in the areas²⁰. I suppose just as the British people need to make economic plans for the Protectorates²¹, so our Government feels the same way too. Of course, the difficulty with us is that it seemed that their plans are linked up with apartheid. However, let me go on.

This Conference of African leaders and people must be a landmark in their struggle for freedom in the Union of South Africa. There were many features which marked it out as a significant conference. Here are some of the features which I would like you to note.

Almost the first thing to note is that it was convened by African spiritual leaders. Ministers are not always very keen to associate themselves with political movements. (You and others are exceptions to the rule.) But there is no doubt that the African Ministers' Federation felt a deep concern at the rapid deterioration of affairs in our country, especially insofar as the Government's policy affected the Africans and stretched almost to breaking-point their relations in the country. It is most significant when I think that the Conference consisted of African people representing all shades of opinion in national affairs. And it gave a thunderous "NO" to the apartheid report of the Tomlinson Commission. It gladdened my heart to hear that thunderous "NO". One wished that it could have been transferred to Pretoria almost immediately: but, no doubt, they got it through the special branch²², and I suppose also through press reports. As I said earlier, it is unfortunate that their recommendations are so indissolubly linked up with the evil policy of apartheid. But the Conference quite rightly rejected the Tomlinson Commission.

Well, let me repeat, we are happy that people like you, and Father Huddlestone, and others, are working hard for the cause of freedom, not only in Africa, but throughout the world. May God bless your efforts!

MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL PEACE CONVENTION, JOHANNESBURG, OCTOBER 1956²³

¹⁹ The All-in African Conference was convened by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation in Bloemfontein from October 4 to 6, 1956, to consider the Tomlinson report.

²⁰ African reserves

²¹ Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, then protectorates of the United Kingdom - now the independent States of Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland

²² Secret police

²³ *New Age*, Cape Town, November 1, 1956

[Extract]

Peace is indissolubly interwoven with the question of freedom, for peace without freedom is a mockery... Freedom cannot flower to its best except in a climate of peace. For oppressed people such as we are, it would be futile and unrealistic to speak of peace outside the context of the struggle for freedom.

“A SPIRIT THAT REFUSES TO SUBMIT TO TYRANNY”: OPENING ADDRESS TO THE TWENTY-SECOND BIENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS, GANDHI HALL, JOHANNESBURG, OCTOBER 19, 1956

Once again another biennial Conference is upon you.

It is my good fortune to be privileged once more to open your biennial Conference. It was in 1954 when I had the honour to open your twenty-first Conference. I wish this biennial Conference opening today the blessings and guidance of the Almighty.

My message at this Conference will centre around summoning you and all who like you believe in Freedom For All to accept the challenge of apartheid and solemnly to resolve that somewhere and soon a halt must be called to this policy which is seriously threatening peace in South Africa, by undermining confidence in the Government of the country and straining race relations in the country, especially black and white relations.

No one is more conscious than I of the difficulties that have to be contended with in building up this determination and that such a determination cannot be built overnight or by wishful thinking but can only be built by stoic, patient persistence.

Important and urgent matters arising out of the tyrannical white rule in the Union of South Africa will come for consideration at this Conference. But the Conference will have failed if it does not directly or indirectly generate a spirit of resisting this tyranny, especially at this time when the Nationalist Party Government, through the Group Areas Act and other kindred Acts, is robbing non-whites of their properties and seriously threatening their livelihood.

I shall be happy, even if only in a small measure, if my contribution to this Conference can help to create such a spirit of resistance to this arrogant and studied tyranny.

Stand up in Defence of Human Values

I must begin by reminding you that the history of mankind shows that people in different lands throughout the ages have had to meet such challenges as face the people of the Union of South Africa at this time but history teaches us that rarely, except for some temporary setbacks, have movements of the people to resist oppression, no matter how ruthless the oppressor, failed. If we truly respect fundamental human rights and noble divine concepts of man, the dignity of man and the worth of an individual, the brotherhood of man, we must come all out in defence of these values as they are being seriously threatened by evil forces in our land. We should remember that Providence has ordained it that a people who refuse to meet such a challenge deservingly suffer moral degeneration and degradation.

The grim story of oppressive rule over non-whites of successive white Governments in the Union of South Africa, climaxed by the tyrannical rule of the Nationalist Party Government, which has plagued the Union of South Africa for eight hard years, has confronted non-whites of the Union with inescapable challenge: either they meet it fearlessly to their honour and the salvation of South Africa or evade it to their dying shame and the desecration of our beloved land, South Africa.

May I refer pointedly to the Indian community and ask you of this community why Providence brought your forebears to South Africa? Was it just to help the white man to exploit selfishly the wealth of this country? Was it just to help some of you to exploit the wealth too? Was it just that the majority as ordinary humble folk should make a living?

It might have been for all this - yes - but certainly it was for a worthier cause than these. It was to harness the Indian community in building in this land a tradition that respects virtuous conduct and noble human values since it is only upon such values that a young country like South Africa could build a civilisation worthy of a country that lays claim to Christianity and the best in the so-called Western civilisation.

When we are faced with a Government that is carrying out a policy that is a negation of all that is best and noble in a civilised country - justice, fairplay - it is time you in cooperation with other decent people in the land stood up unequivocally in defence - not of your property or property rights, but of your souls and human values that are being trodden underfoot by the Nationalist Party Government and those white people who unfortunately accept the leadership of the Nationalist Party when it comes to the treatment of non-whites. Unfortunately, at

present, such whites form an overwhelming majority of the white community in the Union of South Africa.

Fortunately for you, you are well equipped for this noble but most exacting task. You have as your guide, as your inspiration, as your fount of sustenance in such testing times, the noble tradition of resistance to tyranny of your leaders here in the land of your forebears. You have the undying example of devotion to, and sacrifice for, a noble cause of your illustrious leaders: your Mahatma Gandhis, your Nehrus, your Jinnahs and others here and in India.

You dare not fail them for failing them is failing the best in life - LIBERTY, for which they and others throughout the ages everywhere have sacrificed all to secure it and preserve it. We young fighters for freedom in this age stand between these heroes of freedom and posterity and our bounden duty is to defend and preserve this divine heritage - LIBERTY and all it stands for - and hand it unimpaired to generations yet to be.

Remember the inspiring words of an English poet I always like to refer to in such a connection. It runs something like this:

*Life is real, life is earnest
And the grave is not its goal.
...Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time,
Footprints which another forlorn
And shipwrecked brother,
Seeing shall take heart again.*

The challenge to you and all of us who love and value LIBERTY is to build a tradition that will be a STATUE OF LIBERTY in the Union of South Africa. We have to do this in the face of strong gales that make the task of building and maintaining this Statue of Freedom a most hazardous undertaking fraught with dangers that are capable of destroying us and the tradition of liberty we would be building. The cause is so worthwhile that any risks and dangers confronting its realisation sink into insignificance.

Shameful Denial of Rights

What an opportune time for the holding of your twenty-second biennial Conference! You are meeting at a time when the policy of apartheid is bringing untold suffering to thousands of non-whites, stark poverty, intense mental anguish, frustration and the like, especially as a result of the implementation of the Group Areas Act and kindred Acts such as the Resettlement of Natives Act, relevant amendments to the Urban Areas Act and the Natives Land and Trust Act. We are

really witnessing a mopping process in the action of depriving and denying non-whites democratic rights and privileges. This action was started on a Union-wide scale at the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and since then has been carried out by successive Union Governments but never so intensely and ruthlessly to such a climax as by the present Government of the Nationalist Party.

In opposing this unashamedly brutal rule we should labour hopefully in the assurance that right must ultimately triumph over wrong even though evil might appear to be on the throne now. By way of emphasis let me remind you of some of these shameful acts of denial and deprivation.

Franchise rights for non-whites were whittled away at Union in 1910.

In 1936 the Cape Africans who were the only Africans with franchise rights, save a negligible number in Natal, were put on a separate voters' roll and were given a disgracefully emasculated representation by whites only. This fate has now befallen the Coloured people.

Legalised Plunder of Non-whites

The Indians in Natal lost their municipal franchise long ago. On the matter of land rights and security of home, notwithstanding the British maxim - "One's home is one's castle" - land rights ceased to be respected long ago in so far as non-whites were concerned. The Native Land Act of 1913 and subsequent amendments to it, such as the Native Land and Trust Act, deprived Africans of the right to further purchase or lease land, save in special scheduled and released areas. In urban centres he suffered a similar fate in the Urban Areas Act of 1923 and subsequent amendments to it. The Group Areas and other kindred Acts are but a mopping up process for him.

For the Indians compulsory segregation can be regarded as having commenced in 1932 and became more and more stringent until 1946 when the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act was passed. This Act pegged the rights of Indians to occupy land in certain controlled areas. The land tenure provisions of this Act can be regarded as the forerunner that inspired the passing of the Group Areas Act in 1950.

The Group Areas Act, in all its tyrannical provisions and its nefarious objectives as voiced by some leaders of the Nationalist Party, including Cabinet Ministers, spells utter doom to the Indian community and the Coloured community as does the mopping up process among Africans, carried out under the Resettlement of Natives Act, recent amendments to the Urban Areas Act and the intensification of the elimination of so-called "Black spots" in rural areas under the provisions of the Native Land Act, 1913, as amended, and the Native Land and Trust Act, 1936, as amended.

I could go on and add more to the list of these dishonourable acts which in effect sanction legalised plunder of non-white property but the laws I have cited to prove my charge against white South Africa in this regard suffice. Why all this tyranny and that in the name of Christianity and Civilisation? In brief: It is to try and satisfy the insatiable greed and selfishness of white South Africa. We truly pity our fellow white South Africans who in lust for power and comfort have cast overboard moral considerations to their own harm and to the harm of the name of the Union of South Africa and endangering the building of a sound State resting on firm moral foundations.

Grim Challenge

What shall you, what shall we all, do in the face of this grim challenge? Shall we complacently and passively resign ourselves to our doom in the fashion of "*Tata baba, shiyamind sikukazi naloqude*" (if you rob me of my fowls please leave a hen and a cock) as alleged by Africans to be what Indians in fear say to thieves stealing their fowls.

Remember it is not just our property and our property rights that are being threatened nor only our means of earning a livelihood but our honour as created beings of God and our honour as people who profess to value the heritage of Freedom and all the noble conceptions that are its components. We should seek economic security but not worship material things to the extent of disregarding moral values. Rather our properties go! Rather our homes go! - than that we should shamefully compromise in an effort to save what little we may save, if at all, after the plundering of our all by the Nationalist Party Government through the Group Areas and similar Acts has been carried out. In compromising we shall inevitably be guilty of aiding and abetting apartheid and all the insults and suffering it stands for. Rather lose all than lose our souls and honour and so save ourselves the shame of earning the disdain of our contemporaries and the condemnation of posterity but worse suffer eternal damnation for indeed "what will it profit to gain the whole world but lose his own soul?"

This Divine poser should be pondered upon deeply by any of us who might be tempted by considerations of expediency and false personal gain or intimidation by fear to flirt with the wicked maid, apartheid.

I assure you again of the support not only of the African National Congress, but of the responsible people in our community typified by the 349 leaders and delegates who attended the recent All-in Conference of the African people in Bloemfontein who with unanimous voice said "NO" to the Tomlinson Commission report as an instrument of apartheid. May the South African Indian Congress continue in its laudable efforts of seeking to cooperate with all people of goodwill who love and believe in freedom for all and with all such people form a liberatory movement that will oppose and eventually defeat enemies of freedom in our land, South Africa, whoever they may be and wherever they may be.

You - we all - should refuse to be fenced in physically, mentally and spiritually; we should refuse to be a party to anything that dishonours South Africa; we should refuse to compromise or in any way submit to tyranny and domination at the expense of degrading our manhood.

To go back to the title of my address, the answer to the challenge should be to build among all those who believe in Freedom for All a spirit that refuses to tolerate a reign of tyranny in our land. In this task I feel sure that this twenty-second biennial Conference of the South African Indian Congress will emphatically reiterate its past stand of standing firm in opposition to apartheid and of helping to forge a united opposition against it since organised unity is the one sure effective force that will spell doom to this evil thing, apartheid.

I now have pleasure in solemnly declaring this twenty-second biennial Conference of the South African Indian Congress, meeting in Gandhi Hall, Johannesburg, on October 19, 20 and 21 duly opened.

Long Live Freedom!

Long Live Africa!

Mayibuye! Afrika!

—

**RECORDED MESSAGE TO MEETING IN LONDON IN
SUPPORT OF SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS ARRESTED ON
CHARGE OF TREASON, FEBRUARY 1957²⁴**

[Extract]

Chief Luthuli spoke of the "unprecedented human suffering being brought about by apartheid" and said:

"But yet we are not despondent. We are encouraged in our struggle for freedom by seeing our stand of opposing apartheid vindicated by the justice of our cause and the undoubted growth of the freedom front in our country."

**CALL FOR A DIALOGUE: LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER
J. G. STRIJDOM, MAY 28, 1957²⁵**

²⁴ *New Age*, Cape Town, February 14, 1957

The Honourable the Prime Minister,
Union of South Africa,
House of Assembly,
Cape Town

Honourable Sir,

At a time when in many respects our country is passing through some of the most difficult times in its history, I consider it my duty as leader of the African National Congress, a Union-wide premier political organisation among the African people in the Union of South Africa, to address this letter direct to you as Head of the Government, to apprise you personally of the very grave fears and concerns of my people, the Africans, at the situation now existing in the Union, especially anent matters affecting them. I shall venture to place before you respectfully what I consider to be some of the disturbing features of our situation and suggest steps that could be taken by the Government to meet the position.

I have addressed this letter to you, Sir, and not to any Department for two reasons:

Firstly, because the gravity of our situation requires your direct personal attention and, secondly, because what I shall say fundamentally affects the welfare of the Union of South Africa as a whole, since both basically and in practice, the so-called "Native Affairs" are not only inextricably interwoven with the true interests of other racial groups, but are a key to a proper understanding and appraisal of South African affairs and problems for, indeed, "all South African politics are native affairs". One of the tragic aspects of the political situation in our country today is the increasing deterioration in race relations, especially in Black-White relations. There can be no two viewpoints on this question. Never has there been such an extremely delicate relationship as now exists between the Government of whites only, of which you are head, and the vast masses of non-European people in general, and the African people in particular. This unfortunate state of affairs has resulted from a number of factors, the basic one being the policy of segregation, especially its more aggressive form, white *baaskap* and apartheid.

It is in the economic sphere that this disastrous policy of discrimination has affected Africans hardest and most cruelly. It has brought on them an economic

²⁵ Chief Luthuli addressed this letter to the Prime Minister, Mr J. G. Strijdom, on behalf of the African National Congress, on May 28, 1957, suggesting a multi-racial convention to seek a solution to the country's pressing problems. Apart from a formal acknowledgement on June 7, 1957, from the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, the letter received no response from the Government.

plight that has shown itself in the dire poverty of the people both in the urban and in the rural areas. This fact has long been attested to from time to time by economic experts and by findings of government commissions. Recently, as a result of the Rand and Pretoria bus boycott, the extreme poverty of Africans in urban areas has been acknowledged by even commerce and industry. It is not necessary for one to describe the generally admitted horrifying state of degradation this poverty has brought upon the African people or to refer in any detail to the tragic social consequences such as disease, malnutrition, bad housing, broken families and delinquency among children and youth.

The denial to the African people of the democratic channels of expression and participation in the government of the country has accentuated the stresses and strains to which they are subject. My people have come to view with alarm every new session of Parliament because it has meant the passing of more oppressive discriminatory legislation there.

As a result of this annual influx of new legislation, there are already in the statute books of the Union of South Africa, a large number of laws which cause my people tremendous hardship and suffering. The African people view these laws as further weapons of attack on their very existence as a people. For the sake of brevity, I shall refer to only a few of such laws in support of my charge. Here are the categories of some of such laws:

1. The land laws which to all intents and purposes deny the African people the right to own land in both the rural and the urban areas. In rural areas Africans are tenants in State rural reserves or in privately-owned land. In urban areas they are tenants in municipal lands. The land allocated to Africans in rural areas is most inadequate. It will only be 15 per cent of the entire land surface of the Union when all the land promised them in the Natives Land and Trust Act of 1936 shall have been acquired. On account of this inadequacy of land, the African people live under extremely congested conditions in rural areas and in the urban areas find it difficult to make a living above subsistence level from the land. These land laws are in many respects reminiscent of the worst features of the laws of medieval days.

2. The pass laws, which not only deny the African people freedom of movement but are enforced in ways that cause people much unnecessary suffering and humiliation. They are definitely an affront to human personality and it is not surprising that their extension to our womenfolk has resulted in Union-wide protests and in the expression of deep indignation by the entire African population. These protests and demonstrations are indicative of a state of unrest and intense tension among the African people. Section 10 of the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, as substituted by Section 27 of Act 54 of 1952, places serious and far-reaching restrictions on the right of my people to enter into and remain within an

urban area in order to compel them to seek employment on European farms where working conditions are extremely shocking. Acting under this provision, local authorities and members of the police force have forcibly removed from their homes and families thousands upon thousands of my people in the interest of the European farming industry.

3. The master and servant acts, which are designed effectively to limit to unskilled categories the participation of the African people in industry and commerce. This relegates the bulk of African workers to low uneconomic wages. My people note with grave concern the efforts of your Government to destroy the African trade union movement. The current session of Parliament affords the country no respite from apartheid legislation. It has before it a large number of measures of far-reaching consequences for the country in general, and the African people in particular. There is the Native Amendment Bill, which is seen by the African people as another measure attacking the civil and religious liberties of the people and aimed at preventing contact on a basis of human dignity and equality between the African people and the rest of our multiracial population.

The African people are similarly disturbed by other measures now before Parliament, such as the bill of Apartheid in University Education, the Apartheid Nursing Bill, the measure to increase indirect taxation of the African people despite their poverty, and a bill intended to prevent the operation of alternative bus services where the boycott weapon has been effectively used by a people who have no other means of seeking redress against an economic injustice. We are greatly concerned at the policy of apartheid and the administrative action flowing from it because we honestly believe that these are against the true interest of democracy and freedom. I would like to point out here that the enforcement of the discriminatory apartheid laws brings the African people into unnecessary contact with the police. Unfortunately, the impatient and domineering manner in which the police often do their work among Africans results in unfortunate clashes between the people and the police. The net result is that Africans tend to lose respect for the law and come to look upon the Union of South Africa as a police state.

... What does my Congress stand for?

My Congress is deeply wedded to the ideals of democracy and has at all times emphasised its firm and unshakeable belief in the need for the creation of a society in South Africa based on the upholding of democratic values, values which are today cherished the world over by all civilised peoples.

We believe in a society in which the white and the non-white peoples of the Union will work and live in harmony for the common good of our fatherland and share equally in the good things of life which our country offers in abundance. We believe in the brotherhood of man in the holding of human respect and dignity. Never has my Congress preached hatred against any racial group in the Union. On

the contrary, it has stretched out its hand of friendship to all South Africans of all races, emphasising that there is sufficient room for all in this beautiful country of ours in which we can and must live in peace and friendship. Unfortunately, there are people, among them Ministers of the Crown - Mr Louw, Mr Schoeman, Dr Verwoerd, to mention some - who, according to press reports, believe that the aims and objects of the African National Congress are to drive the white man out of Southern Africa and to set up a "Native State". These people charge that the African National Congress is highly subversive and fosters a communistic-tainted African nationalism or a rabid tyrannical and narrow African nationalism and intends, in either case, to deprive the white minority in South Africa of the share in the Government of the country.

This is not - and never has been - the policy of my Congress. On the contrary, Congress believes in a common society and holds that citizens of a country, regardless of their race or colour, have the right to full participation in the government and in the control of their future. Anyone who has taken the slightest trouble to study the policy of my Congress and followed its activities should know how baseless and unfounded these fears about Congress are. Why do we believe in a common society?

Firstly, we believe in a common society because we honestly hold that anything to the contrary unduly works against normal human behaviour, for the gregarious nature of man enables him to flourish to his best association with others who cherish lofty ideals. "Not for good or for worse", but for spiritual values inherent in the fundamental concepts of what, for lack of better terminology, is called "Western Civilisation". Apartheid, so far, has revealed itself as an attempt by white South Africa to shunt the African off the tried, civilised road by getting him to glorify unduly his tribal past.

Secondly, we believe that the close spiritual and moral contact facilitated by a common society structure in one nation makes it easier to develop friendship and mutual respect and understanding among various groups in a nation; this is especially valuable in a multi-racial nation like ours and these qualities - friendship, mutual respect and understanding, and a common loyalty - are a *sine qua non* to the building of a truly united nation from a heterogeneous society. In our view, it will not be easy to develop a common loyalty to South Africa when its people by law are kept strictly apart spiritually and socially. Such a state of affairs is likely to give rise to unjustified fears and suspicions which often lead to deadly hatreds among the people and, more often than not, end in disastrous antagonisms within the nation.

Lastly, we hold the view that the concept of a common society conforms more than does apartheid to early traditional closer Black-White contact. This, undoubtedly, accounts for the relatively rapid way in which Africans, from the days of these early contacts, to their advantage and that of South Africa as a whole, took

to and absorbed fairly rapidly Christian teachings and the education that accompanied it.

Strongly holding as we do the views I have just stated, you will appreciate, Sir, with what heartfelt concern, alarm and disappointment we learnt recently from press reports that the Government intends banning the African National Congress and arresting 2,000 more of its members. I humbly submit that such an action would serve to increase the dangerous gulf that exists between the Government and the African people and, in particular, those African leaders who have knowledge of social and economic forces at work in the modern South Africa of today and the world in general. No loyal South African, white or non-white, should view with equanimity such a situation. It is this loyalty and deep concern for the welfare of the Union that makes me say most emphatically that your Government has no justification whatsoever in banning the African National Congress and making further arrests of its members. I would support my plea by emphasising with all the strength at my command that such actions would be against the true interests of South Africa.

I make no undue claim when I say that my Congress represents the true and fundamental aspirations and views of practically all the African people in the Union and these aspirations and views are not alien to the best interests of our common country. Rather, it will be found that they conform to the United Nations Charter and the international Declaration of Human Rights.

If it should appear that my Congress pleads strongly and uncompromisingly for the advancement of the African people only, it would not be because it is actuated by a partisan spirit, but rather because the African people are at the lowest rung of the ladder. I am sure that with the same zeal, vigour and devotion it would espouse - and in fact does espouse - the uplift of other under-privileged peoples regardless of their colour or race.

My people crave for an opportunity to work for a great United South Africa in which they can develop their personalities and capabilities to the fullest with the rest of the country's population in the interest of the country as a whole. No country can prosper when antagonisms divide its people and when, as we Africans see it, Government policy is directly opposed to the legitimate wishes and interests of a great majority of the population.

I might here point out that the African National Congress has always sought to achieve its objectives by using non-violent methods. In its most militant activities it has never used nor attempted to use physical force. It has used non-violent means and ways recognised as legitimate in the civilised world, especially in the case of a people, such as we are, who find themselves denied all effective constitutional means of voicing themselves in the sovereign forum of the country.

I would, for emphasis, reiterate that it is our ardent desire in Congress to see human conduct and relations motivated by an overriding passion for peace and friendship in South Africa and in the world in general and so we would as strongly be opposed to Black domination, or any other kind of domination from whatever source, as we are uncompromisingly opposed to white domination. We regard domination, exploitation and racialism as arch enemies of mankind.

What should be the Government's reply to the views and aspirations of my organisation which I have tried faithfully to present?

In my opinion, the only real answer the Government could give to the stand of my Congress and its inevitable agitation is for it to make an earnest effort to meet the progressive aspirations of the African people and not to attempt to silence Congress and its leadership by bannings and arrests, for it is the African National Congress and its leadership that is the authentic and responsible voice of the people.

Rather than outlaw the African National Congress or persecute its members and supporters, the Government, in a statesmanlike manner, should reconsider its "Native Policy" with a view to bringing it in conformity with democratic and moral values inherent in any way of life meriting to be described as civilised.

It is the considered view of my Congress that the lack of effective contact and responsible consultation between the Government and the non-European people is at the root of the growing deterioration in race relations and in the relation between the African people and the Government. Unless healthy contact and purposeful consultation takes place at the highest level between the Government and the accredited leaders of the people, misunderstanding and strained relations must grow.

Persistently to ignore the legitimate wishes and interests of the African people and permanently to close the door to consultation with representative organisations enjoying the loyalty of the people, is not the path of statesmanship and can only lead to even more dangerous tensions and chaos in the country.

The Government should earnestly address itself to seeking ways and means of establishing some permanent democratic machinery to enable all citizens to participate intelligently and effectively in the government of the country as is done in all truly democratic states. The existing forms of consultation, such as do exist, are, in my opinion, not only inadequate, but undemocratic: the quarterly meetings of African chiefs, the Bantu Authorities (where these exist) and the Advisory Boards in urban areas, even the so-called Native Representatives in the Senate and in the House of Assembly can be no substitute for truly democratic representation and consultation.

My Congress is convinced that it is today urgently necessary for the Government to devise new ways to meet the challenging problems before South Africa. It is eminently in the interest of the country as a whole that this present impasse be broken and the danger of future tensions recognised and averted before it is too late. It should not be beyond the capacity of statesmen in South Africa - and I would like to believe that South Africa is not bankrupt of statesmanship - to take in faith steps which could inaugurate a new era in inter-racial cooperation and harmony in our country.

As I have stressed directly and indirectly throughout this letter, no time should be lost in making contact with the leadership of organisations and bodies, among them the African National Congress, representative of organised African opinion, with a view not only to discuss the problems and issues such as I have drawn attention to in this letter, but to consider the advisability and possibility of calling a multi-racial convention to seek a solution to our pressing national problems.

In the name of the African National Congress, I am happy to make this approach to you in the hope that our country's future and happiness will triumph over established conventions, procedures and party considerations.

I need hardly mention that in the event of your Government not acceding to this request, my organisation must continue to fight for the rights of my people.

I am,
Honourable Sir,
Yours respectfully,

A. J. LUTHULI,
President-General, African National Congress

RECOMMENDATIONS OF COMMISSION ON UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS: INTERVIEW, SEPTEMBER 1957¹

The recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry in regard to Undesirable Publications create another grave threat to the liberties of the people and constitute an unwarranted attack on the liberty of expression, said Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, in an interview with *New Age*.

“The Commission seems to have laid great stress on the necessity of safeguarding moral standards by suggesting fatuous legislation when it is a universally accepted

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, October 3, 1957

fact that moral standards can be protected only by a decent standard of life – economically, socially and culturally – and by a sound educational system which ensures compulsory higher education for all people,” he said.

No responsible person, he added, questioned the right of the state to take reasonable steps to control the abuse of freedom of expression in its various forms, but the recommendations of the Commission contained proposals that went far beyond the limits of reasonableness and justice.

“The proposed measures of control and punishment of offenders are dangerously drastic and far-reaching. They provide state control of literature which is likely to suppress literary talent and isolate the country from the progressive and stimulating influence of world art and literature.”

Chief Luthuli said that the position was made worse by the recommendation to give authority and control to semi-judicial officials, a measure which would accentuate the strong undemocratic tendency in Union legislation.

“The recommendation that the proposed Board receive the right to judge publications relating to political and race relations matters, if put into effect, will inevitably lead to further oppression of political organisations opposed to the Nationalists.

“I urge the Government to reject the recommendations and to allow instead the spirit of the immortal words of Milton to guide future legislation: ‘Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.’

“On behalf of the African National Congress I call upon the people to vigorously condemn and oppose the Commission’s recommendations.”

A. N. C. ELECTION POLICY: INTERVIEW TO *NEW AGE*, NOVEMBER 1957¹

QUESTION: *There is a “tradition” that because only the Whites have the vote, the general election is not of great concern or interest to the Non-European people. Is this a correct approach?*

LUTHULI: It is a most unrealistic, even suicidal outlook. A general election decides the nature of the Government and must, for better or worse, influence the course of a liberatory movement.

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, November 7, 1957

The nine years of Nationalist rule have seen the enactment of the most tyrannical slave laws ever to besmirch the statute books of our country.

Who can say, in the face of this record, that the 1948 elections were of no concern to us?

The 1948 elections which put this neo-fascist Government in the saddle will always be remembered with great indignation by all freedom loving people in our land.

The Nationalist Government's career has been one of fraud and deception to voters and to non-voters alike. Its promises to the electors, such as that to keep down the cost of living, have proved false. Its pretences to "positive" and "beneficial" aspects of apartheid have proved deceptive. All that is left is a naked policy of oppression and complete enslavement of the Non-White peoples.

There is a limit to what any people will tolerate. A further period of Nationalist rule after the elections will almost certainly strain already dangerously tense conflicts past breaking point, and bring about a national disaster.

In the light of these facts who can say that the general election is of no interest to Non-white people?

Whatever other problems may still face us, the immediate problem of all South African democrats is – to get rid of the Nationalists.

QUESTION: Arising out of this, does Congress support the attitude that it does not matter which party – the Nationalists or United Party – wins the election?

LUTHULI: It should be clear from what I have already said that it *does* matter which government is in power. A ruthless government imposes a great strain on the freedom forces. By continuously provoking violent reactions from the people, it makes it more difficult for Congress to keep our people along our chosen path of non-violence.

Nationalist repression has not intimidated or weakened our movement; Congress is stronger and more determined today than it has ever been. Even under a further period of trials and tribulations of Nationalist rule the forces of freedom will continue and emerge victorious, but the struggle will be harder and more bitter.

That bitterness will leave scars which will make more difficult the task of building a multi-racial society of equals, based on fraternity and mutual confidence, that will face us on the morrow of liberation.

On the face of it there seems little difference between the Nationalist policy and that of the United Party. Racial domination, whether it is caused by *baasskap* or

White leadership is fundamentally unacceptable to Congress. It might be said that the Nationalists murder you most ruthlessly, while the United Party tries to poison you slowly:

But the important differences must not escape us. It would make some difference to us to have a government that would show some sensitiveness to democratic opinion at home and throughout the world. Freedom lovers will oppose the reactionary aspects of United Party rule with the same determination and courage that they are now showing against the Nationalists. But a United Party Government coming into office in the growing crisis created by Nationalist ruthlessness and rigidity, in a general atmosphere of relief and rejoicing at the end of the Nationalist terror, would not be likely to be able to pursue the unpopular policy of repression and police rule practised by its undemocratic predecessors.

The United Party as it is at present is not a force which will bring freedom to the Non-White peoples. But, willy-nilly, its rule will give the country a respite from the unrelieved terror of a decade of Nationalist rule; it might bring about a relatively peaceful period in the country; it could create favourable conditions for the rapid development and maturing of the struggle for freedom; it could provide the European and the Non-European population groups of our country with opportunities to come together and find honourable and peaceful ways of transforming our country from an oligarchy to a democracy based upon liberty, equality and fraternity.

On the other hand a further stretch under the Nationalists might well make inevitable the further growth of hatred and intolerance and lead to chaotic and perhaps bloody upheavals desired by no sane South African, least of all by us of the Congress movement.

Our desire for a United Party victory is, therefore, based not on any confidence in that party's policy or on any illusions about its intentions, but upon our understanding that nothing could be more disastrous for all sections of the population than further years of Nationalist purgatory.

QUESTION: Do you think that the United Party is missing an opportunity of forging a united Opposition by refusing to conclude an election pact with the Labour Party?

LUTHULI: The main service the U.P. can do for South Africa at present is to get rid of the Nationalists. And to do so they should ally themselves with all available forces. By all forces I mean the Labour Party, the Liberal Party, the Congress of Democrats and all other groups with the vote. I include the Non-White also among these forces because, properly harnessed, the Non-White people can and will be a decisive force in the final defeat of Nationalist rule in South Africa. I hope that in the process of this co-operation the United Party and other groups which are not

pro-Congress, will become less segregationist in their outlook and work for the establishment of a truly democratic South Africa.

QUESTION: What are your views on the policy platform on which the United Party is preparing to face the election?

LUTHULI: The United Party's "new look" policy regarding political and other rights for the Non-White people is most disappointing. We are not to be bluffed or fobbed off by any version of the archaic 1936 Smuts-Hertzog "Native" legislation, or attempts to present dud forms of "representation" in Parliament as a substitute for democracy. We shall not be side-tracked by schemes for creating a privileged African middle class whose intention is to leave the masses leaderless. The promise of freehold rights for urban Africans must remain hollow and unsubstantial without the repeal of the 1936 Native Land act, the Urban Areas and Group Areas Acts and all the amendments and consequent additions to these laws.

There is nothing new about the United Party's election policy. It is designed to appease both the most backward sections of the White electorate and the national aspirations of the Non-White people. It fails miserably to do either.

QUESTION: *What is the real issue in this election?*

LUTHULI: The immediate defeat of the Nazi-Nationalists, and the assertion of the rights of all South Africans to freedom and democracy.

This central real issue of the elections, with its implied total rejection of the ruinous policy of apartheid, will not be placed before the electorate by either of the chief parties to the election.

It can nevertheless be brought home to the full by the freedom-loving forces of the country if they do not accept a merely passive "spectator" role in the elections, but immediately form an active and vigorous United Front, and campaign militantly for their claims:

- . for increase wages for all workers and the reduction of the cost of living;
- . for the right to freedom of speech and organisation, and the ending of political censorship and the persecution of Congressmen and other democrats;
- . for the abolition of the pass system and forced removals of settled communities;
- . for the right of all South Africans to a voice in the government of the state, the local councils and the determination of wages and working conditions.

In a word, our claims to democracy and freedom and a South Africa founded upon justice and racial harmony.

QUESTION: What forms must congress campaigns and activity take during the next vital pre-election months?

LUTHULI: We should, therefore, reject the idea that the Congresses should “lie low” during the election period. We should rather regard the period as one of intensive activity, of campaigning by the written and the spoken word, of united mass action to educate the people both Black and white.

We should intensify our extra-Parliamentary forms of struggle such as the campaign against the extension of the pass laws to women, and the passes generally; the campaign for a national minimum wage of £1 a day and all-round increase in wages for all workers; the campaign against the Group Areas Act and forced removals and so on.

Election day could very well be a day of mass prayer and dedication to the freedom cause. This could be arranged to suit local conditions. I am a great believer in this type of activity. To me this is the biggest significance of June 26.

Our best contribution to the enlightenment of the people, both enfranchised and disfranchised sections, is to make it clear beyond doubt that the overwhelming majority of the South African people reject and despise the Nationalists and their hateful policies and actions and that to place them again in office would be an irresponsible and reckless action whose harmful consequences cannot be measured.

Our slogans during this period would be

AWAY WITH THE NATS!

FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!

MESSAGE ON THE EVE OF MULTI-RACIAL ONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 1957¹

Much has been said and written about the forthcoming multi-racial conference to be held in Johannesburg on December 3-5, 1957. Very little, if anything at all of what is new, can be said about it now. But the need to stress and underline its significance and rally the people to its support remains paramount and urgent. It is to achieve this “underlining” that I have written this “EVE-OF-THE-CONFERENCE MESSAGE.”

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, November 28, 1957

The main concern of this conference will be to seek means and ways of improving and establishing better race relations in our country. The progress of any country depends on the full utilisation of its resources, especially its human resources. It is generally agreed by all honest people that on this human factor the Union of South Africa has a regrettable record. We have failed to live up to our Motto: *EX UNITATE VIRES*.

The result could not be otherwise than strained and estranged human relations. No team-work can be built on master and servant relations as obtains in our country between white and black, with whites claiming to be masters for ever.

It is generally agreed that under the South African policy of segregation, especially its more virulent form, the apartheid policy of the Nationalist Party, race relations have deteriorated to dangerous levels, not only as between white and black, but also within the white group itself: English-Afrikaner relations leave much to be desired. There is a complete breakdown in contact between the Government and the non-whites and hardly any friendly contact between whites and blacks on a personal level.

The same disunity is being deliberately promoted among African tribes and already as a result we are witnessing shocking and most dangerous inter-tribal factions, especially in urban centres. All this sets the country on the road to disaster and not to peace and prosperity.

It is no wonder that the majority of the population, the non-white, being denied all chances of unlimited advance according to individual capabilities and inclinations, are developing a growing spirit of frustration and resentment at exclusively white rule of the Union of South Africa. All honest and loyal citizens of the Union should spare no effort to arrest the deterioration and positively work for the realisation of a true democratic South Africa, and not a South Africa of "Whites only."

There is time to avert disaster that must result from such strained relations. Herein lies the importance of this coming multi-racial conference. It can do much to accelerate the movement towards a truly united Union of South Africa. I welcome it as another noble joint effort by freedom lovers in our country to achieve this end.

We must not be unmindful of the difficulties and limitations that face such a somewhat omnibus conference. But we have good reason to hope that at least there will be a large number of men and women of goodwill who will give a positive progressive tone to the meeting to make it achieve something that will bring us nearer to our goal. In our situation, whilst stating and fighting for our objectives relentlessly, we should remember that the first important thing is "not where you are but where you are headed to." I hope this conference will get us headed to a truly democratic South Africa.

I agree with one of my colleagues who, writing under the caption “Towards Unity,” said: “There is no need to regret this diversity of movement and campaigns or regret this multiplicity of efforts for we are each travelling in the same direction – against apartheid tyranny – and our paths are bound to converge.”

It is therefore not too much to hope that this conference shall succeed to canvass for greater support among women and men of goodwill, especially among the whites, for people who will accept and pledge themselves to work for a multi-racial South Africa founded on equality, liberty and fraternity: a goal worthy of any nation claiming to be civilised.

This conference must succeed because it has happy and noble antecedents. It is the child of the united voice of African leaders who, at a widely-representative all-African conference held in Bloemfontein in October 1956, under the auspices of the African Interdenominational Ministers’ Federation, declared unanimously against apartheid and called for a broader consultation among South Africans at some multi-racial conference: so this conference.

This Bioemfontein spirit should assure the conference of the full support of responsible African leaders and the mass of the African people who accept their leadership. It must succeed because it comes at a time when the spirit of unity to fight oppression unitedly is growing more than ever before among all sections of our nation. This is evidenced by the unparalleled unity amongst the progressive groups such as the Congresses, the Liberal Party of South Africa and a large number of politically-unattached people.

I urge upon my people, in a spirit of give and take to give full support to this forthcoming historic conference. They must do all that is humanly possible to make it breathe a spirit of reality, unity and co-operation.

RIGHT MUST TRIUMPH OVER WRONG SO THIS CONFERENCE MUST TRIUMPH OVER APARTHEID.

“WE HAVE THE KEY TO FREEDOM – NOT THE OPPRESSOR”: PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE 45TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, ORLANDO, JOHANNESBURG, DECEMBER 16, 1957

The powers that be have again made my personal presence at this, our 45th annual conference, impossible. My mouth is zipped but, Thank

God, I can still speak to you in *absentia*, by the written word through the medium of a proxy whom I thank in anticipation.

The Speaker, no doubt, will extend a word of welcome to the delegates and others attending the Conference. With warmth and cordiality I wish to associate myself with his welcome of you and wish the Conference the blessing and guidance of the Almighty in all your deliberations.

What of this Conference?

Having expressed my sentiments of welcome, it is fitting to pose the question: What of this Conference? What are your visions and hopes about it and Congress generally? Yes, your doubts and fears, as you ponder on the many duties and problems – internal and external – that face our Liberatory movement. A constant reflection on such questions during this conference and after should create in you a positive forward look and co-operativeness that should drive every one of you to do his best for the Freedom cause. It should help you to see the special task and significance of this Conference and so help you all co-operatively to diagnose and prescribe correctly for the ills and weaknesses that beset us in our struggle for freedom.

In this matter of significance of this Conference it is not out of place to note without comment at this stage that it comes in a pre-election year: an election that, for good or for worse, must affect our struggle for liberation; an election that is a painful reminder to us of the ten-year dictatorial rule of the Nationalist Party that has plagued our country since 1948 with apartheid, a most deadly policy. Is it too much to hope that this election will see the final end of this infernal Nationalist Party rule? Would to heavens it would be so!

In the execution of its task Conference must seek to re-assure the world in general and white South Africa in particular that our struggle is a non-violent one and our goal is a democratic civilised pattern of life and a belief in justice, fairplay, human dignity and in the equality and brotherhood of man. With this assurance reiterated we can ask white South Africa – which I here do, what else we could reasonably be expected to do to prove our *bona fides* that we are no enemies of theirs or anyone else's, but only of domination, racialism and exploitation and that in our struggle we are in quest for a South Africa where everyone in the land, according to individual ability and inclination, shall have the right and the opportunity to serve his country and enjoy its fruits.

1957 Tells the Same Grim Story of the Persecution of the Oppressed People, the Non-whites

If the year 1957 has presented us under trying conditions with opportunities for service in the prosecution of our struggle for freedom, it has given us also more than we can bear, tribulation and nagging anxiety about our future.

The Nationalist Government, alarmed and greatly shaken by the rising tide of freedom consciousness among the oppressed majority, the non-whites, has continued, with greater vehemence, trickiness and fury, to pass numerous restrictive and oppressive laws and administrative enactments as never before. These laws and administrative enactments have rained untold cruelty and suffering on the people. All this has revealed the evil intent of the nationalist party in particular and white South Africa in general, towards non-whites and freedom lovers in general. It has shown up the Nationalist Party as power-drunk autocrats.

The extent of the cruelty they have perpetrated on defenceless, voteless non-whites is too vast to describe in a brief address such as this. Suffice is to say:

- * Furious threats by nationalist party leaders including ministers of the crown against people and organisations opposing apartheid have been made;
- * Mass pass raids and mass arrests;
- * Ruthless enforcement of the law by the police;
- * Bannings and deportations of political leaders;
- * Deposition and banishment of African chiefs suspected of not supporting government apartheid schemes;
- * Displacement of people from their long established homes and places of business;
- * Starvation wages, and general insecurity and poverty arising out of many apartheid laws such as the industrial laws of the country and the land laws.

All this and more, has made the life of non-whites, especially the African, to be a nightmare and an inferno.

For the non-whites the Union has become a police state where he is made "prisoner in his own castle," a state where he is denied the universal human rights accepted by all nations that qualify to be called civilised.

I appeal to Congress members and officials at all levels - national, provincial and branch - to give full support to all anti apartheid campaigns Congress is prosecuting jointly with her allies and sometimes including the Liberal Party of South Africa. Efforts should be made always to explain the “why-for” of the opposition. As an example: Bantu Education must be shown up as slave education: an education for ignorance intended to isolate and brainwash the African child in order to more easily indoctrinate him with theories of white supremacy and black inherent inferiority. Pass laws and their ruthless enforcement must be seen as a means of controlling African labour and canalising it to mines and European farms where abundant African labour is shamefully exploited. In some cases national headquarters and provincial headquarters provide study literature that could be made use of in this connection.

Other Victims of Nationalist Party Rule

The non-whites, no doubt, are the main victims of nationalist dictatorial rule. For them there has never been any attempt to rule them by consent. To some degree their lot is suffered by the whites who champion the freedom cause. But the tentacles of nationalist party dictatorship are reaching and threatening the limited autonomy of local authorities when it comes to the implementation of apartheid laws; the freedom of industrialists to site industries and negotiate with their African employees is being interfered with; the movement of whites in the so-called Bantu areas in urban and rural centres is being strictly regulated.

The freedom of association in churches and multi-racial gatherings is threatened by the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957.

All this is a warning to white South Africa that their own freedom is in great jeopardy. One dreads to think to what peril it will be exposed under a Nationalist Party dominated South African Republic. It is non-whites now; but soon it will be all non-nationalist whites.

When the Halt

With cruel rigidity and terrifying callousness the Nationalist Party machine, ostensibly to protect white civilisation, rolls relentlessly, crushing all opposition to the Nationalist Party until what there is of democracy, as known in the civilised world, disappears in the Union.

The tragedy is that the dominant minority white group seems to be blind to the realities of our situation and to the lesson of history that sooner or later – sooner rather than later - the non-white majority will be free;

That the Almighty created man to be free is an immutable law which any ruler neglects to his own undoing. The validity of this law is attested to by the attainment of freedom by oppressed people from time immemorial to our day.

How can the oppressed people of the Union of South Africa not become free sooner or later?

THE LENGTH OF THE TERM OF SLAVERY DEPENDS LARGELY ON THE OPPRESSED THEMSELVES AND NOT ON THE OPPRESSOR. The challenge of this fact to non-whites is too obvious to explain. THE TASK AHEAD IS COLOSSAL.

We must not underrate the task ahead of us on our forward march to freedom; it is most exacting and colossal. It confronts us with many problems – internal and external – in our life and death struggle for freedom – nay for existence of life itself since we are faced by a ruthless oppressor. Success will only come our way if we face this threat with indomitable courage and tenacity of purpose. We must build a formidable force of freedom lovers on the basis of a broad freedom front. We must seek to develop in our people a spirit of DEFIANCE that will despise terrorism and violence as methods of struggle.

Let no difficulties and temporary set-backs in our struggle discourage us and our vision of a united democratic South Africa; a South Africa where human relations shall rest on the firm foundation of equality, friendship and respect for human dignity. What is happening in our country as a direct outcome of the policy of segregation and its variant apartheid gives a bad name to South Africa in the outside world and has disastrous effects on the well-being and character of the people in many ways.

It breeds in the down-trodden non-white a sense of frustration and resentment; this in turn makes it harder for him to practise patience and tolerance. To the oppressor it breeds an unsettling fear which drives him more and more to greater severity in his enforcement of the unwanted apartheid laws; this, unfortunately, is bound to leave on the oppressor marks of inhumanity. The total result is strained human relations in our country. No country can truly be prosperous and great and enjoy the peace when its people are subjected to strained relationships.

It is our desire to see tensions and unco-operativeness removed from our South African scene.

Letter to Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom

It was this desire that prompted me to write a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Strijdom, on behalf of my executive urging him and his Government to take immediate steps to arrest the fast deteriorating race relations in our country. I

suggested to him that a preliminary step to this desirable end would be to establish contact with the elected leaders of the African people with a view to holding a frank discussion on our situation. I pleaded that at this discussion means and ways should be sought of governing Africans democratically with their consent and not as at present when it is by force, by coercion and by camouflage enticement that hides the evil effects of legislation and so trap the unwary and less politically tutored among us.

In the name not only of the African National Congress but of all African leaders of all shades of political opinion, I offered the Prime Minister a hand of co-operation provided that the acceptance of the policy of apartheid was not made a *sine qua non* to any consultation and co-operation. Unfortunately to date I have had no response from the Prime Minister to this appeal. This desire to see human relations regulated by a spirit of friendliness and co-operativeness made the African National Congress support the convening of a multi-racial conference recently in Johannesburg. Some of our people attended this conference, I trust they will give Conference a report on it to enable Conference to discuss the findings of this historic Conference.

A word about the Human Rights Day anniversary on December 10th.²⁶ I trust that in compliance with directives sent out by the African National Headquarters all lower Congress organs made arrangements for the observance of this anniversary this year. The significance of this anniversary is that it is world-wide and is observed where there are progressive groups to sponsor it. Its observance must help to create and cement a world-wide fellowship of freedom lovers and focus attention on those areas of the world where, as in the Union of South Africa, some people are denied human rights as contained in the Declaration on Human rights in the United Nations Charter.

This anniversary of Human Rights Day, December 10th, must be included in our calendar of special days in our Liberatory Movement and be observed regularly.

1957: A Year Full of Hope for the Liberatory Movement

The year 1957 constitutes a most significant landmark in our struggle for freedom in our country. It marks another turning point for the better. It is brimful of events – anti-apartheid protests – and noble deeds that show the growth of the resistance spirit among the oppressed people and freedom lovers. This year augurs well for the broadening of the Freedom Front.

The significant thing about most of these protests is that they were staged by groups: Ministers of Religion, University Authorities and students, nurses, civil liberties bodies - not among the regulars in the freedom struggle but new recruits concerned mainly with the introduction of apartheid in their own spheres of

²⁶ The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948. South Africa was one of the few members which abstained on the vote. Subsequently, the Assembly proclaimed 10 December as Human Rights Day.

activity.

The protests were many and came on one after another or simultaneously. This made a tremendous impact on the public, white and black. The Government was greatly disturbed by this unanimous opposition to their policy by people outside the Liberatory Movement. The Security police must have been kept busy this year more than ever before.

There are many events of this year which could be cited for note Who will deny that the dramatic arrest of 156 leaders of this Liberatory Movement on December 5th, 1956, is an event of unsurpassed significance and ramifications that cannot yet be fully assessed? It made South Africa the focal point of world interest. It generated a wonderful spirit of solidarity within the Liberatory Movement itself and between the Congresses and other progressive groups and individuals. What of the accused themselves? Their being together at the Drill Hall knit them into a community of their own. In tribulation they got to know one another more intimately and developed a most effective comradeship that provides this Drill Hall family – for that is what they are – with moral and spiritual resources that make them bear the frustrations of the already long-drawn Inquiry. Adversity has not broken down the morale of the group; on the contrary it seems to have geared the group to greater determination. This is what I call “The Drill Hall Spirit.”

The Rand and Pretoria bus boycott is another of the soul inspiring events of 1957 and so is the wonderful resistance of African women against taking passes. The women should be an object lesson to men; men should bow down to them in shame. It must be put on record that their resistance, notwithstanding setbacks in some areas has been magnificent. The demonstrations have confused the Government and frustrated their plans to the point of putting them out of gear.

These samples of courage, determination and consistency demonstrated by the demonstrations carried out this year are sufficient to proclaim 1957 as “A year full of Hope for the Future.”

The Church Militant

I wish briefly to pay special tribute to some churches, here and overseas, who on moral grounds have boldly, unequivocally and consistently pronounced against the implementation of apartheid by the Nationalist Government. It is our view that the church in our land has not been sufficiently militant in this regard; it has not always raised its voice vocally whenever the rights of non-whites were assailed. Protesting voices have been too few. We are grateful when now we hear more church voices protesting loud against state policies that enslave us.

Pay Tribute to Whom Tribute is Due

I must here congratulate and pay deserving tribute to all Congress officials and

members who rallied magnificently with added effort and zeal to the freedom cause and to the routine work of keeping Congress machinery moving under difficult circumstances. This swift rallying action frustrated the plans of the government to cripple – if not utterly destroy the various organs of the Liberatory Movement. The threats made then within government circles to further attempt to destroy the African National Congress by more arrests, bannings and deportation from the ranks of the new leaders is a significant measure of the effective performance of these men and women who so ably and devotedly carried on the work of the organisation during this difficult year.

All officials and members who thus did their duty by Congress at this critical time so richly deserve our thanks which I am here happy to convey. This tribute is extended in equal measure to those of the public who, here and overseas, have responded to the call to support the Treason Trial Fund.

The events of 1957 have brought greater co-operation and devotion to the cause of freedom. May this spirit grow.

It is encouraging to note that whilst the Nationalist Party Government was becoming more and more ruthless in the implementation of apartheid, whites, including some supporters of the government, were beginning to have doubts about the efficacy of apartheid in ensuring white South Africa an exclusive hold on the Union of South Africa. This is a good sign.

Ourselves and the World

The Annual Report of the National Executive which I commend to members for careful study has dealt fully with “External Affairs.” For emphasis I shall only touch on some aspects of our External Affairs Policy.

We hold that Congress must take an interest in world affairs as world affairs inevitably impinge on and effect our situation in the Union. The Union of South Africa, no doubt, is encouraged to pursue its immoral policy of apartheid because it feels that in the end her friends will not abandon her; my friend, right or wrong attitude. In a recent debate on the apartheid policy of the Union by U.N.O., Great Britain supported the Union. Often nations will adopt benevolent neutrality whose effect is to help their friends.

Peace: Congress stands for peace, hence it opposes all practices that create world tension; big nations often by coercion or enticement divide the world into spheres of influence each dominates. The net result is that small or weak nations become dependencies or satellites of some big nation. For the same reason, we are opposed to economic aid with strings tied on to it.

Co-Existence: We support this policy as the only one likely to ease tension among nations with different ideological outlook. The policy of destroying

a nation of a differing ideology is not democratic.

Colonial Powers: We are opposed to colonialism. It favours domination and so oppression of natives of the country who are entitled to self-determination. In multi-racial communities the principle of common society must be adopted and citizens left to elect as they please. We charge that where the population is black – white metropolitan powers always adopt a policy that favours white settlers. This is the error and weakness of Britain, France and others.

Emergent Native Territories: We support Liberatory Movement anywhere; that is, the emancipation of the oppressed.

Our Policy of Relations with Nations in the World: We make no connection whatsoever with governments of foreign states. In our struggle we seek aid from persons or societies in a country whenever these people support or are sympathetic to our view or objectives. We are neither East nor West, but draw friends from either with due regard to our honour and dignity. We are nobody's satellite.

What Next?

In the coming year our work shall largely be that of streamlining and reinforcing our present plans and campaigns.

I would like to pin-point some special needs as I see them:

* There is much organisational work to be done, but so far to do it. I reiterate with greater force my call for *Freedom Volunteers*. I want them by the thousands. Congress must not just be brought to every town and rural community, but to every African home in the Union.

* The need for building a broad UNITY without sacrificing our principles and stand by an iota. The ANC. must continue to give a lead in forming a UNITED FRONT AGAINST ALL THAT APARTHEID STANDS FOR.

* Re-think our idea of indifference to a white general election. Such period properly used can be most fruitful politically. It provides a favourable climate for the political education of our people. For our policy in this matter I commend to you the views I expressed in a recent interview with *New Age*. The views there expressed received the endorsement of the National Executives ANC and the NCC. I am happy to state that it is now in fact the policy of the Congresses on the General Elections.

* I commend to organs and members of Congress to study the POLICY STATEMENT you will be furnished with. Reinforce it by referring to other

sources such as Presidential addresses and letters written at different times to the Prime Minister, in particular the last letter of May 8th, 1957.

Let me end up by reminding you that WE HAVE THE KEY TO FREEDOM – not the oppressor. It all depends on how much we sacrifice ourselves for Freedom. Let us make the coming year a special ANTI-APARTHEID year and to that end, with the maximum of UNITY within our ranks, work to the maximum of our ability to deliver a knock-out blow that will end apartheid by the shortest time possible. WE DETERMINE THE PACE not the oppressor.

MAYIBUYE! AFRIKA, INKULULEKO NGESIKATI SETHU.

A MESSAGE TO EVERY VOTER, APRIL 1958²⁷

Sir or Madam,

You may be surprised to receive this message from the African National Congress: surprised because this is something unusual and because you have no connection with the African National Congress. The African National Congress is the oldest and the biggest and most representative organisation of Africans. For many years we have addressed protests, petitions, memoranda, deputations and other memoranda to the Government. These appeals have fallen upon deaf ears. Today we are addressing ourselves directly to you, the voters, who in the last resort are responsible for the Government.

On April 16 you are going to exercise your right to vote for your representative in Parliament. You may perhaps ask what this has to do with us, who have no votes. It has a great deal to do with us. Parliament makes laws which govern non-whites as well as whites. We have to obey those laws - which always bear more severely upon us than upon anyone else - though we have never been consulted about them, or given any say in choosing those who make them.

Frankly, we are by no means satisfied with the state of affairs. We consider it neither fair nor just, and we shall never rest content until the democratic principle which is conceded for Europeans is extended to include the entire population.

But so long as this unfair position continues, and our people are excluded from the franchise, have we not at least the right to state our views? And have not you, the voter, a solemn duty to consider those views carefully and without prejudice? We are sure that we have that right, and that you have that duty: a duty to remember that you vote not only for yourself but also on behalf of many fellow-South Africans who are denied the franchise. Neither the Nationalist Party nor the United Party represents or are supported by the African National Congress. They both stand for a narrow policy of racialism and racial domination. We who stand for a broad and true South Africanism extending to all in our country, irrespective of race or colour, can never accept or support the policy of either party.

But we must say that never since Union have our people suffered such hardships, humiliations and sheer brutality as we have had to undergo during the past ten years of Government by the Nationalist Party. Both in the towns and in the rural areas we have known no peace: people have been removed in their thousands and in their tens of thousands, their homes and their families broken up. While prices have gone up, our wages have been pegged down, and our poverty has become

²⁷ This message was published early in April 1958, before the general election in South Africa. Only whites were entitled to vote.

desperate.

Every door through which we might have sought advancement, culture and a higher civilisation has been slammed in our faces. Our schools are being turned into schools for ignorance, tribalism and servitude. The universities are being closed to us. Any sphere of employment other than ill-paid unskilled labour is being closed to us. Every means of legitimate national expression and protest is being closed to us. Our leaders and spokesmen are arrested, banned, deported and silenced.

Where can this road lead our country, South Africa? We see the crime rate rising day by day. Savage punishments, whippings and floggings will not stop it rising - for the crime has its roots in the slums and the poverty, the hopelessness and frustration in which the people are living.

We see unrest and disturbances occurring more and more widely and frequently. It is not the African National Congress or the "agitators" which are responsible for these things, nor will more repressions, bannings and police terror prevent them. They are signs of deep discontent, of something profoundly wrong in the way in which our people are treated.

You may have been led to believe that our Congress is anti-white, that it is a reckless organisation out to stir up racialism. Nothing could be further from the truth. We are a serious and responsible-minded body of men and women, and our aim, as we have stated many times, is neither White supremacy nor Black supremacy, but a common South African multi-racial society, based upon friendship, equality of rights and mutual respect.

The National Party, with its policy of blatant oppression and racialism, is however, creating a legacy of bitterness and hatred which, if it is allowed to continue, we shall all of us live to regret. And it is not only as Africans, but also as fellow-South Africans, deeply concerned with the future of our country and all who live in it, that we speak to you on the eve of this crucial election. We trust most earnestly that you will heed our message.

Yours, in the service of South Africa,

A. J. LUTHULI
President-General
African National Congress

**“MESSAGE TO THOSE STAYING AT HOME”: JOINT
STATEMENT BY CHIEF LUTHULI AND DR G. M. NAICKER,**

APRIL 1958²⁸

Those who will be staying at home in accordance with the decision of the National Workers' Conference are called upon to observe the following instructions and directions strictly and in a disciplined manner.

1. Whatever provocations you meet from the police or any other source, observe rigidly the policy of non-violence which the Congress has always advocated. The exemplary discipline observed by the bus boycotters of the Reef should be our guiding star.

2. Those living in compounds are earnestly requested that if they are escorted to work, they should offer no resistance, in the true spirit of non-violence.

3. *People must stay at their homes for their safety, in order to avoid provocation by the police and others organised by those who are against us.*

4. Expect intensive police raids for passes and beer in locations but let not these intimidate us.

If arrests take place in large numbers don't plead guilty and DON'T pay admissions of guilt, but contact your lawyers immediately.

5. Nurses, doctors and those employed in hospitals must stay on duty.

6. *Re: Victimisation. We call upon all workers of all races to be prepared to rally to the support of any worker who may be victimised, and we ask them to hold themselves in readiness to take part in any effective protest against such victimisation, even if it means the boycotting of the products of any firm which is guilty of victimisation.*

This non-racial political demonstration is not directed against any employer. It is the expression by the voteless and democratic peoples of South Africa in a concrete manner of their abhorrence and condemnation of the tyrannical policies of the Nationalist Party.

7. WE REMIND YOU OF THE CALL ALREADY ISSUED NOT TO DO ANY SHOPPING ON MONDAY, TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, AND TO STAY AWAY COMPLETELY FROM THE BEER-HALLS, BARS AND BIOSCOPES.

²⁸ Text of a joint statement issued by Chief Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, and Dr G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress, concerning the peaceful and non-violent protest during the week of the general election, including the stay-at-home, April 14-16, 1958.

8. We understand that the authorities are endeavouring to hold a meeting of indunas from different firms where certain so-called "African leaders" would be present.

PLEASE UNDERSTAND THAT WHAT WILL BE SAID THERE WILL NOT BE IN YOUR INTEREST BUT WILL BE IN THE INTERESTS OF THE AUTHORITIES.

INTERVIEW TO *DRUM*, JUNE 1958¹

Now that the stay-at-home and the election are over, what is the African National Congress going to do?

The stay-at-home and election were merely phases in the struggle, not an end in themselves. The result of the election is, however, a challenge to the ANC and all freedom-loving people to exert themselves more than ever before. Ministers have promised to intensify the apartheid programme. That is not unexpected. The Non-White people must disabuse themselves of any idea of freedom coming to them as a gift.

Should the plans of the ANC be radically recast, in the light of the comparative failure of the stay-at-home on April 14?

It is nothing unusual in a struggle to be faced with temporary setbacks. We did, however, succeed in forcing ourselves into the arena of the election. For better or worse, I am unable to say. The major parties were vying with one another in suggesting measures to oppress us. The stay-at-home also focussed the attention of the Non-White, as well as the White, people on our struggle.

Does the promise of a republic really concern Non-European politics? If so, how?

My view is that, if a republic were proclaimed, oppression would be greater. We have good reason, from certain inferences, to associate the republic with the Paul Kruger day – when oppression for the Non-Whites was at its worst. At present the moral restraint of the British – and the very fact that we are now connected in a way with the British sense of democracy – acts as a restraint.

What do you make of the suggestion that another spell of Nationalist rule will help extreme Non-European politics?

¹ *Drum*, Johannesburg, June 1958

I do not like the description “extreme Non-European politics.” In our struggle in the Union, we cannot be different from similar struggles in other countries. Every movement must have its spearhead. Another period of Nationalist rule should help by clarifying the issue involved. Some people, for instance, imagine that the Whites will give us freedom without struggle. We can not afford such day-dreaming about freedom.

Are there not signs that women are going to play a much bigger – perhaps the crucial part – in politics?

There are signs that women are beginning to play an effective part in politics. I cannot visualise a situation in which the movement will be overwhelmingly feminine, but they will play a very important part. More and more African women will not only actively, but also in silent ways contribute to the struggle.

How do you answer the charge that ANC leaders are dragged by the nose by leftist people?

There is absolutely no basis to this. Our method of struggle is certainly not new. It is that of oppressed people the world over. If anybody can suggest better or more effective methods, short of violence, we are prepared to listen.

Will the “Africanists” become stronger in the ANC? How can their influence be countered?

I don't regard the Africanists as a serious problem within the ANC. They do exist, but not as a challenger meriting constant attention. Without going into details of their activities in the Transvaal, I may mention that before the Pretoria Conference of dissident branches, Congress issued circulars to the different branches asking them to dissociate themselves from the Pretoria Conference, Branches responded very favourably, and most of them did not associate themselves with that conference.

The ANC should strongly pursue its policy of co-operation with other racial groups, and win the African people to that point of view. That is the only sound policy.

The struggle in the North takes the form of “Africa for Africans.” In my view, this is quite justifiable in territories where other racial groups- especially the Whites – are not as permanently settled as they are in the Union and Southern Rhodesia. Or, if they are settled. They are in a small minority.

Then it is only fair that these States should be regarded as African States, with the Whites forming a minority. South African in my view, is entirely different. It is true that the Whites represent hardly one quarter. There are also the Indians and the Coloureds.

Justice demands that in those circumstances a multi-racial government should be formulated.

In such a government, I should be perfectly happy to have as head of the country either Dr Naicker or Mr Strijdom as long as they have been elected by a democratic majority.

What are the chances that, in the event of complete banishment, the ANC will go underground? Will the ANC swing from an urban to a rural organisation?

This is a hypothetical question. I hope the Government will not banish the ANC and force some of its members to consider going underground,

If the Government banishes us completely, I cannot say what the ANC would do. It is something which required very consideration, and it has not come up for consideration yet. I can only hope that wiser counsel in Government circles will refrain from banishing Congress.

It is in the interests of the country to allow a major organisation of the people to express the view of the people openly. Democracy demands that any democratic government – and ours claims to be one – shall allow freedom of expression.

Meanwhile, the ANC MUST continue to strengthen itself in the areas. But it should increasingly give greater attention to rural areas, especially the reserves. The reactions of the rural people against passes for women, and the popular resentment against Bantu Authorities, shows that the rural people are ready to take a more active part in the struggle.

What is the future of the multi-racial movement?

The multi-racial movement is for South Africa the only hope. South Africa can only reject the idea of a democratic multi-racial society at its peril. Racialism must lead to conflict.

In the ANC we are opposed to Black domination as we are to white domination. Personally I am a great believer in the ultimate triumph of right, and I believe that our objective of a democratic multi-racial society could be achieved in South Africa.

In social movements and changes, it is not wise to be prophetic regarding time. I hope, however, that our objective may be gained before the already dangerously strained relations are strained to breaking point.

**“OUR VISION IS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY”: SPEECH AT
PUBLIC MEETING FOR EUROPEANS ORGANISED BY THE
CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS, JOHANNESBURG, 1958²⁹**

Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

Someone has said a man really has only one speech to make. He may clothe it in different words, but in essence it is the same speech. Those of us who are in the freedom struggle in this country have really only one gospel. We may possibly shade it in different ways, but it is a gospel of democracy and freedom.

If we are true to South Africa that must be our vision, a vision of South Africa as a fully democratic country. It cannot in honesty be claimed that she is yet really democratic, when only about a third of her people enjoy democratic rights, and the rest - notwithstanding the fact that they constitute the majority - are still subjected to apartheid rule. I emphasise the words *are still*, because I do believe firmly that it is not a state that can be perpetuated. Apartheid rule is the antithesis of democracy. Apartheid - in theory and in practice - is an effort to make Africans march back to tribalism.

A Deceitful Concept

Sometimes very nice and pretty phrases are used to justify this diversion from the democratic road. The one that comes to my mind is the suggestion that we Africans will "develop along our own lines". I do not know of any people who really have "developed along their own lines." My fellow white South Africans, enjoying what is called "Western civilisation", should be the first to agree that this civilisation is indebted to previous civilisations, from the East, from Greece, Rome and so on. For its heritage, Western civilisation is really indebted to very many sources, both ancient and modern.

There is really no possibility of anyone developing "along his own lines", as is often suggested. But in practice "developing along your own lines" turns out not to be development along your own lines at all, but development along the lines designed by the Government through the Native Affairs Department. Even in determining the laws that govern us and our development, there is no attempt to consult those who are affected. There is no contact between the governor and the governed at the present moment. "Developing along our own lines", has come to mean "Developing along *their* lines - the Government's lines".

²⁹ From pamphlet published by the South African Congress of Democrats. Chief Luthuli was served with banning orders soon after this speech.

The essence of development along your own lines is that you must have the right to develop, and the right to determine how to develop. Its essence is freedom and - beyond freedom - self-determination. This is the vision we hold for our future and our development.

Freedom is the Apex

One might ask, "is this vision of a democratic society in South Africa a realisable vision? Or is it merely a mirage? I say, it is a realisable vision, for it is in the nature of man to yearn and struggle for freedom. The germ of freedom is in every individual, in anyone who is a human being. In fact, the history of mankind is the history of man struggling and striving for freedom. Indeed, the very apex of human achievement is FREEDOM and not slavery.

Every human being struggles to reach that apex. It is sometimes suggested that people are "incited" to struggle for freedom. One wonders what that means. I admit that circumstances from time to time make it necessary to remind people of what lies at the apex. Naturally if I find a man in the mud, it is my duty to uplift him and remind him "You are not of the mud". If there be human beings who, for some reason or other, have forgotten their rights and wallow in the mud, it is the duty of all who see, to say to them "Don't wallow in mud. Try to reach up to the apex". And the apex of human achievement and striving, as I have said, is freedom.

Let Us Share Responsibility

It is often said that the non-European people merely strive for the good fruits of South African citizenship and not for its obligations. But that is not the aspiration of Black South Africa. We would like to share in the privileges and rights that go with democracy. But at the same time we are ready to carry all the obligations which flow from being part of a democratic country.

I hasten to say that we do not approve of the state of affairs which obtains now, when on the basis of apartheid, it is said: "Where social services are directed to you, you alone should bear the expense." That we do not agree to. We feel that we should enjoy the rights which are enjoyed by all South Africans, and equally bear the obligations. But that is far different from saying to the poorest section of the community: "If you wish to enjoy any social services in South Africa, pay for it yourself." That policy at present being carried out in so far as non-Europeans - particularly Africans - are concerned, is a policy of denying us the privileges of freedom, while saddling us with more than our share of responsibility.

Emergent Africa

The yearning for freedom is not peculiar to South Africa. The whole of Africa is

emerging into freedom. We live in the midst of what has rightly been described as "Emergent Africa". Why should it be thought that Africans in this part of southern Africa are different from Africans in Ghana? Africans in Ghana have received full democracy. In Nigeria they are about to receive full democracy. How can it be suggested that the Africans in the Union of South Africa will not yearn, like their brothers in the north, for freedom. The very fact that Africa is emerging to freedom should be a sign to all of us that our vision of democracy is coming and will be realised.

The African isn't the only one who has struggled for full participation in a South African democracy. Our people have been much impressed by the struggle of the *Afrikaner* in this country. He too struggled - in fact, in affairs less justified than ours, for he did enjoy a certain amount of freedom while we enjoy none. But he felt he did not enjoy it fully. It should be unnecessary to remind *Afrikaner* South Africans, that nothing could stop their struggle until they got a full share in democracy for themselves. Should they not realise that this same truth applies now to the struggling Africans, who cannot be denied the privileges of democracy for ever?

We Are a Multi-Racial Community

I believe that our vision of democracy in South Africa will be realised, because there is a growing number of people who are coming to accept the fact that in South Africa we are a multi-racial community - whether we like it or not. I am not prepared to concern myself with such questions as: "Where have you come from?", "Do you come from the North?" or "Did you come from Europe?" It is not important.

What is important for our situation is that we are all here. That we cannot change! We are all here, and no one desires to change it or should desire to change it. And since we are all here, we must seek a way whereby we can realise democracy, so that we can live in peace and harmony in this land of ours. More and more people are coming to accept that and to work for it.

Sometimes it would seem that the more apartheid is intensified the more freedom lovers come together to oppose it. It is an encouraging feature, demonstrated by the fact that there exists today not only the Congress of Democrats under whose auspices you are meeting here, but also the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, the Black Sash, and many Church leaders who have seen and followed their duty to their fellow men.

Cherish Human Values

Man must participate in all the aspects of life, political, social and religious. A man is not whole if he is deprived of participating in some aspects of life: he will grow to be a lopsided man. It is not our aim to produce among Africans lopsided

citizens of South Africa. It is my firm belief that more and more South Africans, regardless of colour will come to see the justice of our cause, because it is not just our cause. It is a human cause and, I would say, a divine cause to try and build a climate in South Africa where human values will be respected.

We often hear the cry that if we extend democratic freedom to non-whites we shall be surrendering our heritage. But I would like to suggest that you cannot preserve your heritage by isolating yourself, or by isolating other people; you can only preserve human values by propagating them and creating a climate where these values will flourish.

Apartheid does not furnish that kind of climate: for the values which we cherish, can only develop to the full in a climate of peace and equality, where brotherhood is respected. In such a climate as that, these values will grow. We must deliberately propagate these values if we wish to maintain them. That is the only way of saving white civilisation! Propagate it! Don't hoard it! For if you hoard it, it is going to shrivel with you. But if you propagate it, more people will develop these values, preserve them, and prevent their dying out. We are interested in the preservation of those values, for they are eternal values. Man throughout the ages, has striven for these values. Why should it be thought that we in South Africa, we blacks in South Africa, strive less?

World Opinion

Encouragement for those whose vision is a democratic South Africa, lies in the fact that today there is self-questioning within the apartheid camp. When people begin to question their own policies, there is some hope. A sinner who does not realise that he is a sinner, is not very far from damnation; the hope for man is greater when he begins to question. Now I say their questions may not amount to much, but certainly it is a hopeful sign that they now begin to question and wonder at the efficacy of apartheid. There is hope there, just as there is hope to be drawn from world opinion being in favour of democracy. However badly our country fails to live up to democracy, world opinion is in favour of democracy. The whole world stands up and says: "We stand for this cause." I don't think that we ourselves really believe that South Africa can remain isolated from the world. Otherwise we will find ourselves a colony of slaves, isolated and cut off from the rest of the world - slaves of our own making.

To me democracy is such a lovely thing, that one can hardly hope to keep it away from other people. Could anyone really successfully shield off beauty? We don't live in Parktown, but we appreciate the beauties of Parktown. We do. And as we move round Parktown from the townships we pause and admire the beauty. I do. I am not a Johannesburg man, but I pause to see the fine gardens, the beautiful houses and the surroundings. I stop and admire beauty. Can you everlastingly cut off a human being from beauty? And as you move about in some of these palatial places, and the scent of the flowers comes to you, can you really stop another from

smelling that scent? Can you ward others off? Can you really successfully do it? I suggest that democracy, being the fine thing it is, the apex of human achievement, cannot be successfully kept from the attainment of other men. I say not.

Yes there are difficulties on the road, and various blocks. But the biggest block is "apartheid", making it difficult for us to realise the glorious vision of a multi-racial democratic South Africa. But despite the blocks let us strive to develop this democracy.

A New Pattern of Democracy

It is often suggested, quite rightly, that democracy was developed in homogeneous communities - in Europe, possibly in Asia to an extent - in communities that were homogeneous in colour. Here in South Africa we are not a homogeneous community, not as far as race and colour are concerned nor possibly even in culture. It is suggested that people in homogeneous communities can very well speak of democracy being shared; but in a community like ours, diverse in very many respects, you can't hope to share democracy. But I personally believe that here in South Africa, with all our diversities of colour and race, we will show the world a new pattern for democracy.

I think there is a challenge to us in South Africa to set a new example for the world. Let us not side-step that task. What is important is that we can build a homogeneous South Africa on the basis not of colour but of human values. After all, we all admire our colour. I often say my black colour is proof of sunshine and is due to heat. I admire my black colour - I should. But in trying to build a new homogeneous democratic South Africa, colour and race should not come into the scene. It should not come into the scene in any part of the world: for men should be bound together by certain values which they cherish.

I have more in common with you here than, possibly, with the less fortunate of my African brothers who are still in the reserves, who have not had the privileges of civilisation which I have had. I don't know whether you like that - I don't want to annoy you - but to me that is a pointer to the fact that we can build a new type of homogeneous society - a new society in South Africa and in any part of the world.

The main thing is that man is my brother not by blood, but because we cherish the same values, stand for the same standards. I believe personally that, notwithstanding the fact that our cultures are diverse, we come to live together and in the process of our coming together, I will come to admire certain aspects of your culture, others I will reject. But I think also you will find that there will be aspects of our culture which are good. And so can develop a true South African culture, built up of the best of all our cultures.

Our Guarantees

White people often ask us: "What guarantee have we that you will not swamp us by your numbers?" I think that in a sense I have already replied to that by saying that some of us are not interested in numbers. I think that every stress on numbers is harmful. The criterion should rather be: "Do we wish for democracy?" To this question Africans have already given an answer. What more proof do you want that Africans long for democracy when in fact they are already making sacrifices for it. They are willing to preach and struggle for democracy to the extent that sometimes they become the guests of Her Majesty. But I would like to take you further back. When they first came into contact with Europeans, our forbears saw there some values which they liked.

Even in the wars between the English and my people I don't remember that missionaries, or even traders - excepting those who were found to be traitors - were ever molested. So I suggest that our people have given sufficient proof that they yearn for democracy; the question of numbers doesn't count, particularly if we set them on the right road. What the apartheid rulers have said does not lead people on the right road. If the Africans don't seem to be getting to democracy it is not their fault; go and blame apartheid! If you should feel you are in danger, it isn't because we seek to endanger you, but because we are not given the opportunity of developing fully along the democratic road.

How can you truly expect that democracy at its best can flourish in slums? How can you expect that democracy shall flourish in insecurity, when people do not have the wherewithal to live? Where Africans work in towns, it is admitted that their wages are low. In reserves from where they come, the holdings are so small that people can hardly make a civilised living. Now Prof. Tomlinson assures me that, having worked fairly hard in the reserve, I can expect to get £66 per year from my holding. And he says: "Now if you work your holdings scientifically I promise you £120 or £150". He promises me that. In seriousness can anybody raise a family, on this basis, at the civilised standards we should aspire to? - can you raise a family on that basis?

Bantustan - a Negation of Democracy

Can you really develop a democratic people upon the lines of the so-called "Bantu Authorities" - where we will not participate in the ordinary machinery of Government, but will revert to a perverted form of tribalism? For "Bantu Authority" is the exact antithesis of democracy; it is a rule by some kind of council appointed even without consultation with the people, by the sole decision of the chief and the Native Affairs Department - a Council in which the people have no say at all and which they can never change even if they wish to.

Such a system cannot lead to democracy; it does not even respect Bantu custom. For while we may not have been democratic in your sense, yet in past times, our tribal authority was not autocratic. I dispute the theory that African chiefs were autocratic. As in all communities, you occasionally get a dictator, like my own

Chaka who was undoubtedly a dictator but not typical even of the Zulu chiefs. I don't think that you would suggest that Napoleon was a sample of the best in Europe. Incidentally he and Chaka were contemporaries, it seems that it was an age when dictators were produced.

But in Bantu practice, the king or chief sat with his council and debated an issue: and all of the leading men in the tribe had a say in decisions. And therefore all this talk of earlier African chiefs being dictators - as is said by the Department of Native Affairs to make present chiefs into dictators - is contrary to our traditions. But it is in line with the "Bantu Authorities Act".

Our chiefs are being made minor dictators - I need not mention who is the senior dictator - contrary to their traditions and contrary to democracy. Our development is thus being side-tracked into new autocratic institutions that are now being imposed not only on the African but also on white people. As long as my people are forced to follow this road of Bantu Authorities - they will not learn democracy.

Go Forward in Faith

How can you breed a democratic people along such lines? This is a challenge to all of us who are here. I will not concern myself with your political views, whether you are United Party, Congress of Democrats or Liberal. All I see here is White Africa and Black South Africa. I see people who are interested in the welfare of South Africa. And if you are interested in South Africa as a whole you should do your best to work for the realisation of this POSSIBLE vision. It is possible, this vision of a multi-racial democracy in South Africa. The difficulties may be great, but nothing has beaten man if he has striven.

Man is striving to go to the moon. If he can do this, can anyone suggest that man cannot evolve a system in South Africa that will make our society a democratic, multi-racial group? There is a challenge which you and I must meet. We cannot dodge it.

We often say that what we are doing, we do for posterity. It is a very dangerous claim to make because posterity may think quite differently from us; we may find posterity spitting on our grave. Let us not claim the authority of posterity for our failures to strike out on the road of democracy. I think it is Jan Hofmeyer who said: "Having planted, go in faith". Don't be worrying about other things. Go in faith and believe in the sanity of posterity. There is in the Bible a verse which says that all those who are cowards, all those who grow apathetic because of the difficulties before them and run away from the struggle - that they shall not be able to reach that Glorious place. It also says that the cowards will be together with the evil doers.

I cannot believe that all of us who are here will fail South Africa because we are cowards and apathetic. I believe we all will do our best - whatever the difficulties

are - for the realisation of this glorious democratic South Africa we dream of.

**“FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME” : PRESIDENTIAL
ADDRESS TO THE 46TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, DURBAN, DECEMBER 12-
14, 1958**

Sons and Daughters of *Afrika*,

Nationalist Returned to Power

We meet for our 46th Annual Conference when the fury of the Nationalist Party Government in its implementation of apartheid shows no signs of abatement. We have no reason to expect it to be otherwise since the Nationalist Party was returned with an overwhelming majority in the General Election held early this year. Their return was not unexpected but not the near landslide that it was. This clear mandate is a full endorsement by white South Africa of the Nationalist Party policy of *baaskap* apartheid.

The Nationalist Party on their part responded to this honour and trust by elevating Dr Verwoerd to the leadership of the Party and so to the Premiership of the country in succession to the late Mr Strijdom. The results of the General Election are an ominous sign for all with political eyes to see: to see the rise to mighty power of the Nationalist Party with its apartheid policy and their full entrenchment, and to see how this forebodes further oppressive laws for non-whites and a consequent further interference and curtailment of the freedom of the whites.

The whites are already experiencing this in the application of the Influx Control Regulations, the policy regarding the siting of industry and the policy and regulations governing the holding of meetings by Africans in urban areas. The truth embodied in the saying “Freedom is indivisible” is dawning on some whites hitherto indifferent to restrictions under which non-whites, especially Africans, suffered.

The rise by Dr Verwoerd to the Premiership of the country added to our concern but not to our surprise. Our experience of him in the Ministry of African Affairs made us most apprehensive of our future and that of the Union with Dr Verwoerd controlling the reins of the State. Undoubtedly, he is the most ardent and relentless apostle of apartheid determined “to keep the native in his place.” He is not the type to hesitate when he deems it necessary to forcefully disabuse “the Bantu” from any pretensions to graze in the green pastures of the Union he regards as the preserve of the whites only. His Bantu Education Act and Bantu Authorities Act, his amendments to existing laws such as the Urban Areas Act, the various

measures governing Rural Reserves, reveal his ruthless mind and qualify him as an arch-oppressor of non-whites. It is such a man the Nationalist Party made Premier of the country. As would be expected from a power-hungry man like him, he skilfully made sure in his appointment of his Cabinet that he remained unchallenged within the Cabinet itself. He made the office of the Prime Minister a most vigilant nerve centre of the Government than, to our knowledge, had ever been done before. No doubt, this and other arrangements not here pertinent will give him strong control of the Government, his party and the country. Unfortunately, the large majority in white South Africa welcome a Prime Minister who will ensure their retention of the privileged position they hold in South Africa.

Do these whites forget that RESISTANCE is the natural reaction to DOMINATION AND FORCE? This could not be in the best interests of the country.

People's Resistance Grows

To their credit, it can be truly said that the African National Congress and other member-organisations of the Congress Alliance, together with other democratic groups like the Liberal Party and progressive political freelancers, have continued to expose without fear and to oppose most vehemently the policy of apartheid. These groups and individuals have been the watchdogs of the nation.

On the whole the response from among the oppressed, having regard to the degree of their political education and awareness, has been encouraging and gives promise to the building of an effective MASS FREEDOM FRONT. Equally encouraging has been the manner in which many freedom lovers in the white community have come out openly and boldly to champion the cause of making the Union a true democracy for all, and not be what it is now: a democracy for whites and a police state for non-whites. There is encouraging evidence of a determined – not just sporadic – attack on apartheid from leaders of some sporting organisations, artist groups and religious leaders when hitherto it was practically all quiet in some of these sectors of the nation-community.

The growth of this spirit of opposition should make the Liberatory Movement redouble its efforts to build a Democratic United Front against the apartheid front. Something more will be said later in the address on this important freedom front.

The courage and determination of some of the freedom fighters has been marvellous and seems to have risen in proportion to the severity of the tyrannical application of any apartheid laws; indeed, their courage has been true to the hymn-words "Let Courage Rise with Danger." In this connection let us refer very briefly to some freedom struggle activities of the year that deserve special note and appreciation.

The Treason Case: The Treason Trialists have shown admirable fortitude in their crucial testing time as front-line volunteers in the freedom struggle; and so have their families and dependants.

Let me here thank warmly all those, here and overseas, who have spared no effort to raise funds to provide the accused with the most capable defence team and helped to a most appreciable measure to relieve the accused and dependants of much physical suffering and mental anxiety. The treason case has dominated the political scene in South Africa and has provided an effective political rallying point. It has helped, not only to make the African National Congress more widely known and recognised as a political force in the country, but has directly and indirectly helped to spread the Congress spirit of opposition to apartheid. The Treason Trial has provided another instance of “good out of evil.”

We regret its tortuous progress which has been punctuated intermittently by many adjournments. The African National Congress joins the voices that have urged the Government, as an act of manliness and honour, to abandon this case.

The Opposition to the Issue of Reference Books to African Women

Magnificent effective mass demonstrations were staged in different parts of the country. As a result of these protests and demonstrations some women have been victims of police arrest and quite unnecessarily police brutality. We say *BRAVO!* to those African women who in any way showed their courageous opposition to the pass system which is responsible for so much suffering among Africans. During any one year thousands of African people are arrested and introduced to jail life through the operation of pass laws. To many, this introduction has proved to be the beginning of a most destructive life of crime.

The Congress and the General Election

The voteless non-whites, as an important third political force in the country, made an effort to intervene in the General Election held early this year. Protest week activities, despite the setback suffered by the Stay-at-Home efforts of non-white workers, were a successful gate-crashing for the first time into a white general election hitherto erroneously regarded by the non-whites as not of their concern but of whites only. By this attitude the non-whites showed a lack of appreciation of the truth in the words: “South African Affairs are African Affairs.” It must be so since Africans, by their labours and services, impinge on all sectors and aspects of South African life.

The combined frantic efforts to smash the demonstration were made by the government, the white employers’ agencies and the non-white ill-assortment of despicable collaborators. This unholy alliance showed up as nothing could, the importance of this form of demonstration. That some thing was done in the face of

such terrific opposition, no matter how feebly, should be a source of gratification to the leaders of the non-white workers.

On the positive side the demonstration-protest helped to highlight the pecuniary plight of non-white workers whose wages, it is admitted, are on starvation level. Some employers are forestalling workers' demands by making puny shameful increases out of tune with the realities of the facts of the situation. This is undermining the workers' demands for a minimum wage of £1 a day for unskilled African workers. I fear that the workers, since protest week, have been losing the initiative. The Congresses should endeavour to their utmost to give effective lead to workers in their demand for a living wage in this matter.

Further Increases in Taxation for Africans

Parliament met in June shortly after the General Election. True to its now regular feature and practice Parliament produced and placed on the Statute Book more oppressive apartheid measures; the main measure was an Act providing for an increased taxation of 15/- on the 20/- general tax for African men over the age of 18. The same Act makes provision for some form of apartheid Income Tax on an ascending scale for African men and women beginning with those in receipt of a minimum income of £180 per year. There are other taxes Africans have to meet such as Bantu Authorities Levies, levies by School Boards for educational purposes, etc.

I commend to this Conference and the African public in general an excellent pamphlet by the African National Congress on the subject of increased taxation for Africans.

We look forward with much apprehension to the first Verwoerd session of Parliament. We can expect from it more and more oppressive measures: more controls, more permits and what not. Indeed, the operative words in apartheid are "Control" and "Permission." One would think that Africans got to inhabit the continent of Africa by the "permission" and under the "control" of some ancient white prototype of Dr Malan, Mr Strijdom or Dr Verwoerd. It galls and humiliates one to be so treated in one's fatherland.

The challenge of all this to the African National Congress and its allies and other freedom-lovers is that there is no force in the white community in any foreseeable future that will defeat the Nationalist Party. It seems it is only the combined struggle efforts of the oppressed non-whites, working with white freedom lovers on the basis of equality, mutual respect and friendship, that will form a new force to defeat apartheid. Fortunately, there is a growing number of white freedom lovers who, with no ulterior motives, genuinely wish to see the full liberation of non-whites.

Why the African National Congress Utterly Rejects Apartheid and with Thunderous Voices Says: Away with Apartheid

We say: *AWAY WITH APARTHEID* because:

1) It is a policy guilty of political immorality; it is born of fear, selfishness and greed; it stands for domination of whites over blacks and thus it contributes to strained black-white relations since domination naturally produces resistance.

The strained relations impair the establishment of an effective co-operative effort between black and white on a voluntary basis in the interests of the country. No country can truly become great and prosperous under such inimical conditions.

2) It robs the majority in the country, the ten million non-whites, of their natural right of each developing to their fullest his creator-given capabilities. South Africa becomes the poorer because of this dwarfing of its non-white genius-potential.

Deserving its policy of apartheid becomes the target of world condemnation. Progressive forces in the country should not be deterred from encouraging this outside non-violent pressure because of the fear to be attacked as disloyal to South Africa. The alternative attitude is disloyalty to Truth and it is terrible thing to be disloyal to Truth. This makes one receive the condemnation of the world and the disdain of posterity.

3) It often puts in a false position the administrative officers charged with the task of selling it to the general public, especially its victims, the non-whites. The administrative officers often find themselves resorting to various forms of camouflage and subterfuge, some of which dangerously borders on false enticing, if not deceit.

When camouflage seems to fail intimidator tactics, up to coercion at its worst, are used. Victimisation is extensively used to put fear into others. Such methods make the officers using them or ordering their use to be guilty of *subordinating moral principle to oppressive expediency*.

4) *INJUSTICES ARE DESCRIBED AS BENEFITS* :

What benefit is it to Africans:

i. to have had African voters in the Cape removed from the Common Roll to a separate roll and giving them a mere token representation in Parliament?

ii. to have allocated them, being 8 million, only 13% of the land in South Africa when whites, who are only 3 million, hold practically the rest of the land, i.e., 87%?

iii. to have instituted a colour-bar in industry which bars them from skilled work and Trade Union rights and thus subjecting them to starvation wages that place 70% of the workers in industry and commerce below the bread-line?

iv. to apply to them the principle of “Do-It-Yourself” in the matter of *Public Services* when for whites, more affluently placed, the State assumes full responsibility?

In all civilised countries the poorest section of the community is taken as the responsibility of the State and given generous assistance commensurate with the financial strength of the country.

v. to displace them by removals from their long established homes – some held in freehold – and thus impoverishing them and placing them in agonising insecurity?

The same can be said about the workings of apartheid among other sections of the non-whites. We could here validly ask, what benefit the Group Areas Act, Job Reservation, to mention only a few, are to non-whites? Dr Donges, then Minister responsible for the Group Areas Act said that the Act would be applied with justice and fairness. So far in its implementation “justice and fairplay” are conspicuous by their absence.

In this regard, no doubt, Mr W. Maree, now Minister of Bantu Education, was more correct than Dr Donges when he indicated that the intention of the Group Areas Act was to force the Indian to return voluntarily to India, or engage in diversified forms of manual labour instead of being exclusively traders. Could there be greater injustice than this of robbing a people of their wealth in order to get rid of them or reduce greatly their pecuniary status?

The Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act, two cardinal apartheid Acts, are glaring and typical examples that refute another unfounded claim of apartheid, namely, PROGRESSIVENESS. These Acts, like many other apartheid measures, so bound in injustices and unfair play that to describe them as progressive is to suggest the impossible: the possibility of “going forward by going back.”

The Challenge of Apartheid to White South Africa

White South Africans are historically and culturally inheritors of what is called Western Civilisation. They rightly pride themselves of a connection with a civilisation which, at its best, stands for high value – standards in all aspects of life. The pillars of its political morality are: LIBERTY, EQUALITY and FRATERNITY regardless of colour, race or creed. This implies a respect for human dignity, the brotherhood of man and man's individual worth.

Their forebears heroically sacrificed life itself in the task of propagating, upholding and defending these values. Why should white South Africa, being heirs to so rich a heritage, be guilty under apartheid of not living up to the tenets of the political creed of their forefathers in the multi-racial setting and atmosphere of South Africa? It would be an act of honour for which their contemporaries and generations to come would thank them if they passed these values on to posterity, not only unimpaired, but enriched by the diversity of cultural assets found in our multi-racial South Africa.

We make all allowance for human frailty which makes man fail to live up to the best he knows. But he must show evidence of his efforts to reach the pinnacle of morality in his dealings with his brother-man, regardless of the newness of a situation. Jungle morality can never be justified under any circumstances. Upholding apartheid, in our view, is utterly inconsistent with upholding these ancient and eternal values which, in our day, find unqualified endorsement in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and in the creeds of all worthy religions. These values, rights and obligations, are inherent in any way of life claiming to be described as civilised.

Let me in this connection say this: It does dishonour to the Union of South Africa to find our Minister of External Affairs and his Delegation walking out of UNO because of UNO's attempts to insist on member-nations, including the Union, making an effort to respect and uphold these human rights in their respective countries.

It is no valid excuse for white South Africa to say that these value-standards were developed in the setting and atmosphere of racially and culturally homogeneous communities. The challenge to our age is to nurture these eternal values in racially and seemingly culturally heterogeneous communities. Our noble calling is to create spiritually homogeneous multi-racial communities resting on a broad cultural base enriched by the cultural variations making up our multi-racial society: a kind of Unity in Diversity.

Some Aspects of our Policy

1) For ourselves we have no desire or intention to dominate over others by virtue of the superior numbers of our racial group. We work for the corporate multi-racial society in which the criterion of recognition as a citizen will not rest on

class or racial considerations but on loyalty to multi-racial South Africa on the basis of democratic universal suffrage.

Democratic, and not racial considerations, should motivate the exercise of franchise rights. We, in the African National Congress, are opposed to the outlook that the colour of one's skin, i.e., one's race, should determine one's politics.

Subject to and subordinate to the wider interests of our common country, South Africa, one's politics should be influenced and determined by the ideals and interests one holds supreme.

2) White South African must cast aside fear and greed and voluntarily bring about a black-white partnership on the basis of a common society.

The African National Congress stands or falls by Free Democracy. It is as opposed to a racial majority masquerading as a democratic majority, as it is opposed to a minority of any kind, racial or otherwise, dominating over others because, for some reason, it seized the full control of the State. We say that in a truly multi-racial country democracy should, by the nature of things, be colour-blind.

3) We say that whites can only ensure their survival by deliberately democratising all the inhabitants of the country. This means that they must propagate and share without reservations the values, rights and obligations inherent in civilisation and democracy and not horde them by making them a white preserve.

They should not over-worry about losing their identity to a coloured race. Fortunately, racial pride – not racial dominance – seems to be a common desire among our main racial groups. This is the strongest guarantee against wholesale miscegenation which is often used as a bogey by white supremacists to retain political power. We feel that individual freedom in this matter must, with a few exceptions, be respected. By exerting its influence society should attempt to condition individuals and groups to the common outlook of a racial pride which abhors miscegenation in any form. Apart from doubting the efficacy of law as a curbing moral force in this matter, we dislike its interference with individual freedom in so personal a matter.

In any case, we submit that no one has a right, not even Parliament, to persecute and deny anyone or group of people human rights on the grounds of seeking to preserve his group's identity. For one thing it is not given to any people to know the likes or dislikes of its posterity. We must credit posterity with some intelligence to know what is best for it in the circumstances of its age. We should not over-concern ourselves with posterity to the point of making fully legalised plans for it. What we regard as wisdom may be looked upon with disdain and

contempt by posterity in whose name unforgivable indignities and atrocities are often perpetrated on man by man.

Co-operation in the Days of Freedom-Struggle and After

The African National Congress accepts the important fact of our situation – multi-racialism. This recognition, to be meaningful and honest, must find expression in a co-operation in the struggle that embraces all progressive liberation forces. The Congress Alliance already forms an important nucleus and vanguard of this co-ordinated co-operative effort. We desire to see it grow. The member-groups in this co-operation may retain their independence and not sacrifice cherished principles save voluntarily.

If Africans are true potential democrats and realists, as we think they would prove to be so in the test, they should wholeheartedly support the African National Congress in its objective and stand aimed at making this co-operation a vital force in the freedom fight: a force to outmatch the apartheid front. This apartheid front is supported by the might of government forces which receive substantial support from an ill-assortment of non-white collaborators consisting of people with misguided selfish motives and others with inadequate knowledge of the issues involved.

These non-whites collaborators would have us be content with pickings from the apartheid Garbage Tin and with mere Ambulance Services; directly or indirectly they counsel a striving for a mere mess of pottage to the abandonment of our noble pursuit for man's worthiest heritage, FREEDOM, and at that, "FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME." This is the goal the African National Congress has unequivocally set before the people and not a wallowing in the apartheid mud as others would have them do.

We believe that even with the potential at our command to go it alone in the struggle for freedom, respect for other freedom lovers in other racial groups in our country would demand that we invite them to be our comrades-in-arms in the fight for freedom, if we are to co-operate with them as equals and with a deeper appreciation and trust of one another in the truly free democratic South Africa we are working for. Such a co-operation, born of comradeship in the struggle would be the surest guarantee against the arrogance, now and after victory, of would-be political exclusivists-dictators. There is no other way by which we can show our earnest and concern for the creation of a democratic multi-racial South Africa if we are to ensure a progressive and peaceful future for our beloved fatherland, South Africa.

Method of Struggle

So long as white South Africa denies the non-whites full democratic freedom we shall have no option but to advise and continue to lead the voteless non-whites

to use extra-parliamentary non-violent methods of struggle. To abandon the fight would be to surrender to the *status quo*; a surrender to enslavement with all the paraphernalia used in its maintenance such as the obnoxious control permits, reference books and apartheid measures in general.

The African National Congress can never be a party to the counselling of non-whites to themselves be instruments of their own spiritual and moral, if not physical, destruction.

Some of our Urgent Needs

1) We should make greater use than heretofore of the Anniversaries of certain important days in our freedom struggle. This, *inter alia*, would help us to build a spirit of comradeship among our people. Such a programme, reinforcing our regular cultural programme, would enable us to capture and more effectively retain the imagination and enthusiasm of the youth for the freedom struggle and so ensure their support for it.

2) There is too much compartmentalising of our struggle efforts and campaigns. Sometimes by doing this we give an undue sectional organisational stress on a campaign. Too often we think of the Group Areas Act as an Indian concern only, and too often our discussions and plans for our campaign against the Group Areas Act are done in isolation, in complete oblivion of some equally disastrous removals planned for Africans, and *vice versa* when Africans discuss removals affecting them.

Do we see the resistance at Zeerust, in the Transvaal, Pedie in the Cape, Imbumbulu in Natal, the attitude to identity cards by those affected by them, as part of one gigantic struggle? There is need for a more co-ordinated plan with specific objectives for each stage.

I am not advocating the dulling and subduing of the dynamic local struggle, interest and leadership, but I do wish to stress the need for a co-ordinated freedom struggle by the High Command.

Let me here, somewhat irrelevantly, reiterate my call for the enlisting of a Volunteer Corps for the carrying out of our many errands and duties in the struggle. I make a special appeal to our youth.

Freedom Forces on the March in the World

Only yesterday London, Washington, Moscow and Paris dominated the world. Other independent countries practically danced to the tune of either one or more of these capitals.

Now, significantly enough, even the big and older nations of the world eagerly listen with concern and sometimes anxiety to utterances and reactions in Delhi, Bandung, Cairo, Peking and now Accra.

On the threshold of full freedom, to mention a few, are Nigeria, the Caribbean Federation and some Trust Territories. Things are astir in the French colonial empire with frantic efforts by General de Gaulle to save it by intimidatory tactics which border on economic blackmailing.

Bravo! to French Guinea for preferring full independence to qualified independence that would still leave a country that accepts it subservient to Metropolitan France. The freedom struggle is in earnest in Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, now to some extent in Basutoland and Southern Rhodesia.

The Middle East, the emergent African States and some Asian countries are being besieged by rival suitors among the big nations.

We would advise these emergent nations, some of them victims of colonialism or of the intrigue of great powers, to jealously guard their hard-won independence by :

- 1) adopting as their international policy the recognition of the co-existence of independent nations, and themselves adopt the policy of active neutrality and non-alignment with amity to all nations and enmity to none.
- 2) jealously guard, propagate and defend democratic tenets to the utmost limit of magnanimous forbearance.

After the historic Bandung Conference in 1955, Africa, this year, has been the scene of Conference, respectively, at Cairo and Accra. These Conferences have had as their objective the strengthening of ties among independent states of Africa and Asia or, as the one now sitting in Accra, seeking plans of helping to further the cause of freedom in countries still under colonial rule. Whether any one likes it or not, the voice of Africa, claiming a place of honour for her children, will be heard with growing insistence and force in the coming days.

We deeply appreciate the concern for our freedom by the independent Afro-Asian nations. These countries, themselves beset with their own urgent and serious problems, on the main a legacy of colonial rule, have spared no effort in the United Nations forums and elsewhere, to champion the cause of helping to free the still oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa.

In Conclusion

In conclusion let me confront you all with the main challenge of what I have tried to breathe out through this Presidential Address:

1) Are you serious about freedom? How far are you prepared to sacrifice for it? Others have died for it.

2) What is your reply to the undoubted ascendancy of the Nationalist Party with its emotional but suicidal apartheid policy?

Are you prepared to follow with intelligent loyalty the African National Congress lead in its opposition to Nationalist Party rule?

3) What is your response to the moral and diplomatic efforts by some independent nations to further your cause of freedom? They can only help you indirectly. The winning of freedom, in the final analysis, rests with you :

- i. The oppressed non-whites ;
- ii. The white freedom lovers in South Africa.

South Africa cannot grow to greatness when three quarters of her people are still in bondage. Only a Free Multi-Racial South Africa can solve the problems affecting multi-racial South Africa and not an apartheid Government of “Europeans Only.”

We have reason to hope for freedom in our lifetime but you, and you alone, can turn this hope into a glorious reality.

Afrika! Mayibuye!

Freedom in Our Lifetime!

“SHOULD WE GET RID OF THE WHITES?” - ANSWER TO A QUESTION, 1959³⁰

[*Drum*, a Johannesburg monthly, asked a number of African leaders, “Do we really want to get rid of the white man?” The following is the reply of Chief Luthuli.]

My reply to the question is obviously “No. We do not want to get rid of the white man.” I believe that the tendency in the world from way back has been for people to come together, and not to be separated. That is how civilisation has spread.

³⁰ *Drum*, Johannesburg, March 1959

It is true, unfortunately, that when the white men migrated to new lands, their motive was the selfish one of enriching themselves. Hence they colonised, and colonisation was accompanied by oppression. They did not make an effort to uplift the people.

But I say, for all that, the white man is in the land where he is, and the aim should be to get him to repent of his wrongdoings rather than to work for his forceful removal out of the country.

The white man must accept the demands of the people for unqualified freedom for all on the basis of adult suffrage, regardless of race or colour, and shed himself of all weaknesses of domination. If he satisfies these conditions, there is no reason why he should go. If he does not satisfy these conditions, then one of two things could happen. He could either become a subjected person or return to his original home.

The white man has a contribution to make, and the country would become poorer by unnecessarily ridding itself of people who can play a part in its progress.

“STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN OUR LIFE TIME MUST GO ON”: INTERVIEW TO *NEW AGE*, JUNE 1959¹

“The struggle for freedom in our lifetime must go on”, said Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress in an exclusive interview with *New Age* last week.

“Police intimidation, bannings, banishment, the introduction of Saracens to arm the police force and the enactment of laws which remove every vestige of democracy for the people must spur us forward to greater deeds and we must with grim determination re-dedicate ourselves to the noble cause of Congress.”

Chief Luthuli - whom we had to interview at the home of a friend in Stanger, as non-African cannot visit him at his home at the Groutville Mission reserve without first obtaining a permit from the Native Commissioner - was as lively and full of optimism as ever.

“I am confident I shall not stay in banishment for five years,” he said. The growing tempo of the struggle in our country and the forward march by the peoples of Africa indicate that the days of colonialism and oppression are numbered.”

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, June 11, 1959

June 26

In reply to a request for a special message to the people of South Africa on the occasion of June 26 this year, Chief Luthuli said that June 26 has become an important landmark in the people's struggle in this country. It has become closely associated with the launching of the most important struggles in recent years.

“Directive will be issued by the Congress suggesting ways in which this day should be observed. I call upon those associated with the freedom struggle to observe the day in a manner befitting such an important landmark in the history of our struggle for freedom.

“We should use this day to remember the efforts of those who struggled for freedom before us.

“Their devotion to the task of ending the enslavement of the oppressed people in the Union should fire us with a burning determination to complete their unfinished task – the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa – by redoubling our efforts to get freedom in our lifetime.”

Anti-Pass...

Commenting on the official launching of two campaigns on June 26 – the first to make 1959 the greatest Anti-Pass year in the history of the struggle against the Pass Laws, and the second to boycott Nationalist products and hit the Nats in the stomach – Chief Luthuli said that he hoped that all South Africans, regardless of colour or race would support both these campaigns.

“The struggle against passes is as old as Congress”, he said. “It has become evident to the leaders of Congress that it was and still is the strongest weapon in the hands of the oppressors.

“We should like to see the 1959 campaign so rouse the people of South Africa that they will say: No more passes for us.”

... and Boycott

Dealing with the Economic Boycott campaign to be launched on June 26, Chief Luthuli said that in pursuance of the policy of non-violence the Congress was launching a boycott of Nationalist goods because it was the Nationalist Party that was the spearhead of our oppression.

“This Nationalist boycott will not preclude local boycott directed against firms and institutions voluntarily practising apartheid,” he added.

Other steps to be taken on June 26, said Chief Luthuli, will include abstaining from frivolities and even common pleasures and offering substantial material gifts in kind or in cash to the cause. The hour demands less words and more action.”

“It would be a grand thing if in this spirit of self-denial, beer halls, cinemas and other pleasures were given a holiday for a few days,” he said.

Message to Chiefs

In a special message to African chiefs, Chief Luthuli said that he would like to take the opportunity to call upon them to live up to the call of their office.

“They are a centre around which the people should rally to protect themselves from the attack of the oppressor,” he said.

“Some of us hope that on reflection, Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau will see what injury he did to his own dignity and person and that of the African people, when he so prostrated himself at the feet of the oppressors on the occasion of his assuming office as chairman of the Transkeian Territorial Authority. This was an occasion when he could have shown the natural dignity of an African Chief. I would warn those of our people who have been taken in by the Bantustan fraud by saying: Apartheid in any stage or form is not for us, it is for our destruction as a people.”

Beware of Provocation

Concluding, Chief Luthuli said that the oppressor, as other oppressors have done and are doing in many countries, may attempt to provoke us to violence so as to have an opportunity to mow us down with machine guns and Saracens, but if we keep faithful and observe faithfully the Congress policy of non-violence we shall make the oppressor look foolish by being armed to the teeth against an unarmed and defenceless people.

“We are not without power. Along the non-violent path, we can effectively harness our buying strength and our labour potential to defeat our enemy if we do so in the spirit of unity and determination,” he said.

MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WOMEN’S LEAGUE, AUGUST 1959¹

¹ *Fighting Talk*, Johannesburg, September, 1959

Here I am, caged in, in the Lower Tugela District, by the oppressor's ban on me. The confinement resulting from this ban is a painful reminder to me and to you all also that apartheid laws deny us freedom of movement.

Feudal days in Europe could not have been worse.

Fortunately, the oppressed people, here and elsewhere in Africa, are becoming increasingly aware of their plight, and are making heroic efforts to free themselves. It is gratifying to record that African women are playing an admirable part and, in close co-operation with their sisters of other races, are showing a growing aggressive opposition to serfdom.

Ever since the mighty anti-pass protests to the Union Buildings³¹ African women have joined Congress in large numbers and have increasingly played their part in it.

Many successful local demonstrations have been organised against the issue of the "Dom" Pass to African women.

In the attempts to boycott Bantu Education schools, women were there. As managers in the home they have contributed significantly to the recent Potato Boycott.

To the admiring surprise of many of us, including many outside Congress circles, African women in Natal for the last two months have engaged in spontaneous Natal-wide local demonstrations.

The demonstrations have highlighted many important current issues affecting Africans in urban centres and in rural areas alike. What a challenge to our Congress! The only jarring note in these demonstrations has been the appearance of violence in some areas.

Violence does nobody any good, but does our cause much harm.

We are indeed in the women's era in the liberation struggle in the Union.

The freedom road is likely to be long and weary. We shall need all the stoic fortitude and wisdom to face and surmount mountains of problems, troubles and miseries that are generally met with on the march to FREEDOM.

With the heroic contribution of our dauntless women we shall succeed, I have no doubt.

³¹ The Federation of South African Women and the ANC Women's League organised a mass protest against pass laws, especially against the move to introduce passes for African women, at Union Buildings, Pretoria, on August 9, 1956.

May South African women continue to play their noble and heroic part in our liberation struggle.

I charge them to use their womanly influence and tactics, to win increasingly into Congress and into the struggle, growing numbers of men. If gentle persuasion should prove unavailing, goading them to it by derisive words and actions may be used. Women are generally masters at this!

Women of other races and groups including our own, have used this tactic from time immemorial when a crisis demanded it from us.

May this Conference inspire all of you to present a dauntlessness that will enable you to defy all the fiery darts of the oppressor and even his Saracens.

**THE AFRICAN WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION IN NATAL:
REPORT TO THE NATAL PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE,
SEPTEMBER 6, 1959³²**

Since the middle of June 1959 to date, August 31st, 1959, Natal has been witnessing widespread demonstrations throughout the Province. The demonstrations have been largely by women and have no precedent, at least, in Natal.

The political scene in Natal is very much alive and explosive as a result of these demonstrations. They are a natural reaction of an oppressed people to the growing suffering and misery they have long endured under White rule. The patience and trust of the people is reaching breaking point.

Our justified concern for the negative features that have accompanied most of these demonstrations should not cloud our assessment of their positive value, namely:

1. that the demonstrations have been largely spontaneous and are an index of the people's growing sensitivity to oppression and of the presence of a potential leadership among women at local level; they show how far and fast the Congress spirit of resisting oppression instead of passively accepting the *status quo* has permeated individual souls and is percolating to the masses.
2. that the liberation movement is fast assuming the desired character of being a *mass movement*.

³² The Conference was organised jointly by the members of the Congress Alliance.

3. that the women are increasingly becoming an important factor in the liberation movement and this we welcome since women have special gifts and attitudes that make them valuable assets in the struggle.

The demonstrations to the extent that they took a peaceful presentation of grievances to competent authorities is most welcome and should be encouraged as a first struggle-step, especially for politically immature people and novices in the struggle.

Men should take a leaf from the women in this regard. Protest demonstrations coupled with demands to the authorities are the only so-called Constitutional action and channel of struggle non-Europeans have. It cannot win us freedom. But it can be valuable in forging a unity of the people at local level and in helping to throw up a leadership from latent local talent. It is a form of practical public education and of assisting to inform the world of the disabilities of the non-whites. The Zulus have it: "*ingane engakhaliyo ifela embelekweni*," (a child that does not cry may die unnoticed carried by its mother on her back.)

The Congress Method of Struggle

Congress has adopted the policy of using extra-parliamentary methods of struggle but strictly on the basis of non-violence. This policy has been adopted *deliberately*, following a profound study and experience of the South African situation. We believe that as conditions are in this country it is possible for the people by the use of overwhelming peaceful pressure to win all their demands for freedom. We are aware of the fact that people as a result of desperation at the terrible conditions under which they live and sometimes owing to deliberate provocative acts by the authorities may spontaneously resort to violence. But our task is to educate our people on the efficacy of Congress methods of struggle. We do not preach the use of non-violent methods for the benefit of our enemies but for the benefit of our own people and for the ultimate benefit of our multi-racial society. Under our conditions in South Africa violent struggle would probably leave a legacy of bitterness which would render it difficult to establish a firm and stable multi-racial democracy in the future. One point does deserve mention. By and large even where demonstrations in the past two months have contained a violent element it has not been directed against any persons or sections of the community but rather at institutions that appeared associated with policies that caused the people's suffering. It was fundamentally an attack on local or national government policies. I must emphasise, however, that demonstrators must forthwith desist from violence, whether they be Congress members or not. Violent methods of struggle are inimical to the best interests of the struggle and are not a practical proposition in any case in our situation.

The Biggest Needs of the Hour

1. Unity of the people and the formation of broad struggle fronts.

2. A working knowledge of the policy and objectives of the African National Congress.
3. A determination to win, cost what it may.
4. To possess a progressive sense of values.

Some Lessons and Challenges Posed by the Demonstrations

1. That political struggles do not always assume an atmosphere of careful planning and orderliness; often they are spontaneous and as such often untidy and tempestuous.
2. That the duty of the leadership is to discern the positive aspects of the struggle and give direction along lines that will lead to greater unity and strength and to discourage constructively evidences of action and attitudes that are patently unwise and detrimental to the cause, such as violence or sectionalism.
3. That it is unwise to allow the enthusiasm of the people to make them undertake actions that are beyond their strength at any given stage.
4. That human reactions do not always follow a set logical pattern especially when it is brought about by the strains and stresses of life. The tendency is to vent one's feelings directly on objects or persons one thinks are the cause or are associated with the cause of one's suffering. Leaders should be on the lookout for situations likely to cause such reactions.
5. That a systematic and consistent appeal should be made to the public for financial support to help meet the overwhelming needs of the struggle such as:
 - a. Engaging fulltime, paid workers. The work is too vast to be carried out effectively and efficiently by part-time or voluntary workers. Voluntary workers should be there but only as a supplement to full-time paid workers.
 - b. Production of educational material to help politicise the people. Ignorance of Congress policy results in confusion and conflicts.

Why Are Women Alone in These Demonstrations

It is not uncommon for women to goad their menfolk to action by deriding them or by taking the initiative in acting.

Men should positively and constructively meet this women's challenge. But more to the point about women is that it is they, especially in African homes, who bear the brunt of facing daily the poverty of the home, since it falls on women to prepare food for the family and to see that children are clothed.

Why should Government circles be surprised to find African women in these demonstrations, concerning themselves with such issues as low wages, influx control regulations, increased taxation? Women are hit hard by poverty arising out of these. Men's silence and inaction to protest against these grievances is shaming us, men. Men are supposed to be the traditional protectors and fenders for their family's welfare. What about it, African men?

A Reply to Some Official Charges

It is idle for Government spokesmen to indulge in blaming the leaders of the liberation movement, especially the African National Congress leaders and workers as instigators of the present African women's demonstrations and the disturbances that have accompanied them.

The duty of the Government is to take steps to remove the causes of the grievances. The women have given them fully and clearly.

The African National Congress has no intention of abandoning its leadership of the African people in their struggle for freedom and democracy. In a situation created by the present demonstrations of women it cannot be indifferent to these demonstrations. That is why the A.N.C. and its allies have come in to attempt to give guidance and direction to all Africans concerned with the demonstrations. To do otherwise the A.N.C. would be acting most irresponsibly.

The policy of maintaining White supremacy is incompatible with the official assertion that what the Government does is eminently in the interest of the African.

- a. The pass system, in its wide ramifications, ensures the white Government full control over the Africans with the most tragic results to his welfare and progress:
 - i. thousands of Africans a year are in some ways victims of the pass system.
 - ii. Influx control regulations deny him a free opportunity of seeking for work in urban areas. It canalises African labour to centres of cheap labour on the mines and farms.
- b. How can underpaying African workers, to the point where 70 percent of them live below breadline, be in the African's interest?

- c. A Bantustan system that:
- i. will throw 60 percent to 70 percent of the peasants off the land without providing them with any new sources of employment,
 - ii. will re-allocate land to peasant farmers with no prospect of a peasant making a gross income of over £120 a year at the very most,
 - iii. will render millions of Africans in white areas, towns and farms, stateless and rightless,
 - iv. will fraudulently put forward a so-called partition of South Africa that nobody wants,
 - v. institutes a system of tribal rule that makes African Chiefs, contrary to tradition, autocrats and virtually nothing more than instruments of their people's oppression.

In honesty, can it be said that such a Bantustan is in our interest?

What is wrong in principle cannot be right in practice. So all apartheid laws, based as they are on the maxim "Separate and unequal" in favour of the Whites, can never be in the interest of the non-Whites.

We are not without power to make the Union of South Africa a place where such frauds as the apartheid laws shall not be.

We may have no rights to bring about the desired South Africa through the ballot box but if we marshal our buying power and labour power, we may induce white South Africa to mend its ways. Africans: Sons and daughters of Africa, so long as there are such laws in the statute books of the Union, with much suffering and misery flowing from their operation, I invite you all to join the African National Congress and struggle for your liberation. I pledge myself to be with you in the fight until freedom is won.

Long Live the African National Congress!

Afrika! Mayibuye!

**CALL FOR THE OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS DAY,
DECEMBER 1959¹**

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, December 3, 1959

The formulation and declaration by the United Nations Organisation of human rights and the fundamental freedoms was a great achievement. It marked a significant stage in human development when organised world opinion showed an acceptance of a common humanity of all men and that “all men are born equal and are entitled to civilised human standards of treatment.”

Through the lead of some freedom lovers in the United States of America, Human Rights Day – December 10³³ – was observed in many parts of the civilised world last year.

The suggestion to have it annually found ready endorsement in many quarters including some freedom-loving groups in the Union of South Africa.

This statement is intended to urge and plead for a nation-wide observance of this day again this year.

Whatever is done, should be done in a non-sectarian way and spirit and should be a joint undertaking embracing all freedom-loving groups and individuals in that area.

To do otherwise would be contrary to the nature and spirit of the United Nations Organisation which, for all its shortcomings, tries to be a true representative forum of organised and progressive world opinion and an agency that promotes the cause of peace and freedom in the world.

The anniversary of this Declaration of Human Rights Day should have a special meaning and significance to freedom-lovers everywhere, but more so to the oppressed peoples who are cruelly and unjustly denied these rights and freedoms by the powers that be in their land, as is the case with Non-Whites in the Union of South Africa. The observance should flare up the hope in, and among, the oppressed people that the best is yet to be – and soon too!

I direct member organisations of the Congress Alliance to take the initiative where none has been taken to invite other progressive groups and leading personalities in an area to work in the joint venture to make the anniversary worthy of the noble objectives and status of the United Nations Organisation that formulated and declared these noble human rights and fundamental freedoms.

It is hoped that the observance will prick to repentance the conscience of White South Africa that believes in white supremacy, completely oblivious of the suffering this policy inflicts on the Non White peoples and the harm it does to the name of South Africa in the outside world.

³³ On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The South African delegation did not vote for the Declaration.

**STATEMENT (JOINTLY WITH DR G. M. NAICKER AND
PETER BROWN) APPEALING TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE TO
BOYCOTT SOUTH AFRICA, DECEMBER 1959³⁴**

In May, 1960, the Union of South Africa will be 50 years old. The Government is preparing to celebrate this jubilee with great enthusiasm, but most South Africans see no cause for celebration. During this 50 years Non-White South Africans have almost completely lost their right to be represented in Parliament, their right to take any job for which they are fitted, their right to hold land in freehold; their school education is now to be of a specific kind, the open universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand are to be closed to them, they cannot move about freely within the country of their birth. At the same time these White South Africans who believed in these rights and freedoms have seen them destroyed one by one.

What has been the response of Non-White South Africans to these attacks on them? They have sent deputations and submitted petitions to the authorities and they have tried to influence the course of events through their meagre Parliamentary representation. When these approaches were unsuccessful they turned to passive resistance and then boycott. They have consistently forsworn violence and pledged themselves to non-violence. But with trade unions frowned upon, strikes illegal and their buying power limited, Non-White South Africans face real problems in mounting sufficiently effective internal pressures to be able to influence the South African Government. They look for assistance abroad and particularly to the people of Britain, by whose Parliament the original Act of Union was approved.

Next year it is proposed to conduct a limited boycott of South African produce in Britain for a period of one month.³⁵ The boycott is a protest against apartheid, the removal of political rights, the colour bar in industry, the extension of passes to African women and the low wages paid to Non-White workers. In the towns and cities of South Africa over half the African families live below the breadline.

It has been argued that Non-White people will be the first to be hit by

³⁴ From: Press release of the Boycott Movement, London, January 7, 1960

³⁵ The Boycott Movement, founded in London on June 26, 1959, planned a month-long boycott in March 1960.

external boycotts. This may be so, but every organisation which commands any important Non-White support in South Africa is in favour of them. The alternative to the use of these weapons is the continuation of the *status quo* and a bleak prospect of unending discrimination. Economic boycott is one way in which the world at large can bring home to the South African authorities that they must either mend their ways or suffer for them.

This appeal is therefore directed to the people of Great Britain to strike a blow for freedom and justice in South Africa and for those whom the State would keep in continuing subjection in the Union. If this boycott makes the South African authorities realise that the world outside will actively oppose apartheid it will have struck that blow for freedom and justice in our country.

(sd.) Albert J. Luthuli
President-General, African National Congress

(sd) G. M. Naicker
President, South African Indian Congress

(sd) Peter Brown
National Chairman, Liberal Party of South Africa

**THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IS ON IN EARNEST:
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO THE 47TH ANNUAL
CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
DURBAN, DECEMBER 12, 1959**

The Annual Report of the Secretary-General and the Presidential Address will have failed if they do not impress you with the dominant fact of our day: “THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IS ON IN EARNEST” in our own South Africa and in the rest of Africa.

The number of men and women persecuted for the political faith and stand by the Nationalist Party Government since it came into power in 1948, is the largest in the Union’s history. The number covers a representative cross section of the people: workers, peasants, professional people, mostly teachers, among whom our own veteran and highly honoured leader Z.K. – Professor Z. K. Mathews – is numbered as a recent victim. We are proud of him. What a triumph in a most difficult situation.

All told this year alone the victims of Nationalist Party Government tyranny are close on 4,000, mostly women. They cover these categories: Treason Trialists, exiled people, those confined to their districts but gagged, those arrested and convicted for their challenge and resistance to oppression. Add to this number members of the families and dependants of these victims of Nationalist Government tyranny, for these families and dependants suffer greatly too from the resulting anxiety and want and all the misery that flows from all this.

To these champions of the noble cause of Freedom and Democracy I say: "Money to give you we have none but in full measure we express our deep-felt sympathy and admiration. We are proud of you."

The ferocity of the oppressor in attempting to crush the struggle of the people to free themselves is an index of the people's indignation at the affront to their dignity and poverty and all the disastrous consequences that flow from all this.

Where would we be in all this political persecution without the financial aid canvassed from the public here and overseas by the public-spirited men and women working in solo fashion or under the auspices of organisations such as the Treason Trial Defence Fund, Christian Action in England and others. We thank them all.

This appreciation covers others who have raised funds for other political cases and for the defence lawyers in all political cases that have come before the courts of the land, particularly the Treason Trial defence lawyers. With much devotion, sacrifice and dignity all have done their work to great effect and much credit to themselves. The Nationalist Party Government has extended and tightened its apartheid paralysing squeeze on seemingly hitherto untouched sections of life and communities.

Industries and commerce are beginning to squeal. Some educationists and some parents in the white community are becoming worried about some educational trends encouraged if not sponsored, by the Nationalist Party.

Christian churches are greatly hampered in their ministry among Africans in urban and rural areas by apartheid laws and regulations.

In the Western world church schools with an emphasis on Christian education exist side by side with state schools, but not in the Union in the case of Africans. It could not be the fear of communistic influence. Certainly not in church school. What is the fear then? White supremacy is being maintained at great cost to the country. It is no mere rhetoric to say that apartheid is proving to be a Frankenstein. It is stating an unfolding reality.

Oppression in any guise cannot pay any country dividends. Wise statesmanship will mortgage a country's future for goodwill, unity, justice and fairplay among its people on the basis of "DO UNTO OTHERS WHAT YE WOULD THEY DO

UNTO YOU". The much maligned ANC strives to have the country invest its energy in building a South Africa where all its people regardless of race and colour can unitedly say: "We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no Government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people; ... that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities..."

It should be plain from this extract of the Freedom Charter that embodies the principles of our political creed that:

*We accept the fact of the multi-racial nature of our country;

*To us race and colour are mere accidents of birth and environment and should not be a dominant and determining factor in human relationship.

*That time will evolve a broad South African culture whose main strand will be the aggressive Western culture.

*We believe in an unpartitioned South Africa that respects freedom of association and residence.

The policy of separate development assumes without proof that people of a different race cannot live together. It is not a question of a community being fairly homogeneous. It took years of strife to establish democracy in England, France and in other countries of Europe. Germany under Hitler and Italy under Mussolini virtually renounced democracy in our day. Greed and a desire to dominate others have always been the enemy of democracy.

The tragedy of our situation is that the overwhelming majority of white South Africa support the Nationalist Party on the colour issue. That is why the official opposition, the United Party, tries but unsuccessfully to out-Nat the Nationalist. Few would mourn its demise. In the circumstances it will be deserving of an ignominious end if it continues to place expediency over moral principles, showing that like the Nationalist Party, it denies the universal validity of democracy. We believe that it is possible and desirable even in heterogeneous communities like multi-racial communities to develop a spirit of common nationality sustained by loyalty to a common fatherland and by the cherishing of common ideals and aspirations that respect civilised standards.

We face a situation where Dr Verwoerd, a potential dictator, has succeeded to gain undisputed control of the Nationalist Party and so in turn of Parliament.

With all the force at my command I would like to impress on Conference the fact that the advent of Dr Verwoerd, and some of his fire-eaters and lieutenants means that we have entered a most crucial and decisive stage in our struggle for freedom.

The foundation and some skeletal framework of an apartheid South Africa has been built. The Nationalist Government during its last session of Parliament in the passing of such bills as the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government, the Extension of University Education, establishing tribal colleges and the transfer of Fort Hare University College has just about completed its evil design it has been working on since it came into power in 1948.

The Government has obtained from successive Parliaments since 1948 legal sanctions for their evil discriminatory plans intended to seal our doom in perpetual servitude in the interest of white supremacy and domination.

Adding on to legislation of previous governments it has fully armed itself to deal most cruelly with anyone who opposes and defies it.

From my opening remarks it is clear that the government on the slightest pretext has used those powers and will increasingly do so. We must brace ourselves to meet this grim situation with heroic fortitude.

We Are not Without Hope

Since Union we have witnessed an ascendancy of forces in the white group that worked for the re-incarnation of slavery in New Look forms. Apartheid has emerged as the evil policy of these reactionary forces.

Elsewhere in this address I have said that this has provoked a progressive aggressive resistance from the blacks themselves and from a growing number of freedom lovers in the white community who have all - black and white - made creditable efforts to challenge and resist apartheid with "a courage that rises with danger".

We have come to a point where there is a growing support for the idea of building a BROAD FREEDOM FRONT AGAINST APARTHEID. In concern for the mutual respect of the views of others the co-operating groups in this Front maintain their respective political programmes and confessions of a political faith.

Within the Christian Church voices condemnatory of apartheid are becoming more vigorous and more frequent in their denunciation of it. The recent attack on University Education shocked many white intellectuals and others to a belated realisation that one of the bastions of freedom and democracy was being seriously assailed to the harm of South Africa as a whole and to the non-white in particular.

THE TASK OF THE ANC IN THIS MATTER IS TO ENCOURAGE AND BUILD A SPIRIT OF DEFIANCE TO OPPRESSION AND THE COURAGE TO RESIST OPPRESSION. THE OPPRESSED MUST BE IN THE VANGUARD OF THE STRUGGLE.

An encouraging new feature in the growth of the militant spirit of the ANC has been the growth among the African people of what may be termed a Congress spirit among the masses. Effective demonstrations have been initiated spontaneously in some communities by local leadership in response to the Congress spirit within them. There are obvious dangers in this. But the duty of Congress is to encourage and direct this mass upsurge of the oppressed people. Yes, "We are not without hope."

Support for our liberation is not only internal but external.

Important sections of world opinion are most critical of the Union policy of apartheid and openly condemn it vehemently.

Agencies like the United Nations, the World Council of Churches and some organisations in many countries, are in the vanguard of this condemnation of apartheid. Some independent states of Africa and the newly emergent states, despite facing many reconstruction problems, should continue to meet and feel a deep concern and responsibility for helping to free the rest of Africa still under the white rule, of white tutelage, as in the case of the African states coming under the so-called "French Community" in Africa.

To this era the question of the liberation of Africa figured prominently at two Conferences that met in Ghana. The first in 1957 was that of the independent states of Africa and the other in 1958 was an All-Africa Peoples' Conference.

Some African leaders, notwithstanding the fact that their own territories are still struggling to gain complete freedom, as in Kenya, are actively concerned about our situation in the Union to the extent of taking a lead in initiating through Trade Union the boycott of South African goods in terms of the aforesaid All-African Peoples' Conference.

We are most grateful and deeply appreciative of the efforts of all these groups and individuals, here and outside our borders, and overseas, who have given unstinted support, by word and action to our liberation struggle. We dare not, by our lethargy, cowardice and indifference, dampen the spirits of our gallant supporters. Rather, their efforts should ginger us to redouble our freedom efforts.

The Nature of our Struggle

As a practical man my assessment is that our struggle will be long and grim and that the Nationalist Party leaders mean it when they say: "Over our dead bodies."

Why should it be so? Our task is to see to it that the democratic form of government and the values inherent in democracy become the accepted pattern and are valued by all people in the land. One evil of Bantu Authorities is that it does not give people training in the democratic fashion. Tribalism had some values and

usages that suited a simple life and culture but is most ill-equipped to meet the demands of life in a dynamic scientific age. Chiefs themselves on whom the system must revolve may be possessed of Native wisdom, but, not of the knowledge required of leaders of this age.

IT IS AN ACT OF UNFRIENDLINESS TO THE AFRICANS FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICA TO SAY TO THEM: BACK TO TRIBALISM. WE DO NOT WANT A BLOODBATH.

It is unfortunate for the government to incite people to violence. This could be the effect of pronouncements like the one recently made by the Minister of Defence, Mr Erasmus, when he said that preparations are in progress to place units of the defence force at several strategic areas in order "to have the army ready to assist the civil authorities in case of internal uprisings."

Notwithstanding all this, I counsel the oppressed to brace up and prepare themselves to meet this threat to our existence as a people by exploring to the full the possibilities of non-violent methods of struggle. This is the suggestion in our interest. One is not guided by pacifist considerations, but by practical considerations that led Congress in 1949 to decide to prosecute on this basis its militant struggle for liberty.

Protest demonstrations, defiance campaigns, stay-at-home of limited duration are very necessary warming up process to train people for more exacting forms of non-violence.

"WHEN SHALL IT BE" – "SINIKE NKOSI".

One suspects the operation of influence that clamour for "action" without a prior careful consideration of situations.

If that should be so I counsel those responsible for it to desist from such reckless haste and impatience which would be suicidal and might be playing into the hands of the government.

A Provincial Executive may at its instance or at the instance of the National Executive make a careful consideration and assessment of a situation to advise the National Executive as to the state of readiness of the people to undertake any campaign.

Implicit loyalty and discipline are expected of members and officials in the handling of such matters. Short of a vote of non-confidence National Conference itself may not authorise a campaign or demonstration without the prior advise of the National Executive. Now that the liberation struggle is assuming a mass character, Congress members and organs, including auxiliaries, should take note of this advise on a democratic procedure.

“We Are not Without Strength and Some Advantages”

Ad nauseam I have said: “We are not without strength. White South Africa is vulnerable.”

We are a giant that does not know its strength. When white oppressors impress people with their military might and knowledge we should show the people that it is because the white men fear us that they have curbed our advance by apartheid laws.

“ISONGO LIKASIGONYELA.”

Given an opportunity Africans in other territories do skilled work, e.g., Belgium Congo, Kenya.

We come from a brave sturdy stock.

We can mobilise and harness our *economic power* as workers and as consumers to strengthen our liberation movement.

The Annual Report of the Secretary-General has useful suggestions on this point.

Our sympathisers are organising overseas boycotts of South African goods. This should be an incentive to us in our limited boycott field here. We are awfully tardy about it and lack diligence and consistency in prosecuting it. We quickly get bored of routine. We need to practise the discipline of drudgery.

We do have some advantage over the government in the next stage. This is the stage of implementation of apartheid laws. It is now that the people will feel their rough rub in extra taxation and levies, rehabilitation schemes; those present who will have been arbitrarily classified as workers will find themselves with no immediate prospects of employment. We shall be doomed if we fail to meet the succour the people in their plight of being forced to re-make their way of life to satisfy the whims of apartheid. Let us not miss the bus: We need an army of voluntary workers under expert full time guidance.

1960 and Africa

Africa is very much astir. She is fast freeing herself from the shackles of colonialism. The year 1960 could be described as a Year of Destiny for many areas in Africa.

The Flag of Independence will fly – in the Federation of Nigeria, in the trust Territories of Togoland, in Italian Somaliland and in one or two other territories. Tanganyika is at the door-step of independence.

*Kenya and Uganda await important constitutional changes that may make “partnership” in these territories a real democracy instead of being virtually a white oligarchy.

*The government of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will be pressing for independence outside a Federation. She never wanted to be in any case.

*Belgian Congo eagerly awaits constitutional changes that will give her some self-government. This is still an inadequate response to the people’s struggle for liberation which the Belgian Government tried to suppress with ruthlessness.

WHAT ABOUT THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA? THE OPPRESSED COULD MAKE THE YEAR 1960 A YEAR OF DESTINY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Union of South Africa will be celebrating her Jubilee Anniversary. A year of rejoicing for whites. We cannot celebrate our enslavement, for 1959 saw Africans lose the last vestige of representation they had in Parliament – at that a mere token one – and instead given a mockery of “self-government” in the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act – a fraud and an insult perpetrated on a voteless and defenceless people.

While on Africa let me Say:

*We protest at and condemn the brutality of the territorial government of the Federation in suppressing the liberation efforts of Africans in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Where is British justice and fairness in all this?

*We call for the release of Banda and his colleagues.

*British should grant Nyasaland the independence she is asking for and not sell the African people there to a white settler controlled government as she sold us unconditionally to whites when she granted the four colonies to form the Union of South Africa.

*France should stop insulting Africa. She offered her colonies freedom but under duress with the humiliating result of many ‘agreeing’ to be known as a "French Community" being in Africa and remained under the control of metropolitan France; she is engaging in a bloodbath in Algeria and denying her the independence her people want; against vehement protests by African independent states, some Middle East countries and other countries she refuses to stop exploding the atomic bomb.

*Events in the Belgian Congo prove once more that with self-respecting people an offer of material welfare in servitude or even opulence can be no substitute for freedom and human dignity.

*The rule of whites only in the Union of South Africa and Portuguese rule in Africa continue to be the most ruthless and the most determined in denying Africans in these territories freedom.

The World Scene

On the world scene I say:

*We thank the countries of the world that give us some support in our struggle for freedom and democracy in the Union of South Africa.

*In the present day scramble for Africa by affluent and mightier world powers the newly emerged independent countries of Africa must guard against selling away our African heritage and prestige. The past of Africa lies buried in the unrecorded deeds of our forebears. The absence of records robs of proof of their glorious deeds. It is left to us to redeem her honour in a world where whites have vilified her for so long.

*It is to be regretted that force was used in the dispute between China and India. We urge that the two countries should settle their dispute amicably.

In Conclusion

Remember:

*Our struggle for freedom will remain an unfinished task until freedom is won.

*Freedom will surely come if everybody does his duty by Africa.

*No one can stop the onward march of a determined people.

AFRICA!! *MAYIBUYE!!!*

“FIFTY YEARS OF UNION - POLITICAL REVIEW”: SPEECH TO THE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, 1960³⁶

My assignment is: “Political Review - Fifty Years of Union.”

³⁶ South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, “Institute Council Meetings 1960.” Document RR. 250/59, 21-12-59.

I hope I shall succeed in dealing with the subject with objectivity and with an understandable emphasis on the African viewpoint and interpretation of political events in the fifty years of Union.

The Jubilee Anniversary of the founding of the Union of South Africa will be observed some time in the current year. Its significance justifies the attention people are already giving to it. It should be an occasion for all of the people of the land to join in a unifying celebration that will inspire greater love and loyalty to our country.

For some it may be so, but not for others, especially the oppressed non-whites who were left out of the compact of Union and given a place of inferiority in their fatherland. So to some, it will be an occasion for thanksgiving and to others for mourning and, I trust, one also for taking fresh resolve to strive to get the Union on the democratic path it missed at its founding, and whose people, until that is so, will continue to say with increasing vigour and determination:

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

To some, especially the freedom-lovers, this Jubilee Anniversary will be a painful reminder that, unfortunately, the one-sided pact of Union was formed with the full concurrence of the British Government of the day. We fear that the British Government of today, in effect, still supports fully what was done at Union. Her voting at the United Nations on the racial issue in South Africa gives support to our fears. In her eagerness to placate the “Boers” and other white interests, Great Britain made the non-whites a subject people under white rule in the new State with no prospect of ever being accorded full democratic rights on the same basis as their fellow white citizens.

The white leadership in the country saw the new State as a force that would supply white South Africa with such single centralised machinery of government that would be strong enough to guarantee the whites an effective control over “Natives,” and thus facilitate their exploitation of the black man, for the white man’s benefit. In addition to this, some Afrikaner leaders saw the creation of Union as a first step to a self-government that would end with the Union becoming completely independent of Great Britain. This has come so true that the Union of South Africa is on the eve of becoming an Afrikaner-dominated republic.

Many Afrikaners must feel indebted to General Hertzog for his two-stream policy which started a schism in the white community of South Africa. It was this schism which promoted the ascendancy of Afrikanerdom. This also revealed the formation of Union to have been an uneasy pact of two dominant white elements with divergent outlooks and aspirations.

Well might some cynic say that the Act of Union was a triumph of the spirit of disunity and domination, and not of unity and friendly tolerance.

Since Union, we have witnessed the ascendancy of the spirit of Afrikanerdom which is a most domineering paternalism working on the axiom, "no equality between white and black in church or state." Such a spirit will always hurt the pride of a people to whom it is directed, even if they are held in serfdom. This spirit is inherent in the theory and practice of apartheid. It makes white South Africa under the leadership of Afrikanerdom most intolerant of non-whites and violently opposed to their claim for being accommodated in the body-politic of South Africa on the basis of human rights and fundamental freedoms as formulated and declared by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The policy of apartheid in particular is diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the non-whites. This has so sharpened the issues in the Union as to eliminate as a factor of any consequence the advocates of the middle-of-the-road policy. Apostles of liberalism often advocate such a course. The formation of the Union of South Africa saw the beginning of the defeat of liberalism as expressed by the so-called Cape liberals of the day. Because of its paternalism, many non-whites will not regret the demise of such liberalism. The issues of the struggle for freedom and democracy by non-whites are now so clear cut as to admit of no confusing assistance from our friends of the liberal paternalistic outlook who often advocate a timeless gradualism.

This has sometimes provoked the cry, "oh, save us from our friends." That is generally said not out of ill-will, but as a hint to friends not to embarrass fighters for freedom as they face an uncompromising nationalism of the Nationalist Party brand. Such a stand strains the black-white relations almost to breaking point.

This situation is not eased by the paternalistic presentation of apartheid in the new dressing of "separate development" by the sweet-tongued Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr De Wet Nel.

Nothing short of abandonment of the policy of segregation and its more virulent form, apartheid, will ease the situation. Inherent in both is discrimination against non-whites on grounds of colour and race.

Threats to use the army to help the civil authorities to crush the alleged non-white uprisings only help to inflame the situation. They result in the undermining of the genuine efforts of the liberation struggle movement to prosecute a non-violent struggle in an effort to convince white South Africa of the strong desire of the people for freedom and democracy.

Let us face it, the basic cause of a strained black-white relations is the refusal of white South Africa to give non-whites full democratic rights. Defenceless and

voteless as we have been and still are, we have suffered economically and socially. The vote is the key to equal opportunities in a democratic country.

When something is done ostensibly to meet the demands of the non-whites it often proves to be an evasion of the issue and a delaying tactic. This was the view of progressive African leaders on the Representation of Natives Act of 1936. The Native Representative Council it provided proved to be a dummy forum and a toy telephone.

Its uselessness was laid bare by the action of its African members who boycotted its sessions continually and for three years in succession until it was abolished by the Nationalist Party Government about 1950.

No serious-minded African grieved over its abolition.

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1958 is another evasive piece of legislation that provides a mongrel-like form of local government which has no semblance to democracy. It is the worst caricature imaginable of our traditional form of government.

But worse still, it uses our chiefs as administrative tools to carry out the will of the Bantu Administration Department and as instruments to destroy those whom de Wet Nel calls "wolves and jackals," clearly those who are opponents of apartheid.

Apartheid in the Bantustan scheme of things purports to resuscitate the status of the institution of chieftainship which was dying a silent death under the pressure of industrialisation, but still enjoyed the respect of some tribesmen who still referred to the chief as "our chief."

Now it will die unmourned and unsung, as people are increasingly coming to regard the chief as a government stooge, a government man, not their man, their persecutor, and not a father who punishes to discipline for the good of the tribe.

The Bantustan plans give the impression of providing Africans with an opportunity of "developing along their own lines" when in practice it is developing along the lines devised by the architects of apartheid in the Nationalist Party.

The expression "develop along your own lines" can give the impression that in Bantustans Africans have the right of self-government and self-determination. Nothing could be further from the truth.

It is pertinent to observe and underline this: the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1958 is, for Africans, a culmination of a process that has its genesis in the Act of Union itself.

The Act denied Africans in the Union, save to some extent those of the Cape, franchise rights. The ascendancy of the oppressive spirit among white South Africans that denied non-whites political rights showed itself in:

*a juggling with the Cape African vote to a point of emasculating it to virtual nothingness;

*an ineffectual representation of Africans in Parliament by white representatives as provided for in the Representation of Natives Act of 1936;

*the destruction of the last vestige of a token representation for Africans in Parliament and in other local bodies and the destruction of the very right to vote, ineffectual though it was.

All this was done through the promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 which purports to provide Africans with a more effective link with the government than any ever devised before.

What we want is a link with the sovereign body in the land, parliament, not only with the government whose dictatorial ruthlessness can only be moderated by Parliament and the ballot box. A government is supposed to be subordinate to Parliament save in dictatorship countries.

Why leave the voteless and therefore defenceless Africans at the mercy and whip of a tyrannical government?

The Coloured People

Previous governments seemed to act on the basis that the Coloured people were an appendage of the white community, but not the present Nationalist Party Government.

The "South Africa Act of 1909" - Act of Union - greatly curtailed the political rights and status of Coloured people. But worse came when Coloured voters were put on a separate roll, like Cape Africans, to vote for a given small number of whites to represent them in Parliament.

The political emasculation of the Coloured people is being completed by the establishment of a Department for Coloured Affairs as is the case with Africans.

For non-whites the creation of the Union did not only deny them the right to vote but at Union and thereafter systematically deprived them of what meagre rights they had acquired during colonial days.

What the Union Has Meant to Non-Whites, more so Africans

The non-whites must be excused if they see nothing but bad in the compact of Union, especially in the political sphere which is my assignment.

In the fifty years of Union we have lost all rights politically and have suffered most grievously, more especially during the twelve years of Nationalist Party rule, mainly because we do not enjoy democratic rights.

The right of non-whites to hold land in freehold is virtually gone; communities, some of them living in freehold land of their own have been removed or threatened with a removal to eliminate the so-called "black spots" to satisfy white farmers of the respective areas; conditions are created which make us acquire Bantu Education against our will, we are left no option; we are forced to come under the jurisdiction of an undemocratic and tyrannical Bantustan; our right of association and movement has been greatly limited; access to courts is being interfered with and limited through administrative despotism; we suffer daily from humiliating discrimination and indignities perpetrated on us by the exercise of white supremacy by white South Africa.

We have lost and suffered all this and more, mainly because we have no political power. White South Africa has suffered to some extent. Since our life impinges on all sectors of life in South Africa, what is done to non-whites sooner or later affects some members of the white community.

Mass arrests for offences under pass laws must interfere with smooth working in a factory or in a household. Influx control regulations and job reservation are interfering with rights of employers. Many such examples could be cited.

How can we celebrate suffering and humiliation?

The Reaction of the People to Discrimination and Repression

The discrimination exercised by white South Africa at the formation of Union provoked the African leaders of the day to form a national political organisation to fight for and to defend the rights of the people. This resulted in the formation of the African National Congress in January 1912.

In the main, the story of the freedom struggle of the repressed non-whites in the Union, especially Africans, is woven around the African National Congress. To give some idea of the people's reaction to oppression one cannot do better than tell the story of the struggle efforts of the African National Congress.

One acknowledges fully the good work done by worker's organisations like the ICU (Industrial and Commercial Workers Union). The African National Congress co-operates with some worker's organisations. Some organisations for the other

non-white groups such as the Natal Indian Congress were a carry over from former British colonies that formed the Union of South Africa.

The desire among some African leaders to form a united opposition to the General Hertzog Native Bills (the Representation of Natives Bill, the Native Land and Trust Bill) in 1935 led to the formation of a national *ad hoc* organisation, the All-African Convention.

The main objective of the African National Congress from its inception to our day has been to unite the African people into a strong political body, the African National Congress, and to act as their mouthpiece.

The intensification of oppression and the deaf ear turned by white South Africa to the pleadings of the people for the amelioration of their sufferings led the African National Congress to adopt a militant programme of action on the basis of non-violence. This was about 1945. It sought and obtained the co-operation of other non-white groups on a national level. The militant programme brought in sharply the demand for franchise rights on the basis of adult suffrage for all with no discrimination on grounds of colour, race or creed. Later, about 1953, co-operation came to include white groups who shared without qualification the Congress objectives of securing for all oppressed people freedom and democracy, on a basis of equality, friendship and mutual trust. The liberation struggle has entered a stage in which efforts are being made to form a united freedom front with groups with whom we may be only in broad agreement so long as they fully or partially share our objectives.

The desire to see the vote extended to people of all racial groups has led the African National Congress to advocate a nationalism that embraces all in the country provided they give undivided allegiance to the land of their birth or adoption as the case may be in Africa.

This is the happy development Africans have come to.

The freedom struggle is becoming a mass movement; so fighters for freedom can greet the Jubilee Anniversary with this satisfaction.

What is the reply of the Government to the forward march of the people's struggle for freedom?

Successive governments of the country, especially the government of the day, the Nationalist Party Government, have armed the state with drastic security laws that are accompanied by severe sanctions. The Nationalist Party Government is already using these powers most drastically and with little respect for the rule of law.

The reply of the people on the whole is a refusal to be intimidated and in a growing mood to show “a courage that rises with danger.”

Let us look forward to the future with the hope and belief that the centenary anniversary of the Union of South Africa will find our country already a free non-racial democracy.

In the meantime let us each and all work with courage and patience for the consummation of our hope - freedom and democracy for all - at the earliest time possible.

"WHAT I THINK OF MACMILLAN'S SPEECH": ARTICLE, MARCH 1960³⁷

The eminent British statesman, Mr Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of Britain turned to Africa, including the Union, “to see.” But, in the end, he did more than “see.” He gave us oppressed people some inspiration and hope – and to all in the Union something to think about.

Some of us, fearing that he might be manoeuvred by his host, the Union Government, to act and speak in support of apartheid, advised him that neutrality might be his best policy in the circumstances. But great man that he is, he spoke his mind without let or favour and gave a lie to our fears.

Most of what he said brought to truly progressive non-racial South Africans a refreshing breeze in a land already befogged by apartheid with its stress on sectionalism and racialism. Most of what he said could pass as a re-affirmation of the aspirations of the oppressed people in Africa, particularly those in Southern Africa.

It was heartening to hear him categorically reject discrimination: “*We reject the idea of any inherent superiority of one race over another... our policy, therefore, is non-racial.*”

He presented the British concept of the “rights of man” as finding fulfilment in the creation of free non-racial communities in which men are given opportunity to grow to their fullest stature... including the opportunity to share in political power and responsibility.

He entertained no fears of the rising African consciousness, but rather saw it as a natural development which, as in Europe, will give rise to separate nations of

³⁷ *Drum*, Johannesburg, March 1960

Africa, some of them multi-racial. In the multi-racial nations democracy, with its rule of majority, would prevail.

One should here point out to Mr Macmillan that we have always been disappointed by the stand of the representatives of the United Kingdom at the United Nations, when most nations, lately including the USA, have voted against the apartheid policy of our Government. Mr Macmillan rightly pointed out in his speech that there is a limit to a nation saying to others, "Mind your own business," because it could be said to that nation that it should mind how its conduct affected other people's business.

We applaud the stand of the British Government in the interests of world peace. But we must stress that nations which, by their actions external or internal, try to keep other people in subjection, are a danger to peace not only in their own countries but also in the world. Such countries should be reprimanded and disciplined in some way in world councils.

It may be necessary to employ economic sanctions on such nations, to shock them to repentance. We therefore find ourselves in disagreement with our honoured guest when he denounced the campaign for the boycott of Union goods by people and groups in his own country and other countries.

Mr Macmillan pointed out that in the present world setting, with an Africa fast emerging, it is a path of wisdom to win the alliance of African countries; and he urged that in this connection the West should give assistance and guidance to the emergent countries of Africa.

One is not much critical of this, save to say that aid should be given to Africa in a disinterested manner, not with a purpose of wooing her. After all, we are underdeveloped largely because Africa was drained by the exploitation of the West. Any aid given is but paying back to Africa what the countries of Europe especially took away from her to benefit themselves.

“THE EFFECT OF MINORITY RULE ON NON-WHITES” - AN ARTICLE, 1960³⁸

The overall picture of the Union of South Africa is one of colossal material development and prosperity.

³⁸ From Spottiswoode, Hildegarde (Comp.) *South Africa: The Road Ahead*. London: Bailey Bros. & Swinfen Ltd., 1960.

Nature, happily, has bountifully endowed her with rich and varied material resources. These she has exploited most successfully by harnessing skilfully the abundant human resources of her multi-racial society. All her people have contributed, at great sacrifice sometimes, to this phenomenal progress. To add to her fortune, her peoples are descended from sturdy virile stocks. But, unfortunately, an overwhelming majority live under conditions of abject poverty with consequent frustration. They are thus seriously undermined physically and spiritually. General observations, confirmed by studies by experts of repute, reveal the resulting plight of the people. Their much-reduced power of resistance makes them an easy prey to malnutrition and disease.

Discriminatory laws injure the Union

The discriminatory policies and laws of successive minority governments of Whites only are responsible for injuring the name and interests of the Union of South Africa. Non-whites are denied by these laws unfettered opportunities of meeting the needs of life in a civilised community.

White rule has followed a suicidal road to secure and maintain White supremacy which Whites see as their only protection from the so-called "tyranny of Black numbers". What a false and mistaken view! Lording it over others, whatever their status, begets resentment and not true and loving loyalty; resistance to domination, and not friendly cooperation.

Minority White rule in the Union has been a tragic failure. It has brought about much strained Black-White relations and a situation that has earned for the Union a bad name in the world and the disdain and censure of truly democratic progressive groups everywhere.

This has prompted some White citizens to band themselves into a private organisation called "The South Africa Foundation", a kind of "Defend the Union League". Some of us also regret the bad name our country is earning, but, unlike the Foundation, hold that the criticism and censure directed against her are basically founded. The Foundation should use its influence and resources to get White South Africa to amend her ways.

True and lasting security lies in Whites establishing friendship with their Black compatriots on the basis of equality and mutual trust and respect, and in giving them a stake in their native land by granting them full and unqualified democratic rights and all civil liberties enjoyed by citizens of a democratic state. All this would give Non-whites a greater sense of being in a great partnership with their White compatriots in shaping the destinies of their common fatherland.

White rule united in oppressive measures

Non-whites, under the minority rule of Whites only, have for decades suffered and continue to suffer a repression that not only impoverishes them, but is a most humiliating affront to their person and dignity.

Under the twelve years of National Party Government we have suffered more cruelly than we have ever suffered under any other government since Union. But we should never forget that much of our suffering under *baaskap apartheid* has its genesis at Union and during the lifetime of the first Union Government under General Botha. For instance, the 1913 Native Land Act, which curtailed the right of Africans to buy land and marked out by law what ought to be permanent Bantu areas, provided a basis for Dr Verwoerd's Bantustans.

The Act of the Union, as I will presently show, is the greatest segregation scandal so far as Non-whites are concerned. The National Party Government has merely added to and amplified these laws, but, in doing so, has produced oppressive laws hitherto unmatched in their cruel effects.

The National Convention, 1909, virtually gave birth to Union by the South Africa Act of the same year. This was the big divide, the great segregation Act. *Inter alia*, it debarred Non-whites from Parliament. It denied those of the Orange Free State, Transvaal and nearly all in Natal franchise rights. In the Cape Province only did a limited number of Non-whites have the vote.

The South Africa Act set the pattern for subsequent discriminatory and unjust laws that have tormented Non-whites since and made them political and social outcasts in their fatherland, the Union of South Africa.

The Non-whites did not take this lying down. In 1912, Africans organised themselves into a national body, the African National Congress, and unambiguously made their demand for full democratic rights, with a franchise on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

The demand has been evaded over the years by giving us ineffective pseudo forms of representation purporting to give us a say in our governance. What we want is to share in the governing of the whole country. We reject the National Party Government plan of Separate Development, a divided South Africa.

The African leaders were never warm about the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 which, however, they accepted in the spirit of "let us put the White man on trial". Subsequent experience convinced, beyond doubt, the African members of the Native Representative Council of its basic uselessness. They boycotted its successive sessions after 1946, and demanded that the Government abolish all discriminatory laws. This led to an impasse that brought about the demise of the Council. The National Party Government which had come into power during the stalemate abolished the Council in 1951.

The Act gave Africans a tenuous ineffectual link with Parliament and was tolerated as merely a symbol and earnest of something better yet to be. About 1946 Indians were given a somewhat similar system to link them with Parliament and the Natal Provincial Council. They boycotted it until it was abolished by the National Party Government.

Some effort was made to establish African local Councils throughout the Union from 1920. Save in the Transkei, this did not find much acceptance in the rest of the country. This was an experiment by a Smuts Government. But this also failed. The Bantu Authorities Act, which abolished the Native Representative Council, was a National Government effort to carry on the Council system with no pretext of democracy.

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 is a National Party Government creation. It is nothing but a fraudulent form of local government. Yet it purports to provide Africans with a more effective link with the Government than any before it. It also purports to lead Bantustans to independence. The whole Bantustan business is shrouded in airy statements and specious promises that leave one poised in mid air. One thing the Bantustan plan can never do is to meet the people's yearnings for democracy, since its machinery has no semblance to democratic forms of government. This phoney form of local government, which will have no link whatsoever with Parliament, abolishes the Native Representatives in Parliament and the Cape Provincial Council as from this year, 1960.

It is pertinent to point out here that the Councils under the 1920 Council system had streaks of democracy in them in that some members of District Councils were elected by the people democratically. The people have no such privilege in the Bantu Authorities System.

At Union the political rights and status of the Coloured people, as that of the Cape African voters, were greatly curtailed. They now find themselves on a Separate Roll to vote for some few Whites to represent them in Parliament and in the Cape Provincial Council.

As in the case of the Cape African voters some members of the National Party Government will not rest until the Coloured people are divorced from Parliament.

The formation of the Union did not only deny Non-whites the right to vote, but since then White rule has been systematically depriving them of what meagre rights they had acquired from Colonial Governments before the Union.

A voteless people, such as we are, will always be victims of oppression by unscrupulous power-hungry men, themselves victims of human selfishness and greed.

Economic Strangulation

(a) Reserves

The economic resources of the Union are geared to promote mainly White welfare and opulence, when the ordinary Non-whites, workers or peasants, are at starvation levels. This is attested to by expert opinion. The peasant suffers from small holdings. On an eight-acre holding the Tomlinson Commission promised a gross income of £120 a year to a hard-working peasant working his plot expertly. Otherwise the Commission says that peasant gross incomes are likely to be £60 a year.

Who can raise a civilised family on £120 a year, let alone £60?

Reserves were overcrowded in 1913 when they were set aside as permanent Native areas. The additional land promised by the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 has not materially altered the position.

The overcrowding should not surprise us when we recall the arithmetic of the division of the Union into White and Black South Africa. White South Africa with only 3,000,000 Whites has 87 percent of the land, the rest is supposed to be the homeland of 10,000,000 Africans. There is always a permanent 4,000,000 Africans in the Reserves.

A five-acre holding represents the size of an average holding in most Reserves now. The influx control regulations worsen the economic plight of the peasant. They make it difficult for peasants to be part-time farmers, and part-time workers in an urban area. One is merely stating a fact and not defending the evil migrant labour system. That is not the whole of the tragic story of the Reserves. The rehabilitation plans of the Government arbitrarily classify as workers about 60 percent of the Reserve inhabitants.

About the peasants now turned workers: the prospects of being gainfully employed are slim. Officialdom glibly says that they will get employment in industries on the borders of the Reserves. There are few at present and it will be so for a long, long time.

The Reserves are poor depressed areas. Few South Africans realise the serious plight of these areas.

(b) Urban workers

The position of workers in urban areas is no better. It is admitted on all sides, including some employer groups, that wages for workers, particularly African workers, fall far short of meeting the basic needs of an urban worker's family. Wage Board determination rates or voluntary increases by employers are not substantial increases.

Trade unionism is forbidden by law among African workers. They cannot, therefore, improve their lot by collective bargaining. Strike action is illegal for them.

To add to all this, unemployment, as among Indian and Coloured workers, claims many victims among African workers. It is made endemic by the restrictive influx control regulations.

The exclusion of Africans from the provisions of the Apprenticeship Act denies them gaining technical skills to qualify for skilled work in industry. Some of them somehow acquire the technical skill in the factory. The Industrial Conciliation Act as amended excludes Africans from its operation, and also the traditional conventional colour bar prejudice of most White employers and White employees effectively keeps out Africans from skilled jobs in industry. The result is that there are not many Africans employed as skilled workers. White builders are protected by prohibitions against skilled African builders carrying on their trade in urban areas.

(c) *Traders*

The budding businessmen, and they are increasing fairly fast, have their difficulties. The main one is lack of adequate capital. Their precarious position is aggravated by the fact that the money market is virtually closed to Africans by law and by the conventional colour bar in Black-White relations. They do not enjoy full trade facilities. It is doubtful whether the under-capitalised Bantu Development Corporation will much help the needy Bantu traders, and they are many. The position is made worse by overtrading already evident in some Reserves.

(d) *Farm labourers*

What of Native labour tenants on White farms?

They work six months or so for the farmer and are free for the rest of the year. The farmer is obliged to give each family a garden plot and home site and grazing rights for a number of cattle determined by the farmer.

The farmer is not obliged to pay a labour tenant a wage, but most of them pay anything from 10/- to £1.10/- a month. The income of a labour tenant is low like that of a peasant. Their mode of life is alike too. They are generally unsophisticated.

An African is most insecure

Non-whites, particularly Africans, live insecure lives. Low incomes and wages have much to do with this insecurity and frustration. The insecurity is aggravated

by laws such as the Native Land Act of 1913 that virtually bar him from buying or holding land on lease save from another African.

The right of Africans to purchase land in freehold in an urban area was withdrawn about 1930.

The few Africans who acquired ownership of land are now affected by the Group Areas Act and other laws with like intent and effect.

The National Party Government policy makes Africans working in urban centres temporary workers, and they may remain therein only so long as they are legally employed by some *bona fide* employer.

In rural areas African freehold lands that are surrounded by White farms are by law "Black spots", which must be vacated by Africans when so ordered by the Government. There are already some areas, especially in Northern Natal, where removals on a large scale are afoot on a Government order.

These removals will involve Africans in heavy financial losses. A similar plight will befall some Indian and Coloured people who bought land in urban areas or have businesses there when they are moved under the Group Areas Act.

What a life we have to live in South Africa!

Did you know this?

The position in the Union is that an African is always a tenant of someone: Urban area, Municipal tenant; Rural reserve, State tenant; Private farms, labour tenant or squatter.

Who would feel secure and happy living as a tenant all his life and his descendants likewise?

Poorest bearing greater burden for their services

Non-whites in the Union are discriminated against by law and by convention: in wage scales, opportunities, welfare services and public services. This has been so since Union. But there was a noticeable change in the last United Party Government under General Smuts. The services remained differentiated, but there was discernible a desire for administrative unity, with all races falling under one State Department and a gradual increase in grants-in-aid for Non-white services. Now the disparities between the grants for Black and White and in the quality of the services remain wide.

The National Party Government reversed these trends. On their maxim, "Do it yourselves, Bantus", Africans were to assume greater responsibility for paying for

their welfare services and public services. Pensions and old age grants were considerably reduced.

In urban areas, houses built under subsidised sub-economic schemes came under the category of economic housing, and called for a higher rental. African taxes were increased considerably. From this year African women are to come under the special Bantu income tax scheme. So the poorest member of the community, the African, is being taxed more by the National Party Government.

Churches and philanthropic bodies, but especially the churches, have contributed much to Non-white welfare services, especially services among Africans.

The policy of the National Party Government is one of discouraging White private voluntary work for and with Africans. It would not be unfair and amiss to say that generally whatever progress Non-whites have made towards civilised living has been despite restrictive government policies and a go-slow by the State and Whites generally (Christian missions excepted) in promoting and aiding our development.

We are here faced with the old problem of human frailty: "Unreasonable human greed against reasonable human needs."

Hope for the future

Our situation in the Union may be grim, but is not hopeless. There is still enough goodwill and charitableness among South Africans, Black and White - if only leaders, both Black and White, and the Government would get together to talk over things.

We all desire to see a prosperous and peaceful South Africa. Let us face the future with a determination to work with others of like mind to make our multi-racial Union of South Africa a democracy.

Freedom-loving forces here and outside our borders want to bring freedom to all in our land. We shall have to think and act realistically, if we are to succeed: "*Alles sal reg kom mits elkeen sy beste doen*". Everything will come right if everybody does his best.

Personally, whatever the difficulties, I see hope only in an undivided democratic South Africa. The difficulties are not insuperable if all concerned would approach them with a spirit of goodwill and realism and an unqualified respect for truth.

“FACE THE FUTURE”: FOREWORD TO A PAMPHLET OF

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS, 1960³⁹

The white minority rule policy of segregation and more so its virulent form, apartheid, have screened off from each other Black and White in South Africa. Our knowledge of each other is scanty and most superficial. But worse, what there is of it is tainted with prejudice and wishful thinking. This makes it easy for Government policy and the lying propaganda that boosts it to push us further and further apart.

What a tragedy that so many should thus be made to live blissfully in a world of fantasy. When Rome is on fire many seem oblivious to how much our thinking actions are a flight from reality, which makes us "build castles in the air". Many thus become victims of complacency. Among whites one gets some day-dreaming of a white South Africa that is not, and can never be. When such whites suddenly discover that "*Kaffirs* are lively" and challenging in earnest, they become an easy prey to unnerving fears that throw them off balance in their thinking and actions.

Non-whites on the other hand are prone to indulge in dangerous speculative airy talk about Freedom, such as speaking about it as being "round the corner" when they are doing nothing for the Freedom cause. This makes such non-whites sooner or later become victims of frustration, or an easy prey to fraudulent and dangerous Government plans whose end result is nothing but more and more cruel and insulting serfdom.

The South African Congress of Democrats publication to which I have the honour to write a Foreword provides a much needed brief factual presentation of our situation in the Union. It confronts us with challenges we can only evade to the harm of our country and ourselves. To honest and serious citizens it provides an impetus and a basis for making a much-needed agonising reappraisal.

No one who reads the book with an open and searching mind can sink into complacency or become panicky, for the book is constructive in its approach. I trust it will disturb and shock many to realistic thinking and action. There is much at stake. There is no time nor room for cowardly thinking and action. Too many of us ignore the signs of the times. This justifies the note of urgency and disaster the book strikes.

But more importantly, the author points a realistic way out. A hard way, yes. It has to be so for us too, for at no time, and nowhere in history has Freedom come without much sacrifice by both the oppressor and the oppressed; it seems never to come without "tears and blood". There is still enough goodwill among non-whites to avoid a bloody struggle being a *sine qua non* to Freedom. But the situation can no longer be met by giving too little of Freedom at a time, and most certainly not by ordering Africans even at the point of a bayonet to march back to tribalism, as is

³⁹ Foreword to a pamphlet, *Face the Future*, published by the South African Congress of Democrats in 1960

the aim of apartheid.

Non-whites reject with the contempt it deserves the Nationalist Party Government policy of separate development. They see it for what it is: an attempt to delay the march to Freedom. They will have no truck with adulterated pseudo forms of democracy; no caricatures, but only the genuine article will do. No amount of jackbooting will halt them from making and striving for their demands. Jackbooting will only embitter them against the whites, and thus make it difficult to build our multi-racial society and non-racial democracy.

The book is mainly a charge to white South Africa. Non-whites should not, however, derive much comfort from its laudatory references to them. As a group we are taking too long to wake up. The rest of Africa is up and doing. It is distressing to find some of our people who should know better being false prophets, counselling people to compromise with apartheid. What is there to compromise with in apartheid? Compromise with death! This would be a voluntary acceptance of oppression. What a counsel of despair which makes its authors guilty of national suicide!

I use the opportunity afforded me by this Foreword to thank those whites who have taken a stand to make common cause with us in our struggle. They are doing this at great cost to themselves. This is an index of how they value right as against "might is right". These friendly whites are to be found in the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and other progressive groups and individuals. They have truly become our comrades-in-arms. Together we mirror the South Africa of tomorrow we are striving for - a truly non-racial democratic South Africa in which as countrymen, equals and friends, we shall be comrades in Freedom.

I plead with white South Africa to swell the ranks of these progressives. What a glorious prospect awaits us! Let us all work sacrificially to make its speedy realisation possible.

TESTIMONY IN THE TREASON TRIAL, MARCH 1960⁴⁰

(Extracts)

MR TRENGOVE (of the prosecution): The African National Congress was working for the overthrow of the ruling classes?

⁴⁰ From Karis, Thomas and Gwendolen M. Carter, *From Protest to Challenge* (Hoover University Press, 1977), Volume 3, pages 582-92

A. J. LUTHULI: My Lords, the African National Congress was not working for the overthrow of the ruling classes. It was working for being given an opportunity to participate in the government of the country.

Would it be incorrect then to say that the African National Congress was working for the overthrow of the ruling classes?— My Lord, if it means that the A.N.C. was working to just get rid of the ruling class which is White and then take over a Black government, that would be incorrect.

We will come to that. The African National Congress was aiming at the seizure of power in this country? Is that correct?— That is not correct, My Lord. Again one must say that in the light of what I have said, it could only mean having an opportunity to participate inasmuch as now we are not participating in the government, but I would not interpret it to mean - in fact it has never been the purpose of the African National Congress in the light of its activities to say that it wants to seize power in the sense of throwing out the White Government and replacing it by a Black Government.

MR TRENGOVE: You held out the view that the White electorate had certain inherent qualities of goodness and if you applied a little pressure, those good qualities would result in the White man granting you your claims?

A. J. LUTHULI: Some.

Wouldn't it have to be the majority?— I think, My Lords, I did indicate in my evidence in chief that there are degrees and degrees of response, to the struggle.

I am talking of the ultimate response. Ultimately?— Ultimately, My Lord, I repeat this that we hope that we will have brought pressure on the electorate so that the majority of the electorate come to see the justice of our claims and demands.

MR TRENGOVE: Now as a result of the pressure which you were going to bring to bear on them, what would happen, why would the pressure make the White man change his mind?

A. J. LUTHULI: My Lords, I don't know that I can satisfactorily answer without going back to what I said in my evidence in chief, namely this, that I indicated there and I indicate now that you would have some of the Whites through sheer moral persuasion seeing the justice of our cause. You might have others, My Lord, who through ignorance might not have known the conditions under which we live, and maybe through prejudice, but who when they see us struggling would begin to

think and think on this - think on our demands. There would still be yet another group which would only come to concede, in fact maybe reluctantly, to our demands because of the fact that you are now affecting the man's interests.

MR TRENGOVE: This change of mind or change of heart on behalf - on the part of the white electorate, either on the grounds of moral principles or out of self-interest, you say that it was all along the purpose of the African National Congress to effect that change of heart or change of mind, call it what you will?

A. J. LUTHULI: That is so.

You expect the white man to undergo this change of heart:— I do, My Lord.

And I take it you expected it only if you applied what one might call sufficient pressure?— That is so, My Lord.

Now what do you mean by applying pressure?— I mean, My Lord, applying pressure along lines clearly laid out in our Programme of Action.

We know what is contained therein. By the means set out in the Programme of Action you wanted to apply this pressure?— That is so, My Lord.

So it was not going to be a question of persuasion, it had to be pressure or coercion or intimidation of the White public, is that correct?— I don't know about the question of coercion or intimidation. All I am saying, My Lords, is this, that you would apply pressure. I don't know that you would be intimidating. You are merely applying pressure so that the man comes to consider otherwise. I don't know that you would call it intimidating. He thinks, and then he says, in the circumstances I think rather than jeopardise my interests I think I should concede.

So he wouldn't willingly concede?— I wouldn't say he would willingly concede. He would - the pressure would eventually get him to. He wouldn't be a man who starts off willingly.

MR TRENGOVE: Incendiarism, is that a type of pressure that you think one could bring to bear on the public or the government to change its policies.

A. J. LUTHULI: No, My Lord.

What about burning of passes?— My Lords. I don't know that I would - well, it depends upon interpretation, but the question of burning a pass to me, if I may elaborate, is an entirely different proposition. I come to a position where I feel that

in this country, South Africa ought to be free, I ought not to carry a pass. I come to the position when I feel that in order to demonstrate that, I must subject myself to whatever the law might do to me, and I just throw away my pass. That is all there is to it. In fact I am exerting pressure on no one, I am merely saying now as evidence of the fact that I hate a pass, I get rid of it.

Anything you hate you can set a light to?— I wouldn't say that, some things I would set a light to. I wouldn't say everything.

You said on Friday that you were against the burning of passes by individuals?— Yes.

If it took place on a mass scale then it would be different?— I did.

Do you still adhere to that view?— I do.

Did you on occasion in the past commend the burning of passes where it took place in isolated instances?— I didn't.

Leaving out what happened over the weekend, prior to that, had there been burning of passes by Africans?— There had been in past years and even in recent years, there have been instances where Africans have burnt passes.

You say that doesn't carry your approval?— It doesn't carry my approval, for reasons that I think I gave.

MR TRENGOVE: On the question of burning of passes, do you know if that type of certificate was issued by the African National Congress to women who burnt passes? That bears your signature at the bottom?

A. J. LUTHULI: That is so, My Lord.

And also the signature of Nokwe?— That is so.

And what does it say?— “African National Congress. Award of Merit. This award is conferred upon Johanna Mocketli in the name of the oppressed people of South Africa for outstanding service given in a spirit of selflessness and courage in resisting oppression on the occasion of the Anti-Pass Campaign, 1958 pass burning. By this service the day of liberation from oppression has been brought closer. Signed A. J. Luthuli, President-General. D. Nokwe, Secretary-General.”

Have you any comment to make?— I have no comment to make, save this My Lord, that quite frankly I had forgotten about the recent demonstration by women, when I said I don't recall in recent years—but I recall this.

What do you mean recent? 1958?— Yes, recent.

So that you did approve of the burning of passes in isolated areas in previous years?— My Lord. I don't know that I would take the situation here as having been an isolated case. If the questioner knows the situation - at the time women throughout the country were agitating greatly and we supported them, as African National Congress, against passes. Now some of the women in that struggle voluntarily, without any instructions from us, burnt their passes, and I wouldn't take that really as an isolated instance as an individual or a group burning a pass. Mind you, I think I must make it quite clear that insofar as the principle is concerned I am not against it. It was merely a question of saying well, if you do burn a pass, it must be furthering the struggle, and I would interpret this as having been help in furthering the struggle, insofar as the pass in concerned.

MR TRENGOVE: Assuming that the White people said that they were not prepared to grant a full franchise immediately, what would the attitude of the African National Congress have been at this time, 1952 to 1956?

A. J. LUTHULI: My Lords, all I can say to that is this, that as I have already indicated, the African National Congress had not discussed compromises, and I would not be truthful if I were to say now the African National Congress would do this, because I would not know. I might have my own views, but I cannot say the African National Congress would do this, because we had not come to the position of discussing compromises as we had not reached that stage at all. That is all that I can say, My Lords.

Now the position is this, and you know it very well, that the African National Congress - that this very question was considered by the African National Congress and its attitude was no compromise with the oppressor and no achievement of freedom by gradualistic reforms. You wanted full freedom immediately or nothing else?— My Lords, it is possible that there would be statements and maybe many statements by African National Congress leaders and documents, to that effect. But one must realise My Lords, the stage at which we are in the struggle. In other words, you must tell the people exactly where you stand and what you want. I do not think, My Lords, any leader can say to his people at the time of making the demands, I want this, but I'll take this.

BY MR JUSTICE KENNEDY:

Why not, Mr Luthuli?— I think you want to make your case very clear to your followers and to the world.

Did you not consider saying while we demand or desire full rights, we are prepared to negotiate in regard thereto and compromise about this?— No, My Lord. We - with respect, My Lords, we would say generally I think that in a situation such as ours of a struggle, you make your demand as strongly as you can, and wait to react to proposals. My Lords, I must say this that we have as an organisation, the A.N.C., made overtures to the Government, not on demands but to sit down and discuss. We have made those overtures ourselves, My Lord.

MR TRENGOVE: Now, you did not regard the white oppressor as being fair and reasonable; you regarded the white oppressor as being vicious and brutal?

A. J. LUTHULI: A section.

The ruling section; the majority?— The majority, yes.

MR TRENGOVE: Yes; and you also propagated the view - the African National Congress - that the white majority would resist pressure to the point of drowning the whole country in blood?

A. J. LUTHULI: I wouldn't say the African National Congress said so. You might hear individuals saying so, I won't deny that, but I don't think it was ever said by the African National Congress - never.

MR TRENGOVE: Mr Luthuli, let's just examine the replies that you've been giving in the last quarter of an hour in the light of what is stated in this document, "No Easy Walk to Freedom" [by Mandela, Document 2]... Then at the bottom of page 4 the writer states, "The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying policy of the white man. The attitude of the Government to us is that 'Let's beat them down with guns and batons and trample them underneath our feet.' 'We must be ready to drown the whole country in blood, if only there is the slightest chance of preserving white supremacy.'" Now, Mr Luthuli, that was the attitude of the African National Congress towards the reaction of the White majority in this country, if pressure is applied?

A. J. LUTHULI: My Lords, that would be the view of the writer, but not of the African National Congress. I have already said so. I have already stated the view of the African National Congress. Its aim is not to try and force the Government to shed blood; it hoped the Government would see reason before that but if the Government doesn't see reason and goes on - I have already said the oppressed

people will carry on their struggle, within the framework of the policy of the Organisation.

MR TRENGOVE: Do you regard the publication of this type of statement as dangerous?

A. J. LUTHULI: I would say that I could wish my colleagues had been a little more careful. I'd leave it on that basis.

Why, Mr Luthuli?— The use of words and statements are liable to give a wrong point of view, a wrong interpretation of Congress view.

Yes, but what is wrong with this type of statement; what harm can it do?— I've already indicated, My Lords, that this last particular statement as given me might have the interpretation that the Government would go on shedding blood and never coming to the point which I've already tried to tell this Court, that one always expects, even before the Government starts shooting - it might negotiate. Some other Government might do so. It depends upon the Government. But it's not our aim to say "I must force this Government to a position where it starts shooting," far from it.

MR TRENGOVE: Mr Luthuli, I would now ask you to listen to a tape recording of a speech made by Resha⁴¹ on the 22nd November, 1956. The speech was made at 37 West Street, which was the offices of the African National Congress, is that correct, those were the offices?

A. J. LUTHULI: That is correct.

And Mr Luthuli, it was a secret meeting, at which only certain delegates who presented their credentials were allowed to be present...

TAPE RECORDING OF RESHA'S SPEECH PLAYED TO WITNESS [saying, "if you are a true volunteer and you are called upon to be violent, you must be absolutely violent, you must murder! Murder! That is all."]

Mr Luthuli, you have listened to what the Crown alleges to be the voice of Resha who was really the Supreme Commander of the 50,000 top brigade of volunteers. Now would you just - you heard this speech?—I have, My Lords.

⁴¹ Robert Resha, a leader of the A.N.C.

Do you agree that it is a subversive speech? It is a speech inciting people to violent action?— My Lords, I will not say subversive because I don't know the legal meaning, but it is a violent speech, it is a very violent speech.

Did you hear the reaction of the people to whom he was speaking?— Yes, I heard.

And what was that reaction?— They applauded.

[The prosecution stated that E. P. Moretsele, chairman of the Transvaal ANC, presided at the meeting and that Duma Nokwe and Leslie Masina were among those present.]

MR TRENGOVE: Now do you know why these people tolerate this violent speech and applauded it?

A. J. LUTHULI: No, My Lords, I wouldn't know.

Is it entirely inconsistent with your alleged policy of non-violence?— In parts it is, yes.

Now Mr Luthuli, did any of the members of the National Executive or anybody ever take any steps about this speech?— My Lords, I wouldn't know to what extent the Executive - the National Executive became aware of the speech. I wouldn't know. I was not aware of it, I don't know how many were aware of it, other than those who were there at the meeting, I wouldn't know.

Now having listened to the speech, are you shocked to hear that a speech of this nature was made?— There are some parts that shock me. There are some parts what one might call a fighting speech, but there are some parts that I absolutely don't like at all.

MR TRENGOVE: You see, Mr Luthuli, if the Volunteer-in-Chief makes that type of speech, who is in a better position to know what the duties are of a volunteer than the Volunteer-in-Chief?

A. J. LUTHULI: Oh no, that doesn't follow. If I may make an illustration, My Lords, I don't know about army technique and things like that, but surely if a General were to do something that is not right, I don't think it can be said that therefore in fact the whole policy must now be aligned to what that particular General who is wrong, does. I wouldn't accept that proposition.

I am not asking you to approve of what he did. I want to know who was in a better position than Resha to know what the duties of a volunteer are? Was there any person in a better position than Resha?— No, there wouldn't be any person in a better position than Resha to know the duties, that is true, that is quite true.

And I put it to you Mr Luthuli that Resha made this speech and he gave those instructions to the volunteers because that was exactly what volunteers were expected to do? And you know that?— I don't. I don't. Because Resha would be expected to lead the volunteers along the policy of Congress. Now if Resha as a General departs, he departs as Resha. It has nothing to do with the policy of the African National Congress, definitely.

And judging by the reaction of the people whom he addressed, do you think they thought he was departing from policy?— My Lords, it is difficult to say about the whole meeting, a group of people. No doubt it was a time when feelings were very high, and their applauding actuated by the feeling in the circumstances might be interpreted as approving. On the other hand, My Lord, insofar as the meeting applauding it would not necessarily be to say they are applauding the violent aspects. My Lord, I wouldn't really go as far as that. As I have already indicated, I don't approve, it would be contrary to Congress policy, and if they were applauding that part, then they are wrong. But on the other hand, My Lords, I think I am right in saying it was a time when the feelings of the people were high and therefore they could have been - applauding, actuated by the emotions of the times, not necessarily saying we are foregoing Congress policy. I am talking now of the crowd as a whole, My Lord.

MR TRENGOVE: Now Mr Luthuli, do I understand you correctly that you say that the only explanation you can give for the speech that Resha made was that he was deviating from policy because he was inciting or making a violent speech?

A. J. LUTHULI: That is correct, My Lord.

And you can't suggest any reason why in those circumstances he should have done it?— My Lords, I wouldn't be able to say why in those circumstances he did it, and I don't like to advance excuses at all. I have said in general it was a tense moment, but I should think that even in a tense moment a responsible person should be able to hold himself.

MR TRENGOVE: ... I just want you to explain one or two matters which you already dealt with but which I am still unable to follow. The first one was that the people shall govern. According to that the attitude of the African National Congress was that everybody should have the vote, irrespective of sex, irrespective of colour?

A. J. LUTHULI: That is correct.

And there was to be no - apart from perhaps a qualification as to age, there was to be no other qualification?— That is correct, My Lord.

So that every person would be entitled to participate in parliamentary elections?— That is correct.

Now that was a claim on which the African National Congress was not prepared to compromise in any way?— That is correct, My Lord.

So that if there were any negotiation at any stage, that had to be conceded as fundamental?— I wouldn't go as far as that, My Lord, because when you come to negotiation, My Lords, there are several factors to consider, and I could not here from the witness box anticipate and say now this might happen. But let me illustrate a possibility, just a possibility, to indicate how difficult it would be in a witness box to say it would be this, a thing that has not been discussed. Supposing the government of the country came along and said look, we now accept in principle your demand for universal adult franchise, we accept it. But, we cannot implement that next year. We will have to consider certain factors because the country has been run after all on this basis, we will have to consider. Now my Lords, I take it that negotiators there would have to sit down or rather go and report back to other leaders, and the leaders would consider in the light of what the government says, so that I cannot say My Lords that - what will take place, but it is definitely a clear goal that we are striking for, uncompromisingly. On the other hand, supposing the government had to say now well, we have called you here, we want to improve wages and things like that.

We are just dealing with the vote?— Yes, but I am just giving an illustration, you touched on negotiation. And then they were to say well, insofar as the vote is concerned now we don't feel we can. I think the negotiators would simply say right away oh no, so far as that is concerned, we think that is a fundamental issue. Thank you for whatever you may do in the economic field, we are not throwing that away, but insofar as this is concerned, - so you see, one really can't anticipate and say what will happen at negotiation.

MR TRENGOVE: Mr Luthuli, negotiation was never contemplated, and you know that?

A. J. LUTHULI: It has been all along anticipated. My Lord, even at this moment, we would be very, very happy if the government would take up the attitude of saying, come let us discuss. We would be extremely happy, in fact even to discuss, even if at the end of the discussions we didn't agree.

Mr Luthuli, it is sheer hypocrisy to make a statement like that and you know it. That was never your attitude?— You may be allowed in Court, I don't know what your rights are, but to call one a hypocrite, really it does hurt. And I will defend myself, My Lords, although if I recall at the time when I was being led by Counsel, reference was made to the fact that I wrote as President-General of the African National Congress a letter in 1957 with - to the Prime Minister, pleading exactly for what I am saying here now, and for me to be called a hypocrite, publicly be called a hypocrite, well Counsel has the right to say so, but it does hurt one.

MR TRENGOVE: Mr Luthuli, I want to put it to you that you and the whole Congress movement, you accepted the position that the Freedom Charter was a revolutionary document, and that it couldn't be put into effect without breaking up the whole political and economic set-up of the present South Africa, that is correct, is it not?

A. J. LUTHULI: I think that is generally correct.

And that one would have, once the demands are put into effect, one would have a state which differs radically and fundamentally from the present state?— My Lords, I think in some respects. I think that if you read the whole of the Freedom Charter, My Lords, you will find that the demands made in the Freedom Charter [are] as such demands really, My Lord, that you get in any bill of rights. For an example, I think that if you were to make comparisons with the Freedom Charter, you will find that.

I am not asking you to compare it with anything else. I am asking you to compare it with the present political and economic structure of the Union?— I am saying that in some respects there are radical changes, in others they wouldn't be so radical.

Mr Luthuli, I also want to put it to you that you never expected that the White oppressor would ever accept your demands and concede your demands?— My Lords, I wouldn't be in Congress if I didn't expect that White South Africa would some day reconsider. That is my honest belief, and one has grounds for it. I think I have already indicated them, but I firmly believe that White South Africa will one day reconsider. When, My Lords, I cannot say.

But you were not prepared to wait for that one day. You were telling the people now, not next year or any other year, now. Your - leading members of your organisations said within a matter of five years. You weren't going to wait for the White electorate to change their minds and you know that, Mr Luthuli?— I think that the Prosecutor in my view, My Lords, is really putting a wrong construction into a phrase or motto intended to gear people's determination.

**UNDELIVERED STATEMENT AT THE TIME OF HIS TRIAL
FOR BURNING HIS PASS, 1960⁴²**

[This statement was to have been made to the court before the passing of sentence, after which I had been found guilty of burning my pass, guilty of disobeying a law by way of protest, and not guilty of incitement. At the time I voluntarily accepted the advice of my lawyers, and because of the very poor state of my health I did not make it. I am still not sure whether I made the right decision. I place it on record here and leave the reader to decide. Whether he applauds or derides, he will know what I feel.]

I stand before you, your Worship, charged with the destruction of my Reference Book (or Pass) and because of that with the crime of inciting my people to do the same. I have pleaded legally not guilty to all the charges.

What I did, I did because I, together with the overwhelming majority of my people, condemn the pass system as the cause of much evil and suffering among us. We charge that it is nothing less than an instrument of studied degradation and humiliation of us as a people, a badge of slavery, a weapon used by the authorities to keep us in a position of inferiority.

It cannot be very easy for you, sir, to understand the very deep hatred all Africans feel for a pass. I say this not as a mark of disrespect to your person, sir, but because only a direct experience and contact with a pass and all that it means can make one really understand and appreciate the justice of our charge against the evil thing, the pass. We are deeply conscious of, and grateful for, the fact that there is a growing number of fellow white South Africans who appreciate our situation and feel deeply about it; but they, too, can never really fully understand the depth of our suffering. Can anyone who has not gone through it possibly imagine what has happened when they read in the Press of a routine police announcement that there has been a pass raid in a location? The fear of the loud, rude bang on the door in the middle of the night, the bitter humiliation of an undignified search, the shame of husband and wife being huddled out of bed in front of their children by the police and taken off to the police cell.

If there is a law in any country in the whole wide world which makes it a crime in many instances for husband and wife to live together, which separates eighteen-year-olds from their parents, I have yet to learn of it. But the pass does so in the Union of South Africa.

⁴² From Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, Appendix C

Each year half a million of my people are arrested under the pass laws. Government Annual Reports tell of this tragic story. But statistics can tell only half the tale. The physical act of arrest and detention with the consequence of a broken home, a lost job, a loss of earnings, is only part of this grim picture. The deep humiliation felt by a black man, whether he be a labourer, an advocate, a nurse, a teacher or a professor, or even a minister of religion, when, over and over again, he hears the shout, "*Kaffir*, where is your pass? - *Kaffir*, *waar's jo paas?*" fills in the rest of this grim picture.

Our feelings about the pass laws are not new or something born in recent years. The whole history of the African people since Union is studded with our complaints, petitions, mass demonstrations, pass burnings, etc.

In all these campaigns, sir, over the years, other sections of the South African population have gradually come to see the justice of our claim that the Pass Laws are oppressive in the extreme. One way or another, large and varied sections of the population have come to understand that the well-being of South Africa, no less than the cause of humanity and justice, demands the abolition or the drastic curtailment of these laws. I will refer you, sir, only to such well-known facts as these: that in the war years the late Mr Deneys Reitz, then Minister of Native Affairs, spoke publicly of the need to repeal these laws, and in fact, for a time, virtually suspended the system of summary arrest on which these laws are based; then in 1948 the Fagan Commission, presided over by a man who as Minister of Native Affairs had administered these laws, and as judge had punished those who broke them, recommended a drastic revision and curtailment; that in more recent years these views have been echoed by churches, by the South African Institute of Race Relations, by at least two recognised political parties in the country, the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, and by many hundreds of people and organisations of different kinds. In fact, sir, most public commissions appointed since 1912 by successive governments have been, to say the least, highly critical of it. World opinion generally has been critical too, and some sections of it, at times, outspokenly condemnatory. It has been a cause of regret and even bitterness amongst our people that in spite of such widespread condemnation, internal and external, of the inhumanity of these laws, the present Government has not only not seen fit to curtail or abolish them, but has extended and intensified their operation, cancelled all exemptions from these laws and, to add insult to injury, extended them, for the first time in the history of our country, to our womenfolk. All this is done in terms of the "Abolition of Passes and the Co-ordination of Documents Act." We are asked to be grateful for this. Grateful for what? For stitching neatly into a single book various pieces of paper formerly needed to comply with the law. If this is not contempt for our national feelings, sir, it must be cruel mockery.

Each year since the so-called "Abolition of Passes Act" came into effect more of our people have been arrested for pass law offences. We do not have to read the Government Blue Books or Statistics to know this. Almost every African family knows this to their cost from their family experience.

It has long been clear to us in the Liberatory Movement that this Government action, to enforce and extend these laws, would increase tension between the African people and the Government and further strain white-black relations to the injury of the true interests and welfare of our country.

I do not want to comment much on the tragic events that occurred on 21st March of this year at Sharpeville, save to say merely this. All versions of this shocking event agree that the crowd which collected at the Police Station in Sharpeville did so because of - and only because of - the Pass Laws. All that is in dispute is whether people came to hear an official statement on the future of the Pass Laws or to demonstrate against these laws. Whichever version may be true, the end was an event which shocked and horrified every decent South African, black and white, and outraged the world. A large number of my people lost their lives, and a much larger number were wounded. If ever the cup of bitterness against the Pass Laws ran over, it was then. It was with deep feelings of disgust for the Pass Laws that many people, black and white throughout the country, responded magnificently to the A.N.C. call to observe a National Day of Mourning to mourn these late victims of the Pass Laws and for Africans to burn their passes.

In such an atmosphere it is understandable that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Africans, to show their mourning, voluntarily destroyed the symbol of bondage and burnt their passes; spontaneously, without urging, sir, many, many did so. For me, sir, the situation demanded a momentous decision. I felt it my inescapable duty to give meaning to the Congress call to observe in a peaceful way the Day of Mourning and to bear witness in a practical way to our abhorrence for a pass. I saw no other effective peaceful way than to burn my own pass. This I did.

There comes a time, sir, when a leader must give as practical a demonstration of his convictions and willingness to live up to the demands of the cause, as he expects of his people. I felt that was the hour in our history, and in my life, for this demonstration. I am not sorry nor ashamed of what I did. I could not have done less than I did and still live with my conscience. I would rightly lose the confidence of my people, and earn the disrespect of right-thinking people in my country and in the world, and the disdain of posterity.

In all humility, I say that I acted as was my duty in response to the highest moral law in the best interest of the people of South Africa, because I am convinced that the urgent need of our country, for the maintenance of peace and harmony amongst the various races, black and white, is the immediate and wholesale abolition of the pass. It is my firm belief that it is the duty of all right-thinking people, black and white, who have the true interest of our country at heart, to strive for this without flinching.

“DEFY APARTHEID”: AFRICA DAY MESSAGE, APRIL 1961¹

“Africa Day” anniversary is an occasion worthy of an emergent Africa. On this day, April 15, we should do more than merely emotionally think of Mother Africa – past, present and future. We should re-dedicate ourselves – all we are and all we possess – to active, sacrificial service in her honour.

Failure to do this not only makes the observance of the day meaningless and hollow, but qualifies us as the most despicable hypocrites, unworthy of our sturdy forebears who at every turn did their best to ward off subjugation by foreign invaders.

Failure to truly and honestly pledge ourselves to her re-birth to independence shows us as accepting the *status quo* – slavery!

The Way Out

The uppermost thought in the minds of all on this day, no doubt, will be Africa’s enslavement and “our way out of slavery.” We shall be painfully reminded of how Mother Africa for centuries has been the playfield of exploiters, from the day of slavery to our day. We shall be reminded also of how she struggled from her most oppressive past until the map of Africa now shows only a few enslaved areas.

As the people root out all pockets of oppression, we should not fall victim to the snares of new forms of colonial oppression. The memory of Africa’s sufferings under foreign rule should fill us with righteous indignation, and this should spur us forward to a greater determination to bring about speedily her complete emancipation – politically and economically.

There is no need for doubt or despondency. There are most encouraging developments that point to the nearness of Africa’s re-birth. Each Africa Day anniversary brings us nearer to this coveted goal – Africa’s full emancipation.

Encouraging Signs

What are these encouraging signs? Since our first Africa Day, in 1958, the world’s moral condemnation of the remaining oppressive forces in Africa has mounted to considerable proportions. South Africa, deservingly, has been the chief target of this condemnation.

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, April 13, 1961

But even more significant and fitting is the growing determination by some progressive forces in the Afro-Asian countries, to back up their moral condemnation by deeds consonant with the abhorrence, which the whole world feels against race discrimination and oppression. Where it is not the Government taking action, groups within the nation have seized the initiative to take action.

We deeply appreciate the actions of these countries and groups. Notable examples at Governmental level are Ghana, India and Malaya. At national group level, Great Britain and Scandinavian countries are worthy of note, in connection with the boycott of South African goods.

We welcome All-African conferences such as the one recently held at Cairo. Such conferences help liberation movements in Africa to share experiences and to formulate broad plans for helping the people still dominated under foreign rule.

Move for Sanctions

Now in the United Nations itself, with the Afro-Asian countries forcing the peace, there are heartening moves to have sanctions imposed against South Africa. We note with delight that countries such as Great Britain and the United States, even though haltingly and with much caution and reservations – are becoming active opponents and not just arm-chair critics of apartheid.

These developments challenge freedom fighters in our own country and in the other oppressed countries to redouble their efforts for their freedom.

This must be so, for in the final reckoning we, the oppressed, are the keys to our emancipation. The world can do no more than assist us. It should not assist a people indifferent to their own salvation, especially at a time when “the wind of change” is blowing at hurricane force.

When the world is for freedom, we dare not aim for anything less. The course of humanity is: “Up from Slavery.” That is why a policy like apartheid is doomed to ignominious and most disastrous failure.

It is not that we wish ill for our country. The contrary is the case. It is to avert her doom that we struggle to reform her into a non-racial democracy pledged to equality, fraternity and freedom for all regardless of race, colour or creed.

We want a South Africa and an Africa that will play a noble and constructive role in a world that is pregnant with foreboding signs of rivalry and conflict.

But never must our beloved Continent allow herself to become embroiled in so-called world power politics.

Defy Apartheid

When Dr Verwoerd and those who accept his leadership stand “granite-like” for our oppression, let us, and all freedom lovers, be even more granite-like for our emancipation and with “a courage that rises with danger” defy apartheid.

The recent All-In African Conference held at Pietermaritzburg⁴³ and other freedom conferences and efforts are significant milestones in our march to a free Africa.

The decision of the Maritzburg Conference demanding a National Convention must be given the widest possible support and I call on all South Africans – both black and white – Indian, African, Coloured and European – to support this demand so that a truly democratic, non-racial Constitution can be formulated for our country.

FORWARD TO A FREE AFRICA!

NKOSI SIKELELA I-AFRIKA!

**DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST PROCLAMATION OF
REPUBLIC: ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS BY *DRUM*, MAY
1961⁴⁴**

[*Drum* asked several non-European leaders for answers to three questions concerning the planned demonstrations. The following are answers of Chief Luthuli.]

Question: Do you advocate peaceful demonstrations for May 31?

Answer: We have no other way to express our feelings. That is the only thing left to the voteless man. I welcome non-violent protests.

Question: What form should the demonstrations around Republic Day take?

Answer: There can be marches and meetings or stay-at-homes. As long as they are directed at objectives I share, I welcome them.

Question: What should be the aim of the demonstrations?

Answer: We are protesting against the establishment of a republic with no reference to us. We feel that white South Africa should not go on making changes in our lives without consulting us.

⁴³ In March 1961

⁴⁴ *Drum*, Johannesburg, June 1961

ELECTION CALL TO WHITE SOUTH AFRICA, OCTOBER 1961¹

Non-European leaders warned Whites 51 years ago, when the National Convention was held (in 1909), that a convention which excluded the majority of the people of South Africa was fraught with serious dangers for all. The Whites did not heed all the warning.

In March this year, the African people asked the Government not to proceed with its plans to declare South Africa a Republic without first calling a Convention representative of all the people of South Africa to discuss the future of the country. The Government proceeded with its plans, completely ignoring the voice of the Non-White people in this country.

Reasons

Now we are on the eve of another all-white election.

These elections were due in 1963, but the Government decided to hold them in October of this year. The Prime Minister Dr Verwoerd has given the following reasons for advancing the date of the general election:

Because 1963 was fixed as a year of active rebellion against the Government and the state;

Because those who have tried internal disturbances have on every occasion chosen a date to coincide with some event which might make the electorate sensitive to external influences;

To prevent any organised onslaught on orderly administration;

To avoid being caught up in an election during a period of economic crisis;

To resist world pressure on South Africa;

To show the world that South Africa has a strong stable government in power for the next five years;

To deal efficiently with the country's racial problems and with events in Africa, particularly near the borders of the Republic;

¹ Exclusive article in *New Age*, Cape Town, October 12, 1961..

To give attention to further economic development and prosperity of the Republic;
and

To restore the confidence of the investors in the safety of their investment in the Republic.

How strong can the Nationalist Party Government be if it wants to be given time to prepare for total armed mobilisation? The Government is fighting against time and is trying to create a block of white South Africans before the “trouble” starts in the hope that by so doing the White Supremacists will remain in power for a long time.

We know nothing about this trouble the Government is constantly warning about these days. But all I can say is that the winning of freedom by the Non-Whites is inevitable and can no longer be avoided.

It is not necessary for me to analyse the issue in this election as seen by the major parliamentary parties. Both the United and Nationalist parties believe in the traditional policy of White Supremacy – the policy whose effect has been a decline in every aspect of our national life.

The United Party is not becoming more progressive, but more and more reactionary. It is now merely a question of who endangers White Supremacy – Verwoerd and Vorster or Graaff and Mitchell. The real aim of both parties is the defence of the all-White Republic. It is, however, true that the Nats are more brutal and ruthless.

“Granite” Policies

In the last 13 years, the Nationalists have gone further than any previous Government in oppressing the Non-Whites. They have adopted “a granite wall attitude” to even the most limited demands for a relaxation of their policy of White *baaskap*. They look upon the Non-Europeans like a herd of cattle whose fate depends on the owner.

To the Non-Europeans, Nationalist policy has meant humiliation and degradation. It has inflamed bitterness in race relations. It has created a charged atmosphere in the country.

People’s leaders have been banned, proscribed and prosecuted; their organisations have been banned; protests and demonstrations have been ruthlessly suppressed; their people have been massacred. The country is in a perpetual state of emergency.

There is great unrest in the countryside. A serious situation exists today in Pondoland. The so-called development policy has been completely rejected by the African people.

The Government completely ignores the elected political leaders of the Non-White peoples and claims that the chiefs are the natural leaders of the African people as if we are the only people who have chiefs.

By intimidation and promises of relatively high stipends the Government has silenced a good number of our chiefs. The result is a tragic and unpardonable let down of the people by those chiefs at this crucial time in our history. From being servants – leaders – of the people they have become autocratic Government functionaries – “their Master’s voice” – and not their people’s voice which they should be.

No Solution

I wish to state most emphatically that elections as South Africa stands at present will never solve the country’s vital problems. The White electorate seems bent only on ensuring the maintenance of White domination. It shuns to boldly and courageously face the pressing realities of our situation. These problems cannot be solved through policies and programmes that temporise with the situation and pander to racial prejudices and selfishness.

National Convention

The country’s problems can best be solved at a National Convention with sovereign powers to draw up a new constitution based on a non-racial democracy for South Africa.

So I use this general election time to call upon the White electorate, in boldness and courage, now before it is too late, to support and co-operate in the call for a National Convention as a means to a peaceful solution to avert a crisis. The electorate should confront candidates with this vital issue at all election meetings.

To the Non-White peoples I say: Organise in both the towns and the countryside as you have never done before around the slogan: “A National Convention Now!” and in doing so stand steadfastly against all racially discriminatory laws, which degrade and humiliate us.

- * Oppose Bantu Authorities and Urban Bantu Councils!
- * Oppose Indian and Coloured Advisory Departments!
- * Demand £1-a-day for all!
- * Above all demand a National Convention with powers to set up a non-racial democracy in South Africa!

MESSAGE TO CEREMONY FOR PRESENTING HIM THE CHRISTOPHER GELL MEMORIAL AWARD, PORT ELIZABETH, OCTOBER 21, 1961⁴⁵

I am deeply grateful to the members of the Christopher Gell Memorial Award Committee for giving me this unique opportunity to participate so prominently in the remembrance of his memory. Let me at the outset thank the Committee from the bottom of my heart for the high honour bestowed on me by making me the recipient of the Christopher Gell Award. Your Committee deserves the congratulations of all our people for the idea and active steps you have taken to perpetuate the memory of this great man. The memory of the late Christopher Gell and his yeoman service to humanity will now live long and achieve immortality when most of us, lesser men, will have died and been forgotten.

He was a man we are sad to lose. Although afflicted by an almost incurable physical handicap - for years he lived and laboured in an iron lung - he yet devoted all his remaining strength and courage to the fight against race discrimination and championed unflinchingly the cause of democratic rights for all in South Africa regardless of race, colour or creed. He did not appear in public nor travel the length and breadth of the country vocally espousing his ideals but his incisive written words could not be held in check. His writings warmed the hearts of all freedom lovers and his wielding the cudgels on behalf of the wronged and underprivileged even though it may have earned him the wrath and enmity of some race conscious and superiority complexed white folk, nevertheless and in the main, created a wide and strong bond of friendship and admiration among our non-white communities. He flayed the havoc brought by the Group Areas Act and its application and his work in this field to expose inhumanity, greed and injustice is unparalleled by the

⁴⁵ Chief Luthuli sent a written text to the meeting as he was restricted by banning orders.

In its obituary on the death of Christopher Gell, *Fighting Talk* (Johannesburg, June/July 1958) wrote:

“Christopher Gell was a rarity upon the South African scene and his death leaves an aching void.

“Stricken with polio while serving in the Punjab with the Indian Civil Service, he came to live first in Rustenburg and then in Port Elizabeth for the warm climate, and all his 11 years in our country he lived out his days in an iron lung. His hours for writing and meeting people were strictly rationed but within them he compressed phenomenal effort, soon coming to be recognised as one of South Africa’s most prolific writers. Who has not read Christopher Gell’s incisive comment on political programmes and parties, his penetrating analyses of the Group Areas Act, his scathing indictment of apartheid in sport or the nursing profession, his passionate attacks on Nationalist policies and defence of peoples’ freedom campaigns?

“Christopher Gill’s tenacity in fighting his disability, rallying time and again from bouts of more severe illness, was matched by the courage of his political convictions, and over the years those whom he could not join in the conference session or on the public platform came to his bedside to consult with him, ask his advice, keep him in touch, and draw inspiration from him. He was as much part of the Congress movement as any volunteer who went to prison during the defiance campaign, or branch official who participated in the hurly-burly of political activity in the townships.”

efforts of any one man. My Indian friends, in particular, are deeply grateful to him, and his passing has certainly caused a deep breach in the wall of resistance against the ruinous flood of the Group Areas Act and its apartheid menace.

At this juncture, I tentatively throw out a suggestion if not already conceived by you. I feel it would be a fitting tribute to this gallant South African, if his writings could be collated and published in book form, so that his whole host of admirers may have the privilege of keeping in material form his memory which they cherish so dearly. I, certainly, would find much pleasure in re-reading the letters and writings of Christopher Gell who refused to remain silent where a pen was needed to defend the rights of those who would not be heard or could not defend themselves against the many injustices perpetrated against them.

On an occasion such as this, it is appropriate that I dwell briefly on the social and political climate in which the late Gell lived in South Africa so that we may better appreciate the attitude he adopted and the work he did.

Gell did not live to see the birth of the Republic of South Africa but he lived a considerable time in this country even then governed by the architects of the present new-born Republic, to appreciate and hate the practices of the rulers of this country. His South Africa had no less the taste of the evil that *White Afrikaner* Nationalism and race superiority had engendered in this land. Exclusiveness, an essential of apartheid, is a political malady of our country that is making South Africa so diseased a country that it is now as repulsive as a plague to most nations and people throughout the world who are striving for true democracy and everlasting peace among all humanity regardless of race, colour or creed.

Here I would like to applaud the late Mr Gell and those like him who have unreservedly dedicated themselves to the struggle for freedom; but there are still far too many who do not take the struggle seriously or appreciate the catastrophe to which this country is heading under the unbridled, insane policy of oppression against non-whites which the present Nationalist Party Government is pursuing. Victory can only come when we outmatch the determination of the oppressor. The indications are that the freedom struggle in our land is likely to be the fiercest in Africa. The government has shown in recent years and months - during the State of Emergency last year and the twilight Emergency during May this year - that it is arming itself to the teeth against an unarmed people who throughout their struggle have indicated by word and action their desire for a peaceful accommodation of their aspirations by those presently in power. In a sense we should be encouraged by the show of strength, for it is a product of fear and not courage, that possesses White South Africa. It is a measure of South Africa's vulnerability. We who believe in freedom, however, regret this wasteful and needless fear. For we stand four-square for peace and friendship on a basis of equality. How can anyone who acknowledges the dignity and brotherhood of man not join us in our stand?

The birth of the South African Republic⁴⁶ in an atmosphere of tension ushers in an era of harder times for all. Strained race relations continue to plague this country. Democracy, instead of being advanced and broadened, is being summarily snuffed out and in its place are being imposed and foisted hollow apartheid institutions and plans in the name of Bantu Self-Development, Asiatic and Coloured Affairs Board and the like.

All this should deceive no one but the naïve and the few among us with vested interest in slavery or who see in apartheid prospects of acquiring affluence as privileged slaves - a terrible price to pay for selling one's soul and one's people.

It is encouraging to know that there are, however, many in all communities who will remain true and loyal champions of democracy for all - who steadfastly follow in the traditions of the late Christopher Gell. They and their growing number is the true memory that should live to remind South Africa of this great son of our land.

For my part I am deeply touched by the conferring of this award. Would I were able to be present in person to receive it! Unfortunately, as is well known, I am a prisoner in my own land. I am confined to my rural home at Groutville, Lower Tugela, Natal, and I have not been allowed to travel to you by the authorities that be, lest I contaminate you with my presence. However, my thoughts are with you and I have tried to pen as best I can my feelings on this occasion.

In thanking you for the honour conferred - which I personally feel I do not deserve - I want to assure you that whilst I may have not done much for our cause of liberation, I hope sincerely that this award will prompt me to greater efforts and I hope not only I, but all the oppressed people and their freedom-loving friends will be encouraged and steeled to make greater contributions to the cause of justice and freedom in this land. We can only show our deep appreciation for the efforts of men like the late Christopher Gell, by supporting with all our strength the cause he so arduously espoused, and to be true and unflinching freedom fighters, so that men like Christopher Gell are not to have laboured in vain.

"MINORITY WHITE RULE AND NON-WHITES IN THE UNION": OPENING ADDRESS TO CONFERENCE ON UNEMPLOYMENT, LOW WAGES AND POVERTY, DURBAN, OCTOBER 21-22, 1961⁴⁷

⁴⁶ The Republic was proclaimed on May 31, 1961, after protests by the African people, led by Nelson Mandela, were suppressed by an unprecedented show of force and repression.

⁴⁷ The Conference was convened by the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Union of Unemployed Workers. The address was sent in writing as Chief Luthuli was restricted under banning orders by the government.

This is a most timely and vital conference called to consider the means and ways of meeting the acute situation of the growing number of unemployed workers, especially non-whites, in the Republic. This awful plight of workers, especially the non-white workers, derives from oppressive minority rule.

This is tragic in a country with substantial wealth potential. The overall picture of the Republic of South Africa is one of colossal material development and prosperity. Nature, happily, has bountifully endowed her with rich and varied material resources. These she has exploited most successfully by harnessing the abundant human resources of her multi-racial society. All her people have contributed, at great sacrifices sometimes, to this phenomenal progress.

To add to her fortune her people, though racially different, are descended from a sturdy virile stock. But unfortunately her non-white people have been most niggardly rewarded and steadily undermined physically and spiritually by frustration and want. White minority rule has meant to us poverty wages, most depressed incomes in rural areas, endemic unemployment, now most acute and severe, most stringent pass laws that needlessly land in gaols thousands yearly, influx control regulations that forcefully confine able-bodied men to depressed overcrowded rural areas, the so-called Rehabilitation Schemes that deprive us of our stock and crowd us in so-called rural villages which will soon be slum areas. One cannot exhaust nor adequately portray the ugliness of apartheid ills.

Much could and should be said by the Conference on destructive apartheid policies and practices. To further mention a few: how dare you be silent about such evils as job reservation, denying non-whites opportunities to qualify in and be employed in skilled occupations in industry and commerce, giving non-whites dummy institutions that deny them direct link with statutory bodies and agencies, including Parliament, at local and national levels and increased taxation under which we groan?

The entrance to Liberty House demands that we actively support organisations that work for non-white upliftment and emancipation, especially in the political sphere. Economic power and political power go hand in hand. That is why minority white rule denies us both. We are oppressed mainly through political action. Relief will only come when we come to exercise an effective political influence in the body politic of the nation. Political action is the master key to Liberty House!

All this calls for a fearless active opposition to separative and repressive policies and laws, for, in some way, each such policy or law affects our welfare and that of our fatherland.

It is in this light that fake institutions - Bantu Authorities, Indian Advisory Boards, Coloured Advisory Councils, Bantu School Boards, bodies or procedures provided under the "Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act," should be

viewed. They are intended to slow down, if not completely halt the people's liberation efforts. It is sad that some in the ranks of the oppressed become victims to these neutralising, if not indoctrinating, efforts by the government. We should see these dummy bodies for what they are - means of oppression that add heavily to our financial burden through heavy additional taxation they impose on us directly and indirectly for the maintenance of these institutions and the public services connected with them. Do not forget that it is the government policy that the already impoverished non-whites, especially the Africans, should carry the brunt of the cost of the public services carried out for their benefit.

The irony of it all is that often he [the African] is forced to finance apartheid projects that he regards as harmful to his true welfare. Such is the case with Bantu Education, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government and other caricatures of democracy. The unambiguous government policy is crystallised in the apartheid motto, "Do for yourselves Africans," and this by the poorest section of the community. What a violation of the canons of civilised governments!

Whatever the government might say, the separative, suppressive policies of white rule, especially during the thirteen years of Nationalist Party rule, have greatly undermined world confidence in South Africa. This has earned her world disdain and censure, a creeping economic instability, and strained race relations, especially as between black and white.

Is it surprising that we are witnessing acute unemployment warranting the convening of this Conference to discuss the deplorable situation? No country can thrive and grow to greatness under conditions that breed discontent and enmity and negative amity and peace. Apartheid does just this. It is a nursery of the maladies that paralyse and ruin a country. Along the apartheid road the Republic of South Africa may soon find herself on the brink of disaster. The disaster can still be averted. Our hand of friendship is still outstretched. That is why we are going all out to urge for a coming together at a National Convention to determine the future of our multi-racial South Africa whose noble destiny is to be a non-racial democracy.

Our suffering under white rule has given birth to a freedom struggle that is fast becoming an effective liberation movement in which devoted freedom fighters can play a decisive role. Workers and peasants have already recorded some significant contributions to our freedom efforts. I applaud them. But much remains to be done and so much is still expected of them. Workers must effectively demand their one-pound-a-day or else leaders in industry and commerce will go no further than piously acknowledging that you are paid starvation wages and that 80% of the African people live below the bread-line. Both workers and peasants must give a lie to false government propaganda which suggests that but for us, so-called agitators, you the people, are satisfied with your lot under the so-called beneficent white rule. What a mockery of you! What an insult on you!

Silence and acquiescence to the *status quo* would lend truth to malicious propaganda and justify action by the authorities towards your silent groanings. You can only negate it by participating effectively in the liberation struggle. This is a duty we shirk to our shame and undoing as a people. The task before us is great and hazardous.

Now that it has a fresh mandate to rule us with an iron hand the Nationalist Party government will stop at nothing to ensure our enslavement for the benefit of the whites. What can it not do when intimidation by threats of force, arrests, banishments, lying propaganda are the order of the day and when even white women - Women's Pistol Clubs - are being armed to ensure unthreatened internal security. For our part we threaten no one. We only demand our natural heritage, freedom.

Our response to this challenge must be to match their cruel and intimidatory efforts with greater determination and devotion along lines of effective non-violence.

May the spirit of this Conference transform timidity and indecision into boldness and determination and silence into speech and action.

FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

20 October 1961

CALL FOR UNITED FRONT, NOVEMBER 1961⁴⁸

The result of the General Election has brought about no real change. If anything, it has given the Nationalist Party a much firmer mandate to press ahead with its apartheid, Bantustan policy.

The result was not unexpected. White South Africa has once again rejected the hand of friendship that has been extended to it by the Non-White peoples. Once again it has withdrawn itself into the *laager* of white *baaskap*.

Even the limited programme of integration proposed by the Progressive Party has been rejected, except by a very small minority of the electorate.

Yet, thinking South Africans should realise that a blank cheque of another five years to the Nationalists means five years of strife and bitterness between the

⁴⁸ *New Age*, Cape Town, November 2, 1961; a post-election survey written exclusively for *New Age*.

various racial groups that make up our South African population: five years of living on the brink of States of Emergencies; five years of increasing economic difficulties for both the working man and the businessman; five years of further attacks against South Africa by the democracy-loving peoples of the world.

What is more it means five years of pistol clubs for the White womenfolk and added expenditure from an already strained budget to arm almost the entire White race in South Africa.

Unacceptable

Now that the Government has been given a further mandate to pursue its ideological programme of so-called separate development for the Non-White peoples through the establishment of Bantu Authorities, Urban Bantu Councils, Coloured Advisory Boards and Indian Affairs Departments it is inconceivable that the Non-Whites who have repeatedly stated that compartmentalisation is detrimental to their interests and, in the long run, detrimental also to the interests of South Africa as a whole, will passively allow the Government to pursue this policy, which is the very antithesis of democratic form of government.

These schemes are being offered by the Government as an alternative to full democratic rights and will never be acceptable to the people, who will reject anything less than full franchise on a common roll for all in South Africa.

South Africa cannot live in a vacuum – it cannot live in isolation from the rest of the world. In recent years we have seen the growth of a number of countries that have been granted independence, not far from our own borders. The effect of such independence must have a marked effect on the voteless majority in our own country.

This, taken together with the attitude of abhorrence to apartheid expressed clearly and unequivocally by the majority of the free nations of the world at the United Nations, must undoubtedly give rise to an increase in the political consciousness of the oppressed masses of South Africa.

Arrogance

In the coming period it can be expected that the Nationalists will show an arrogance and intransigence beyond anything the country has experienced in the past – and that, in the light of thirteen years of Nationalist mis-rule, is saying something. If they have paid little attention to the Parliamentary opposition in the past they will ignore them completely in the future.

For progressive South Africans – White and Non-White – there can only be one course of action. Where the official Parliamentary opposition as represented by the

United Party continues on the road of dishonourable compromise, we must reaffirm our principles.

We cannot and must not look to Parliament for any redress for the many economic and political problems that beset us.

All truly anti-Nationalist Parties – and here I want to include the Progressives, but not the United Party – must make common cause with the extra-Parliamentary force as represented by the Non-Whites in the country, on a limited programme viz., that of defeating the Nationalists.

United Front

Let me re-state the fundamentals on which such a broad united front could be built:

- * A National Convention to draw up a new Constitution for South Africa must be called by such a United Front with or without the participation of the Government.
- * The United Front must be based on firm and unequivocal opposition to apartheid. Bantu Councils, Bantu Authorities, Coloured and Indian Affairs Departments must be opposed.
- * In order to avert an economic crisis in South Africa, job reservation, sweat shops in the reserves, colour bar in industry and the restriction on skilled jobs for Non-Whites must be opposed. As an immediate step a national minimum wage of £1-a-day must be demanded.
- * Pass laws and influx control, the cornerstones of economic and political apartheid, must be fought on every front.

This short-term, four-point programme could rally the entire Non-White population and could, I am confident, win significant support from the White population as well. I use this opportunity to call on all organisations, Black and White, African and European, Indian and Coloured, who subscribe to this programme to work unceasingly for the establishment of a United Front as suggested.

Time for Action

The struggle ahead is dark and difficult but this is not the time to bemoan the fact; this is not the time to turn away from the hard road of struggle.

On the contrary, this is the time to stand firm and face the oppressor with a united and unquenchable determination to be free from apartheid slavery.

The people's cause is just; White *baaskap* must be replaced with interracial co-operation. This is the century of the common man. All over the world the oppressed peoples are freeing themselves from the shackles of imperialism and exploitation. More and more African states are reaching out for independence. Many are already free.

It is Verwoerd and not the common man in South Africa who is out of step with this mighty world trend.

No minority tyranny in history ever survived the opposition of the majority. Nor will it survive in South Africa. The victory which the votes have given Verwoerd bears testimony to their fear that the end of White Supremacy is very near.

World Support

Let us take heart, therefore, in the knowledge that the Non-White peoples are not alone. There is a growing number among South Africa's White population that realise that the Non-White cannot forever remain "the hewer of wood and the drawer of water." All over the world the common man and even governments are rallying to our cause.

Let us go forward with hope and courage and fight the Nats on every front.

FORWARD TO A NATIONAL CONVENTION!

FORWARD TO A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA!

MESSAGE FROM OSLO TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE, DECEMBER 1961⁴⁹

My people... my sons and my daughters

As I pace the floor of my bedroom in the Grand Hotel, Oslo, putting the final touches on my speech of acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize my thoughts go out to the people back home.

I have thought of you, my loyal friends, constantly. My thoughts were with you as my plane winged over the great Continent of Africa and when we touched down in London - where I was overwhelmed by the size and spontaneity of the welcome.

I want you all to know that I am accepting this Nobel Peace Prize not for myself alone but on behalf of all the people of South Africa who have played their part in striving for peace and co-operation between the races. I made this point in

⁴⁹ This message was given to the representative of *Drum*, Johannesburg monthly, and published in the paper in January 1962.

my speech of acceptance.

My wife is here with me and she, too, sends a message of gratitude and affection to all our loyal friends. How I wish you could be with me on this exciting adventure - these ten days of Freedom.

My prayer is that the day will soon come when all my people will share in the freedom and the good things of life which are all around me as I write.

**“AN HONOUR TO AFRICA”: ACCEPTANCE SPEECH ON
RECEIVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, OSLO, DECEMBER
10, 1961**

This year as in the years before it, mankind has paid for the maintenance of peace the price of many lives. It was in the course of his activities in the interests of peace that the late Dag Hammarskjold lost his life. Of his work a great deal has been said and written, but I wish to take this opportunity to say how much I regret that he is not with us to receive acknowledgement of the service he has rendered to mankind. It is significant that it was in Africa, my home continent, that he gave his life. How many times his decisions helped to avert world catastrophes will never be known, but there can be no doubt that he steered the United Nations through some of the most difficult phases in its history. His absence from our midst today should be an enduring lesson for all peace-lovers and a challenge to the nations of the world to eliminate those conditions in Africa which brought about the tragic and untimely end to his life.

As you may have heard, when the South African Minister of the Interior announced that subject to a number of rather unusual conditions, I would be permitted to come to Oslo for this occasion, he expressed the view that I did not deserve the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960. Such is the magic of the Peace Prize that it has even managed to produce an issue on which I agree with the Government of South Africa, although on different premises. It is the greatest honour in the life of any man to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and no one who appreciates its profound significance can escape a feeling of inadequacy when selected to receive it. In this instance, the feeling is the deeper, not only because the selections are made by a committee of the most eminent citizens of this country, but also because I find it hard to believe that in this distressed and heavy-laden world, I could be counted among those whose efforts have amounted to a noticeable contribution to the welfare of mankind.

I recognise, however, that in my country, South Africa, the spirit of peace is subject to some of the severest tensions known to man. For that reason South

Africa has been and continues to be in the focus of world attention. I therefore regard this award as a recognition of the sacrifices by my people of all races, particularly the African people, who have endured and suffered so much for so long. It can only be on behalf of the people of South Africa, especially the freedom-loving people, that I accept this award. I accept it also as an honour, not only to South Africa, but to the whole continent of Africa, to all its people, whatever their race, colour or creed. It is an honour to the peace-loving people of the entire world, and an encouragement to us all to redouble our efforts in the struggle for peace and friendship.

For my own part, I am deeply conscious of the added responsibility which the award entails. I have the feeling that I have been made answerable for the future of the people of South Africa, for if there is no peace for the majority of them, there is no peace for any.

I can only pray that the Almighty will give me strength to make my humble contribution to the peaceful solution of South Africa's and indeed the world's problems.

Happily I am but one among millions who have dedicated their lives to the service of mankind, who have given in time, property and life to ensure that all men shall live in peace and happiness.

It is appropriate at this point to mention the late Alfred Nobel, to whom we owe our presence here, and who, by establishing the Nobel Institute, placed responsibility for the maintenance of peace on the individual, so making peace, no less than war, the concern of every man and woman on earth - whether they be in Stanger or Berlin, in Washington or the shanty towns of South Africa.

It is this catholic quality in the late Nobel's ideals which has won for the Nobel Peace Prize the importance and universal recognition which it enjoys. In an age when the outbreak of war would wipe out the entire face of the earth, the ideals of Nobel should not merely be accepted or even admired: they should be lived. Scientific inventions at all conceivable levels should enrich human life, not threaten its existence. Science should be the greatest ally, not the worst enemy, of mankind. Only so can the world not only respond to the worthy efforts of Nobel, but also insure itself against self-destruction.

In Africa, as our contribution to peace, we are resolved to end such evils as oppression, white supremacy and racial discrimination, all of which are incompatible with world peace and security. We are encouraged to know, by the very nature of the award made for 1960, that in our efforts, we are serving our fellow men the world over. May the day come soon, when the peoples of the world will rouse themselves, and together effectively stamp out any threat to peace, in whatever quarter of the world it may be found. When that day comes, there shall be peace on earth and goodwill between men.

"AFRICA AND FREEDOM": NOBEL LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE OSLO UNIVERSITY, DECEMBER 11, 1961

In years gone by, some of the greatest men of our century have stood here to receive this Award, men whose names and deeds have enriched the pages of human history, men whom future generations will regard as having shaped the world of our time. No one could be left unmoved at being plucked from the village of Groutville, a name many of you have never heard before and which does not even feature on many maps - plucked from banishment in a rural backwater, lifted out of the narrow confines of South Africa's internal politics and placed here in the shadow of these great figures. It is a great honour to me to stand on this rostrum where many of the great men of our times have stood.

The Nobel Peace Award that has brought me here has for me a threefold significance. On the one hand it is a tribute to my humble contribution to efforts by democrats on both sides of the colour line to find a peaceful solution to the race problem. This contribution is not in any way unique. I did not initiate the struggle to extend the area of human freedom in South Africa. Other African patriots - devoted men - did so before me! I also, as a Christian and patriot, could not look on while systematic attempts were made, almost in every department of life, to debase the God-factor in Man or to set a limit beyond which the human being in his black form might not strive to serve his Creator to the best of his ability. To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticised God for having created men of colour was the sort of thing I could not, as a Christian, tolerate.

On the other hand the Award is a democratic declaration of solidarity with those who fight to widen the area of liberty in my part of the world. As such, it is the sort of gesture which gives me and millions who think as I do, tremendous encouragement.

There are still people in the world today who regard South Africa's race problem as a simple clash between Black and White. Our government has carefully projected this image of the problem before the eyes of the world. This has had two effects. It has confused the real issues at stake in the race crisis. It has given some form of force to the government's contention that the race problem is a domestic matter for South Africa. This, in turn, has tended to narrow down the area over which our case could be better understood in the world.

Continent in Revolution against Oppression

From yet another angle, it is a welcome recognition of the role played by the African people during the last fifty years to establish, peacefully, a society in which merit and not race would fix the position of the individual in the life of the nation.

This Award could not be for me alone, nor for just South Africa, but for Africa as a whole. Africa presently is most deeply torn with strife and most bitterly stricken with racial conflict. How strange then it is that a man of Africa should be here to receive an Award given for service to the cause of peace and brotherhood between men! There has been little peace in Africa in our time. From the northernmost end of our continent, where war has raged for seven years, to the centre and to the south there are battles being fought out, some with arms, some without. In my own country, in the year 1960 for which this Award is given, there was a state of emergency for many months. At Sharpeville, a small village, in a single afternoon 69 people were shot dead and 180 wounded by small arms fire: and in parts like the Transkei, a state of emergency is still continuing. Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown.

Our continent has been carved up by the great powers: alien governments have been forced upon the African people by military conquest and by economic domination; strivings for nationhood and national dignity have been beaten down by force; traditional economics and ancient customs have been disrupted; and human skills and energy have been harnessed for the advantage of our conquerors. In these times there has been no peace: there could be no brotherhood between men.

But now, the revolutionary stirrings of our continent are setting the past aside. Our people everywhere from north to south of the continent are reclaiming their land, their right to participate in government, their dignity as men, their nationhood. Thus, in the turmoil of revolution, the basis for peace and brotherhood in Africa is being restored by the resurrection of national sovereignty and independence, of equality and the dignity of man. It should not be difficult for you here in Europe to appreciate this. Your continent passed through a longer series of revolutionary upheavals, in which your age of feudal backwardness gave way to the new age of industrialisation, true nationhood, democracy and rising living standards - the golden age for which men have striven for generations. Your age of revolution, stretching across all the years from the 18th century to our own, encompassed some of the bloodiest civil wars in all history. By comparison, the African revolution has swept across three-quarters of the continent in less than a decade: its final completion is within sight of our own generation. Again, by comparison with Europe, our African revolution - to our credit - is proving to be orderly, quick and comparatively bloodless.

This fact of the relative peacefulness of our African revolution is attested to by other observers of eminence. Professor C. W. de Kiewiet, President of the Rochester University, U.S.A., in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1960, has this to

say: "There has, it is true, been almost no serious violence in the achievement of political self-rule. In that sense there is no revolution in Africa - only reform..."

Professor D. V. Cowen, then Professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, in a Hoernle Memorial Lecture for 1961, throws light on the nature of our struggle in the following words: "They (the whites in South Africa) are, again, fortunate in the very high moral calibre of the non-white inhabitants of South Africa, who compare favourably with any on the whole continent." Let this never be forgotten by those who so eagerly point a finger of scorn at Africa.

Perhaps by your standards, our surge to revolutionary reforms is late. If it is so - if we are late in joining the modern age of social enlightenment, late in gaining self-rule, independence and democracy - it is because in the past the pace has not been set by us. Europe set the pattern for the 19th and 20th century development of Africa. Only now is our continent coming into its own and recapturing its own fate from foreign rule.

United Africa the Goal

Though I speak of Africa as a single entity, it is divided in many ways - by race, language, history and custom; by political, economic and ethnic frontiers. But in truth, despite these multiple divisions, Africa has a single common purpose and a single goal - the achievement of its own independence. All Africa, both lands which have won their political victories, but have still to overcome the legacy of economic backwardness, and lands like my own whose political battles have still to be waged to their conclusion - all Africa has this single aim; our goal is a united Africa in which the standards of life and liberty are constantly expanding; in which the ancient legacy of illiteracy and disease is swept aside, in which the dignity of man is rescued from beneath the heels of colonialism which have trampled it. This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations, and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of white rule, carries the only real promise of peace in Africa. Whatever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.

Brotherhood of Man Banned

There is a paradox in the fact that Africa qualifies for such an Award in its age of turmoil and revolution. How great is the paradox and how much greater the honour that an Award in support of peace and the brotherhood of man should come to one who is a citizen of a country where the brotherhood of man is an illegal doctrine, outlawed, banned, censured, proscribed and prohibited; where to work, talk or campaign for the realisation in fact and deed of the brotherhood of man is hazardous, punished with banishment, or confinement without trial or imprisonment; where effective democratic channels to peaceful settlement of the race problem have never existed these 300 years; and where minority power rests

on the most heavily armed and equipped military machine in Africa. This is South Africa.

Even here, where white rule seems determined not to change its mind for the better, the spirit of Africa's militant struggle for liberty, equality and independence asserts itself. I, together with thousands of my countrymen, have in the course of the struggle for these ideals, been harassed, and imprisoned, but we are not deterred in our quest for a new age in which we shall live in peace and in brotherhood.

Cult of Race Superiority and of White Supremacy

It is not necessary for me to speak at length about South Africa; its social system, its politics, its economics and its laws have forced themselves on the attention of the world. It is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark past of mankind, a relic of an age which everywhere else is dead or dying. Here the cult of race superiority and of white supremacy is worshipped like a god. Few white people escape corruption and many of their children learn to believe that white men are unquestionably superior, efficient, clever, industrious and capable; that black men are, equally unquestionably, inferior, slothful, stupid, evil and clumsy. On the basis of the mythology that "the lowest amongst them is higher than the highest amongst us", it is claimed that white men build everything that is worthwhile in the country - its cities, its industries, its mines and its agriculture - and control these things, whilst black men are only temporary sojourners in these cities, fitted only for menial labour, and unfit to share political power. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr Verwoerd, then Minister of Bantu Affairs, when explaining his government's policy on African education had this to say: "There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

There is little new in this mythology. Every part of Africa which has been subject to white conquest has, at one time or another, and in one guise or another, suffered from it, even in its virulent form of the slavery that obtained in Africa up to the 19th century.

Mission of the Church

The mitigating feature in the gloom of those far-off days was the shaft of light sunk by Christian missions, a shaft of light to which we owe our initial enlightenment. With successive governments of the time doing little or nothing to ameliorate the harrowing suffering of the black man at the hands of slave-drivers, men like Dr Livingstone and Dr John Philip and other illustrious men of God stood for social justice in the face of overwhelming odds. It is worth noting that the names I have referred to are still anathema to some South Africans. Hence the ghost of slavery lingers on to this day in the form of forced labour that goes on in what are called farm prisons. But the tradition of Livingstone and Philip lives on, perpetuated by a few of their line. It is fair to say that even in present day

conditions, Christian missions have been in the vanguard of initiating social services provided for us. Our progress in this field has been in spite of and not mainly because of the government. In this the Church in South Africa, though belatedly, seems to be awakening to a broader mission of the Church, in its ministry among us. It is beginning to take seriously the words of its Founder who said "I came that they might have life and have it more abundantly." This is a call to the Church in South Africa to help in the all-round development of MAN in the present, and not only in the hereafter. In this regard, the people of South Africa, especially those who claim to be Christians, would be well advised to take heed of the Conference decisions of the World Council of Churches held at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, in 1960, which gave a clear lead on the mission of the Church in our day. It left no room for doubt about the relevancy of the Christian message in the present issues that confront mankind. I note with gratitude this broader outlook of the World Council of Churches. It has great meaning and significance for us in Africa.

Reality of Conditions in South Africa

There is nothing new in South Africa's apartheid ideas, but South Africa is unique in this: the ideas not only survive in our modern age, but are stubbornly defended, extended and bolstered up by legislation at the time when in the major part of the world they are now largely historical and are either being shamefacedly hidden behind concealing formulations, or are being steadily scrapped.

These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them. They provide moral whitewash for the conditions which exist in the country: for the fact that the country is ruled exclusively by a white government elected by an exclusively white electorate which is a privileged minority; for the fact that 87 per cent of the land and all the best agricultural land within reach of town, market and railways is reserved for white ownership and occupation and now through the recent Group Areas legislation non-whites are losing more land to white greed; for the fact that all skilled and highly-paid jobs are for whites only; for the fact that all universities of any academic merit are an exclusive preserve of whites; for the fact that the education of every white child costs about £64 per annum whilst that of an African child costs about £9 per annum and that of an Indian child or Coloured child costs about £20 per annum; for the fact that white education is universal and compulsory up to the age of 16 whilst education for the non-white children is scarce and, inadequate; and for the fact that almost one million Africans a year are arrested and gaoled or fined for breaches of innumerable pass and permit laws which do not apply to whites.

I could carry on in this strain, and talk on every facet of South African life from the cradle to the grave. But these facts today are becoming known to all the world. A fierce spotlight of world attention has been thrown on them. Try as our government and its apologists will, with honeyed words about "separate

development" and eventual "independence" in so-called "Bantu homelands", nothing can conceal the reality of South African conditions.

I, as a Christian, have always felt that there is one thing above all about "apartheid" or "separate development" that is unforgivable. It seems utterly indifferent to the suffering of individual persons, who lose their land, their homes, their jobs, in the pursuit of what is surely the most terrible dream in the world. This terrible dream is not held on to by a crackpot group on the fringe of society, or by Ku Klux Klansmen, of whom we have a sprinkling. It is the deliberate policy of a government, supported actively by a large part of the white population, and tolerated passively by an overwhelming white majority but now fortunately rejected by an encouraging white minority who have thrown their lot with the non-whites who are overwhelmingly opposed to so-called separate development.

Thus it is that the golden age of Africa's independence is also the dark age of South Africa's decline and retrogression, brought about by men who, when revolutionary changes that entrenched fundamental human rights were taking place in Europe, were closed in on the tip of South Africa - and so missed the wind of progressive change.

In the wake of that decline and retrogression, bitterness between men grows to alarming heights: the economy declines as confidence ebbs away: unemployment rises; government becomes increasingly dictatorial and intolerant of constitutional and legal procedures, increasingly violent and suppressive; there is a constant drive for more policemen, more soldiers, more armaments, banishments without trial and penal whippings. All the trappings of medieval backwardness and cruelty come to the fore. Education is reduced to an instrument of subtle indoctrination, slanted and biased reporting in the organs of public information, a creeping censorship, book-banning and blacklisting - all these spread their shadows over the land. This is South Africa today, in the age of Africa's greatness.

Long Tradition of Struggle

But beneath the surface there is a spirit of defiance. The people of South Africa have never been a docile lot, least of all the African people. We have a long tradition of struggle for our national rights, reaching back to the very beginnings of white settlement and conquest 300 years ago.

Our history is one of opposition to domination, of protest and refusal to submit to tyranny. Consider some of our great names: the great warrior and nation-builder Chaka, who welded tribes into the Zulu nation from which I spring; Moshoeshoe, the statesman and nation-builder who fathered the Basuto nation and placed Basutoland beyond the reach of the claws of the South African whites; Hintsa of the Xhosas who chose death rather than surrender his territory to white invaders. All these and other royal names, as well as other great chieftains, resisted manfully white intrusion.

Consider also the sturdiness of the stock that nurtured the foregoing great names. I refer to our forbears, who in the trekking from the north to the southernmost tip of Africa centuries ago braved rivers that are perennially swollen, hacked their way through treacherous jungle and forest; survived the plagues of the then untamed lethal diseases of a multifarious nature that abounded in Equatorial Africa and wrested themselves from the gaping mouths of the beasts of prey. They endured it all. They settled in these parts of Africa to build a future worthwhile for us their offspring.

Whilst the social and political conditions have changed and the problems we face are different, we too, their progeny, find ourselves facing a situation where we have to struggle for our very survival as human beings. Although methods of struggle may differ from time to time, the universal human strivings for liberty remain unchanged. We in our situation have chosen the path of non-violence of our own volition. Along this path we have organised many heroic campaigns. All the strength of progressive leadership in South Africa, all my life and strength, has been given to the pursuance of this method, in an attempt to avert disaster in the interests of South Africa and (they) have bravely paid the penalties for it.

Unconquerable Spirit of Mankind

It may well be that South Africa's social system is a monument to racialism and race oppression, but its people are living testimony to the unconquerable spirit of mankind. Down the years, against seemingly overwhelming odds, they have sought the goal of fuller life and liberty striving with incredible determination and fortitude for the right to live as men - free men.

In this, our country is not unique. Your recent and inspiring history when the Axis Powers over-ran most European states, is testimony of this unconquerable spirit of mankind. People of Europe formed Resistance Movements that finally helped to break the power of the combination of Nazism and fascism with their creed of race arrogance and *herrenvolk* mentality.

Every people have, at one time or another in their history been plunged into such struggle. But generally the passing of time has seen the barriers to freedom going down, one by one. Not so in South Africa. Here the barriers do not go down. Each step we take forward, every achievement we chalk up, is cancelled out by the raising of new and higher barriers to our advance. The colour bars do not get weaker; they get stronger. The bitterness of the struggle mounts as liberty comes step by step closer to the freedom fighter's grasp. All too often, the protests and demonstrations of our people have been beaten back by force; but they have never been silenced.

Through all this cruel treatment in the name of law and order, our people, with a few exceptions, have remained non-violent. If today this peace Award is given to South Africa through a black man, it is not because we in South Africa have won our fight for peace and human brotherhood. Far from it. Perhaps we stand farther from victory than any other people in Africa. But nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance. It is for this, I believe, that this Award is given.

Vision of Non-racial Democratic South Africa

How easy it would have been in South Africa for the natural feelings of resentment at white domination to have been turned into feelings of hatred and a desire for revenge against the white community. Here, where every day in every aspect of life, every non-white comes up against the ubiquitous sign, "Europeans Only", and the equally ubiquitous policeman to enforce it - here it could well be expected that a racialism equal to that of their oppressors would flourish to counter the white arrogance towards blacks. That it has not done so is no accident. It is because, deliberately and advisedly, African leadership for the past 50 years, with the inspiration of the African National Congress which I had the honour to lead for the last decade or so until it was banned, had set itself steadfastly against racial vain-gloriousness.

We knew that in so doing we passed up opportunities for easy demagogic appeal to the natural passions of a people denied freedom and liberty; we discarded the chance of an easy and expedient emotional appeal. Our vision has always been that of a non-racial democratic South Africa which upholds the rights of all who live in our country, to remain there as full citizens with equal rights and responsibilities with all others. For the consummation of this ideal we have laboured unflinchingly. We shall continue to labour unflinchingly.

It is this vision which prompted the African National Congress to invite members of other racial groups who believe with us in the brotherhood of man and in the freedom of all people to join with us in establishing a non-racial democratic South Africa. Thus the African National Congress in its day brought about the Congress Alliance and welcomed the emergence of the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party who, to an encouraging measure, support these ideals.

This is what We Stand For

The true patriots of South Africa, for whom I speak, will be satisfied with nothing less than the fullest democratic rights. In government we will not be satisfied with anything less than direct individual adult suffrage and the right to stand for and be elected to all organs of government. In economic matters we will be satisfied with nothing less than equality of opportunity in every sphere, and the enjoyment by all of those heritages which form the resources of the country which up to now have been appropriated on a racial "whites only" basis. In culture we

will be satisfied with nothing less than the opening of all doors of learning to non-segregatory institutions on the sole criterion of ability. In the social sphere we will be satisfied with nothing less than the abolition of all racial bars.

We do not demand these things for peoples of African descent alone. We demand them for all South Africans, white and black. On these principles we are uncompromising. To compromise would be an expediency that is most treacherous to democracy, for in the turn of events the sweets of economic, political and social privileges that are a monopoly of only one section of a community turn sour even in the mouths of those who eat them. Thus apartheid in practice is proving to be a monster created by Frankenstein. That is the tragedy of the South African scene.

Many spurious slogans have been invented in our country in an effort to redeem uneasy race relations - "trusteeship" "separate development", "race federation" and elsewhere "partnership". These are efforts to side-track us from the democratic road, mean delaying tactics that fool no one but the unwary. No euphemistic naming will ever hide their hideous nature. We reject these policies because they do great offence to man's sublime aspirations that have remained true in a sea of flux and change down the ages, aspirations of which the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights is a culmination. This is what we stand for. This is what we fight for.

Support Throughout the World

In their fight for lasting values, there are many things that have sustained the spirit of the freedom-loving people of South Africa and those in the yet unredeemed parts of Africa where the whiteman claims resolutely propriety rights over democracy - a universal heritage. High amongst them - the things that have sustained us - stand the magnificent support of the progressive people and governments throughout the world, amongst whom number the people and government of the country of which I am today guest; our brothers in Africa, especially in the independent African States; organisations who share the outlook we embrace in countries scattered right across the face of the globe; the United Nations Organisation jointly and some of its member nations singly. In their defence of peace in the world through actively upholding the equality of man all these groups have reinforced our undying faith in the unassailable rightness and justness of our cause.

To all of them I say: Alone we would have been weak. Our heartfelt appreciation of your acts of support of us, we cannot adequately express, nor can we ever forget, now or in the future when victory is behind us, and South Africa's freedom rests in the hands of all her people.

Courage that Rises with Danger

We South Africans, however, equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come to us as a gift from abroad. Our freedom we must make ourselves. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger.

Whatever may be the future of our freedom efforts, our cause is the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom. Only on this basis can the peace of Africa and the world be firmly founded. Our cause is the cause of equality between nations and people. Only thus can the brotherhood of man be firmly established. It is encouraging and elating to remind you that despite her humiliation and torment at the hands of white rule, the spirit of Africa in quest of freedom has been, generally, for peaceful means to the utmost.

If I have dwelt at length on my country's race problem it is not as though other countries of our continent do not labour under these problems, but because it is here in the Republic of South Africa that the race problem is most acute. Perhaps in no other country on the continent is white supremacy asserted with greater vigour and determination and a sense of righteousness. This places the opponents of apartheid in the front rank of those who fight white domination.

Africa's Challenges and Opportunities

In bringing my address to a close, let me invite Africa to cast her eyes beyond the past and to some extent the present with their woes and tribulations, trials and failures, and some successes, and see herself an emerging continent, bursting to freedom through the shell of centuries of serfdom. This is Africa's age, the dawn of her fulfilment, yes, the moment when she must grapple with destiny to reach the summits of sublimity saying: ours was a fight for noble values and worthy ends, and not for lands and the enslavement of man.

Africa is a vital subject matter in the world of today, a focal point of world interest and concern. Could it not be that history has delayed her rebirth for a purpose? The situation confronts her with inescapable challenges, but more importantly with opportunities for service to herself and mankind. She evades the challenges and neglects the opportunities to her shame, if not her doom. How she sees her destiny is a more vital and rewarding quest than bemoaning her past with its humiliations and sufferings.

The address could do no more than pose some questions and leave it to the African leaders and peoples to provide satisfying answers and responses by their concern for higher values and by their noble actions that could be

... footprints on the sands of time;
Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing, o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,

Seeing, shall take heart again."

Still licking the scars of past wrongs perpetrated on her, could she not be magnanimous and practise no revenge? Her hand of friendship scornfully rejected, her pleas for justice and fair-play spurned, should she not nonetheless seek to turn enmity into amity? Though robbed of her lands, her independence and opportunities - this, oddly enough, often in the name of civilisation and even Christianity - should she not see her destiny as being that of making a distinctive contribution to human progress and human relationships with a peculiar new African flavour enriched by the diversity of cultures she enjoys, thus building on the summits of present human achievement an edifice that would be one of the finest tributes to the genius of man? She should see this hour of her fulfilment as a challenge to labour on until she is purged of racial domination, and as an opportunity of reassuring the world that her national aspiration lies, not in overthrowing white domination to replace it by a black caste, but in building a non-racial democracy that shall be a monumental brotherhood, a "brotherly community" with none discriminated against on grounds of race or colour.

What of the many pressing and complex political, economic and cultural problems attendant upon the early years of a newly-independent State? These, and others which are the legacy of colonial days, will tax to the limit the statesmanship, ingenuity, altruism and steadfastness of African leadership and its unbending avowal to democratic tenets in statecraft. To us all, free or not free, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa.

In a strife-torn world, tottering on the brink of complete destruction by man-made nuclear weapons, a free and independent Africa is in the making, in answer to the injunction and challenge of history: "Arise and shine for thy light is come." Acting in concert with other nations, she is man's last hope for a mediator between the East and West, and is qualified to demand of the great powers to "turn the swords into plough-shares" because two-thirds of mankind is hungry and illiterate; to engage human energy, human skill and human talent in the service of peace, for the alternative is unthinkable - war, destruction and desolation; and to build a world community which will stand as a lasting monument to the millions of men and women, to such devoted and distinguished world citizens and fighters for peace as the late Dag Hammarskjöld, who have given their lives that we may live in happiness and peace.

Africa's qualification for this noble task is incontestable, for her own fight has never been and is not now a fight for conquest of land, for accumulation of wealth or domination of peoples, but for the recognition and preservation of the rights of man and the establishment of a truly free world for a free people.

"THE LUTHULI STORY": AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE, 1961⁵⁰

I was born of John Bunyan Luthuli of Groutville Mission Station by his wife Mtonya Luthuli, born Gumede. I was born in Southern Rhodesia at Solusia Mission Station, where my father was doing Christian missionary work as Evangelist-interpreter under the Seventh Day Adventist Church. I was born in 1898. I do not know the date of birth.

My father, John Bunyan, was the second son of Ntaba Luthuli, a convert and follower of Rev. Aldin Groutville of the American Board Mission who, with three other missionaries, was sent out in 1835 by the American Board to do missionary work among the Zulus.

The Rev. Groutville came south and established himself in what is now Groutville Mission Station. Officially the place is known as "Umvoti Mission Reserve."

My grandfather, Ntaba, was the second chief of the Groutville Community.

Chieftainship in the Umvoti Mission is elective. It is not hereditary. In 1935, at the invitation of some elders of my tribe, I stood as candidate and won. Once elected you may be chief for life, unless you voluntarily resign or are deposed by the Government on its own initiative or at the request of the people.

I was deposed by the Government in 1952 for participating in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. My predecessor was forced out because people became dissatisfied with his administration and requested the Government for an election.

I passed my Standard IV in 1914, then went to boarding schools up to Standard VI. At Edenvale Institution, a Methodist institution, I joined the Teachers' Training Department. I graduated there as a teacher in 1917.

After teaching for two years as head of a small intermediate school, I went to Adam's College in 1920.

Then I joined the staff of Amanzimtoti Institute (Adam's College) as a teacher. I also acted as College Choir Master.

During my student days I became much interested in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Students' Christian Association. I joined the Church when a teacher in 1918.

Fight for More Pay

⁵⁰ From *Drum*, Johannesburg, December 1961

I was President of the Natal African Teachers' Union for two years. The union's main concern was to strive for better wages and conditions of service. Eighteen pounds (sterling) per quarter and principal's allowance was regarded as a princely salary, but it could not meet the normal needs of a man who must be exemplary in the community.

Resigning from Adam's College in 1935, I took up duties as Chief at Groutville Mission on January 1, 1936.

My life as Chief followed conventional and routine duties. This involved holding courts to settle disputes and administrative work in settling family quarrels.

I interested myself in organising the African cane growers into an association. With the assistance of some elders of the tribe and younger men we formed the Groutville Bantu Cane Planters' Association. There were then about 200 members, mostly very small growers, because land holdings were small. Because of overcrowding they now are on an average five acres each.

The chieftainship introduced me directly into the vital problem of African life: their poverty, the repressive laws under which they operate.

I knew about the African National Congress as a teacher. My own senior paternal uncle, Chief Martin Luthuli, was a member. But it was only when I was chief that I became a member.

I joined Congress about 1945 when Dr Dube, the Natal President, was virtually bed-ridden through a stroke that incapacitated him until his death in 1946.

In May, 1951, I stood against Mr A. W. G. Champion for the provincial presidency. I won.

The national body (A.N.C.) had in 1949 passed a programme through which the A.N.C. would pursue the freedom struggle by militant but non-violent methods.

A.N.C. Leadership

It has been my privilege and arduous task to be in the leadership of the A.N.C. to help pilot it at a most testing time. I became provincial president in 1951. The first major effort was the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1952. In the national election of December, 1952, I was nominated candidate. Dr Moroka sought re-election. I won.

Elections are held three-yearly. I have been re-elected on all occasions since then. I was still president-general when the A.N.C. was banned in March, 1960.

Hardly a year has passed without some demonstrations at national or provincial level. There have been national stay-at-homes. There has been a most significant political activity among African women since the Government decided in 1952 that African women, too, like their menfolk, must carry the hated pass - hated because of the suffering it causes.

Since my first ban in 1953, I have virtually been under some ban to this day. My bans have been twofold: debarring me from attending gatherings and being confined to the magisterial area of Lower Tugela, Natal. The district, from my home, Groutville, has a radius of about 15 miles.

Two previous bans debarred me from public gatherings. The five-year one I am serving now debars me from any gatherings, public or otherwise.

I was arrested on December 15, 1956, on a charge of treason. At the end of the lengthy preparatory examination in Johannesburg, I was committed in August, 1957, for trial with all of the others. My activities after release from the Treason Trial cost me my third ban. When this ban was a year old we were detained in 1960 from March to August under a State of Emergency. The A.N.C. added fuel to the fire by calling for a Day of Mourning for Sharpeville victims, and called upon the African people to burn their passes.

When serving my detention in Pretoria gaol with many others, I was charged with burning my pass and for inciting others. I was found guilty of burning my pass by way of demonstrating against a law. For this count I was sentenced to six months without the option of a fine, but suspended for three years, provided during this period I am not charged with a similar offence.

No doubt, my ill-health made the magistrate give me a suspended sentence and an option of a fine. I am now home serving the five-year ban with the suspended sentence hanging over my head.

“IF I WERE PRIME MINISTER”: ARTICLE, DECEMBER 1961¹

Many problems face the emergent Black States in this continent. Among these problems are:

1. the avoidance of economic chaos when independence comes;

¹ *Drum*, Johannesburg, December 1961. Please see also the next item for a somewhat different version of the same article.

2. the problem of speeding up education among the masses so that the people will be able to take an adequate part in government and a full and responsible share in administration;
3. ownership and control of industry and other branches of the country's wealth;
4. administration and management of industry and other branches of the country's wealth;
5. apportionment of land;
6. the housing problem;
7. health and technical services;
8. the farm programme – methods of agriculture;
9. State subsidies for backward areas and service;
10. the question of tribalism and to what degree tribal traditions should be maintained;
11. relations with other racial groups within the State;
12. extent of powers of the Government in order to maintain law and order during the change-over while avoiding dictatorship.

These problems are common to nearly all emergent independent states. I look forward to the day when my own people will face these problems of an emergent free state.

I outline here my own suggested solutions of some of these problems. These solutions should, of course, be regarded as general principles of conduct, rather than as necessarily firm methods of dealing with the individual circumstances which may arise. But, generally, this is what I would do if I were Prime Minister of South Africa.

The solution to the South African problem will call for radical reforms. The basic political need is for a government which is truly a government of all the people, for the people, and by the people.

This can only be so in a state where all adults - regardless of race, colour or belief – are voters. Nothing but such a democratic form of government, based on the parliamentary system, will satisfy.

Then there is the land question. The Whites, being a quarter of the population, possess 87 per cent of the country's land in freehold. Africans, who form three-quarters of the population, were allocated by legislation only 13 per cent of the land – some of it poor land. Of this land, 99 per cent is trust land (government-owned land); only 1 per cent or less is held by Africans in freehold. In trust land, Africans are virtually state tenants.

To meet this man-made inequality will demand what will appear to whites in South Africa to be revolutionary changes. Some form of a system such as is found in Great Britain and Sweden might meet the case.

The land must be re-distributed and allocated to those who have to live and make their living on the land. Land would be held in freehold by individual farmers and peasants. This would not preclude some land being held by the State for renting to individuals and for state experimental farms.

There would be no indiscriminate purchase of land from individual to individual without the sanction of the Government. This would largely be done to stop speculation on land, which is the basic heritage of the people.

The present so-called African reserves, which are very much depressed areas, will need special attention as all other special depressed areas. The duty of the Government would be to rehabilitate both the land and the people.

Special aid should be given to farmers in depressed areas. Technical services and marketing facilities would form an important and indispensable part of the state programme.

Each person should be allocated so much land as he can cultivate himself with the help of his family. This, I believe, is the policy in India. Co-operative farm settlements of a larger acreage would be encouraged and aided liberally to secure the advantage of large-scale farming. The experience of Israel should be drawn upon here.

Private enterprises, commerce and industry would be under government control as now, and probably stricter. Supertax on all high incomes should be levied on a higher percentage than now to meet the needs of uplifting the oppressed of former days.

State control should be extended to cover the nationalisation of some sectors of what at present is private enterprise.

Human rights as declared by the United Nations would be entrenched in the State Constitution.

All workers would enjoy unqualified trade union rights with a charter laying down minimum wages and conditions. There would be no discrimination on grounds of colour or race. Merit would be the qualifying factor.

The present framework of industrial legislation in so far as it applies to Whites would form the basis of industrial legislation. Workers would have the right to strike, for even if strikes might be costly and wasteful, it gives the individual a greater security if he knows he has the right, and it makes him feel a partner in the undertaking.

More immigration

Generally, there must be planned social and economic development to increase employment and raise standards of living all around. This is the best guarantee against fears and prejudices arising from a sense of economic insecurity.

All discriminatory legislation and restrictions on legitimate freedom of movement will, of course go. Immigration would not be limited to any one race. Greater latitude would be allowed to immigrants – both Black and White – from other parts of Africa.

Only a republican form of government would meet the broad needs of the majority. I would like to see it as part of a larger unit, the Commonwealth of Nations. This would not preclude the Union from forming other alliances or unities in Africa or outside.

It is reasonable to expect that there will be regional groupings formed in Africa, and maybe in some period these would form a Federation of African States.

Franchise rights would be extended to all adults. To me, the expression, “Africa for Africans” is valid in a non-racial democracy, only if it covers all, regardless of colour or race, who qualify as citizens of some country in Africa.

My Government, mainly through education – directly and indirectly – would discourage the attitude of thinking and acting in racial categories. Racialism, and all forms of discrimination, would be outlawed.

The question of reserving rights for minorities in a non-racial democracy should not arise. It will be sufficient if human rights for all are entrenched in the Constitution.

The main thing is that the Government and the people should be democratic to the core. It is relatively unimportant who is in the Government. I am not opposed to any government because it is White. I am only opposed to one which is undemocratic.

I do not like such expressions as “the All-Black Government,” “the African majority.” I like to speak about “a democratic majority,” which should be a non-racial majority, and so could be multi-racial or not.

My idea is non-racial Government consisting of the best men – merit rather than colour counting. The political parties in the country should also reflect the multi-racial nature of the country. Parties, basically, should arise from a community of interests rather than from a similarity of colour.

Appeals to racialism at elections would be an offence in law.

In countries that have become free, such as India and Nigeria, the people have put into the government their tried men of stature, and there has been no question of lowering standards of government. So the question of “swamping” the Whites in South Africa does not arise. It is merely a bogey.

Within the orbit of my State, the individual would remain cardinal, for “the State exists for the individual,” and not “the individual for the State.”

I realise that a state such as I visualise – a democratic social welfare State – cannot be born in one day. But it would be the paramount task of the Government to bring it about and advance it without crippling industry, commerce, farming and education.

Speculation and exploitation on housing as well as on land would not be tolerated.

Individuals would be assisted and encouraged by loans to have their own houses on their freehold sites or on rented municipal sites. Rents would be strictly controlled.

Education is a paramount unifying factor in building consciousness and pride – a healthy community spirit. In my non-racial democratic South Africa there can be no question of a different system of education for different racial groups.

It would only be in the lower classes – say up to fourth year of school – and never beyond the eighth year of school – where mother tongue instruction would predominate.

Education would be free and compulsory for all in the primary stage at first, and later up to matriculation. Substantial aid would be given to universities with a generous system for bursaries and loans to students.

In technical and trade schools education would be free. Special efforts would be made to remove illiteracy. Night schools to provide working adults with facilities for part-time education in any standard would be encouraged and liberally subsidised.

Multi-racial schools will be demanded by the need to develop common patriotism and national solidarity.

Role of small nations

My South Africa would encourage the harnessing of science and technology to every day uses of man, and not for his destruction. It will seek to play a prominent part in bringing about the banning of nuclear warfare and in working for some degree of disarmament.

The present is a most unsafe world for small nations such as South Africa. But the combined influence of all small nations can make the big nations see the futility of spending their money on armaments.

My South Africa would support the United Nations and its agencies fully, and would encourage foreign investment – subject to her own interests of course.

South Africa would give priority to training and producing her own technicians, but would always encourage the importation of technicians from other parts of the world to supply the needs of the country which cannot be met from her own manpower.

The rule of law must be the basis of the administration of justice and be scrupulously respected. Rule by proclamation and administrative edicts would be reduced to the barest minimum, and be subject to appeal to the law courts.

Citizens would have an unhampered right to appeal to the courts whenever their personal and corporate rights are invaded by any person or agency, be it the Government itself.

The present framework of the South Africa Act, stripped of its discriminatory provisions, would form the basis of the non-racial democratic South Africa I visualise.

Special care would be taken to develop a police force that is civil and efficient in doing its work. The policeman must become a symbol of protection.

For the defence of the country, there must be a defence force consisting of citizens given adequate training. The foundation of the defence would be a permanent force – a people's army.

Finally, the challenge to South Africa is to assist in finding and formulating a harmonious way of living by people in our multi-racial communities. What an opportunity South Africa has of leading the world in this regard!

**“WHAT I WOULD DO IF I WERE PRIME MINISTER”:
ARTICLE, FEBRUARY 1962⁵¹**

The massive conflict between the East and West - between Communism and Western democracy - has tended to overshadow the other struggle which is of intimate importance to the ordinary people of Africa. I refer to the struggle which is going on in many countries in Africa for independence and freedom for the ordinary people.

It is not my purpose in this particular article to analyse the struggle between communism and Western psychology for the soul of Africa. I am concerned, rather, with the problems which face the emergent black states in this continent. Among these problems are: (1) The avoidance of economic chaos when independence takes the place of colonialism or overlordship. (2) The problem of speeding up education among the masses so that the people will be able to take an adequate part in government and a full share in administration in a responsible manner. (3) Ownership and control of industry and other branches of the country's wealth. (4) Administration and management of industry and other branches of the country's wealth. (5) Apportionment of land. (6) The housing problem. (7) Health and technical services. (8) The farm programme - methods of agriculture. (9) State subsidies for backward areas and service. (10) The question of tribalism and to what degree tribal traditions should be maintained. (11) Relations with other racial groups within the state. (12) Extent of powers of the government in order to maintain law and order and some discipline during the change-over while avoiding dictatorship.

These problems are common to nearly all emergent independent states. The non-white people of South Africa are determined to achieve freedom and independence in the near future.

As the elected leader of the African National Congress - the biggest and most representative organisation of non-whites in South Africa - I look forward to the day when my own people will face these problems of an emergent free state. I outline here my own suggested solutions to some of these problems. These solutions should, of course, be regarded as general principles of conduct, rather than as necessarily firm methods of dealing with the individual circumstances which may arise. But, generally, this is what I would do if I were Prime Minister of South Africa.

The solution to the South African problem will call for radical reforms, some of them of a really revolutionary nature. The basic reform will be in the form of the

⁵¹ Extracts from an article published in *Ebony*, Chicago, February 1962

government. At present, there is a government by whites only. This should be replaced by a government which is truly a government of all the people, for the people, and by the people. This can only be so in a state where all adults - regardless of race, colour or belief - are voters. Nothing but such a democratic form of government, based on the parliamentary system, will satisfy.

Land Reform

There is much inequality at the present moment. The whites being a quarter of the population, possess 87 per cent of the country's land in freehold. On the other hand, Africans, who form three-quarters of the population, were allocated by legislation only 13 per cent of the land - some of it poor land. Of this land, 99 per cent is trust land (government land); only about 1 per cent or less is held by Africans in freehold. In trust land, Africans are virtually state tenants. This is the land that the government of South Africa speaks of as the "homeland for Africans", and we are supposed to be satisfied with these so-called "homelands" forever. It is in these areas where we are promised a sham self-government which does not link us in any way with Parliament, but leaves us directly under the government to follow an unwanted course - apartheid.

All Union legislation on land, in so far as non-whites are concerned, has been in the direction of depriving them of democratic land rights, depriving them of some of the lands they hold, or drastically reducing it. This is the effect of the Group Areas Act and the Native Resettlement Act, only to mention a few of the recent land acts designed for this purpose.

Government policy and practice deprive Africans of land rights completely in urban areas. They live in townships as tenants in municipal houses. A few are allowed to build their own houses on rented municipal land for a period of only 30 years, subject to good behaviour. Africans are regarded as mere sojourners in urban areas.

A good number of Africans, nearly as many as those in reserves, are labour tenants on white farms, where generally they are allotted a small garden plot and a right to graze a few head of cattle.

The law provides that the labour tenant gives service to the master for nine months with no wages, this being in lieu of the plot of land, and limited grazing rights. Most farmers on their own pay these workers between £1 and £2 a month. It is not legally obligatory for farmers to pay cash wages. In times of pressure of work, as in reaping time, the farmer generally calls upon the whole family to work for no pay.

The vast majority of Africans are poor. Seventy percent of them, according to statistics, live below the bread line.

The vast majority of African workers are unskilled. The average wage for unskilled workers in urban areas ranges between an average of £1.10s.0d. to £2 a week. From this, they are expected to meet all their needs.

Peasants do not fare any better because of the small holdings allocated to them per family. The average is about five to six acres garden plot, with a commonage for the whole community to provide grazing for stock on the basis of five head of cattle per family or thereabout, but most certainly not more than 10.

The lowness of the incomes will be appreciated when I call to witness the report of the Tomlinson Commission which was appointed by the Nationalist Government as soon as it came into power in 1948 to study the socio-economic position of Africans in rural reserves. This commission promises these peasants a gross income of £60 (about 180 dollars) a year which may be doubled by expert husbandry. Who can raise a family on civilised standards on this income? It is clear that in both urban and rural areas non-whites - in particular, Africans - are subject to grinding poverty.

To meet this man-made inequality will demand what will appear to whites in South Africa to be revolutionary changes. Some form of a system such as is found in Great Britain and Sweden might meet the case. The land will be redistributed and allocated to those who have to live and make their living on the land. Land will be held in freehold by individual farmers and peasants. This will not preclude some land being held by the state for renting to individuals, and for state experimental farms.

There will be no indiscriminate purchases of land from individual to individual without the sanction of the government. This will largely be done to stop speculation on land, which is the basic heritage of the people.

The present so-called African reserves, which are very much depressed areas, mainly as a result of the policies of past governments, will need special attention as all other special depressed areas. In the reserves, not only is the land eroded through overcrowding and so unproductive, but the people themselves have become much depressed and poor. The burden of the government would be to rehabilitate both the land and the people.

Broadly speaking, people of the reserves as they come to stand on their own, will be encouraged to leave the reserves and live anywhere in South Africa. This will help reduce the congestion in these reserves. Those unable to leave will be rehabilitated to the point of becoming economically independent and will be encouraged to spread out and find their own land. The land policies generally will aim at eliminating exploitation of land. Measures of control will be introduced to bring this about.

As the land is an important asset in any country, the government will stop at nothing to save it, and in seeing to it that it is used productively to the maximum. To this end, liberal assistance will be given to farmers in the form of loans and technical advice, etc. Special aid will be given to farmers in depressed areas such as former African reserves, and drought-stricken areas. Technical services and marketing facilities will form an important and indispensable part of the state programme.

In re-distributing land, easy purchase terms will be made available for the landless of previous days and compensation will be given to those who have to give up their land in the re-distributing process. Each person will be allocated so much land as he could cultivate himself with the help of his family. This, I believe, is the policy in India. Co-operative farm settlements of a larger acreage will be encouraged and aided liberally to secure the advantages of large-scale farming. The experience of Israel will be drawn upon here. There will be state farms mainly for experimental purposes.

Commerce, Industry and Mines

People not engaged in farming will be encouraged to carry on private enterprises, commerce and industry. These enterprises will be under government control as now, and probably stricter. Super-tax on all high incomes will be levied on a higher percentage than now to meet the needs of uplifting the oppressed of former days.

It is inevitable that nationalisation and control - even on a larger scale than now - would be carried out by the government of the day after freedom, if justice is to be done to all, and the state enabled to carry out effectively its uplift work. Already in South Africa there are state-controlled undertakings such as the post office and allied services, telephones, telegrams, radio, the railways and transport generally.

There are presently other undertakings that might be described as joint state and private endeavours. Examples of these are the Reserve Bank, Electricity Supply Commission, iron and steel production, oil, and organisations such as the Industrial Development Corporation, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

State control will be extended to cover the nationalisation of some sectors of what at present is private enterprise. It will embrace specifically monopoly industries, the mines and banks, but excluding such institutions as building societies.

I would not like to close all private enterprise, just as I attack monopoly industries, and not all industries. The government in all these reforms - land, industry and commerce, etc. - will make its plans to seek a broad endorsement of them by the electorate. This does not mean that the government will go to the

people before it does anything. What is meant is that broad principles and fairly elastic framework will have been presented to the people for endorsement.

In the context of South Africa, these would be radical reforms and will require to be explained and the electorate given time to think on them and give its endorsement or otherwise. The aim will be to build this welfare state in a spirit of cooperation. The human rights as declared by the United Nations will be entrenched in the state constitution.

Trade Union Rights

The bulk of the people will naturally be workers in state-owned undertakings and in private enterprises. They will enjoy unqualified trade union rights with a charter for workers laying down minimum wages and conditions of service.

Needless to say, in this non-racial state, there will be no discrimination on grounds of colour or race. Merit will be the qualifying factor. Obviously, such legislation as job reservation (in which non-whites are discriminated against and denied the right to be in more lucrative forms of occupation), and all discriminatory laws, will fall by the wayside.

Justice demands that at the beginning, until parity is reached, greater assistance will have to be given to non-whites if they are to qualify for higher occupations. This must be done without unduly reducing standards.

The present framework of industrial legislation in so far as it applied to whites will form the basis of industrial legislation. The present South African Industrial Conciliation Act (Workers' Charter), in so far as it concerns whites, measures up to similar legislation in advanced industrial countries such as America and England.

Workers shall have the right to strike, for even if strikes might be costly and wasteful, it gives the individual a greater security if he knows he has the right, and it makes him feel a partner in the undertaking.

Generally, there will be planned social and economic development to increase employment and raise standards of living all round. This is the best guarantee against fears and prejudices arising from a sense of economic insecurity.

Measures like influx control will go. This is a part of the pass system in South Africa, which is used to regulate labour into any industrial area in so far as Africans are concerned. No African may go to work or remain in any urban or industrial area without the permission of both the state and municipal officers concerned under this law. Freedom of movement within and without the country for legitimate reasons will not be interfered with as at present. Immigration will not be limited to whites from outside the country as is the case now.

Greater latitude will be allowed to immigrants - both black and white - from other parts of Africa.

Non-racial Democratic Government

In the context of our South African situation, only a Republican form of government will meet the broad needs of the majority. I would like to see it as part of a larger unit, the Commonwealth of Nations, a child of the British colonial empire. This will not preclude the Union from forming other alliances or unities in Africa or outside. It is reasonable to expect that there will be regional groupings formed in Africa, and may be in some period, these would form a Federation of African States.

Franchise rights will be extended to all adults. All citizens will be known as "South Africans", and in that broad context will be "Africans". To me, the expression, "Africa for Africans" is valid in a non-racial democracy, only if it covers all, regardless of colour or race, who qualify as citizens of some country in Africa.

The government, mainly through education - directly and indirectly - will discourage the attitude of thinking and acting in racial categories, as racialism and all forms of discrimination shall be outlawed. The question of reserving rights for minorities in a non-racial democracy should not arise. It will be sufficient if human rights for all are entrenched in the constitution.

The main thing is that the government and the people should be democratic to the core. It is relatively unimportant who is in the government. I am opposed to it because it is undemocratic and repressive. I do not cherish such expressions as "the all-black government", "the African majority". I like to speak about "a democratic majority", which should be a non-racial majority, and so could be multi-racial or not.

My idea is a non-racial government consisting of the best men - merit rather than colour counting. The political parties in the country should also reflect the multi-racial nature of the country. Parties, basically, should arise from a community of interests, rather than from a similarity of colour. If the electorate puts on a one colour government that should be accidental, and not purposeful. Appeals to racialism at elections will be an offence in law.

In the development that has taken place in countries that have become free, such as India, Nigeria and others, the people have put into the government their tried man of stature, and there has been no question of lowering standards of government, and so the question of "swamping" the whites in South Africa does not arise. It is merely a bogey, or an excuse by certain whites to perpetuate their domination over us.

An elector does not have to know the intricacies of a modern state. All he is called upon to do is to judge broadly the best man for the needs of the state at a particular period.

The position in South Africa is such that a white hobo in the street and an 18-year-old youth is equated politically - if not in all respects - as being above a non-white educated person. What a ridiculous disparity!

I stress that the question of "colour" and "swamping" will not be relevant in the South Africa I think of - a South Africa that is a non-racial democracy. No doubt, initially, as a result of the unfortunate historical developments which stressed divisions into colour and with the state having previously legislated racially, people have become colour conscious. This might not be wiped off in one day. People should not be blamed in the beginning for thinking in racial categories, but this will be discouraged by law and by a process of re-education in all spheres and avenues of life. State policies and practices should not take account of those who persist to think and act on the basis of racialism.

I stress, all discriminatory laws will be removed from the statute book and civil liberties extended to all without qualification. As stated earlier, fundamental human rights will be guaranteed by the constitution. Individual freedom will be fully respected, and will be basic.

Within the orbit of my state, the individual will remain cardinal, for "the state exists for the individual" and not "the individual for the state" I realise that a state such as I visualise - a democratic social welfare state - cannot be born in one day. But it will be the paramount task of the government to bring it about and advance it without crippling industry, commerce, farming and education.

Housing

In any nation and community in modern times, housing has become an important concern of the state. Speculation and exploitation on housing as well as on land will not be tolerated. Individuals will be assisted and encouraged by loans to have their own houses on their freehold sites or on rented municipal sites. Municipal housing schemes with liberal aid from the central government will be encouraged for those who do not wish to establish their own houses. Rents will definitely be strictly controlled. The practice of individuals building houses to rent out will be frowned upon. Renting will be gradually eliminated and, in the interim, strictly controlled.

Education

Education for the needs of the people and the state has ever been the concern of man in whatever state of development he might be. Even the primitive man had an education which fitted him for the society of his day. In a state, all people should

have the same education according to their talent. This should be more so in modern states, when requirements of life are complex, and the struggle for living very intense. Education provides a common language, creates common attitudes and norms for citizens. It is an important unifying factor in building national consciousness and pride - a healthy community spirit.

An education not meeting these demands of society is not worth the name. It is clear that in the South Africa I visualise - a non-racial democratic South Africa - there can be no question of a different system of education for the different racial groups in the country. It would only be in the lower classes - say up to fourth year of school - and never beyond the eighth year of school, where mother tongue instruction will predominate. From the sixth year of school, instruction should begin to be in both, in the vernacular and English, assuming it has been agreed that English is the *lingua franca* of the country.

The position of non-whites in education under Nationalist rule is tragic. It is based on differentiation of colour and race. Non-white education - especially Bantu education - has become poor in content and finance. This monstrosity of Bantu education and Indian education will have to go. In fact, the aim of Bantu education as stated by Dr Verwoerd, is to give the African "an education to fit him for his station in life". This means an inferior education for the African, for apartheid assigns him an inferior status in the country. The lowering of standards in Bantu education will be seen in the fact that it is the aim of the government that instruction in African schools should be in the vernacular at least up to matriculation.

Education will be free and compulsory for all to the primary stage at first, and later up to matriculation. Substantial aid will be given to universities with a generous system for bursaries and loans to students. No child of ability would be denied higher education because of lack of finance on his part. In technical and trade schools education will be free. These will be state schools. At the discretion of the government, trade and technical schools, subject to government control and supervision, may be established as private schools. State schools of higher education will be established to supplement independent schools.

Special efforts will be made to remove illiteracy. In this regard, night schools to provide working adults with facilities for part-time education in any standards, will be encouraged and liberally subsidised in an ambitious literacy programme. A large scale research programme in conjunction with the universities and industries will be worked out. These two will be generally financed by the government.

Only multi-racial schools of all stages will be entertained. What differentiation there might be in lower classes where mother tongue instruction would predominate up to the fourth year, but certainly not beyond the sixth year. Multi-racial schools will be demanded by the need to develop common patriotism and national solidarity. Religious schools, which must be on a multi-racial pattern, will

not be disallowed, but on the secular academic plane must follow the state syllabi and be subject to government inspection.

A word more about Bantu education to show up its evil intent. According to the Nationalist party government, Bantu education is a direct burden on the African community. State aid to Bantu education is pegged indefinitely to £6½ million per year, Africans being expected, by direct and indirect taxation and by other means of raising money, to meet the heavier burden of their education. This is the most crippling way of financing education, a fast expanding service, more so with the African community who are not only the poorest section but are overwhelmingly illiterate. Of those who enter school, hardly three per cent remain beyond the eighth year of school. This is so for black children, when for white children education is free up to the age of about 16.

The difficulty of financing Bantu education may be seen in a dilemma which African parents were forced to face some two or three years ago. Previous to the Nationalist government taking full control of African education, African children enjoyed a school feeding scheme in common with children of other races, although the scheme in African schools received a lower subsidisation. When African education came under Nationalist government control, attempts were made to abolish the school feeding scheme in African schools. African parents then found themselves, at the suggestion of the government, faced with the choice of either continuing with school feeding, which was pitifully small in any case, or having more schools.

The government suggested that the money for school feeding should help in building more schools. The choice was between stomachs and more schools. The parents overwhelmingly decided on children going hungry, but getting some education. What a cruel choice! They reckoned it more important that a child should have something in the head rather than in its stomach. This ended school feeding in Bantu schools, but white children still enjoy a liberal feeding scheme.

That Bantu education is inferior is a fact. Already in 1960, the results of African students in the joint matriculation examinations were appalling. They were 18 percent, when in previous years, they were between 40 and 50 percent. This is largely because in classes below matriculation, African children now follow a syllabus different and lower in many respects from that in white schools, which follow the lines of liberal education as found anywhere in the world.

The tragic position is that Africans suffer more, carrying the burden of an education they do not want. They groan under the heavy burden of financing it. When the history of my people comes to be written, surely this will be recorded as one of the most memorable examples of self sacrifice for self-help. Consider: A white child fed for 6d per day. An African child previously fed for 3d. per day and now nothing. What a cruel disparity!

The position is also this - less and inferior education for more people. It is well to point out that under the Bantu Education Act, it is illegal for anyone to run an unlicensed private school. So it has become a crime to operate a private school unlicensed.

One is all praise for men and women who try to find loopholes in the law to give Africans some education by private tuition. The government definitely discourages authorising the running of private schools. Virtually all licenses for such schools have been refused.

Work for Peace and Friendship in the World

The world is now a neighbourhood although, unfortunately, people are not sufficiently neighbourly. We suffer at the present time from an over stress of nationalism. Each such ultra-nationalist group seeks domination over others. I would like to see a South Africa that takes a serious interest in establishing peace and friendship in the world and not merely paying lip service to these important needs of man.

My South Africa will encourage the harnessing of science and technology to every day uses of man rather than for his destruction. It will seek to play a prominent part in bringing about the banning of nuclear warfare and in working for some degree of disarmament. The present is a most unsafe world for small nations such as South Africa. But the combined influence of all small nations can make the big nations see the futility of spending their money on armaments. Nations that engage in the armaments race should be boycotted - if at all possible. The world must not just be made safe for democracy: it must be made safe for human beings. The human being at present lives in constant terror. He is virtually being raised for cannon fodder.

To encourage a healthy relationship between nations and people, I would like to see a South Africa that develops itself to the highest level and shares for the benefit of mankind as a whole, apart from its neighbours in Africa and in the world, any special knowledge and skills it acquires. I would vigorously guard against bringing about an isolated and selfish South Africa, for this would result in a dwarfed South Africa. To secure efficient and wider cooperation, I would encourage regional groupings in Africa. This might bring about a United States of Africa.

In the world scene, my South Africa will support the United Nations and its agencies fully, and will encourage foreign investment, subject to her own interests of course. World investors will be told where they stand, so that they can invest freely, with the full knowledge of the limits set for private enterprise and the relevant methods of control.

MESSAGE TO *NEW AGE* ON 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF PROGRESSIVE PRESS, MARCH 1962¹

Congratulations to *New Age* and its predecessors. Twenty-five years of uninterrupted production is an achievement that is remarkable for the progressive press of any country. It is even more so in the case of *New Age* and its predecessors which have had to face all the hardships imposed against them by successive Governments.

Despite arrests of members of its staff and bannings, *New Age* and its predecessors have regularly come out, not giving in on any basic question affecting the civil and political rights of any person, black or white, in this country.

Since my advent into active politics I have found *New Age* to be forthright and brave.

I have not always agreed with everything it says, but on questions affecting the Non-White people in South Africa, *New Age* has been and continues to be, the fighting mouthpiece of African aspirations.

I sincerely trust that in the future, too, *New Age* will play its part in exposing the rottenness of the society in which we live and to this end, I want to add my best wishes to the paper and all members of its staff, from the Editor downwards.

More power to your pens, gentlemen, the people need you as much as they need their organisations.

The struggle to which you have dedicated yourselves must triumph. Forward to a non-racial democratic South Africa in which colour bars and discrimination between man and man will be a thing of the past.

Amandhla! Awethu!

“FORM UNITED FRONT NOW”: INTERVIEW, MAY 1962¹

“The violence and terror that could be unleashed by the Government against all its opponents once it is armed with the draconian powers implicit in the Sabotage Bill may, I fear, ultimately lead to bloodshed and even open revolt by the oppressed

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, March 22, 1962

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, May 24, 1962

people – a situation which we have worked so hard to avoid,” said Chief A. J. Luthuli...

In an exclusive interview with *New Age*, Chief Luthuli said that he had already made an earnest appeal to all leaders – both black and white – to come together with a view to forming a broad united front so as to rouse the whole of South Africa against “the fascist measure.”

Response

“I am pleased to state that already my appeal, which has been published in a Durban daily, has had good response. Roman Catholic Archbishop Rt. Rev. Dennis Hurley, Dr Alan Paton, Mr P. R. Pather, President of the South African Indian Organisation, Dr Naicker, President of the S.A.I.C.⁵² and others have informed me that they are willing to serve on such a committee,” he said.

Reiterating his appeal for a united front, Chief Luthuli asked: “In the face of this fascist measure can anyone doubt the role that democracy-loving people should play in view of this Nazi conspiracy to destroy the last vestiges of freedom in South Africa?”

“Is it not time to close our ranks in the face of this threat by the Government to rule us by terror?”

Priority

“The broadest possible united front of all anti-Nationalist forces is an inescapable priority – NOW!”

“Tomorrow may be too late!” he declared.

[Chief Luthuli named the people he would like on such a united front. Amongst others he said he would like to see, the following on such a joint committee: Ex-Chief Justices, Hon. Mr Centlivres and the Hon. Mr Fagan, Sir De Villiers Graaff and Dr Steytler, Dr Paton of the Liberal Party and Rev. Mahabane of IDAMF, Dr G. M. Naicker, President of the S.A.I.C. and Mr P. R. Pather, President of the S.A.I.O., Paramount Chief Sabata and Dr van der Ross of the Coloured Convention Movement, Archbishop Dennis Hurley and Archbishop Jooste de Blanc, Mr Basson, Mr Leon Levy, President of SACTU and Mr L. C. Scheepers, President of the T.U.C., Canon Zulu and J. N. Singh, banned Vice President of the South African Indian Congress.]

⁵² South African Indian Congress

“OUR STRUGGLE IS FOR PROGRESS”: STATEMENT, JUNE 1962¹

[Chief Luthuli said that it was no coincidence that he has chosen *New Age* to make this statement. “*New Age* has already been threatened under the Sabotage Bill with banning and I have decided to make this statement to your paper precisely because it is read by the politically conscious peoples of South Africa, and because it may appear in the last issue of this most valuable fighter for freedom and democracy in this country,” he said. His statement continued:]

On the occasion of June 26, 1962, I want to address my message to all sections of the South African population – both Black and White. I want to address it to the peasants in the country-side and the workers in the factories. I want to address it to the Chiefs and the leaders of the all-White political parties, to the intellectuals and students, to the religious leaders of all denominations and religious groups.

No Compromise!

In the atmosphere in which we live it is imperative that all those who value freedom should make common cause and with courage and determination face the threat which the Nationalist Government has imposed upon us by the introduction of the Sabotage Bill.

There can be no compromise in our struggle to make South Africa a truly democratic country, and in the coming fight against the monstrous Sabotage Bill which aims at destroying all vestiges of freedom in this country there can be no neutrals. The choice before South Africa is open unadulterated fascism or full democracy for all.

In this situation a greater responsibility rests with White South Africans. By the nature of things they are in the ruling group and it is in their name that all this evil is being done.

Our Inspiration

This does not mean that the Non-White peoples must now hope for their salvation through the ballot box. Theirs is the role of continuing the struggle, which began with our forefathers. They must draw inspiration from the great battles and the sacrifices of Tshaka and Moshesh, of Gandhi and Hintsa. They must also draw inspiration from our more recent martyrs who fell at Sharpeville and Langa, at Pondoland and Cato Manor, at Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland.

¹ *New Age*, Cape Town, June 21, 1962

They must draw inspiration from the hundreds who rot in exile in the far corners of our beloved country and those who languish in prison because of their love for freedom. They must draw inspiration from their many gallant leaders who have been gagged and restricted because of their role in the struggle for freedom for all in South Africa.

In the dark and difficult days that lie ahead of us, we must not only draw inspiration from our martyrs for freedom – past and present – we must also re-dedicate ourselves for the bitter fight ahead. We cannot and must not allow fascism to take root in our beloved country. We must not allow the despotism and degradation that befell the peoples of Nazi Germany, Fascist Spain and Portugal.

It is only the determined will of the people that can stop this dangerous trend in South African politics.

I call on the people not to be despondent. The battle has long been joined. It is not the beginning of our fight for liberation, but the beginning of the end of our struggle.

The future may look black and the problems insurmountable, but history has many examples which teach us that no power on earth could stop a determined and courageous people. History also teaches us that no power on earth could stop progress – and our struggle is for progress.

Raise the Banner!

Join your respective organisations and help organise the unorganised peoples, instil courage into the waverers and determination into those who are with us and finally, but most important, unite with all anti-Nationalist forces in this country so that jointly we can march forward to a glorious free and democratic South Africa, free from all the evils of apartheid and race barriers, free from want and fear.

Raise the banner of democracy high and proudly say to the world: “We are not defeated by this Sabotage Bill. We have dedicated ourselves to the fight for freedom and until it is won we shall continue no matter what the cost. We shall lay down our lives, if need be, for what is the use of living in darkness and terror.”

Amandhla! Ngewethu!

“DON’T SUPPORT APARTHEID SPORT”: APPEAL (BY CHIEF A. J. LUTHULI AND DR G. M. NAICKER), JUNE 1962⁵³

FIFA - the world soccer body has suspended the all-White South African Football Association from international football for the second year in succession Reason: SOUTH AFRICA’S COLOUR POLICY.

The International Olympics Association will give serious consideration to the continued participation of White South African athletes in future Olympics. Reason: SOUTH AFRICA’S COLOUR POLICY!

In every field of sport South Africa’s colour policy is under fire... Sportsmen throughout the world are taking action against South African participation because of the colour bar practised by the all-White sporting representatives of this country. Sportsmen of the world condemn apartheid in sport!

In South Africa, however, whilst there has been some measure of opposition to the colour bar in sport, many thousands of people continue to patronise all-White sporting events Recently in Durban, nearly 20,000 non-Whites - mainly Indians, paying almost R4,000 attended an all-White soccer match at Kingsmead. They sat in segregated enclosures.

Similarly in other centres and in all fields of sport we find thousands of non-Whites making huge contributions to witness all-White events sponsored by organisations which refuse to end apartheid in their ranks.

What does this mean in effect? It means those amongst us who attend such racially exclusive events are in fact - morally and financially - supporting the perpetuation of apartheid.

Whilst we appreciate that the vast majority of those who attend such apartheid sporting events are in no way supporters of apartheid and all its attendant evils, we would like them to take into account the abhorrence with which apartheid is held internationally and by the Non-White peoples of South Africa.

Is it not time for South African sportsmen - players, athletes, administrators and spectators, both Black and White, to sacrifice this one pleasure and in so doing support their own non-racial organisations in the fight against apartheid?

In the apartheid atmosphere in which we live in this country this seems to us an urgent and important matter. The question is: do you support racialism in sport? Each person must ask himself this question, honestly and sincerely -without any rationalisation - and then decide what steps he is going to take in the future.

⁵³ *New Age*, Cape Town, June 14, 1962

STATEMENT ON THE “SABOTAGE ACT,” JUNE 1962⁵⁴

The new assault on civil liberties and democracy generally made by the General Law Amendment Bill – the Sabotage Bill – about to become law in the Republic of South Africa, has rightly shocked the democratic world and us, its victims.

The far-reaching and most damaging implications of this measure cannot be overemphasised nor unduly exposed. Fortunately for us, we are not alone. The world, especially through the United Nations Organisation, is pledged to work actively to ensure respect for basic human rights as enunciated in its Charter. In the dark days that lie ahead, we should be fortified and comforted by this knowledge – and by the double assurance of the abiding unswerving moral and active support of groups and individuals in many lands.

We face nothing new. All people now free have faced most trying times and situations – but ended victorious. The Bill, if passed in its present form, will land us in an era of tyranny and suffering harsher than any we have ever experienced since Union in 1910 and even during the 14 tragic years of Nationalist Party rule. Its provisions go far beyond the legitimate peacetime security requirement in truly democratic countries.

Though this may be cold comfort, it is encouraging to observe that this notorious measure spells out some patent weaknesses of the Government. Cruel as it is, the Bill basically is an admission by the Government of the effectiveness of our freedom struggle and of its latent potentialities. It may be a clever anticipation, but one doomed to failure in the end. The Government knows it. In whatever it does it is merely buying time. It knows that in the hearts of freedom-loving South Africans of all races, the freedom flame burns too strong to be snuffed out by the welter of bannings, banishments, imprisonments, and threats of other repressive legislation, nor even by the extravagant promises – mere fantasies – of a Paradise-on-Earth in a separate development that gives to white South Africans a lion’s share in all the resources of the Republic. To such men and women – freedom lovers – “life is more than meat”. Mirages in the apartheid desert will not deceive them.

At worst, the measure will slow down the momentum of the liberation movement, but will never destroy it. Some have said that the Sabotage Bill spells “civil death.” But I am satisfied that it will never achieve its purpose. Though it may imprison our bodies it will never crush our indomitable spirit. It may initially intimidate

⁵⁴ *The Guardian*, London, July 8, 1962. In a note on the statement, *Guardian* said:

“Before the Sabotage Act became law in South Africa a month ago, Chief Luthuli wrote a final message. It was intended for publication in Britain after the Act had come into force, and it has just reached us. Its text is printed here.”

some among us, but not the brave “mighty few,” that core who lead and inspire others in any cause.

The Bill confirms why the Nationalist Party Government, with its *baaskap* apartheid policy, is *non persona grata* with progressive world. It reveals as nothing else has recently the evil mind of the Government, which cannot be hidden even by clever concealing formulations. It is a case of actions speaking louder than words. It epitomises the Government’s morbid aversion to criticism of any sort and its disregard for democratic processes and values. This negatives emphatically its proclaimed avowal to democratic principles and puts it in the company of dictatorial regimes whose fate history teaches us was an ignominious end. Nothing the Government does to us will bring us to ignominy, unless we ourselves turn traitors to the cause by accepting its enticings and succumbing to its intimidations.

The Republic of South Africa, under the Nationalist Party regime, has a stinking record among progressive sections of the world. It is one of the black sheep of mankind. This is a fair portrayal of the South African image as seen by enlightened people and groups everywhere.

We painfully encourage the world to ostracise South Africa so long as she is unrepentant, and on our part we must be ever-diligent in exposing the implications and effects of apartheid. It grieves us to have to do this when with her rich and varied potentials in human and material resources South Africa could be a more prosperous and progressive country but for the Nationalists besmirching her name.

The General Law Amendment Bill, when an Act, will virtually make it impossible for some people to engage in active freedom work. But those who can must exploit to the full the meagre opportunities not barred by law to redeem her name. The situation calls for more effective action by the UN and its member-nations, by organisations, groups, and individuals sympathetic to our cause, to get South Africa to mend her ways.

What is the call of the hour? To all true South Africans of all races and to all true men and women of the world who share a common enlightened outlook and faith, the hour demands of us all to redouble our efforts in arresting the antidemocratic tide in our country and everywhere. We should regard no sacrifice too great for this noble task.

It has been said: “We have nothing to fear but fear itself. This is my message to the stout-hearted men and women of our country, to our youth, the men and women of tomorrow, and to freedom-lovers in the world, to keep eternal vigilance on the force of reaction, to fight them at every turn: Let us not be afraid. Our cause is just and whatever hardships come our way we should meet as a challenge.

The vision of greater, happier, and strife-free South Africa in a free world should inspire us to dare all for her and for the world.

LETTER TO AMERICANS, NOVEMBER 1962⁵⁵

Dear friend:

Just before I went to Oslo last December to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, I wrote a letter to Americans expressing both surprise and satisfaction that men abroad have grasped our movement for what it is - a peaceful attack on a vicious system that divides men by race and condemns the majority to a position of permanent inferiority.

In that letter, I said: "I regard the Prize as not for me alone, nor for the Africans alone, but for all men everywhere who have sacrificed for the Brotherhood of Man."

Now I write again because, as each day passes, life under apartheid grows more difficult. Our every action meets the fierce repression of the South African Government. Our people, living under appalling conditions of poverty and hunger, find their protest movements banned, their leaders in jail or exile.

And now - under the new "Sabotage" Act, to challenge segregation is to risk the death penalty. Under such conditions, it is not too much to say that twelve million of my people look to you. *For we cannot win equality without the help of the outside world.*

Such help from abroad is precisely what the American Committee on Africa proposes. As indicated in the enclosed copy, the American Committee's APPEAL FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID is projected to bring pressure on South Africa on an international scale - pressure for change before it is too late, before we are caught in a bloody revolt which would necessarily polarise along racial lines and blot out all hope for justice in South Africa. Such a cataclysm would destroy our movement here; it would endanger hard-won progress everywhere, including America.

That is why Martin Luther King joins me as an initiating sponsor for this APPEAL FOR ACTION. That is why 130 leaders from all parts of the world have signed this call to action.

⁵⁵ This letter was distributed by the American Committee on Africa with the "appeal for action" sponsored by Chief Luthuli with the Reverend Dr Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Appeal must not remain merely a document; it must become the base of an international campaign. Because such a campaign is costly, I ask for your generous support *now*.

As you write your check, I am sure you will make a sacrifice - not for the recognition accorded by the Nobel Prize, but for the cause we share: that interracial amity shall not perish.

Thank you,

(sd.) A. J. Luthuli

**APPEAL FOR ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID: JOINT
STATEMENT BY CHIEF ALBERT J. LUTHULI AND THE
REVEREND DR MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., 1962⁵⁶**

In 1957, an unprecedented Declaration of Conscience was issued by more than 100 leaders from every continent. That Declaration was an appeal to South Africa to bring its policies into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

The Declaration was a good start in mobilising world sentiment to back those in South Africa who acted for equality. The non-whites took heart in learning that they were not alone. And many white supremacists learned for the first time how isolated they were.

Measures of Desperation

Subsequent to the Declaration, the South African Government took the following measures:

* BANNED the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the principal protest organisations, and jailed their leaders;

* COERCED the press into strict pro-government censorship and made it almost impossible for new anti-apartheid publications to exist;

⁵⁶ Published by the American Committee on Africa, New York.

This joint statement, initiated by Chief Luthuli and the Rev. Dr Martin Luther King, Jr., was signed by many prominent Americans and promoted the public campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

- * ESTABLISHED an arms industry, more than tripled the military budget, distributed small arms to the white population, enlarged the army, created an extensive white civilian militia;
- * ACTIVATED total physical race separation by establishing the first Bantustan in the Transkei - with the aid of emergency police regulations;
- * LEGALLY DEFINED protest against apartheid as an act of "sabotage" - and offence ultimately punishable by death;
- * PERPETUATED its control through terrorism and violence:
- * Human Rights Day (December 10), 1959 - 12 South West Africans killed at Windhoek and 40 wounded as they fled police
- * March 21, 1960 - 72 Africans killed and 186 wounded at Sharpeville by police
- * Before and during the two-year "emergency" in the Transkei - 15 Africans killed by police, thousands arrested and imprisoned without trial.

The Choice

The deepening tensions can lead to two alternatives:

Solution

Intensified persecution may lead to violence and armed rebellion once it is clear that peaceful adjustments are no longer possible. As the persecution has been inflicted by one racial group upon all other racial groups, large-scale violence would take the form of a racial war.

This "solution" may be workable. But mass racial extermination will destroy the potential for interracial unity in South Africa and elsewhere.

Therefore, we ask for your *action* to make the following possible.

Solution 2

"Nothing which we have suffered at the hands of the government has turned us from our chosen path of disciplined resistance," said Chief Albert J. Luthuli at Oslo. So there exists another alternative - and the only solution which represents sanity - transition to a society based upon equality for all without regard to colour.

Any solution founded on justice is unattainable until the Government of South Africa is forced by pressures, both internal and external, to come to terms with the demands of the non-white majority.

The apartheid republic is a reality today *only because* the peoples and governments of the world have been unwilling to place her in quarantine.

Translate public opinion into public action

We, therefore, ask all men of goodwill to take action against apartheid in the following manner:

Hold meetings and demonstrations on December 10, Human Rights Day:

Urge your church, union, lodge, or club to observe this day as one of protest;

Urge your Government to support economic sanctions;

Write to your mission to the United Nations urging adoption of a resolution calling for international isolation of South Africa;

Don't buy South Africa's products;

Don't trade or invest in South Africa;

Translate public opinion into public action by explaining facts to all peoples, to groups to which you belong, and to countries of which you are citizens until AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL QUARANTINE OF APARTHEID IS ESTABLISHED.

“THE TREASON TRIAL”: FOREWORD TO BOOK BY HELEN JOSEPH, 1963⁵⁷

‘What are Kingdoms without Justice but large robber bands?’ St. Augustine

Mrs Helen Joseph has made an important contribution to the literature of the liberatory movement in South Africa.

⁵⁷ *If This be Treason*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1963.

The treason trial must occupy a special place in South African history. That grim pre-dawn raid, deliberately calculated to strike terror into hesitant minds and impress upon the entire nation the determination of the governing clique to stifle all opposition, made one hundred and fifty-six of us, belonging to all the races of our land, into a group of accused facing one of the most serious charges in any legal system.

When I used to sit with my co-accused during the dreary, soul-searing proceedings of the Preparatory Examination, my mind would insistently go back to the great similarity of techniques and methods that marked the nightmare of Hitlerism from which we thought we had emerged barely a decade ago.

The dictatorial minority which ruled South Africa made a desperate gamble when it decided to indict a large section of its opponents for treason. The reason and intention are obvious. In most parts of the world, law and order are still supposed to be the supreme good. Whatever is, is supposed to be right by some strange logic. The universal prevalence of this view shows to what extent humanity is still under the thralldom of mere habit. Innovators and initiators of progressive change are always suspect, and all the more to be dreaded and put out of the way if they are addicted to irresponsible violence, or, nowadays if they are merely suspected of keeping company with Communism. Nationalist logic was naively simple, almost to the point of stupidity. They would convict us of being Communists, of not only having dark designs to overthrow the State, the established order, by violence, but of actually plotting the means to this end. They would also drive terror into would-be opponents, showing them the high cost of opposition, in the way of disrupted families, insecurity, loss of employment and the host of difficulties which attend such lengthy trials. The treason trial would be notice to the world, especially to 'Communism-haunted' people of the Western World, that the minority White Government of South Africa is indeed a bastion of Western Civilisation (whatever that may mean), and a foremost ally in the struggle against Communism.

In its pathetic progress, the trial degenerated into a crude attempt to brand us and our organisations as Communist. But, indeed, as it so often happens, 'the best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley.' This supposed master-move of the then Minister of Justice, this trial to end all trials, ended in foredoomed, miserable failure - a failure which may well mark the beginning of the end for this ugly interlude of Nationalist rule over our fair land. For at the time the pre-dawn raids were carried out and the trial began, Nationalism was rampant, in full cry, and the Jericho Walls of White Rule in South Africa were still without a breach, while the ugly form of Apartheid was spreading its shadow over the land in greater volume and ampler sweep. At the end of the trial, the granite walls still remain, but they certainly reveal a few very significant cracks. Victory is certainly not in sight, nor near, but at least, the forces of progress have been vindicated.

And not only that! The trial has been an inestimable blessing because it forged together diverse men and women of goodwill of all races who rallied to the support of the Treason Trial Fund and to keeping up the morale of the accused. What would have been the plight of the accused without our Bishop Reeves, Alan Paton, Dr Hellman, Canon Collins, Alex Hepple, Christian Action, Archbishop de Blank, and Archbishop Hurley and all the other loyal men and women without whose help and co-operation, chaos would have prevailed in our ranks? We shudder to think even of the prospect of how we would have fared if they had not come forward. In all humility I can say that if there is one thing which helped push our movement along non-racial lines, away from narrow, separative racialism, it is the treason trial, which showed the depth of the sincerity and devotion to a noble cause on the white side of the colour line, ranging from those already mentioned to the brilliant team of legal men who defended us so magnificently for so little financial reward. To all these gallant helpers, I should like to say on behalf of all the accused that our future course of conduct will justify your help, for in all things we shall be motivated by the noble urge of human unity rather than division and separativeness.

—

“NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA”: APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, MAY 1963⁵⁸

I greet all lovers of freedom, wherever they may be. From my village in South Africa, where I have been confined for years by the Nationalist Party Government, I send greetings on behalf of the oppressed people of my country to all our friends throughout the world.

I am happy to think that there are many millions all over the world who are concerned with the unhappy plight of South Africa. I speak to you at a time when there is much reason for sadness in South Africa. But also at a time when there is reason for rising hope and renewed courage.

On the one hand we have the tragic spectacle of the South African white minority Government armed to the hilt to crush the legitimate aspirations of the people: on the other we have the heartening sight of the overwhelming majority of the civilised world uniting in a resolution which condemns in the most absolute terms the tyranny under which South Africa groans.

The forces of oppression and racial discrimination which have pressed heavily on us for so long are increasing in their viciousness, in their ruthless disregard for human values, in the ferocity of their attacks on a patient and reasonable people who have been, and even at this late stage still are, prepared to work out in

⁵⁸ This appeal was sent to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

calmness a just settlement of the conflicts in our land. And, in spite of the increasing burden of oppression, it cheers me to know that the people as a whole continue to struggle for justice with fortitude and unabated patience.

Terrible Destructive Forces

Yet it is necessary to calculate as exactly as possible the terrible destructive forces which are being built up in our country. They can be measured in the flood of repressive laws, destructive of human rights and human dignity, which pour out from the legislative machine: in the assaults on human rights in the form of banishments, confinements, house arrests, gagging and police persecution. They can be measured in the wholesale removals of people ruthlessly torn up from homes they have built up at great sacrifice from their meagre earnings: in the unceasing treadmill of arrests for statutory offences, principally under the pass laws, when people are unable to establish their right to be in the land of their birth; in the Group Areas Acts, job reservation and attacks on the press and freedom of speech; in the ruthless carving up of our country into racial kraals for whites and non-whites; in the dismembering of the land into Bantustans - only thirteen percent of the land for us Africans, comprising seventy-five percent of the population and in the obscurantist retreat into a tribal past for both white and non-white.

Most terrible of all, we measure the coming tide of destruction in terms of the massive build-up of military power against an unarmed people whose sole crime is their demand for the most elementary forms of human justice.

All this preparation for what? For a further series of Sharpevilles? Is it any wonder that among the people of our country suffering from intense oppression - deprivation of home and family, of livelihood and of hope - there are some who, goaded beyond human endurance to the point of desperation, see no way out but to engage in desperate forms of reckless violence? Nor is it, humanly speaking, to be wondered at that there are those who are embarking on calculated acts of violence because they have been forced to abandon all hope of reaching a just solution by consultation and negotiation.

But the Government has insanely committed itself to rule by the machine gun and armoured car; has elected to go down in a messy welter of blow and destruction rather than work out a clean and honourable solution. The police vote of 1962 soared to 40 million rand (56 million dollars); the prisons vote to 10.5 million rand (14.7 million dollars); the defence vote - greater than that in wartime - to 120 million rand (168 million dollars).

Helicopters, paratroopers, white women's pistol clubs, armoured cars, strafing planes, automatic weapons, the integration of the Police force ("one of the largest police forces...") with the Army - the whole ferocious panoply of war is being marshalled - in peace time and with frank avowal that it is not for any outside

enemy but to put down the people of the land. This is the pitiful state of my country today.

Saddening as this is, there are other features of the situation which increase our sadness. Those who are providing the Government with these terrifying weapons of destruction are countries which allegedly care for human freedom. Certainly, some of them have a proud record in the defence of human liberties. Almost all of them have known the travail of war, of conflict against ruthless oppression; have known the bitterness of race hatred and the wounds of armed conflict. Yet these countries today, and Britain foremost among them, are guilty of arming the savage Nationalist Party regime. The Saracens built in Britain have already left an indelible blot on the history of my country. Now it seems that your Buccaneers and your tanks must leave foul imprint.

Honour the United Nations Resolutions

Happily, the vast majority of civilised countries have shown their detestation of this foul regime. The most spectacular demonstration of this was the vote in support of the resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for sanctions against South Africa.

I would remind you that resolution called on all states to break off diplomatic relations, or refrain from establishing them; close their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag and enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports; boycott all South African goods; refrain from exporting goods, including arms and ammunition, to South Africa; and refuse landing facilities to South African aircraft.

On behalf of all the oppressed people and all freedom lovers in South Africa, I wish to make it clear that we welcome this resolution most joyfully, that we look forward to, and entreat, its most stringent implementation, and that we would encourage the most vigorous forms of action in protest against the apartheid policies which blight our country.

At the same time I would urge citizens in all countries to be vigilant in ensuring that these resolutions are honoured in words as well as action and to campaign energetically for their fullest implementation by their governments and by all private enterprises and individuals.

I must remind you, too, that the same resolution drew the attention of the world to, and expressed regret at, the fact that some member states indirectly provide encouragement to the South African Government to perpetuate segregation. This is a matter of grave concern to all of us and calls for demonstration by all of us of our abhorrence of it, particularly by those who are still free to speak and act and who have not been crippled, as many of us have been, by the strangling restrictions of a virtual police state.

I would ask you to unite in demanding that your governments should honour the resolutions taken at the United Nations. I would urge that you and your government be not deterred from any action by the excuse - often advanced by our oppressors - that boycotts and sanctions will bring to us, blacks, more suffering than the whites. We have been victims of suffering long before our boycott and sanctions call to nations of the world. We are committed to suffering that will lead us to freedom - as it has been the lot of all oppressed people before us from time immemorial. What we are determined not to do, cost what it may, is to acquiesce in a *status quo* that makes us semi-slaves in our country.

No Arms for South Africa

I would ask you in particular to unite in protesting, vociferously and unremittingly, against the shipment of arms to South Africa. On this issue let your voice be clear and untiring: *No Arms for South Africa*.

When you contemplate the mass of cruelly repressive legislation, when you observe the horrifying pitiful take of human suffering and indignity, and when you see the way this fair country is blasted by the racially insane, let your cry be: *No Arms For South Africa*.

When you visualise the terrible havoc which may be wreaked on South Africa, havoc of which Sharpeville was the merest minor portent, by the most deadly and destructive military weapons known to modern man, let your cry be: *No Arms For South Africa*.

If you have any doubts, if you think this is a gross and hysterical exaggeration, let me give you a single example of the callous disregard for human life which permeates those who rule South Africa. Speaking at the current session of the all-white South African Parliament, a Cabinet Minister referred to Sharpeville as "an ordinary police action". An ordinary police action in which sixty-seven unarmed, defenceless men, women and children were shot dead and 180 wounded. This is an "ordinary police action". What of the extraordinary actions of the future for which the Government is now frantically preparing?

When you contemplate this grim and bloody prospect, surely it is your duty as an individual, and the duty of all, to ensure that no such foul assault on human beings should be perpetrated. Surely you must join in the great united cry: *No Arms For South Africa*.

I direct a special appeal to all the workers of the world who share with us not only the common brotherhood of labour but who in many instances have shared with us a common suffering and hardship. I appeal to them to make their voices heard and to show their unity with us not only in words but in actions. To those working in the factories where these deadly weapons are manufactured, I say,

make sure that your labour is not used to produce the weapons which will deal death to the people of my country. And to those having any part in the transaction - the dockworkers, the sailors, the airport workers and all others - I say, let your opposition be shown, not only in your cry "*No Arms For South Africa*" but also, in your resolute refusal to lend your labour for this foul purpose.

Perhaps it is futile to appeal to those who put profits before justice and human lives. Nevertheless, in all sincerity I appeal to them to pause and re-think their sense of values which puts material values before human lives. For this is the meaning of their making available their murderous wares to the South African Government.

Hasten the Day of Freedom

The time must surely come when South Africa must emerge from the dark night of racial fanaticism to take its place among the free nations of the world. You all - people and governments - can, to your honour, hasten this day.

The Nationalist juggernaut, top heavy with its crushing weight of military might, is crumbling and rotten at the base. Its present show of strength is a facade to hide its hastening decay and doom. The duty of all who find the regime repugnant to mankind is to hasten this day. A regime that flouts world opinion cannot last. Nor will such a regime endure when many of its own citizens are resolute and pledged to work for that end even at the cost of limitless sacrifice. For we are steeled by oppression, and the daily sight of human values being ground underfoot only makes us cherish even more those values.

The Test is Action

To the nations and governments of the world, particularly those directly or indirectly giving aid and encouragement to this contemptible Nationalist regime, I say: Cast aside your hypocrisy and deceit; declare yourself on the side of oppression if that is your secret design. Do not think we will be deceived by your pious protestations as long as you are prepared to condone, assist and actively support the tyranny in our land.

The test is your stand on the principle: *No Arms For South Africa*. No expressions of concern, no platitudes about injustice will content us. The test is action - action against oppression.

We look forward to the day when we shall be with all the free peoples of the world, brothers, brothers-in-arms against injustice, anywhere, and at anytime. But our immediate task is the freeing of our land: a task in which we look for support to lovers of freedom in the world. All lovers of freedom can help. All can do something to make the resolution for sanctions a reality. Whoever you are, whatever you may be, it is possible for you to assist. In your church, in your

educational, or political, or labour, or cultural, or sporting organisation, it is possible for you to assist in exerting the pressures which will isolate this political pariah and lead to its extermination. All may play their part in ending this oppression, and all may - and must - join in the resolute declaration: *No Arms For South Africa*.

INTERVIEW BY STUDS TERKEL, 1963⁵⁹

TERKEL: *Here in a suburb of Durban, South Africa, we are sitting with Albert John Luthuli, winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, and deposed chief of the Zulus of the Groutville Mission Reserve near Durban. Our meeting must take place almost in the dead of night at the home of a mutual friend because, ironically, Chief Luthuli, one of the world's most distinguished citizens and a leader of his people in the true Christian sense, is under an area arrest by the Government of the Republic of South Africa. In order to understand better who you are and what you represent, Chief, could you tell us about your life and how you came to be chief of the Abase-Makolweni tribe of the Zulu?*

LUTHULI: Since I became the President-General of the African National Congress in 1952, I have had three of these arrest bans imposed upon me: the first for one year, the next two, and the present one for five, which will expire in 1964, and which prohibits me to travel beyond a fifteen-mile radius. In 1935, I was elected chief of my tribe; the Zulus for some time now have had the privilege of electing chiefs. Back in the 1840s, an American missionary, Reverend Aldin Grout, who converted my grandfather to Christianity, founded the mission station of Groutville among the Zulu, and soon our people were clamouring for the right to elect their chief.

After having attended local mission and boarding schools, I qualified as a teacher at Adams College, the high school for Africans founded by the American Congregationalist Mission, where for many years I taught classes in teacher training, Zulu, and music, my own specialty.

Zulu culture, a very definite one in its own right, has also been moulded by contact with other cultures in this modern age, which is a good thing because one expands by mixing with other peoples. I hasten to say that I do not subscribe to the theory that the original Zulu culture cannot expand by absorbing from the modern world but must forever and forever remain what it was. To the current policy of Bantu education, advocating separate education for different peoples by claiming that in this way African tribes will preserve native cultures, I say: We are citizens of the world finally, and therefore we must know what is taking place in the world.

⁵⁹ From *Perspective on Ideas and the Arts*, Chicago, May 1963.

Any culture must take into itself the values of other cultures. That culture which the white man brought to Africa, for example, is not merely European because white culture is also indebted to the East. It was natural in the processes of mankind that whites would come here and I do not hold to the view that asks: why did the white come to this continent? Africans have been enriched by the white man's coming - in some respects. Human nature unfortunately being what it is, the white man when he settled here concentrated more on what he could get than what he could give.

When I was secretary of the African Teachers Union, we encouraged teachers to form the Zulu Cultural Society to discover what in Zulu culture could be fitted into the modern world; it was also our duty to know both the weaknesses and good points in Western culture so that we could make a synthesis of the two. Africans must influence the development of their culture.

Bantu today has a political implication which we do not accept at all: the word Bantu is being stressed by the Government because it does not want us to call ourselves Africans; the reason for this, I suppose, is that *Afrikaner*, which in effect means African, is the white man's name for himself. We say, No, we are Africans, not Bantu. Anybody permanently resident in the continent of Africa is an African. Originally, Bantu was used to distinguish the black group from the Western group living in Africa, which is a use of the word I do not criticise the way I do when it is being used for political reasons.

TERKEL: *Bantu education, then, does not permit access to African students of what you called synthesis of cultures.*

LUTHULI: Definitely not. Think of a university, which is supposed to have universality, being located right back in the tribe which, at best, is a confined area not just geographically but spiritually and mentally: the university should be established near a town where students could be exposed to the crosscurrents of thought. To set the university in Bantu area is an attempt to narrow vision and lessen communication between one group and another.

TERKEL: *During your fifteen years as a teacher, were you involved very much with the outside world?*

LUTHULI: Although I was not involved politically, I was aware of what was taking place. Fortunately, at Adams College, to which I feel very indebted, we were given a wide vision of society. Then in 1933, I was approached by fellow Zulus to ask to stand for the election of chief of the Groutville Zulus. At first, I was quite reluctant: Adams College was a pleasant place and I liked teaching; I knew, too, the difficulties of a chief because my uncle had been one - a chief must sit in judgement upon other people's affairs, domestic disputes and so on, which is not pleasant; also, my movements would be proscribed, whereas at Adams I could move about. But if people want me to come home and be chief, I finally said, who am I to say no? At the present moment, however, the privilege of electing chiefs

has been discouraged in Groutville and other African communities accustomed to elect chiefs.

TERKEL: *Discouraged by whom?*

LUTHULI: Ah, by the State. In a community like Groutville, for instance, the tendency is that when a chief retires or dies the Government wants to incorporate his area into part of the traditional tribal area.

TERKEL: *Everything seems to be done by the Government to make your people "happy" -*

LUTHULI: [Laughs.]

TERKEL: *How did you, a chief respected by your people, become this kind of "troublemaker" (I use this not in any derogatory sense) for "decent" European people?*

LUTHULI: One must go back to the days of Adams College, which broadened our view by teaching that a man must not just be concerned with himself but with the welfare of society. Other African colleges also stressed the same thing. When I became chief, it was a time of very heated political discussion in the European communities and among ourselves - the heads of the Smuts Government were initiating the "native" bills which really did make drastic changes in African legislation. Then in 1935, the Natives Land and Trust Act was passed which enforced more drastically the provisions of the 1913 Act which had restricted Africans to reserves by passing a law stating that Africans may not buy land in South Africa except if bought from another African who, after all, didn't have much land in the first place, giving Africans a right, in effect, that they couldn't really exercise.

TERKEL: *The right to buy nothing.*

LUTHULI: Exactly: it meant that. [Laughs.] Africans couldn't buy land outside their reserves.

The existence of reserves started with the British Colonial Government when, after conquest, the land was open for purchase by settlers. Anybody could buy land - no colour distinction existed, which, I must say, was to the credit of the British. When the British realised that the Zulu and other Africans were not purchasing because buying land was foreign to us, and fearing that the Natives might find themselves tenants of European farms, they cut out these reserves as protection. Let me hasten to say that the British never confined Africans only to reserves; they merely said, We create reserves so that Africans won't find themselves tenants. An African could still buy land outside the reserve if he had money.

Then in 1913, the white man came along and said: no purchase of land by the black man. The Law was amended in 1935 to entrench that further; the Government claimed that it was going to increase the areas of the Native reserves by buying land adjacent to the reserves, bringing it to a total of 13 percent of all the land in South Africa. Until the last census, Africans numbered eight million in this country; whites two; Coloured one and one quarter; Indians half a million. Those eight million Africans owned only 13 percent of the land!

Here we touch on an extremely sore point, which, apart from the question of franchise, is the biggest single injustice perpetrated on us. It is not even 13 percent because the white man has not yet redeemed his promise of increasing the land around reserves. Even if it *were* 13 percent, how could one accept that? That is sufficient to make anyone enter the struggle.

Life in the reserves is survived on a very low level - hardly more than a subsistence economy exists because there is only about ten acres per family. In the Groutville Zulu reservation, for example, families are given 45 acres because there happens to be enough land. Population increases, however land does not. No doubt this is one reason why the present Government is establishing townships in these reserves in an attempt to crowd people and make the land appear to accommodate more people; but these are people who are surviving on a starvation economy.

TERKEL: *One-fourth of the South African population - the Europeans - own 80 percent of the land: that could mean 10,000 acres per family, couldn't it?*

LUTHULI: Yes; others have 1,000 acres; and good land along the coast may be broken down to 500 or 600 acres per family. I must be fair and say we are leaving aside communal land used for the grazing of stock, but even that land is generally not much and now is being taken to cut out more land for families, and people are being asked to reduce their stock. When a man who might have owned 100 head of cattle is asked to reduce to twenty, this affects the quality of the man. Of course the Government turns around and says, We are encouraging these people to go in for better stock and improve agriculture. That is another issue; it does not justify robbing a man of the right to have more cattle and land.

TERKEL: *One hears spokesmen for the Afrikaner establishment complain, But we were here first and we built this up: they merely came from the north.*

LUTHULI: That makes me laugh. How are they going to alter history? In some South African history books it states that the first contact that the African people, now called Bantu, had with the European was way down by Great Fish River. History has it that shipwrecked sailors along the coast met black men. How then do *Afrikaners* explain that the first contact between Africans and Europeans, which was a clash, unfortunately, took place down at the Cape of Good Hope if they were here first? Hottentots and Bushmen, moreover, were already occupying the Cape when the first Europeans arrived.

TERKEL: *If Afrikaners were here first, why do they call you "natives"?*

LUTHULI: Exactly. Aborigines is another word they use. Only in recent years, in fact, have they adopted this silly idea of trying to explain away history by claiming that we arrived here at the same time. To discuss whether I came from the north and you came from the south or east is, in the long run, academic. Quarrelling about the past is irrelevant. That we are all here is the main point. Let us try and evolve a way of life. Our duty is to see how we can live together. If the past is raised, then I say that this definitely is my land; you came from Europe, I was in Africa.

TERKEL: *Invisible men were here perhaps...*

LUTHULI: Yes: invisible men! White men were fighting air.

TERKEL: *Since I have been here I have heard talk about the townships for Africans: are they exclusively black areas?*

LUTHULI: Common policy has it that Africans may not reside in the so-called white city. Residences outside of it called townships are established and Africans merely allowed into the city to serve the white man. Here is another attitude that angers one: you only want me when I serve you; when my services are not needed you say, Go away.

The recent policy that even servants cannot live in the white city is another extension of the apartheid doctrine, which the Nationalists stress even a bit more by saying, Servants must not live in the same premises as masters; in the evening they must return to their own township and come back to work in the morning. Any contact except merely as a labourer is reduced to the barest.

TERKEL: *Recently I observed a scene at Kruger National Park which I am sure must be repeated a thousand times. Two white men, talking near a Negro scrubbing the floor, were speaking about him and his people as savages and children as if he were not there but the man scrubbing knew some English. I wondered what his thoughts were. What is the nature of the pass book which an African must carry?*

LUTHULI: One of the sore points is that we feel we really are not regarded as human beings. Whatever else you must do when you segregate, if you *must* segregate, is respect the dignity of man. There is no respect of that dignity by the European in so far as black Africans are concerned. Europeans merely know the black man as a servant.

The pass book is one of those acts done by the white man when he came to this country in order that he might control the African who was required to carry some document that would identify him and bear witness that he had paid taxes. As time

went on, other things were added to this document: it became a labour-service contract - if you are working in town, it indicates for whom; if you move away, it is endorsed to indicate that you have left town. Without that document a black African can be arrested by the police anytime, anywhere; even if his relatives and friends rush the document to him at the police station, he still is liable to be fined 10 shillings.

Originally, the document was one piece of paper; since the Nationalists have come into power they have consolidated several documents - the personal one, the service contract, your receipt for having paid poll tax. Incidentally, the act that brought that about is called "The Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents." [Laughs loudly.]

This pass book also helps to control movements of people in and out of the city. Here is another act of control by the Nationalist Government, which felt that too many black Africans were in town, some of them not getting work, and so the Government started to "assist" the African by not allowing him into town unless there was a call for more labour. Before an African can enter Durban, the Native Commissioner must OK him; once he does enter, he must get permission from the Bureau to stay and obtain work.

At present, the labour market is virtually closed in the large cities. An African can't move from a rural to an urban area. If a black man is working in Durban, moreover, and returns to the reserve and remains there for over one year, he can't move back to Durban without beginning all over by obtaining permission from the Native Commissioner just to go to Durban and, once there, he must go to the Labour Bureau which will grant him permission to look for work for several days but, if he doesn't find it, he must leave and return to starve in the reserve.

Even in their political movements, Africans are so tied down. I am a firm believer, for example, in the use of the strike as a weapon in the hope that by hitting the economy you may possibly get the white man to sit down and discuss things with you; I believe in the strike, too, as a factor in the pursuance of the desire not to indulge in violence. If an African goes on strike, immediately his master sacks him, and he loses the right to be in the city: you can't get work if you are sacked because of political action. Once sacked, you are allowed to look for work in the city for about a fortnight; then, you go back to a reserve which you may have left ten years ago. The law provides, I think, that to be considered permanent a man must have worked continuously in the city for fifteen years or for one master for ten. I looked at the headlines the other day and found that this, too, has been changed. Black Africans have never been regarded - especially since I have been an organiser - as part of the population of South African cities.

TERKEL: *I noticed that when you ask somebody the population he names the white population, and then, as an afterthought, "Oh, by the way, there are 300,000*

blacks, too." Officially, the population in South African cities seems to be rather "pure".

LUTHULI: In 1949, my own organisation - the African National Congress - formulated what they called the programme of action, having decided that time had come for something to be done to hit at white South Africa with a view to getting it to change. Prior to that, black African leaders had pleaded with the white man through petitions and the seeking of interviews - but the white man had not shown any inclination to listen to any of the requests of the people. Politically and economically, there had been no move at all. Even at the time of the 1935 Natives Land and Trust Act, our leaders went as far as England to protest apartheid but nothing could be done, they were told, by the white man. I realise that there are some whites in South Africa who are trying to improve things but they are in such a minority that all we can say is that we do realise we have a few friends.

In 1949, then, we came to the conclusion that it was time we used methods that might move the white man in the hope that he might change. Non-payment of taxes, and non-co-operating with the Government in other ways - these were some of the methods set down. Strike action was at the top of the list. Non-violence was implied in the very methods adopted.

TERKEL: *Were your methods similar to Reverend Martin Luther King and some of the sit-in students in America?*

LUTHULI: To a certain extent, yes, although I am not very familiar with his progress: I don't know if he would stage a strike, for example. Although I support the attitude of Gandhi, I don't like to feel that I am passive; I am not. Within the orbit of our own programme I am militant; I always say that it requires a good deal of militancy for a person to decide that he must go on strike or defy some particular law.

TERKEL: *So often I have heard one of the whites say: There are so many Africans that if they get power or land they will push us into the sea. Haven't you been a disciple of the biracial authority?*

LUTHULI: Stress here is on the wrong thing. What should really be stressed is not so much the racial groups as it is the *democratic process*. If the white man in the 300 years he claims he has been in Africa has not trained himself in democracy, it is his own fault. Some of us have sufficiently imbibed of democratic ideas to be able to endeavour to carry them out, which, even in civilised countries, is not always so easy. Does it matter who rules you so long as that man rules according to the democratic way of doing things? That the black man is in the majority in South Africa may mean that the government will be a black government; but if that government is possessed of democratic ideas, then *what* is the argument?

TERKEL: *Do you feel that whites feel guilt that their rule may not have been as humane and democratic as it could have been?*

LUTHULI: I can only hope they feel that. All of the African leaders before us and those now have said that we have no intention of retaliating. We have had enough of strife. All that we want is a peaceful existence with everybody in the country living together. Some of us have gone further to say that if the government tomorrow were democratic enough to say, A vote for everybody, and then the electorate were to choose, say, Alan Paton or an Indian or anybody else, I wouldn't say, Why did you choose a white man or an Indian? What I am saying is not, There must necessarily be a black man; I *am* saying, There must be a democratic government. That is all I am fighting for. I am not just speaking for myself: it is what we all wish for, which has been the stand of our people right along. The white man must go - this has never been our idea. But my fear now is that because of white animosity, there are signs that people are becoming impatient, and some are saying, Look, if you do not listen to our leaders or to us, the time will come when we will say that we have nothing to do with you. This I fear. That kind of situation can never create a peaceful existence, whereas if the white man had been broad enough to bring us into the family - even if we *were* in the majority - we would still have carried out the rules of the family. When the white man brought Christianity into Africa, he didn't say, This is white man's Christianity; there will be another for black men. If he didn't make this distinction in Christianity, then why does he make it in democracy? Why? Democracy is for all. To persecute other people is an evil thing for any government, be it white or black or mixed.

Africa is very much indebted to Christian missions. Although in the process of trying to Christianise us, the missionaries did not take sufficient care to preserve certain values in our culture which could have been incorporated into modern life, I feel so indebted for the start which Christian missions gave Africans that I tend to excuse some of their weaknesses. To me their biggest contribution was when they opened our eyes to education, which they were the first to bring into Africa. Until very recently, our schools were mission schools; then the Government came along, adding others. I am able to speak to white South Africa because the missionaries made me see. After all, we must remember that back in those early missionary days people were concerned not only with the conversion of the heathen but conversion, too, of people in their own territory and country: that was their mission, which they tried to accomplish as best they could.

Shouldn't we then look upon our time as an opportunity to correct some errors of the missionaries rather than throw them overboard? Without us, their task would be incomplete. Our duty is to *complete* their task.

TERKEL: *It occurs to me, as a white man, that the white is hurt by apartheid as much as the black.*

LUTHULI: In a sense, the white is hit harder by apartheid because by it he narrows his life: he does not become human. A white liberal colleague of mine at Adams College once said: "When you get a white man, particularly an *Afrikaner*, who can associate with black Africans freely, that man has undergone a terrible process of conversion because we are taught from birth that the black is not a human being like us." To outgrow that, he claimed, was a wonderful transformation.

Even the English, you know, can be extremely snobbish. In all colonies, the settler has been hard in his treatment of the aborigine, and he has always fought the last battle against the mother country when it was trying to give freedom to the Natives. To me, English South African and *Afrikaner* are the same.

TERKEL: *What are your feelings about what urban life has done to young Africans who go to town to earn money?*

LUTHULI: Well, I am a rural man and I have never lived in the city except for casual visiting, but just from my observations I think it is fair to say that urban life has done a good deal of damage to the African communities in the cities. Because of the absence of proper playgrounds and with insufficient schools, a lot of children simply run about uncontrolled and form gangs. Then, too, there are the insufficient social agencies to take care of them. One always seems to come back to African poverty.

When it comes to the question of the franchise, the vote: I have indicated that we stand for democracy; and the tragic thing is that, because the white man refuses to give us freedom so we can enjoy democracy, he may develop in some of us - I hope not in all - a feeling that says, Away with all of the white man's institutions and influence.

TERKEL: *What do you feel about the role of the Church and men of God - what has it been and what can it be?*

LUTHULI: Although I feel very grateful to the Christian missions, the Church today can still play a greater role than it has. It has tended to concentrate on what churchmen regard as spiritual matters, compartmentalising life into social, political, and economic categories. What we are concerned with, the Church says, is the spiritual life of the people, with the result that the Church has not really done very much. Insufficient attention has been given by the Church to the social development of the people, and least of all to their political development.

I am not suggesting that we should have a political Church or that the ministers should become political. I am saying that the message of Christ is sufficient enough to make the Church stand up boldly and condemn many acts by governments. That message, valid for our day, is sufficient without the minister being political. Apartheid is condemned on the basis of the teaching of Christ. That is where my

criticism comes very strongly. To the Church I say, You don't have to be political; but at least you can stand for certain Christian principles and, by standing for them, you will suffer but, after all, your Master suffered. If Christianity is not practised, I believe it must be scrapped; but it must not be scrapped because it consolidates human values that will be valid for all time.

TERKEL: *When the authorities deprived you of your chiefship in 1952, you replied: "What the future has in store for me I do not know. It might be ridicule, imprisonment, concentration camp, flogging, banishment or even death. I only pray to the Almighty to strengthen my resolve so that none of these grim possibilities may deter me from striving, for the sake of the good name of our beloved country, the Union of South Africa, to make it a true democracy and a true union, in form and spirit, of all the communities of the land." Since you have suffered banishment, imprisonment, and, I take it, some ridicule, too, how do you feel today?*

LUTHULI: I feel as I did when I made that statement after I was deposed by the Government. I can only pray that the Almighty might give me strength to stand for the values which I think human values valid for any country and for all people.

America can do much, I believe, to help assist in our liberation here. Americans, you fought to free yourselves from Mother England and, with all of your failings, you are trying to stand for freedom for all and for democracy. America should regard it as her duty never to rest until the whole of humanity is free.

MESSAGE TO THE REVEREND CANON L. JOHN COLLINS, CHRISTIAN ACTION, LONDON, 1964⁶⁰

On behalf of the people of South Africa who suffer so much from the evil consequences of apartheid, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to all in Britain who, through Christian Action, have so generously supported us in the struggle for human rights and responsibilities. The nightmare of the treason trial in which so many of us, including myself, were directly involved would have become intolerable if you had not come to our rescue. In all sincerity I can say that the Christian Action Defence and Aid Fund made all the difference to us and to our families between starving to death and living. And we do not forget your help during the emergency following Sharpeville and on so many other occasions.

But the struggle goes on. Our needs remain ever pressing. The Nationalist Party Government of South Africa has made it plain that the muzzling and curbing of all who resist their inhuman and un-Christian racial policies will be intensified. We, on our part, intend, despite oppression, to go on working for a non-racial South Africa in which all people, irrespective of race, colour or

⁶⁰ Source: United Nations document A/AC.115/L.46

creed, should live together in freedom, brotherhood and peace. We are ready to pay the price. But it is heart-rending when that price includes suffering and hardship for families and, in particular, the children of those who resist.

So I have no hesitation in appealing to you through Christian Action for your further support. Money is urgently needed for legal defence, for aid to the victims of oppression and their families, and to ensure, as far as possible, the development of a democratic way of life in South Africa.

(Signed) Albert Lutuli

**LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED
NATIONS, U THANT, MARCH 9, 1964**

P.O. Groutville,
SOUTH AFRICA.

9/3/64

Mr U. Thant,
Secretary-General,
United Nations Organisation
NEW YORK.

Dear Sir,

I address myself to you on an impending crisis in South Africa. The United Nations has, through the years, made valiant efforts to stave off disastrous race war in South Africa; to put pressures on the South African Government to give rights to the African and other Non-White people of our country in accordance with the universally accepted principles of human dignity and justice. We are most deeply appreciative of the efforts made by the nations of the world, through your world organisation, to counter and defeat the forces of racialism.

You no doubt know that my organisation, the African National Congress, for close on half a century, and until it was declared unlawful, sought to achieve its objectives by strictly peaceful and non-violent methods, ranging from

representations and protests made to the Government and its representatives in the early years, to mass demonstrations and defiance campaigns and strikes in the later years.

All these endeavours were to no avail. In fact, during the past half century oppression and racial discrimination have increased to such an extent that no one could at this juncture be morally blamed for resorting to violent methods in order to achieve racial equality and freedom from oppression.

I write to you most urgently today to stress that whatever hope there still remains for a negotiated and peaceful settlement of the South African crisis, will be lost, possibly for all time, if the United Nations does not act promptly and with firmness on the vital matter which has moved me to make this urgent appeal.

You will be aware that during this last year our movement has been subjected to relentless persecution. Our organisation has been harried without respite. Our members have been arrested in huge numbers in every corner of the country. If not held on serious political charges, they have been detained under the barbaric "90 Day" detention law under which men and women and youths have been confined indefinitely, in solitary confinement, and physically tortured in attempts to extort confessions and false evidence from them. In numerous trials that took place in various courts throughout the country, some were sentenced to death and others to long terms of imprisonment.

You will also be aware that the last months of the year saw the bringing to trial of nine of the country's foremost liberation leaders, in the so-called Rivonia Trial in which the leaders are charged with allegedly plotting a war of liberation against the government. The nine include Nelson Mandela, who was arrested shortly after his return from a tour of independent African States in 1962, and who was taken from his prison cell, where he was serving a five-year prison sentence, for leading the 1961 general strike of the African people and leaving South Africa without a passport. Also on trial is Walter Sisulu, formerly Secretary-General of the African National Congress, who was arrested while working underground in the freedom struggle.

The Rivonia trial, it is estimated, will continue for perhaps a further four to six weeks from the time of writing. It could be completed earlier. *There is the grave danger that all or some of the nine leaders on trial will receive the death sentence.* Such an outcome would be an African tragedy. It would be judicial murder of some of the most outstanding leaders on the African continent. It would have disastrous results for any prospects of a peaceful settlement of the South African situation and could set in motion a chain of actions and counter-actions which would be tragic for everyone in South Africa as they would be difficult to contain.

I address myself to you with the utmost urgency to urge that you use your good offices to avert the tragic crisis threatening South Africa. It is of the utmost

importance that the United Nations Expert Group on South Africa bring its work to a rapid conclusion and leave the way open for measures to be adopted to ensure that a fast worsening race situation here does not explode into open violence. It is above all imperative that United Nations action be devised to compel compliance with U.N. resolutions and in particular to save the lives of the nine Rivonia trial leaders; for with them are arraigned, in the dock, all hopes of a peaceful settlement of the crisis in our country.

Yours sincerely,

A. J. LUTHULI
President-General

ON THE RIVONIA TRIAL: STATEMENT, JUNE 12, 1964⁶¹

Sentences of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the "Rivonia trial" in Pretoria.

Over the long years these leaders advocated a policy of racial cooperation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism: in the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason.

The African National Congress, with allied organisations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions, and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle. Their common aim was to create a South Africa in which all South Africans would live and work together as fellow-citizens, enjoying equal rights without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

⁶¹ This statement was issued by Chief Luthuli on June 12, 1964, when Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and six other leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment in the "Rivonia trial." It was read at the meeting of the United Nations Security Council on the same day by the representative of Morocco.

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other organisations were made illegal: their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilising every weapon of this highly industrialised and modern state to enforce that "legality". The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial cooperation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organisations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times.

APPENDICES

A GREAT LEADER⁶²

Chief Albert John Luthuli, the beloved President-General of the African National Congress (SA); one of Africa's greatest political figures of our times; the undisputed leader of and respected spokesman for South Africa's 14 million oppressed, exploited and humiliated inhabitants, passed from the scene of active struggle for political rights and national liberation in July, 1967, when it is alleged he was run over by a train.

Chief Luthuli was a profound thinker, a man of powerful logic with a keen sense of justice; a man of lofty principles, a bold and courageous fighter and a statesman. He was a true African nationalist and an unflinching patriot. Although he grew up under tribal conditions and surroundings, he was uncompromising against racialism, tribalism and all forms of racial and sectional exclusiveness. He believed in and fought for full political, economic and social opportunities for the oppressed people of South Africa regardless of colour, creed, national or racial origin. A staunch anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, he fought and obtained the co-operation of all anti-apartheid, anti-imperialist progressive movements and organisations in South Africa.

As a practising Christian, Chief Luthuli genuinely and sincerely believed in the well-being, happiness and dignity of all human beings. Because of his convictions, he sacrificed all prospects of personal gains and comforts and dedicated his life to the cause and service of his fellow men.

Chief Luthuli was born in 1898, away from Groutville but returned as a child to his ancestral home. He was educated in Mission Schools and at Adam's College in Natal where he later taught until 1936. In answer to repeated calls and requests from the elders of his tribe to come home and lead them, he left teaching that year to become chief of the tribe. He was not a hereditary chief as his tribe had a democratic system of electing its chiefs. As far as the Africans were concerned, 1936 was a year of political disturbances, economic plunder and uncertainty in South Africa. That year, the country was faced with the notorious Hertzog Bills. One of the Bills known as the "Representation of Natives Act" rendered the then African vote in the Cape Province valueless. Under it the Native Representative Council was established. The other, the "Natives Land and Trust Bill," sought to limit the land to be owned or occupied by the African population of 12 million to 12.5 per cent of the land, while reserving the remaining 87.5 per cent for a population of less than 3 million whites.

⁶² Introduction by M.P. Naicker to a collection of speeches of Chief Luthuli published by the ANC in *South African Studies*.

From the inception of his new calling, Chief Luthuli was brought face to face with ruthless African political, social and economic realities - those of rightlessness and landlessness of his people. The futility and limited nature of tribal affairs and politics made him look for a higher and broader form of organisation and struggle which was national in character.

With this background, Chief Luthuli openly and boldly joined the struggle for the right of Africans to full and unfettered development. He joined the African National Congress in 1945. In 1946, he entered the then Native Representative Council. At that stage, however, the Council had for all intents and purposes come to its end. It was a useless and frustrating talking shop that had been brought to a standstill by the protest of members who questioned the brutal and savage methods employed by the police in dealing with the African miners' strike on the Witwatersrand in August 1946. It had also called upon the Government to abolish all discriminatory laws and demanded a new policy towards the African population. It never met again and was eventually abolished by the Government. Chief Luthuli was elected Provincial President of the African National Congress in Natal in 1951. From that time he threw himself, body and soul into the struggle. As a chief he was not allowed to take part in politics. But he defied his ban. When he was called upon by the Government to choose between his chieftainship and the African National Congress, he chose the African National Congress. He was deposed in 1952 and elected President-General of the African National Congress by his people the same year.

Chief Luthuli was a determined and courageous fighter, shaped and steeled in the various political and economic struggles that took place throughout the country. There were many bold and imaginative political and economic campaigns for demands envisaged both in the 1949 Programme of Action adopted by the ANC and in the Freedom Charter. Some of the campaigns were violent, bitter and grim. These usually took the form of national industrial stoppages of work and numerous stays-at-home.

There is a wrong and unfortunate impression that Chief Luthuli was a pacifist or some kind of an apostle of non-violence. This impression is incorrect and misleading. The policy of non-violence was formulated and adopted by national conferences of the African National Congress before he was elected President-General of the organisation. The policy was adopted in 1951 specially for the conduct of the "National Campaign for Defiance of Unjust Laws" in 1952. What is correct, however, is that as a man of principle and as a leader of unquestionable integrity, Chief Luthuli defended the policy entrusted to him by his organisation and saw to it that it was implemented. When that policy was officially and constitutionally changed, he did not falter.

Chief Luthuli was fundamentally a militant, disciplined and an uncompromising fighter who had joined and led an organisation of men who, like himself, honoured and respected the decisions and resolutions of their conferences. Through his

sincerity, devotion and dedication to the cause of African freedom and progress he was held in high esteem by all men of goodwill in South Africa and the world. These qualities also earned him hatred and the wrath of the enemy. Through fear of his ideas and stand, the enemy banned and confined him to the Lower Tugela area from 1952 till his death on July 21st, 1967. His first ban for 2 years was in 1952. It was renewed in 1954. In 1959 he was banned for a further period of five years which was again renewed when it expired. But he continued with political work till the last days of his life.

Notwithstanding the fact that he had been confined for practically all the time of his leadership of the African National Congress, he was arrested in 1956 and together with other leaders of the liberation movement, charged with High Treason. The trial opened in January, 1957, and concluded on 29th March 1961 when all the accused were found not guilty. Together with 2,000 other leaders he was arrested and detained for five months in 1960 under the State of Emergency declared by the South African Government on March 29th, 1961.

Chief Luthuli was truly a great political personality and leader. But his political greatness and organisational achievements cannot be divorced from his organisation and colleagues, some of whom have been hanged and others who are languishing in the prisons of the oppressors; men who assisted him in solving problems and in shouldering the heavy task of leadership, men whom he so ably led and directed during difficult and trying times.

The collection of speeches published here show the clear-sightedness of this great leader. What is more, it shows that the African National Congress did all in its power to change the policies of the racist regime in South Africa through peaceful means. It is only when every effort for a peaceful change was met by police violence and brutality did the decision to resort to armed struggle adopted by the organisation.

UBABA

RECOLLECTIONS BY NTOMBAZANA

Our father, UBaba, was wonderful, compassionate and patient. His capacity to love was immense and he evoked a like response from those around him. His duties as chief took him away from us often and when he returned, we children would rush to him and serve him in numerous small ways. One would untie his shoe lace, another bring him a cup of tea and so on. For his part, he was indulgent and concerned about progress in school. He would test us in our schoolwork and urge us on to do better.

When we left home and lived in boarding schools and later became college students, our letters were always returned to us with the grammar and spelling corrected in red ink.

Our house always brimmed with people, for we were many children, and there were always relatives, but our parents remained the core of the household, providing the essential discipline, the authority that kept relationships balanced and that ensured that everyone had an equal share of the household bounty.

UMama was very careful about her meals. Not only did she ensure that we all had enough, but also that what we had was well balanced, a meat, a green vegetable and a yellow. Potatoes were there as a filler, as too, was rice.

U Baba and UMama were committed to each other and firmly united. The family drew its strength from their unity. There was a calmness about them at all times and that calmness was reflected in our sense of security and happiness. We never heard or saw them shouting or quarrelling. They must have had their differences, but they settled them in their bedroom, away from us. Their bad moments were barricaded there and never revealed in the public glare of the family. There was an understanding between them that we children were never able to penetrate. He never entered the house without first looking for her and never left it without seeing her and bidding her goodbye. "*Nakamfana*," he would say to her, "I'm finally going out."

UBaba's respect for UMama was such that there was nothing he did without consulting her. Every speech he wrote was first presented to her, for her criticism and approval before he presented it to the audience for which he had prepared it. And mother, for her part, would interrupt her work, no matter how urgent, and sit and listen to him, making an input when necessary, and generally strengthening his confidence.

UBaba was very religious. He began the day with prayers, and this was followed by his morning ablutions. His breakfast varied, from none at all, to a cup of tea, and sometimes to porridge and bread. He rarely ate lunch at home. Supper was our main family meal. It accorded us time to catch up with our separated activities and to share views in an intimate and free manner. UBaba never imposed his status as family head upon us. Everybody had an equal opportunity to talk and no one was considered too young to have his views respected.

Dinner was followed with the evening prayer led by father or mum or one of us children. We often fell asleep during the course of prayer. After prayer, anyone wishing to retire to bed would be free to do so but often, especially during school holidays, we would sing, with father sort of conducting us. We sang any songs, both serious and not so serious. UBaba loved music and had a beautiful bass voice.

Finally good nights and kisses would follow and then off to bed. Mum, being a pre-dawn riser, often retired earlier than the rest of us and it would be left to UBaba to see to it that we were all nicely tucked in.

UBaba read or wrote late into the night and at times even into the early hours of the morning. He would interrupt his work to check on us in our bedrooms to make sure that the blankets were still covering us, or take one of us to the toilet, and so prevent bedwetting. It didn't take UBaba long to fall asleep, and we all knew when he did for his snoring was legendary.

UBaba loved classical music. At times, especially during Christmas, he would take us to the Durban City Hall to hear the orchestra play Handel's Messiah, conducted by Mr Edward Dunn.

When my sister Thandeka earned her first salary, which was before I did mine, since she trained as a nurse and I slogged more years completing medicine, she bought him an album of Handel's Christmas music.

UBaba loved traditional African music just as much as western classical. The *imbube* tinged with rhythm from the Caribbean, was his favourite. He sang it and we all learnt to sing it with him, with a gusto that was typically Luthulian.

Our house was always buzzing with people. UBaba had many friends. They were the men with whom he sharpened his mind and shared jokes. Mr Guma was both friend and neighbour and when they were together, there was a lot of noise and laughter. There was E.V. Mohamed, who often acted as his driver, and friends who offered him their beach cottages on weekends, where he relaxed with his family. There were Indian friends from Stanger and there were members of the Zulu Royal family, including Chief M. Buthelezi, who was like a son to him. When royalty visited, a beast had to be slaughtered.

We lived in Groutville Mission which was Christian and relatively educated. The people from the adjoining district were often not Christians, or not as westernised as those in the Mission, and were generally poorly educated or without any schooling at all. There was thus a tendency for the “mission folk” to look down upon the others. UBaba strongly deprecated such attitudes.

When UBaba became active in politics and they took his chieftainship away from him and banned him, the traffic to Groutville actually increased. He no longer sat under the tree holding court, but his court continued, more nationalised, even internationalised. People came from the other provinces on ANC work. We children rushed around baking scones and cakes and making fruit salad —there was always an abundance of fruit from the orchard — and serving endless cups of tea. UBaba had a sweet tooth, though he never lost his teeth and never wore false teeth.

I recall the time when he was asked to take up the chieftainship. The people were not happy with the officiating chief. His uncle Martin had been a good chief. They also remembered the leadership role played by my grandfather Ntaba. They thus turned to him. He considered the matter for a year or two because the children were young and he couldn't afford to give up the salary he earned as a teacher. The chieftainship did not pay a liveable stipend and UBaba did not want to make money out of the people, as the chieftainship required him to do, through fines, etc. He knew that the people were too poor. He was eventually moved by the people's entreaties and gave up teaching to serve as chief. He turned to cane farming to supplement our livelihood, whenever he could, but the consistent farmer was UMama.

As chief, his day was spent in a series of *indabas* with the stream of people who waited on him with their problems. There were the problems related to him as chief: quarrels between neighbours over small stock and large, quarrels within the family over inheritance and rights, and criminal complaints. When the issues were small, he settled them himself, but when they were large and of a more serious nature, then he held court, *ebandla*, under a big shady tree near our house with the *indunas* and respected elders, and the deliberations would go on for hours.

UBaba never looked at time on those occasions, though he would be punctual and precise when he had meetings to attend in Durban or appointments to keep with non-locals.

When we became college people and “sophisticated,” we tended to look down on the *ebandla* and on those who deliberated with UBaba conducting cases. We questioned him about them. What wisdom and justice could be derived from such uneducated, often illiterate councillors, we would ask him. He put us to order smartly, emphasising that wisdom did not necessarily come from book learning, that he personally learnt a lot from his fellow councillors and held their opinion in high esteem. We learnt from him the value of common good sense, and to respect people regardless of their outer appearance and apparent status.

My father, as chief, did not dominate those *indabas*. In true African convention, he worked to reach consensus. The wisdom and the democracy of the *ebandla* was communicated to us his children and it helped us to value our traditional roots.

Apart from the legal disputes, there were the personal problems. His capacity to advise was renowned, he was treated as a sort of father, confessor, and psychiatrist all rolled into one.

Being chief meant that he also had to preside over the feasts, to create them, in order to infuse happiness and unity among his people. The people would come from the different neighbourhoods and there would be *tswala* (talk) and dancing. UBaba was a good dancer and a superb singer.

When UBaba entered politics, our lives changed. The people became unhappy with Mr A.W.G. Champion's presidency of the Natal ANC. Chief M.G. Buthelezi recalled his election in a speech he gave at a prayer meeting commemorating UBaba. He said:

“Mr A.W.G. Champion decided to act unconstitutionally by calling on all of us who were present at the Provincial Congress of the African National Congress at the Social Centre in Beatrice Street including those of us who were not delegates, to participate in the election. I found myself participating in Chief Luthuli's election as President of the African National Congress in Natal. Mr Champion called on the audience to divide themselves into two in these words: ‘Those who want Champion this side and those who want Luthuli that side.’”

Chief Buthelezi took his seat alongside UBaba and was criticised by his elders for doing so.

The government saw UBaba's post in the ANC as in conflict with his position as chief and threatened to depose him if he did not resign his political office. He refused and was deposed, and for good measure banned. The government hoped that by banning him, his role in the ANC would also become redundant. But of course that did not happen. UBaba continued to be active, and meetings continued at our house.

Many of these meetings were illegal and we were prepared for any sudden invasion by the police. UBaba had it all worked out. As it transpired, the police never caught him breaking his banning order, though he broke it all the time. We saw the police lurking around our house and we hated them, but UBaba always kept his cool and confronted them with dignity.

There were occasions when urgent work demanded he leave the district to which he was confined to meet some group or other. UMama and Massabalala Yengwa and

Dr Conco would accompany him. They would return in the early hours of the morning before the police got on duty.

The loss of the chieftainship meant the loss of all material benefits that went with it. We were really a poor family, but we managed because of our frugality. Later, during the treason trial, there was an American philanthropist, Mary Louise Hooper, who took great interest in UBaba and helped him. She was eventually deported from the country. It irked the system that she should be close to the deposed Chief and the ANC

The circumstances surrounding the death of UBaba is still a matter of great pain and sadness to the family. The official verdict given raises more questions than it answers. He was knocked down by a train, they say accidentally. But we do not believe it was an accident. It is a great shame that a man of peace departed from this world in the manner he did. However, so did many others in the 1960s; world leaders who dared to challenge existing injustices and sought to remedy them: President John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, and finally our father.

UBaba received many awards — small and large — from his teaching days to later life. They made us proud of him. But he never changed; he remained the same man who put himself down rather than boost his achievements. I am sure he was inspired by the awards to do more for his people and his country.

A FAMILY MAN
RECOLLECTIONS BY HIS “SISTER” CHARLOTTE GOBA

Chief Albert Luthuli was my brother. We were not children of common parents. We were grandchildren of a common paternal grandfather. That made us cousins, but he was more than a cousin and more than a brother to me — he was also my adoptive father, for when my father died, he took responsibility for my mother and me and we lived with him in Groutville.

Chief Luthuli’s father and my father’s father were brothers, born of common parents. Their father was Ntaba ka Madunjini Luthuli. Madunjini was our great grandfather. He was an *ononhlevu* of Groutville, that is to say he was one of the veterans of that district. He, together with the Makhabeni, the Mlawu, the Bantukubezwa and the Vilikazi, had fled across the Umvoli River in the wake of the pursuing Zulu and founded a community on the upper banks of the river. There they had been converted into Christianity by the Reverend Grout of the American Board Mission. Groutville is named after Reverend Grout. Not far from Groutville is Charlotte’s Halt, named after the Reverend’s wife. I too, was named after the Reverend’s wife.

Our grandfather Ntaba had four sons. John Bunyan, the second son, was the father of Chief Luthuli; Daniel, the third son, was my father. The eldest son, Martin, was elected Chief of the amaKholweni, because of his wisdom and integrity. When John Bunyan died, Martin took over the care of Albert and Albert became full of wisdom and integrity like Martin, so that after Martin died in course of time, they elected Albert as their Chief.

John Bunyan Luthuli married a girl from the nearby village of Hangu. Her name was Maqiwu, but we usually called her MaHangu. My father went to school in Lovedale, learnt printing and was later employed in the Ebenezer Press in Dundee. John Bunyan became a transport rider for some boers.

He drove the ox wagon laden with goods to Rhodesia. Later he settled there and that is where his two sons, Alfred and Albert Mvumbi, were born. When John Bunyan died MaHangu returned with Albert to Mnyundwini, where John Bunyan had land. Alfred had married by then and had settled in Rhodesia. MaHangu began farming. There were fifteen acres of land, not quite sufficient to make a comfortable living, but MaHangu had initiative and drive, and above all, a son to put through college.

Albert was sent to Ohlange and then to Adams College, to qualify as a first grade teacher. Albert eventually took up an appointment at Adam’s College and became a supervisor. His duties entailed travelling out to a number of adjacent schools, which he did by motorbike.

He met Nokukhanya ka Maphita ka Ndlokolo from Umgeni at Adam's College. She had been a high school pupil at Inanda Seminary before going on to Adam's College. They married and Nokukhanya came to live with Albert and MaHangu in Groutville.

Though Nokukhanya was a very good teacher, she gave up teaching on her marriage and concentrated on farming under MaHangu's guidance. But by then, the land had been divided between the two brothers, leaving only seven and a half acres for Nokukhanya to farm. It was too little to produce anything of value. So they leased land from Mr Ngidi who lived in Inanda. She raised vegetables and madumbes and later, branched into sugar cane farming.

Albert and Nokukhanya's first son was born in 1929. MaHangu named him Sulenkosi, for it was God's plan for them to return home and to win such an industrious young daughter-in-law who had now become a mother. In all, they had seven children, four daughters and three sons. Albert had wonderful love for all of them, and his love was wonderful not only for his children, but also for his brother's children and the children and grandchildren of our grandfather. The family was poor, but the love and the care more than made up for the poverty.

My father died in 1930; I was ten years old. Albert came to fetch us and we lived with him and MaHangu, Nokukhanya and Sulenkosi, who was then one year old. As time went on, more babies were born; I was like the eldest daughter of the house.

It would have been so easy for Albert and Nokukhanya to have used me as a baby minder but such a thought never occurred to them. They wanted for me what they wanted for their children; that I should receive the best education they could afford. So I was enrolled at the Groutville School and my brother Albert personally supervised my studies when he was at home.

My mother took on a job at a hostel in Durban and only came home at weekends or month ends. I consequently grew up under the strict and loving supervision of MaHangu and Nokukhanya and they taught me to be a good farmer when I was not occupied with my studies. They also saw to it that I attended the lessons in sewing, cooking and housekeeping conducted by the wife of the missionary, Reverend Abrahams.

Albert was teaching at Adam's College when we moved in with him. He came home once a month and we all looked forward to his home-coming. We would go to Groutville station to meet him and help him with the parcels, the half a packet of groceries and the huge parcel of fresh meat.

When I was in standard nine, my brother was called to the Chieftainship. There were other candidates: the community elected him. The material reward the Chieftainship brought was a new field allocated to him for cultivation and a small

stipend from the government, every three months. He had to give up his teaching post and the regular salary that went with it, but he did not seem to mind that. My brother could have accumulated wealth the way other chiefs did, by fining the “culprits” who appeared before him, but that was not his way of adjudicating justice. He saw his chieftainship as a service to his people, as a giving, not a taking.

He was a very able Chief and the community of Groutville gathered around him, and he gave them leadership in everything. He formed a farming association, and through his efforts, had a tractor donated from America. This increased the yield of the members of the Association. He also formed an Association of Businessmen in Groutville and encouraged African commerce. All in all, I would say that Chief Albert Luthuli was a development man who wanted to see his community developing and prospering. Today his youngest son Sibusiso and Makoti MaShabalala are continuing his farming and commercial interests in Groutville.

My brother always tested my schoolwork and as the children grew older, they were put into the same routine. It ensured that we remained motivated and did well at school. He would teach us where we had failed to understand and go over a lesson patiently until we *did* understand. Thandeka just could not understand percentages. Just what were percentages? She could not understand the concept. Albert worked with her patiently until she did. Albert had a special love for the English language. He would brook no grammatical inaccuracies. He didn't just read letters sent to him, he corrected them in red pencil and sent them back to the writer, so that he or she might learn.

Having so many children to send to school, he made a special study of the available schools, and sent us to the best within his means — Roman Catholic boarding schools in Newcastle and Marianhill, Inanda Seminary and Adam's College. Families came to him for advice when they had to send their children to school.

He had two great loves, music and football. He loved music and conducted the Sunday Church Choir whenever he could while he was still a teacher at Adam's College. Later when he became a full-time Chief, he conducted the church choir every week. I loved watching him rehearse a new hymn. He would make the choir sing the tonic solfa after him and then with a la la la, fit in the words.

The college football team was his second love, and my first. He was passionate about the game and at Adam's Mission, attended football practice late into the day. There were times when they returned to the boarding house to find the pots empty and shining clean, but going without food, Albert said was worth the game. When matches were arranged with other teams, we accompanied our team, the “Shooting Stars,” by bus or train, to cheer them on.

Dinner was a family affair. It began with prayer. Albert would ask one of the children to bring the Bible and hymn books. After dinner, we often sang hymns. He would then pat the young ones gently and playfully send them off to bed with a,

“Go, go and put on your nightie and get into bed.” The older children remained to discuss current affairs. He would make a statement to provoke discussion. He might suddenly break into what one of us had been saying with a sharp, “*Angivumi*” (I don’t agree with you) and that would begin a protest, “But Baba,” and Baba would put us through a whole process of logic and get us to look at the provocative statement from different points of view. He thus shaped our minds.

I completed my teacher training at Adam’s College and began teaching. Though I was earning, my brother laid no claim to my money, but I shared with them willingly and lovingly. It was only when I made a little extra as an examiner, that Nokukhanya said to me: “Now you can help me get a span of oxen.” She had always wanted a span of oxen to improve her farming. That was the only claim my brother’s family ever made on me. But they were not people to just take. In return for the span, they had a special field ploughed for me, and the income from it was mine. Unfortunately the oxen died.

I taught for three years and then married. As a Chief, my brother was entitled to fifteen heads of cattle as lobola, but being the man he was, he settled for £300. It was the same in respect of everyone of his daughters. He always settled for less than was due to him. The £300 was nothing compared to the expenses he incurred. It was the first wedding in the family and he had to invite people from all the neighbouring villages, from Hangu, Mbonisvelni, Nkukhwini, Thubeni, New Groutville and Myundwini, to the *Ukwemula* (the sending off of the bride), which is the first part of the wedding which takes place at the bride’s home. We killed three beasts — my brother killed one, my mother killed one and my nephew killed one. The concluding ceremony was held at the groom’s house in Pietermaritzburg. Transport cost a lot and my brother Albert bore that expense in addition to all else.

Today, I am a mother of many daughters and they are all doing very well in the truly Luthuli tradition, though my husband says it is in the Goba tradition. I remain close to the family and we visit each other whenever we can.

CHIEF ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI - AN APPRECIATION IN MEMORIAM

In the year 1835, during the reign of King Dingaan, the United Church Board for World Missions, based in Boston, Massachusetts, USA, sent six missionaries and their wives, in two groups of three, to South Africa to work among the Zulus. Each group consisted of two ministers and a minister who was a medical practitioner.

Group A was appointed to work among the maritime Zulus under King Dingaan. It consisted, among others, of Reverend Dr and Mrs Newton Adams M.D., who subsequently built schools at Umlazi and Adams Mission Station, and Reverend and Mrs Aldin Grout, who founded the Groutville Mission.

The focus of our attention is on Umvoti Mission. The Mission was founded with the acquiescence of reigning Chief Dube, on the Stanger side of the Umvoti River. Later Reverend Grout approached the Chief with a request to appoint or allocate someone as *induna* or chieftain in order to try all cases involving the amaKholwa, or converts to the Christian faith. The first incumbent of the chieftainship was not attuned to the way of life and the everyday needs of a Christian community, since he himself, was non-Christian and his efforts proved a failure.

Reverend Grout then requested Chief Dube to appoint a Groutville Christian. Mr Ntaba Luthuli, Chief A.J. Luthuli's grandfather was nominated and became the first chief of abaSemakholweni, usually referred to as the "Kholwa Tribe." It is significant that of seven chiefs from Ntaba to Albert, four were Luthulis. However, to put the record straight, Chief A.J. Luthuli went on record as saying that the Luthulis never laid any claim to traditional chieftainship. They were democratically elected. In 1921, Mr Josiah Mqwebu (a Qwabe) succeeded Chief Martin Luthuli, son of Ntaba Luthuli. He was Chief A.J. Luthuli's father. He married Mtonya Khuzwayo, daughter of Mqiwe Khuzwayo, who had been brought up in King Cetshwayo's court as had been Mtonya, who was virtually brought up as a princess. When Mtonya's mother had passed the bearing age, he returned to Groutville, with Mtonya, who learnt how to read the Bible and was converted to the Christian faith. She married John Bunyan, who was a second generation Christian.

Chief Albert John Luthuli was brought up under strict stoic discipline by mother Makhuzwayo —a typical hardline uncompromising Qwabe girl, who did not spare the rod. A.J. had a loving Uncle-in-Chief, Martin Luthuli. A.J.'s duty should have been to look after the cattle like all Zulu boys of his age. However, his job was to kindle the fire in order to warm the chief's sitting room. The evening prayers were as inevitable as the supper.

Uncle Martin was also a strict disciplinarian. A.J. learnt all about it when he joined a strike at Edendale College. The boys were all sent home and instructed to return

with their parents/guardians as usual. Uncle Martin accompanied young Albert to school. A.J. records he was returned to school with a sound trashing.

Young Albert received his primary education at Groutville School. Mother Mtonya paid for his education. She was an excellent gardener like Mabhengu. She also went to Stanger and did washing in order to augment her income to pay for her son's education. In 1914, young Albert passed standard IV at Groutville. He then proceeded to Ohlange Institute for further education under the founder of the college, Dr John Langalibalele (Mafukuzela) Dube, who was the first President-General of the African National Congress. Thereafter, he proceeded to Edendale College, a Methodist institution, where he took his Lower Teachers' Diploma. He was then posted to Blaauwbosch in the Natal Midlands where he was both principal and assistant teacher.

He did very well at Adams College. On completion of his Higher Teachers' Diploma, Father Bernard Huss, Principal of St Francis College, Marianhill, offered him a post. This was an unusual distinction for a black Protestant in those days. Dr C.T. Loram offered him a bursary to study for a degree at the University of Fort Hare, but A.J. politely told him that his mother was very old and he was anxious to work in order to support her. Thus Chief A.J. Luthuli joined the staff of the "normal college" at Adams College. He was charged with duties to teach Zulu and music. It is interesting to note that the first person charged to teach Zulu as a language (without text books) was the late Reverend Gideon Mdoda Sivetje at Adams College. Later on, school organisation was added to A.J.'s duties. And yet another duty — he was made supervisor of teachers-in-training in all outlying schools. But the duty he loved most was that of College Choir master.

In 1927, Chief Luthuli married Miss Nokukhanya Bhengu, a Zulu Princess from the Ngcolosi tribe at Umngeni. She is the daughter of Maphitha Bhengu, son of Ndlokolo Bhengu, grand old chief of the Bhengus. Maphitha was a first generation Christian. He married one wife at a time. Nokukhanya is a second generation Christian, while A.J. was a third generation Christian. Maphitha was one of the first three converts and an elder at the Umngeni Mission which was founded by a black Reverend, Jwili Gumede. Nokukhanya was educated at Umngeni School, Ohlange, Inanda Seminary and Adams College. Although Albert and Khanyo knew each other at the same school, they only discovered each other at Adams College when Miss Nokukhanya Bhengu, both brains and beauty, arrived to do her Higher Teachers' Diploma. After she completed her course, there was the usual protracted Zulu betrothal negotiations which happily resulted in their marriage in 1927. However, it was eight years before they lived together.

In 1928, A.J. was elected Secretary of the Natal African Teachers' Association. In 1933 he became President of the Teachers' Association. His time was spent in trying to improve salaries and conditions of service for teachers. He took the initiative in founding the Zulu language and cultural society as an auxiliary of the Teachers' Society. The society did well until it became the recipient of a

government grant, at which point the society lost its independence and went into decline and finally collapsed. In 1935, A.J. was called by his people at Groutville to lead them as their chief. It took him two years to make the weighty decision to leave Adams College in order to serve his people. This was 100 years after the founding of the Umvoti Mission by Reverend Aldin Grout. He did a great deal to improve the agriculture of Groutville which was dependant largely on sugar cane. He became one of the advisers to the Paramount Chief of the Zulus, Mntwana Mshiyeni ka Dinuzulu.

In 1938, he was chosen by his church, the Congregational Church of the American Board, as a delegate to the meeting of the International Mission Society in Madras, India.

In 1946, he was elected to the Native Representative Council which adjourned *sine die*.

In 1948, he spent nine months on a lecture tour in the United States under the aegis of the United Church Board for World Missions based in Boston, Massachusetts, USA. For this he earned the epithet of “spoiled” from the powers that be in our country. Professor Edward Callan of Kalamazoo University, Michigan, records that government propaganda advised the local chiefs here not to associate with Chief Luthuli because he went to America in 1948 “and got rotten ideas there.”

A.J. attracted the attention of the Natal section of the African National Congress, and was elected President in 1951.

In October 1952, he was given the choice of resigning from the ANC or giving up the chieftainship at Groutville. He refused to do either. Accordingly, in November 1952, at the instruction of the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr Eiselen, the local Native Commissioner announced that Chief Luthuli had been dismissed as Chief of Abasemakholweni at Groutville. In December 1952, he was elected as President General of the African National Congress in South Africa. He was also banned and confined to the Lower Tugela district, along with many leaders, including Dr W.Z. Conco and Mr M.B. Yengwa. He was charged with high treason in 1956. The case dragged on for four years, at the end of which he was discharged.

He was a lay preacher and a thorough Christian gentleman. I became aware of this during the time he was banned and confined to Lower Tugela. He would go through the full order of church service alone in his lounge, hymn, reading of the scriptures, prayer, meditation, etc., while the family went to church: none of the unchristian treatment meted to him made him bitter or resentful.

In December 1961, Chief Albert Luthuli received the Nobel Peace Prize Award. His banning order was relaxed for 10 days in order to enable him to travel to Oslo, Norway, to receive the award.

In 1962, the students of Glasgow University elected him as Rector of the University of Glasgow and the National Union of South African Students elected him as their honorary President.

He died on July 21, 1967. His funeral service was held at the Groutville United Congregational Church where he had worshipped his Maker from his childhood until he was debarred by a ban from attending gatherings, including church services. Chief Luthuli identified himself with the sufferings of all races and respected the humanity, not the colour, of a person.

SPEECH BY PRESIDENT MANDELA AT THE CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI
CENTENARY CELEBRATION, KWADUKUZA, APRIL 25, 1998

Bayede!

Wena weNdlovu!

Hlanga Lezwe!

Siyakhuleka KwaDukuza emzini omkhulu;

WeNdlovu ethe imuka; Babeyilandel' abakwaLanga;

ibuyis' inhloko yadi' amadoda!

His Majesty the King, The Mayor of KwaDukuza, Mr Siyanda Mhlongo,

My brother, uMntwana wakaPhindangene, Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am truly honoured to celebrate nation-building, freedom, peace and unity with you, as you pay tribute to some of the greatest giants that even walked on our land; Usishaka kashayeki, uNodumehlezi kaMenzi, King Shaka, Mahatma Gandhi and Chief Albert Luthuli.

This celebration takes place at a most appropriate time as we prepare to mark the fourth anniversary of our freedom. It also takes place at an appropriate place for it was around these hills and valleys that King Shaka shaped his ideas. iLembe eleqa amanye amalemba ngokukhalipha had the foresight to understand that there can be no lasting peace without nation-building, freedom and unity. This year we mark the 170th Anniversary of his assassination by his brothers.

Ngithanda ukubonga ubuhlakani boMkhandlu waseKhaya waKwaDukuza ngokuhlela lomgubho wokujabulela "ukubunjwa kwesizwe saseNingizimu Afrika, inkululeko, ukuthula nobumbano" ngokuhlonipha amaqhawe akithi anjengeZulu, iLembe, uMahatma Gandhi kanye neNkosi uAlbert Luthuli. Lomgubho ufike ngesikhathi esihle lapho sigubha impelasonto yenkululeko. Yenzelwe endaweni efanele ngoba kukulamagquma namathafa lapho iLembe leza namacebo okubumba isizwe, inkululeko, uxolo nobumbano. ILembe lalikhwazi kamhlophe ukuthi ngeke lwabakhona uxolo uma isizwe singakhiwe, inkululeko ingekho, nobumbano lungekho. Kulonyaka sikhumbula iminyaka eyikhulu namashumi ayisikhombisa selokhu iLembe laphangalala ngesandla sabafowabo. Siyakutusa ukuguqulwa kwegama lalendawo kube iKwaDukuza njengoba Udlungwane lukaNdaba lwaluyazi lendawo. Lokhu akusho ukuthi sesibukela phansi umnikelo owenziwe izinhlanga njengabelungu, amaNdlya namaKhaladi ekuthuthukisweni kwalelidolobha.

It was also around this region that Mahatma Gandhi spent so much of his time conducting the struggle of the people of South Africa. It was here that he taught that the destiny of the Indian Community was inseparable from that of the oppressed African majority. That is why, amongst other things, Mahatma Gandhi risked his life by organising for the treatment of Chief Bhambatha's injured

warriors in 1906.

This year marks the centenary of the birth of one of the greatest leaders of the freedom struggle: a colossus and yet a foot soldier of our people, Chief Albert Luthuli. His memory will last forever to us who worked with him and followed in his footsteps. This giant chose persecution, including the fate of being deposed as an elected chief by a regime that despised everything African and democratic. In doing so he taught us the lesson that real leaders must be ready to sacrifice all for the freedom of their people.

It was under the leadership of the Chief that we entered the fighting fifties with the Defiance Campaign, the struggle against bantu education, the Freedom Charter, the drawing together of all freedom-loving South Africans across the racial line into the Congress Alliance, the anti-pass campaign by women in 1956, the heightened political ferment in both rural and urban areas and the launch of armed struggle in 1961.

Kulonyaka sigubha iminyaka eiykhulu selokhu kwazalwa ingwazi uChief Albert Luthuli. Isithombe sika Chief Luthuli siyohlala njalo sikhumbuleka ezingqondweni zethu thina abasebenza naye nababengabalandeli bakhe. Lengwazi eyayihlukunyezwa uhulumeni owawubukela phansi zonke izinto zomuntu omyama ngisho nokumkipha esikhundleni sokuba inkosi ekhethiwe yesizwe samaKholwa, yasifundisa ukuthi uma ungumholi wangempela kufanele umele noma ibuphi ubunzima ukuze isizwe sikhululeke.

Sasingaphansi kobuholi buka Luthuli ngeminyaka yo1950 ngesikhathi siqoma ukubhadla emajele kunokuthobela imithetho yobandlululo, silwisa imfundo yengcinezelo, sihlanganisa abantu bezizwe ezehlukene abathanda inkululeko iwesasikubiza ngeCongress Alliance, siqokelela izimfuno zabantu kuFreedom Charter, amakhosikazi elwisa imithetho yamapasi, kukhushulwa izinga lomzabalazo emakhaya nasemadolobheni. Sasingaphansi kuka "Chief" ngesikhathi singena emzabalazweni wezikhali ngo 1961. Sasiboshwe naye uChief ngecala okwakuthiwa elokuketula umbuso ngo 1956.

When Chief Luthuli demanded: "Let My People Go!", South Africa listened until he became the first person on the African continent to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The moving words he spoke on our behalf as a witness in the Rivonia Trial sustained us through the prison years. As he explained our resort to armed struggle in the face of the uncompromising denial of freedom for the majority of South Africans, he evoked the vision of a peaceful, united and just society which sustained our people through the long years of struggle.

This is what continues to inspire us in the new and even more difficult struggle that we have only just begun, as we roll up our sleeves to achieve a better life

for all.

Your Worship, the Mayor,

May I congratulate your Council for awarding Chief Albert Luthuli the Freedom of the Town of KwaDukuza posthumously. In doing so you are not only speaking for the people you represent. You are saying what is in the hearts of our whole nation.

UChief Albert Luthuli waba umuntu wokuqala kuzwekazi lase-Afrika ukuklonyeliswa ngendondo yeNobel Peace Prize ngenxa yobuholi bakhe emzabalazweni wenkululeko noxolo. Ngihlala ngibuzwa ukuthi saqiniswa yini idolu sisejele isikhathi eside kangaka. Okusemqoka kulokhu indlela iNkosi uLuthuli asisekela ngayo ngesikhathi sisecaleni laseRivonia nagemuva kokugwetsha ukudilikwle ijele. Inkosi uLuthulu yathi: "Ngenxa yokuqinisa amakhanda kwabelungu ngokungafuni ukuhlukana nemigomo enqabela abantu abamnyama kanye nezizwe ezinye ezicindezelwe ilungelo labo lenkululeko, akekho ongagxeka amadoda afuna ubulungiswa ngokuthatha izikhali, Ngeke futhi agxekwe ngokuzama ukugququzela umbutho ohlangene ukuze kutholakale ubulungiswa."

"Ngenxa yalokhu lamadoda asethonyelwe emajele isikhathi eside. Ukuboshwa kwabo kuwukuboshwa kwamathemba okusebenzisana kwezinhlanga ezehlukne. Kuzovela isikhala ebuholini esingagwaliswa inzondo nokungqubuzana kwezinhlanga. Lamadoda amele ubuqoho emzabalazweni wezombangazwe eNingizimu Afrika. "Llawo mazwi asiqinisa idolu emajele, kumshoshaphansi, ekudingisweni nasentanjeni imbala.

Yilawomazwi asiqinisa idolu njengoba sifingqa imikhonto sakha ikusasa elingcono kubantu bakithi bonke. Mphathidolobha, Ngiyasibonga isinyathelo sokunika uChief Luthuli inkululeko yedolobha kaKwaDukuza nanxa esakhothama.

Today KwaDukuza has become a place of pilgrimage as it was during the days of King Shaka and Chief Albert Luthuli. As we pay tribute to these giants, let us always remember that there is a difference between showering praises to King Shaka, Mahatma Gandhi and Chief Luthuli on the one hand and to emulate them in action on the other.

What is it that we as individuals and as communities collectively are doing to promote nation-building, freedom, peace and unity? Would any of these great leaders have tolerated a situation where we still slaughter each other simply because we differ politically? Would they have allowed enemies of nation-building, freedom, peace and unity to divide us on racial lines? They would never have done so, then why should we?

Let KwaDukuza, the place of iLembe, Mahatma Gandhi, Chief Albert Luthuli and

M.B. Yengwa be a place of pilgrimage dedicated to nation-building, freedom, peace and unity. Let it be a fountain of peace and hope.

Akukona ukulandela ezinyathelweni zeLembe, Mahatma Gandhi no Chief Albert Luthuli ukuthi siqhubeke sibulalane sodwa ngenxa yokungaboni ngeso elilodwa kwezombangazwe. Akukona ukulandela ezinyathelweni zabo ukuvumela izitha sokwakhiwa kwesizwe, inkululeko, uxolo nobumbano.

Indawo yakwaDukuza okuyindawo yeLembe, Mahatma Gandhi, Chief Albert Luthuli no M.B. Yengwa mayibe umthombo wokwakha isizwe, inkululeko, uxolo nobumbamo! Makube

indawo yoxolo nethemba!

Bayede!

Wena weNdllovu!