The first condition of freedom is to banish fear, and the second I would say is this : and a very important one it is, it is to obey. Some people find that very easy, I find it very difficult. I have been told to go back to England and I find it hard to obey that order. I have to go back but that does not make it easy.

It is not possible to move towards freedom until we have discipline. We must be ready to obey and in the Congress Movement of South Africa there is today an oppertunity for everyone to learn that discipline. In Chief Luthuli you have a great leader, a leader who at the present time cannot speak, but a great christian leader nevertheless. I would like to see the day when the Congress Movement of this country is so strong that white, cream and yellow can come together without fear in a free South Africa, but it must be properly disciplined and ready to obey. That is the second condition for freedom.

And then there is the third, and I think that a terribly important point. There is only one really great power in this world - it can change men's hearts, and that is the power to love. We can't achieve anything without it. In South Africa there is too much hatred, and if we have to go forward it must be in the strength of love, in the power of love - but that does not mean that we must be weak as so many people seem to think, it means being really strong, because love is the very nature of God itself, love is the very power of God itself, and when we love we have that strength to go forward.

So I say this, although I am leaving South Africa at a dark time, and in my opinion it will get even darker, I leave South Africa full of hope. In many ways I wish that I was a young African today because I am absolutely certain that the future is yours. From many platforms in this country I have said this, and I am going to say it again, in the whole world today, which ever way you may look, East or West, the fact is quite clear that the people are moving towards their own destinies. On the continent of Africa alone, there are two hundred million Africans moving fast in one direction, towards freedom. Nothing can alter that fact, and in a very short time I believe, the people of South Africa will be catched up in this great movement, you will share in it, and that is why you must prepare yourselves for it,

rid your...../7

rid your hearts of fear, you must replace it with the power of love, and you must go forward in the spirit of discipline. Thank you very much, and God bless you all".

CHAIRMAN : "I am not going to comment on what Father Huddleston said. I only hope that he will not be very long. If you love a people you will want to go back to them. The leader of the African National Congress (Transvaal) will now address you".

E.P. MORETSELE : (Speaking in a Native Language interpreted into English by native male James Radebe) (WA/VP/[redacted]) "Father Huddleston, sons and daughters of Africa, I am not quite confident of myself just now. First of all I was impressed by what I saw here. (Meaning the different races singing together in one choir). Then the Father spoke about love. One of the speakers has already mentioned that he came here to break down the barriers, that he inspired peace and love, just as Christ came to tell us that before God we are all equal.

In the African National Congress we said over and over again, there is no discrimination, you have observed now, people singing together, there is no apartheid, we don't support apartheid. Verwoerd himself knows that we don't support apartheid, but he says that we are committing High Treason, I don't know whether they think the Freedom Charter is High Treason.

Father Huddleston said something very important, about the youth, that the future lies before them, it is true what he said. What he said about love is also true. The African National Congress now gets a message from him - and they will go forward with love. We invite everyone to fight with us for the liberation of all the people of South Africa. What we want to do is to sit together with all the races of this country and rule this country.

They talk about this apartheid and I say, alright, let us draw a line and say, you this side and we that side, and you know what, they won't accept it.....

Now, as regards this departure of Father Huddleston, we realise that he must obey his orders, that he has to obey authority, we understand that. We have worked together. You are the man who said : Education must be universal for everybody : We also say education must be universal, just as you said. I am going to organise you for freedom in our lifetimes, you must fight for freedom, and let Father Huddleston be your inspiration".

CHAIRMAN : "We will terminate this meeting by singing 'Nkosi Sekelele Afrika'".

(Nkosi Sekelele Afrika). (5.30 p.m.).

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AFSKRIF VAN AANTEKENINGE IN NOTABOEK VAN N.S.SERS. GLADWELL NGCAI.

'FAREWELL TO FR. HUDDLESTON': 25.2.56 :

Saturday : 25.2.56 : I attended Father Huddleston Farewell Party at Christ the King school. The chairman was Mr. Henry Gordon Makgoth: I observed the following persons : - Simon Tyiki : David Mahopo : Piet Makgofe : Robert Resha : Kate Molake : Jenet Mashile : Johannes Rampoloana : Piet Nthite : June Chabako : James Koti : Bentley Langa : Dennison Makwana : Zacharia Ntseke : Raphael Tshabala-la : Agnes Hadebe : Bertha Mashaba : Patric Moloao : Moosa Modlla : Dr. Press : Oscar Mabika : Father Tevor Huddleston : Henry Tshabalala Andrew Mashaba : William Letlalo : Motsamai K. Mpo : Philemon Mathole Magdeline Resha : Alfred Hutchinson : Bartholomew Thapane L= Irc Mabe : Jonas Matlou : Johannes Maimane : Lillian Ngyoye : Elias Moretsele : Henry G. Makgofe : T.J. 32126 : TA 1163 : TO. 13215 : TG 3262 : TJ 61673 : TJ 133-133 : TG. 2727 : TO.12419 : TJ 131-965.

5.30 p.m. Meeting was closed and reported off duty.

A.N.C. meeting Moroka W. Sunday 29.1.56, 11 a.m. to 1.45 p.m. 50 both attended.

Chairman D. Manele.

Speakers :

E. MALELE.
T. NYAKALE.
MRS. NHLAPO.
M. RANTA.
J. POO.
UNKNOWN N/MALE who read resolutions.
BERTHA MASHABA
H. JOSEPH

D. MANELI said:

I greet you all I am sorry to see no mothers in this meeting because this meeting is called for women who are in danger to carry passes which are introduced by Government to them by this Nationalist Government even 16 years youngsters too may carry passes.

Your childrens Educ. is been taken away by this Govt. to you can not do or say anything because this is Police State. Now its for you people to see what you can do about Police because they stay here with you people I think the best way is to get rid of the Police.

Strydom must build them houses at Parktown or else where today our leaders I banned by this Tabete & his Company Strydom never attend our meetings but Tabets & his Company the day will come Tabene & his Company will answer.

1. E. MALELE, said :-

Friends I am standing in such a bad time as I am standing here I am in Police hands I can be arrested any time today Police are not assisting people but killing people this morning was a raiding in every house for K. Beer.

Mothers are to carry passes apartheid are in force but still people say apartheid is O.K. today apartheid is not only to get people out of Town today apartheid has a baby name ethnic Grouping. Ethnic is bron by this apartheid.

Apartheid will soon work here at Moroka as is already working at Site & Service Scheme Townships MSutus one side Zulu, Xosa so on there is apartheid even in schools apartheid is working we A.N.C. say away with apartheid.

This Gvt. sees that we are now unite he then introduced apartheid to separate us at the pass office you can see people are so worried by this pass laws at the Parliament house today there is a new bill about working classes Native shall not do Coloureds works so on I appeal to all Ministers & Adv Board Members to Church people women to be with us.

Just before Strydom was there a man called Hitler Where is Hitler today? Strydom already sees what is going on today All Church women should come to the Square to fight this Nationalist Gvt. with us our struggle is non violence.

Bantu Education is to send your children to farm Bethal and O.F.S. Some time back we spoke to teachers about this B. Educ. Teachers said this was better than nothing today teachers left schools and join Police Force. Some are informers some are Detectives today some of our members are with Government to oppress us.

D. MANELI, said :-

Hitler was killed by workers if force is necessary to crush this Nationalist Government we shall do so. we want no apartheid in our Townships Strydom can make apartheid at Parktown & Vrededorp not here I shall call upon my speaker to tell you about Trades Unions.

2. T. NYAKALE, said :-

Our people are not prepared to come to the meetings at Meadowland things are so bad you can not stay with your 16 yrs in your house.

Please remember that some of our people been working for this Government in Gold mines today this Government is sending your children to Farms at Bethal O.F.State today Gvt. want our women carry passes I shall talk about Trades Unions the time we formed Trades Union people did get about £5 per week to day wages are cut to £3 per a week and £1.15.0 to day at Parliament is a bill for European only.

I appeal to all workers to join the Trades Union. Some women been getting £6 per a week Soon as this pass law come in force they will get £1.15.0. per a week. Friends we must unite under Trades Unions. I appeal to you all to join Trades Unions.

3. MRS. NHLAPO, said:-

I see no women in this meeting but should be more women than men it seems to me that the women do not care whether we carry the passes.

We women should unite to fight this pass laws women of Moroka do not attend meeting if one tells them about meeting they say you are liar to day a child of 12 - 13 yrs. shall carry passes.

I supposed to see many women in this meeting but they went to church.

4. M. RANTA, said:-

I greet you all under peace mouth of A.N.C. if thing is a truth here even in heaven is a Truth Nationalist Government is making this country a Police State.

Today Government is introducing passes to women is not satisfy to send our children to Bethal and our husbands to O.F.State on 26th June 1955 at Kliptown we said people shall govern this country we A.N.C. said people shall rule this country.

Some years ago the Government said O.F.S.

should carry passes they refused under A.N.C. We S. African women we shall not carry passes we must unite.

Last year we went to Pretoria Verwoerd run away he didnt want to see us I am here today give massage to all women to go from house to house organising about this pass law that not one women to carry this pass.

I can be arrested even now by saying this no women should carry a pass I dont care We women should preach even in the Factories that no women should carry a pass we shall fight this Government till we win our rights. Chinese are free to day Germany did fight Hitler they are free today that shall happened to Strydom. Women of Donechia and French did fight for their rights we must do the same.

5. J. POO, said:-

I will talk about Site & Service Scheme where people been robbed their money also about B. Education what is Bantu Education even in the History is no name Bantu if we agree to this Bantu your children will be kicked away from here to Bantu country where is that?

Therefore we dont want Bantu Educ. We dont know the Bantu if we accept this Bantu then will be no more advisory board will be only Bantu Authoróties we want no Bantu Authorities.

Becuase Bantu is a factory for all bad laws if we agree to Bantu authoroties this country will be Police State. White people came here and build church houses and Zoo as we are here at the Zoo at Site & Service houses cost £260.0.0. 20 years list at £2.17.11. per month.
We A.N.C. count this money we get £721, within 20 years at £2.17.11 per month not £260 as they say. That is robbery of people money. We want no houses but land to build our own houses there will be no Bantu Education, no ethnic grouping, no pass laws. no Police State in our Township, no Police raidings.

6. UNKNOWN N/MALE, read resolutions :-

This A.N.C. meeting held at Moroka West Square, today 29th Jan., 1956, strongly protests against :-

1. Passes on women,
2. Police Raidings,
3. Bantu Education,
4. Grouping Act, and (5). Removal Scheme.

7. BERTHA MASHABA seconded to resolutions. She said :-

I am pleased to be here this morning. I can see that the Moroka people are prepared to fight this pass introduced on women.

Although many of our women goes about with Ministers. don't come to the meetings. I see that we A.N.C. are better Christians as you all know yourselves how bad is this pass today. If you talk about this pass you can be arrested. I dont care whether I am arrested. I will stand infront of you and tell you not to accept these pass women.

In the Freedom Charter we said passes will be abolished whole morning I been listening here I heard all speakers protest against these passes on women. I also seconded all the resolutions passed in this meeting under A.N.C. held at Moroka West Square on 29th Jan. 1956.

8. MRS. H. JOSEPH, said :-

Sons and daughters of Africa I bring a greeting to you from Federation of S. African Women and Democratic People of S. Africa.

We are supporting you in your struggle about this passes law to women. Women all, over the world are with you in your struggle. Women will never tolerate, even white women are not prepared to carry this pass. Myself I shall not carry it, unless they forced me and catch me by the neck. We are with you in your struggle about this passes on

African women.

About 40 years ago Govt. did try this pass law on women in O.F.S. he failed.

JOHANNESBURG.

30 January, 1956. .JOHAN.TABETE..NO.19844'F'N/D/SGT.

Ex. G. 223

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (WOMEN SECTION).

WOMENS' MASS MEETING.

THE WOMEN OF SOHPIATOWN ARE NOW DETERMINED TO ORGANISE THEMSELVES AND FIGHT THE EXTENSION OF PASS-LAWS TO THE AFRICAN WOMEN.

THEY DECLARE THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO STOP THE PROGRESS OF THEIR FIGHT AND ORGANISATION AGAINST

PASSES FOR AFRICAN WOMEN

QUESTION: WHAT ARE THESE WOMEN GOING TO DO?

ANSWER: COME TO DIGGERS HALL, 54, GOLD STREET, ON WEDNESDAY, 11TH APRIL, 1956, AT 7. P.M. TEY WILL SPEAK AND YOU WILL ALSO SPEAK.

issued by the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (WOMENS' LEAGUE).

...ry by 8/S STRACHAN Hospital in Victoria & Sophiatown

Deur 8/S STRACHAN

Te Sophiatown

Datum 8/4/56

Verwysings No. 1

G. 242

MEETING : AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : NEWCLARE : JOHANNESBURG :
HELD ON SUNDAY, 29TH APRIL, 1956.

WA[redacted]

SPEAKER : DANIEL KHONOU : (Spoke in a Native Language, interpreted by native male Theophilus Mmusi into English) "You are aware of the fact that even if we have passes we are arrested. The passes are for the enslavement of the people of South Africa. Every day there is a policeman behind you demanding this document called a pass.

I am a christian and today I went to the house of paradise to go and pray - yet also there was a policeman to ask me for my pass - they ask you for your pass irrespective of your religion. I respect the white people, but this demanding of passes wherever I go, as if I am a good boy ! It seems to me, whether I am a good boy or not, they are prepared to suck my blood, that is what they are after. Now, they are going to extend these passes to our mothers. Now, mothers of South Africa how are you going to solve this issue ? The only way to save this issue is to come to this movement, to the African National Congress.

You mothers know that any dirty Dutch police boy can at any time of the day or night demand this pass from you - you mothers remember that. This pass is like dynamite, it can explode at any time - any time of the day or night and this dirty boy knock at your door and demand this document - these dirty boys, every time they even catch a glimpse of you, it is pass, pass, pass ! ! Yes, every dirty policeman can ask you for this pass just when he feels like it. And you black policemen, remember that this Government is against you because of your colour, and the white policemen can kick you if they feel like it, to them they are administering justice.

We are told by some people to pray to God, but where is God at this moment ? Where is God when the Africans are arrested and sent to plant potatoes with their bare hands ? We stand up before the eyes of God and challenge this misery - yes we challenge this misery, where are the Ministers ? Why do you choose the missions of the European people to pray to God there ? Why don't you come to this meeting and pray to God here, here where we are fighting against this devillish Bantu Education Act ?

Apartheid is a policy working only for the interest of the people gathered in the so-called Parliament - it does not work for the benefit of the thousands of Africans who daily suffer the misery of hunger and cold. Yes, it works for the interest of the men in Parliament only, it does not work for the interest of the ordinary man, for the man who does the daily work, the spade work - the Police are the most underpaid workers in the country, we want them to rally around Congress, and crush this Government - Dr.

Verwoerd...../2

Dr. Verwoerd is a rich man for instance. Yes, the Police are the most underpaid workers in South Africa, shame ! And they have got to do the dirty work, and when they say 'Look, I am running around day and night asking these people for their passes, give me an increase in salary', then they are told 'No, but we will give you a few stripes to show that you are better than the ordinary man, we won't give you a gun, but a piece of stick to show that you are a commandant'. When these underpaid workers ask for an increase in salary, they are told that they would be made sergeants.

We are kept down for no reason but because our colour is black - the white police, they can shoot us down at any moment when they like. The white policeman is asked to share this ideology of apartheid - that is what he believes in - he is to see that the Africans are kept in perpetual servitude - and yet when this poor little boy, this little boy goes home, there is nothing at home, he has just to sleep at night, after a day-long struggle of chasing the African people, he has no food to eat, he has only this ideology apartheid. Yes, he is working day and night only to increase the salaries of the men in Parliament.

As workers we know that every man wants to increase the living standard of his family, and that is why we say in the Freedom Charter : 'The land shall belong to those who work it'. This is your chance African youth to challenge Dr. Verwoerd and to tell him 'If you don't give me enough money to look after my family, then I am going to join the freedom-loving people of South Africa, to fight for freedom until it is won for all, irrespective of colour, creed or religion. You African police writing here today, you will all die of hunger, why should you allow yourselves to be used by the government, fight with us, I say, fight for these things that are embodied in the Freedom Charter.

Now, we say every man must choose for himself - every man should join hands with the men in the African National Congress. We say to you, rally behind us, until this government of South Africa is defeated, and so that our mothers and women shall not carry passes! Mothers and sisters, rally around this movement, because there is only one way to defeat this government, and that is with a political body, a body uniting all the people. The people must say, 'We want freedom in our lifetime! Rally around".

BENNET SETSCHIRO : (Chairman : WA/VO/[redacted]) „Now, comrades, this morning we see the government agents here. We say to them, don't be ever late - the people shall never be late. I want to tell you, comrades about a wonderful book, written by the very man you

know...../3

know - he was twelve years in South Africa - and that man is called Father Huddleston. That man has written a wonderful book, called 'Naught for your comfort'. You see outlined in that book every incident that happened here in South Africa. We see this book accepted everywhere, even abroad they have accepted this book, and the demand is so high that they cannot cope with it.

Just now I have told you that the Government will ever be late, just like their agents, and from this newspaper I see that the Government intends writing something that will counter this book of Father Huddleston. We say to Mr. Louw write down what you want, and let it be a counter to Father Huddleston, we will see if the people will accept it. We see here in South Africa that the white people do not in any way understand how the black man lives, but from this book they will understand it - we see the Police giving the truth to Father Huddleston's book every day - like when the Police shot the people down at the beer hall with sten guns.

From these actions of the Police, the whites in this country are beginning to understand what it means to be a black man, we see articles in the press, and they say 'If the Receiver of Revenue should stop a white man in the bar and demand his income tax, what would he do ?' Yes, we see the whites giving the truth to Father Huddleston's book themselves. To understand more, my people, let me appeal to you and say, 'get this book, read it carefully, and you will understand what it means'. Even you, the government agents, buy yourselves this book and read it, and see whether it is right or wrong. And to Mr. Louw, whilst he is preparing a counter to this book, let us tell him that he has forgotten to bring out a counter to the Freedom Charter. We know quite well that the Freedom Charter has been accepted throughout the world, throughout South Africa. We know that he will never dream to counter the Freedom Charter. He knows that the people are right, they will never accept what is wrong. They know what to take and what to leave. My next speaker will be number six".

ANDRIES CHAMILE (Spoke in Afrikaans, interpreted into Sesutho by Sampie Malupi) ([redacted]) "Afrika! Afrika ! Mayebuye ! Meneer die Voorsitter, ek dink dit is hoog tyd dat hierdie mense bietjie opvoeding kry(die Polisie.), van ons, die eienaars van die land, en as ek sê, ons die eienaars van die land, dan meen ek al die mense wat vir vryheid werk in hierdie land - al die mense. Die land van onse vaders, en die inkomste van onse vaders is weggeneem van ons. Hierdie mense het gekom met die Bybel in die een hand en die roer in die ander hand, en hulle het ons land weggeneem met die roer, terwyl hulle uit die Bybel aan ons vertel het 'Jy moet jou naaste liefhê soos jouself'. Maar hulle het nooit..../4

nooit gedoen wat die Bybel sê nie - hulle het ons verkrag en vermoor. Hulle vergeet dat in 1652 toe Jan van Riebeeck hier geland het in die land van ons voorvaders, het ons voorvaders hulle beeste en vrouens gegee, en nou sê hulle, hulle moeders moet nou passe dra, en dit net omdat hulle swart velle het. Hulle hardloop vandag rond en sê hulle will apartheid hê, maar hulle vergeet as daar regte apartheid kom, sal die swartman nie meer vir hulle werk nie, ook nie meer in die kombuise nie.

Ons is bereid om apartheid te aanvaar, maar dit moet apartheid op die regte manier wees, nie op 'n onderduimse manier nie. Ek is darem bly oor een ding en dit is dat die Polisie wat hier ons vergaderings bywoon 'n goeie opvoeding kry, en hulle sal, eendag as die skietery kom, vir hulle vriende sê: Julle weet kerêls, ek het gehoor van vrede en vriendskap, ons moet nie ons naaste doodmaak nie. Ons organisasie is vir vrede en liefde. Ons regeerders het nie opvoeding nie, as hulle opvoeding gehad het, sou hulle al lankal vir Marks, Dadoo en Moroka geroep het om vir hulle te kom sê wat om te doen, maar nou sê hulle hierdie mense wat vir liefde en vrede staan, is kommuniste.

Ek roep julle my mense, laat ons deur die bloedrivier gaan met die hulp van God, en aan julle die Polisie sê ek, pasop, julle skiet nou lekker en ons hardloop weg, maar wat sal gebeur as klein duimpie eendag omdraai ? En ek sê ook vir julle dat die tyd nou naby is dat 'n swart man 'n wit vrou op die boud sal slaan en vra 'Waar is jou pas ?'. Ek waarsku julle, die Polisie dat die tyd sal kom waneer ons man teen man sal baklei, sonder gewere, sonder wapens. Ek waarsku die regering dat hulle tydjie op die muur geskrywe staan, dat hierdie ongeskikte regering se tydjie nou naby is. Die tyd is baie naby waneer hierdie regering sal skreeu 'J.B. J.B. waar is jy ?'

Die regering die neem onse leiers weg van ons, en ons is vandag soos 'n swerm bye, en selfs al moet ons na die tronk gaan of doodgemaak word, niks maak meer saak nie. Ek vra ook die regering om die swart polisie weg te neem van die wit polisie. Ons is nie teen die Polisie nie, maar teen die manier waarop hulle ons behandel. Die Polisie, as ons net neerbuk om 'n skoenriem vas te maak, dan sê hulle 'Haai, jy is dronk'. Natuurlik, as ek dronk is moet ek arresteer word en na die Polisie-kantoor geneem word, maar die volgende môremoet hulle my laat dat ek kan gaan waar ek wil. Die werk van die Polisie is om te sien dat die mense mekaar nie doodmaak nie, maar as hulle mekaar vandag doodmaak dan sê die Polisie : 'O! Laat die kaffers mekaar doodmaak.'

Ja, laat...../5

laat ons alles vertel. Vandag staan ons om 6.30 v.m. op om na die paskantoor te gaan om werk te soek, daar staan ons die hele dag, daar is nie eers 'n lavatory nie om te kak nie. In die Paskantoor is waterkrane, maar hulle wil jou nie toelaat om daar te drink nie, en laat die middag gee hulle jou 'n Papier, dit meen dat jy die volgende oggend weer daar moet wees. As dinge so gaan waneer moet jy vir werk soek ? Vir veertien dae sit jy in die Paskantoor, en dan sê hulle gaan werk in Bethal, of in die myne, of op die spoorweë.

Julle Polisie moet besef dat julle tuishoort by die werkers, en dat julle 'n vakunie moet hê. Julle moet nie ag slaan op die woorde van Mnr. Swarts as hy sê 'Ek wil nie hê julle moet na politieke vergaderings gaan nie ! Other people are progressive in this country today. Long live our struggle towards our freedom in our lifetime ! "

CHAIRMAN : "Africa! Africa ! Mayebuye ! Now, at this moment ladies and gentlemen, I am appealing to you, the people to come to this side. Move towards this side, please, and leave the Police on the left. Comrades, the time is running short - I have told you that we have something to attend to, the speakers must be short. My next speaker will be number three".

THEOPHILUS MMUSI : (WA/VP/[redacted])"Sons and daughters of Africa, time does not allow us much time. We have the Nationalist Party here in this country - a party led by the worst type of Europeans which the twentieth century has produced. These people are, with the help of the Police Force, taking away the rights of the sons and daughters of this country. The Police are the people who are writing down what I say - who report to their masters - and who will convict me in court because of what I say to you my African people.

Today we have a government in power who believes that a white person is superior to a black person - what nonsense ! They are making fools of themselves. The white people are not of God, they have Ministers who produce legislation like the Bantu Education Act, to poison the minds of the African children. All whites are educated without interference, why should our children roam the streets without education ?

The Government, after having bribed the United Party, have now introduced an act to take away the rights of the coloured people, they want to bring the coloured man down to the level of the oppressed black in this country. Verwoerd, Strijdom, Swarts are responsible for the misdeeds of the Government, they are at the reins of the government - they are responsible. Now, this mad racialist, this Dr. Verwoerd has introduced the Prohibition of

Interdicts...../6

Interdicts Bill. Now, officials of the Native Affairs Department can order you out of the Urban Areas, and you cannot apply to the courts for redress, you must apply to Dr. Jansen, he must give you authority, and he is a dictator. Yes, today the Government is testing the strength and the solidarity of the African people.

Not for nothing have we inserted in the Freedom Charter, that the people shall share in the country's wealth. What we are going to do ? I will not mention anything - the Police are nothing, but I will not mention anything about what the people of South Africa are going to do.

After they had shot ten people at the beer hall, one of these stupids say 'We have not used sten guns'. That is what they say to Swarts, the son of Paul Kruger. The same when they come to our meetings, they say in their evidence 'High Treason is what we are looking for. What treason is there if I say I don't like the pass laws, that the oppressive laws must go ? What treason is there if I point out the miseries of my people, but if you do, then you are charged with high treason and sedition.

Today there is no justice in this government - what justice is there if the Police can go to the meetings of innocent people - if the Police are still shooting the people - if the people must not protest because they are given passes. My mothers I am appealing to you, rally around, tell this government that you are not prepared to accept this ideology, that you are not prepared to accept these passes ! And to the representatives of the government behind me I say, go and tell your government, we don't want passes, our mothers don't want passes - we are not prepared to carry passes any longer - they have refused passes in Cape Town (~~Winburg.~~) Tell the government that we will see to it that they come to an end very quickly.

Sons and daughters I am appealing to the youth of this country - the future belongs to you. Look at my back. The Youth League of the Afrikaners are given guns to oppress you. The Youth League of the Nationalist Party are given arms to see that we are kept down, oppressed. So, sons and daughters of Africa I appeal to you, be wary of the Nationalist Government, they can strike out at any time, at any moment. Let us have unity so that we can drive the enemy from our motherland. Before Dr. Verwoerd should introduce this Interdict Bill, he must go back with his children to Holland, where he came from. We don't want it !

In conclusion, my friends, the Police, they are the people responsible for our troubles, they are responsible for the conviction of our leaders, convicted just because they are black - and this

this...../7

this Native Affairs Department, we shall see to it that in five years time they no longer exist - we shall see to it !

We say the 'People shall govern', not the minority, the stupid minority. And when we govern, then we shall share in the country's wealth, and after this meeting, I want the youth to come to me, to join up ! "

CHAIRMAN : Africa !Africa! Ladies and gentlemen, time is running s short. I appeal to you, how many times must I appeal to you speakers to be very short. Now, let me bring my last appeal to you - please my speakers, be short. Now, ladies and gentlemen, before I call upon my next speaker, I want to appeal to you - I appeal for your collection, we have had many expenses in order to hold this meeting. We have got to pay after this meeting, and I must get that money from you my people, I am not going to appeal for the government's money, I want your money. Please give to your organisation".

(A collection took place.)

CHAIRMAN : "Number one please".

WA/VP/[redacted].
MOSES SEKOEPANE : Sons and daughters of Africa, we meet at a time when the government of this country are threatening the women with passes, and at the same time the government has sponsored the formation of the Bantu Nationalist Party. This Bantu Nationalist Party supports the government as far as apartheid is concerned. This party was formed by Mr. Malepa of Pietersburg. Mr. Bendu has also formed such an organisation before, but he was arrested for fraud afterwards. Yes, we meet at a difficult time, but we wil overcome the difficulties ahead of us.

Yes, I feel sorry for these men because they are trying to slow down the waggon of freedom. I want you to look carefully at the Police present here so that tomorrow you will know them. I feel sorry for the Police in the car because the forces of freedom will crush them. The time is near when this government will call upon Mr. Kotane and Mr. Marks to come and help them out of their difficulties.

I appeal to you to go from house to house and tell the people that we don't want passes for the African women - yes, they can bring(2) two thousand police if they want to, but we will not accept their passes. They can bring two thousand police like when they started to shift Sophiatown. The time is past when we will go to churches and listen to the ministers, they don't talk about freedom ,but only about God, and about a heaven afterwards.

We have...../8

We have told the government of this country that they must come with us, this country is big enough for all of us, but they have refused. The government wants all the best so that the little Dutches can eat, and we must be satisfied with the crumbs from their table. Even in the kitchens the servants don't eat, only the Europeans eat - the servants are ordered around like dogs. The Europeans do not want us to have everything, I mean anything at all, and that is why the Freedom Charter was formed last year, and it is our job to join our political organisation so that the provisions of that charter can be implemented". (This native spoke in a native language which was interpreted into English by No. 34082 N/D/Cst. Jerry Ramashala.)

CHAIRMAN : "Africa !Africa ! Our time is up and I want my last speaker to be very short. After the meeting we will all go to the funeral. I call upon you all to go to that funeral. The next speaker will be number eight, number eight please".

SAMPIE MALUPI : (WA/WA [redacted]) "I am going to be very sympathetic with you today because our time is short. Mr. Chairman there is a struggle on in this country. They wage a war on us because we want to progress towards freedom. Mr. Chairman, they are prepared to kill us, and then they say they want to protect us - I don't want their protection, I am protected by God alone ! Please stand away from them - don't stand on their side. Mr. Chairman, we are meeting today when South Africa is sailing like a ghost ship, without rudder, with mad sailors abroad. Mr. Chairman, these people are not democrats,and, Mr. Chairman, with your permission I want to say to the members of the Special Branch present here, look towards the mountains there, there are tribal meetings, why don't you go there ? Dr. Verwoerd and with his help, Mr. Swart ; they are the chief stewards upon this ship, and they have decided to poison all the passengers who disobey them.

All over the country you can see the Police chasing the sons and daughters of Africa. This morning on my way to work, I was asked for my pass seven times; and they don't yet recognise me - this is tyranny in the true sense. The man responsible for this tyranny is Charles Roberts Swarts. We want to live with everybody in this country - with all, but then we Africans want to share in the making of the laws of the country. The machinery which the Herrenvolk has built up will begin to crack one day, and nobody will be able to stop it from cracking. I say, unite, yourselves my people, don't let the Police interfere with you. In the 19 years of my political career, I have not

allowed.../9

allowed them to interfere with me, these poor boys are not responsible for what they are doing, they are not bad, they must work to eat. They are just screwdrivers.

The Police belong to the working class - in other countries they celebrate with the working class, but in this country the police will be loosing their lives when the working class celebrate - Tuesday is Mayday and then the working class celebrate in countries like China, but here in South Africa the Police will not celebrate with the working class. So I say to you, Unite, my people ! The last time I spoke Itold you that there was a war on in South Africa, that there was no peace in this country, and this war is a very big war because our brothers are taken away from us one by one, but one day we will challenge them and see to it that this government is brought to a proper stop - yes, it will be done one day, my friends.

The last fourteen days Mr. Klopper, the greatest manhunter of all, has been trying to incite the sons of Basutuland against me. He has told them that they must kill me and that there would be no charge, but nothing will prevent me and I will go and speak to the people on the other side of the line - because we want freedom ! Murder him and there will be no charge, he told them, but there are progressives there and they told me. It will not be the first time they will try to murder me, I remember 1952 when I was assaulted by the Police and spent considerable time in the Coronation Hospital. They came to me then and asked 'Do you want to lay a charge ?' I said 'I don't want to lay a charge, but my day will come'. You must not blame the Police for all these outrages, they do it because they have been messed up by Mr. Swarts. One of these day this government will ask the bull of Africa, Chief Luthuli what should be done.

Mr. Chairman, what the Tomlinson report says is true, the black man wants to know what is going to happen to him - the government has got to accept the Tomlinson Report, but they will not ! They don't want real apartheid, they want the African as chaap labour - and that is why they are now going to issue passes to our womenfolk. But my wife will never carry a pass - I am still master in my house. She will never go to the Native Affairs Department to get a pass.. Dr. Verwoerd must first ask me before he can do things like that. Africans, I want you to come to Congress with your difficulties, and Congress will tell you what road to take. The Lion of the North is an artificial lion, Chief Luthuli is the real lion of South Africa,

let us.../10

let us follow him - they can take me if they like, I will come back like Jomo Kenyatta, I am still a young man. Not far away from our country, here in Nairobi, Congress is already helping to form the government, if that happens in South Africa, what will happen to Mr. Strijdom's South Africa ?

In conclusion. Are you women going to carry passes ? That is my Question ? (Shouts of No! No !) Are you married to these women, or are these women married to Dr. Verwoerd ? So, if they are your women, let Dr. Verwoerd call a special conference and tell you why they must carry passes. So I say unite yourselves, my people and let us fight this evil. Let us proclaim our friendship to the whole world, let us arise and shine, sons and daughters of South Africa. Freedom in our lifetime ! "

CHAIRMAN :"Our time is up. We will now go to the funeral in Mayer Avenue. Let us take off our hats and sing the National Anthem".

'Nkosi Sekelele Afrika'.

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RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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