

trade unions in their struggle and urged them to join the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Comrades we feel that we have not time enough and we hope today that steps will be taken to reorganise ourselves so that our struggle can be a success. We hope too that the new Local Committee which will be elected will mobilise the masses of unorganised workers into trade unions which shall be united under the banner of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. We must produce new leaders so as to get new life in the trade union movement. We must work side by side with other organisations in its fight for the aims set out in the Freedom Charter and the coming into being of a new democratic South Africa. Long live the South African Congress of Trade Unions! Long live the unity of the workers! Mayibuye!"

CHAIRMAN: "Well comrades the Secretary has read you his report and you can discuss it now, you can ask questions that you did not understand. Alright the matter is open for discussion".

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and the house .. (Inaudible)."

CHAIRMAN: "Well comrades I think the comrade is right there, our next speaker is going to give that report to you and then you will be able to bring that point forward".

SPEAKER: (L. Levy) "Comrades and fellow workers, today I am going to talk briefly because I usually have so much to say that I talk such a long time. Comrades today I want to talk about the parliament, not the parliament that you know of in Capetown that sits there, not the parliament of Strydom and Verwoerd, but the parliament of congress I want to talk about."

Comrades the conference that was held in Capetown by the South African Congress of Trade Unions was the worker's parliament and my task today comrades is to tell you what that worker's parliament decided and to tell you how we must carry out the wishes of that worker's parliament.

For the first time in the short space of one year the South African Congress of Trade Unions called a national conference which took place in Capetown from the 1st to the 4th of March, 1956. It was the first time comrades that workers from the factories and from all over South Africa

assembled in that great hall in Capetown to discuss the problems and the wishes of the workers. It was not only the workers that got up and made fine speeches. There were no big shots there giving the orders it was the workers from the factories standing up and speaking. There were more than one hundred and sixty delegates and observers there and they represented thirty thousand workers - altogether they spoke for thirty thousand workers who had sent them there. Comrades when the workers got up and spoke of the terrible exploitation of the workers the conference determinedly agreed to fight back, to fight back in a way which would win for the workers security, peace and happiness.

Comrades the workers at the conference spoke about the laws which prohibit them and stop workers from attending meetings and form their own trade unions. We realised that to fight back and win is to organise workers into trade unions so that they can oppose their bosses and the Government. Without trade unions comrades it is impossible to organise workers. Therefore comrades we decided the workers should fight to win for themselves the right to organise freely in trade unions and negotiate agreements with their employers directly. Comrades one of these laws is the Native (Settlement of Disputes) Act or should we say the Police Settlement of Disputes Act. Comrades this Act of the Government, the Native (Settlement of Disputes) Act denies the right to the workers to have their trade unions registered by the Registrar and recognised by the employers. Comrades this law deprives the African workers of the right to strike for higher wages. Now comrades how can you ever check your employers if you have'nt got the right to strike. Comrades this law deprives the right to the workers to live decently, to eat healthy.

Comrades at that conference the workers spoke of how the workers are made slaves, the moment they open their mouths they are arrested and victimised by the police. Comrades the workers spoke of a strike and how the police rushed to the scene and arrested the workers. But comrades it was not good enough to hear others complain, it was not good enough just to get up and talk, something had to be done and a way had to be made in order to win for ourselves the right to do these things. Therefore comrades the workers-parliament called upon the workers of South Africa to organise and fight for trade unions. Conference called upon the workers to fight determinedly, to fight for the recognition of their trade unions/...5.

Y unions and the right to negotiate with their bosses and to fight against every form of exploitation, every form of discrimination. Therefore comrades our task today is to carry out these instructions, if we are to carry out the resolutions we must understand it, we must understand the meaning so we know how to go on and defeat these Hills.

Comrades it means that we must build powerful trade unions, that we must organise and educate the workers, it means comrades that everyone of us in this hall must organise and educate our fellow workers. This means comrades that we must win the worker's confidence, that we must show the way out and comrades we can never do that by fine speeches the workers like to see something concrete, something real. It means therefore comrades that all worker's complaints and grievances must be taken up, it means comrades that we must inspire the workers to fight against their bosses for higher wages. We must teach the workers what unity means, what it means to stand together all as one man and fight the employers for higher wages and better conditions of work. Comrades it means that the workers in the factories must become leaders, comrades the secretary of a union cannot do that alone the workers must help him to do that.

Comrades these are new times in South Africa now. The workers are demanding freedom and we must re-double our efforts to get it for them. Comrades this is how we can carry out the resolutions of the Capetown conference, in fighting for higher wages, in fighting against the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, in fighting for the recognition of trade unions. Comrades this is a challenge to the workers of South Africa are we going to accept these laws lying down or are we going to stand up and meet them organised and fight back, are we going to submit to the slavery, the sjambok and the whip, or are we going to form powerful trade unions and force the employers to give way to the wages demand. I believe comrades that we are going to build these powerful trade unions, that we are going to do the same as our fellow workers have done overseas in fighting for freedom and that we shall win our freedom through organising the workers into powerful trade unions.

Comrades the conference in Capetown decided that local committees of the South African Congress of Trade Unions must be built up, that a committee of Congress should be in every centre of South Africa where they can organise the workers/...7.

workers under the banner of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Therefore it was decided that every local committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions should set aside certain days in the month through the year as Workers Unity Days. On these days comrades, which we shall call Workers Unity Days, we shall have rallies for the workers, we shall collect funds for the local Congress of Trade Unions and we shall organise those workers who are not in trade unions into trade unions, we shall teach them and inspire them to fight back.

Comrades I sincerely hope that from the floor today workers here will get up and say what they think about workers unity days, how we are going to organise, how we can rally the workers under the congress banner. Comrades we have also decided that those people who dig up the diamonds and the gold and the coal must be organised that those miners who are getting three pounds a month and less must be organised into trade unions. But comrades we have been saying now for many years that we must organise those workers in the mines, comrades the time has come for us to stop talking but get down and organise those workers, and therefore comrades I hope that today too we shall get up and talk about the mine workers and how we can organise them, and how we can rally them into the ranks of the Congress of Trade Unions.

Comrades you realise how powerful we would be if all the miners were organised into trade unions. And what about the farm workers, those farm workers who have been whipped and brought from the farm gaols, what about them, what about organising them too. Our conference in Capetown was determined to organise the farm workers and the miners. Comrades conference also decided to fight for a forty-hour week. Why should workers stand all day and work such long hours, why should they be denied the right to be with their families. Why should workers be denied the right to rest, and to study and to live a decent happy life? Therefore comrades we want a forty-hour week. Comrades we must fight hard and organise all the workers into strong trade unions.

Comrades let us turn our minds for a moment to the Department of Labour. The Department of Labour has collected sixty eight million pounds from the workers, that money was supposed to be for unemployment insurance, but comrades in the first year that Hulan came into power that right was taken away from the African workers, all that money that

they have put into it were taken away and they were robbed of it. And therefore comrades we have decided we are going to fight back for it and we want more than that. Comrades it is up to us to see to it that we fight hard for this unemployment insurance money, we must fight comrades and say that no matter who the person is, no matter what the colour of his skin is, he is entitled for unemployment insurance money if he is out of work, and comrades, we have demanded too, more cost of living allowance.

Comrades it is nearly three and a half years since the Government gave the workers more cost of living. The cost of bread, meat, fruit, vegetables, transport, rent, everything has gone up and even the cost of apartheid has gone up. Every time the Government decides on more apartheid on the railway station it means that you must pay extra transport fares for the trains, every time the Government decides that people should be moved under the Group Areas Act you must pay more rents for your houses - pay for the separation. Comrades how long can the workers continue to pay for apartheid? Therefore comrades we must fight for more cost of living as conference has instructed us to do. Comrades there are many many things that our workers parliament in Capetown discussed.

There is the question of passes for women and passes for men, and the population registration. Comrades to talk about all the resolutions passed at conference and to talk about all the things discussed there will take tomorrow and the next day too. But comrades what I am trying to put to you here is this comrades, that the South African Congress of Trade Unions knows exactly what to do, what it must fight for and comrades the time has come for us to organise the workers throughout South Africa, in every corner, in every village, in every town. Comrades if the workers work side by side in the congress, if we inspire all the workers to resist the pressure, to fight back their bosses in their exploitation, to fight for higher wages, to join trade unions, comrades we will have a very big powerful trade unions movement. Comrades we must see to it that the people are not disillusioned, are not enslaved, that they are not afraid and without trade unions nothing can be done. Comrades we must inspire the people that there is a great future for them in South Africa, the future of the Freedom Charter. Comrades the future of South Africa lies in the hands of the workers and it is for us to win it. Afrika!

CHAIRMAN: "Comrades have you been listening very attentively? (Audience - Yes). Alright then I am sure you will be able to ask Leon Levy some questions".

SPEAKER: "Comrades just a second, is there anybody here that can drive a motor car?"

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and delegates, we have heard all the things that has been read to us. Here is a question. If the employer says we must do a certain thing and we do not want to do that then the result of that is, the police are called and we are arrested, what must we then do? Again the employer instruct an African to do something which he does not want to do but because of the conditions he finds that he is compelled to do that, and in turn the employer dismisses one of the workers, then we start striking for the worker that has been expelled, and after we are arrested how are we going to get defence?"

SPEAKER: (Possibly Chairman)"The comrade asked a very impressive question, now I was picked to reply to this. This is what I want to say, that all the employers have their factories because they want money. Now lets try and analyse this to answer your question. He buys a big factory, he buys machines, or he gets some raw materials, all these things are paid for, but he spends all his money to go and buy these things, but he wants something to come out of that, he wants his money back and some profits. What does he do? So he employs the workers to come and work for him, but when they start working in his factory then he starts getting his money back until he is getting more profits. Now if workers were in gaol where is he going to get these profits or where is he going to get money for his factory?"

Now before the workers can do the job they have to have experience of the work. If the workers come now for more wages and he has them arrested - let me now tell you something that happened a few days ago, where the workers in the same conditions asked for higher wages and got into gaol. But the workers knew something, they knew that that work in the factory has got to be done by experienced workers, so they decided to go to gaol and not pay the fines. So they went on Friday, Saturday they were still in gaol, now the boss was worried, he had his orders to go and fulfill and from these same people he has been getting his orders, he has got no money left because these people have to produce. Mind you

this/...10.

this is a very big boss, a Nationalist, so he went into the location and started looking for his old boys, and then he realised that they were still in gaol, so you know what he did, he went back to gaol to go and pay the fines of these workers. Now you can see how much does he lose when you go to gaol. Comrades you have listened to my story will you take advice of what I said?"

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman I have come here to talk about my difficulties, I want a full explanation as to the conditions under which we work".

(Speaker speaking in Native).

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman before we conclude on the matter of this question I want to know if it does happen that we are arrested - the employer causes these workers to be arrested and then he leaves them as they are and he goes about and he gets just enough labour to run his factory, who then will release us?"

CHAIRMAN: "Well again it is a very simple question anybody can answer it. We have our own organisation and our organisation will do it".

L. LEVY: "Now I would also like to answer all these questions comrades. Because it is quite true comrades when some workers go on strike they are arrested and put into gaol and when they come back to their jobs there are scabs there and they cannot get their jobs back. But comrades if we have to be frightened of that, if we have to think before we do anything like that, then there is nothing that can be said. Comrades workers must stand together and must resist their bosses, we must see to it that every worker is a union member and educate the workers to understand what it is when workers demand higher wages. To strike is to suffer comrades, no one can tell you that if you struggle you do not suffer. The more organised we are the easier the chances of winning.

Our comrades over there asked what will happen if the workers go to gaol who will defend them. The South African Congress of Trade Unions will see to it that every worker in gaol on a charge of illegal striking will be defended. No worker will remain in gaol without the South African Congress of Trade Unions seeing to it that he is out of gaol or he is

defended."

CHAIRMAN: "Any other questions?"

(Speaker speaking in Native).

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman on a point of order

SPEAKER: "I beg your pardon it is not on a point of order".

PREVIOUS SPEAKER: (Continued) Oh! I am sorry on a point of privilege, there are people in this hall who cannot understand Zulu nor Sutho and I wish that the Chair will facilitate that they also get a proper hearing".

(Chairman asking for volunteers to interpret).

CHAIRMAN: "O.K. carry on".

SPEAKER: (Speaking in Native interpreted into English by a native female - only parts of speech heard).

"We should be able to organise our people so that we should be able to become united. This is what I would like to know, what was the decision taken at the Capetown conference in connection with May Day? In connection with May Day, we are going to decide about May Day here and agree upon what we are going to do."

SPEAKER: (Female speaking in Native interpreted into English by Native female).

"Mr. Chairman and the house, our aim is to go out and organise the workers, we must also go out to the farms and the mines and organise the people there. It is also important that we must go out to the workers and organise them and tell them it is important to join the worker's movement. It is alright for us to say we must go out and organise, but the point is this, how are we going to do it? I say this Mr. Chairman because I realise that it is difficult for us to go out to the farms and the reserves to organise the workers there, because this organiser must be paid to be able to do this. It is through this organiser that we will get the workers organised and to do this we must get money. It has been stated that it is necessary for every worker to belong to a trade union. There can never be unity if the people do not

agree. This is a time when the workers should know where they stand, who are their enemies and who are their friends. I realise that some workers have come to think that trade unions are bodies who defend workers.....

It is very necessary that workers should know that trade unions mean the coming together of workers and it is necessary to stand together and fight together with our leaders. We have no money to pay organisers, we must go out and do it."

CHAIRMAN: "Comrades I want to tell you that we serve two sandwiches and one cold drink for a sixpence".

2 P.M. (Adjourned for lunch).

2.25 p.m.: CHAIRMAN: "We will now start with our next session. Our friend that spoke last would she still like to speak?"

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SPEAKER: "I have been a member of the Garment Workers Union for many years of which I am proud, and I want to tell you that if we had organisers this conference would not have been so empty as it is now. People do not know what we want, we want ten organisers. (Applause) If the Garment Workers Union have only an organiser to organise for this conference this hall will be packed. We in the Garment Workers Union have only two organisers and that is why our meetings always overflow. Organisers should go to the factories and to the mines and organise there, and if they do go to such places they need money and that money can only be collected if we are united. Many of our men are now sitting in the beer halls. (Applause) Thank you Mr. Chairman".

SPEAKER: (Speaking in native interpreted into English) "Mr. Chairman and the house, if we say no passes for women that means we do not want passes for women. When I get down on the station I must pull out my pass otherwise I am arrested. But fellow Africans whether we are arrested our goal we must reach. This is what happens if the workers try to organise for higher wages..... My husband tried to organise the miners and do you know where they are now, they are right inside the mine gaol with a big policeman at the door with a stick. If our workers go into the mine compounds they will get arrested".

SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and the house I have been a member of a union for a very long time. I worked at a place where I was driven with a sjambok. I started at six in the /...13.

morning and knocked off at ten o'clock. I only earned fifteen shillings a week. A trade union organiser opened our eyes and made us see that we were exploited by the people for which we worked, I was the first man to join. He made me responsible for other people with who I was working together - it was in 1939. I called a meeting where I was working, I told them that we must form a union and that we were underpaid. During the course of our meeting our employer came he went away and called the police. When the police came I was arrested because I was responsible for the calling of the meeting. I tried to explain what is meant by a union, a union is the coming together of workers. When I was detained my fellow workers stopped working, they went on strike. Our employer was very cross and he sent one of the workers to the police station, the police chased him away and said that they did not want to see him and said that the man who caused the arrest of this man he must come here and tell us why he had him arrested. He came and he told him. They said well you had this man arrested for no reason you will have to pay sixteen pounds to get him out".

ROMAN SPEAKERS (Speaking in Native interpreted into English)

"Fellow workers it is very easy for us to say we must organise the workers into trade unions. You all know that the workers cannot go to the locations without specials and permits. And you also know that the people from outside cannot reach these compounds or mine locations. It is also difficult to get to the farms. But it is very important ladies and gentlemen to employ people who can go in and can speak to those people, and organise them to go into their trade union movements. It is very difficult for us to organise those people here unless we organise them from home. Because when these people are here they are in their work we must organise them when they are at home.

And even if we did we cannot be sure that we have trade unionism and trade union as a member of the organisation is two different things. Trade unionism means a person who undertakes the aims and objects of trade unionism. We see the white workers today becoming stooges of the Nationalist Government because they do not know what trade unionism is, because these people did not know what trade unionism is that is why they support any Government only if that Government permits them individualism. So I think my time is short ladies and gentlemen but shall thank you if you will join a trade union and try and study what is the

meaning of trade unionism."

ORABANT: (speaking in Native interpreted into English). As long as I understand what a trade union is I shall always be a spear and a shield that belongs to a worker and I shall protect them. If we have no trade unions we are hollow there is nothing we can achieve. In 1934 that was the year that marked my disrespect for the white man. I worked at a laundry I used to earn one pound ten shillings a month and I used to sleep in a house full of bugs and my food was bad. Then in 1936 somebody came along by the name of Wilfred he had an assistant called Freddie, they organised us to join the trade union. Our employer protested extremely. The people used to start at six in the morning, they used to knock off at 5.30 in the afternoon. Since then what we discovered was that the long period we worked was cut.

Then again in 1939 came in the Wage Board, then there was a slight increase in wages, then little by little they gave us some increments. In 1939 it was left to drop because according to the custom of Africans once they see some betterment then they leave struggle, as a result the union became weaker and weaker and the employer started oppressing us once more. Then we said, but surely the trade union was helping us. Again we combined, it was true once more we saw some new and good development. Now again we are able to advise another group today that we used to work forty eight hours but because of the trade unions these long working hours are being cut until now we discuss the possibility of a forty hour week. Now friends let us come together and consolidate our forces whereby we can resist the employers otherwise we are going to discover we shall be disunited and like when a hawk comes along to pick up a chicken.

I would continue much further but I would like to give the other people a chance to express their views".

ORABANT: "Mr. Chairman and delegates I am very happy to have the opportunity to say something. Firstly we have heard of the resolutions which they adopted at the conference in Capetown. Now these resolutions brought to us say that the local committees should find ways and means to put these resolutions into operation. Secondly, these should be taken and they should be placed before the people, we should go out and tell the people about them. They say that the farm workers/..15.

workers should be organised, the mine workers also should be organised. But these resolutions that were passed at Capetown they were constructed by educated people who knew before hand that the resolutions to be adopted must be abreast of the time.

Now what is necessary, what must be done, we are here today to lay down the foundation, to formulate plans ensuring that they must be used by the people, we must know that when we go to the farms what we must do, when we go to the mines this is the road we must follow. We are conversant with the historical background of the trade unions, let us speak at this conference so that when we leave the hall we must get to work. It is understood that here in the meeting we can be able to express the principle of trade unions but what about the masses. Let us formulate a plan, let us get the tactics we must use, let us get people to go to the mines to find a plan.

There are a Basutho idiom which goes this way, they say if you are a lizard - your mother or your father is a lizard and you meet a baboon.....
If we cannot get plans such as this in order to get a union for the mine workers the people who are to be recruited from the reserves at a point where they all assemble, because there is the people in the reserves - they have a place in the reserves they all assemble there, it is one of the easiest things today to organise the mines like you organise the other workers.

I want to make a clear explanation, according to the requirements of our mother body we have to advise these facts because why somebody at the gate - according to the mines system you cannot get there. According to the mines system when a worker is recruited everything has been completed before he reaches the mine, he signed a contract, he has agreed to come to the mines for nine months when he was still at home. Now you come into the picture when you meet this man for the first time. He has agreed in his contract that he is going to work for three shillings at the mine and you are going to organise him here and now for higher wages. What methods are we going to use to better this situation. This is what we must do, when the recruitments is taking place in the reserves we must be by the side of the worker who is going to sign a contract for nine months to come to Johannesburg. as him right there how much are you

going to work for. Tell him there that look they are doing you down you are not going to work for three shillings your union says you must work for four shillings. Please I want the workers to understand fully the aims of my way of argument.

Now a fight is created between the man who is recruiting the workers and the man who represent the trade union, and if you are there at the time you will be able to carry out your task. Naturally and normally it is a common form that everybody wishes to be paid higher wages and if you are there at the time you are able to get that man to come into the trade union".

WOMAN SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates our last speaker told us how to organise these people in the mines to achieve what we want - we have got to have people who would sacrifice, we have got to have that man to see him when he joins to tell him not to sign for three shillings a day. I am sure that in nine months time when that man finished his contract he can go back and tell the others do not sign the contract. So I think the best thing for us to do is to get on with our work instead of discussing."

WOMAN SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and delegates we are in critical times because the whites for whom we work forget that we have a share in the work that we do. Now I want to crystallise what I have to say, many people are covered by a cloud of fear in their faces when they are confronted with the fact that they must now fight for their rights. Let us now be determined to fight for the trade unions, and to know that we have to get our rights. Whether I am dismissed from my work, whether I am arrested, but the fact is this, the misunderstanding between me and the employer and the misunderstanding about ourselves is the manner in which we are made to work. Even if stand with my services but we must know that it is the truth that he knew that I knew that I am right.

Now my fellow workers let us be determined to fight for our rights even if it means dying for our rights, even if we are arrested. More people go under the fear that I will be dismissed and that I will be out of work. I shall leave that part of my argument just there for a while.

Mr./....17.

Mr. Chairman please forgive me my discussion is rather long. I am now going to talk of the organisers.

Some people do not fully understand how organisers must work. Organisers have lessons they must learn at the school of trade unions, because it has been mentioned that we must go out and organise in the compounds. We must plan before we get there when and how we are going to get into the compounds, whether we are going to come out alive or not.

Now the methods of planning are a secret they are not going to be explained here, because you know very well that we have got numerous enemies. They can also go and use some weapon when they enter the compounds and work for nine months. Friends we have entered a time of great difficulties let us wake up. Please let us get rid of our laziness.

The Garment Workers Union took it upon themselves to send delegates to Capetown, but you know we cannot discuss domestic affairs before these friends, anyway let us leave it for the Garment Workers Union, but those who are present and if they are here please they must let the cat out of the bag. They are actually the people who should have been here to give us a report back.

People must learn to attend all meetings, men and women. We all have some duties to perform at our homes but they must understand that when they say Africa must come back they must also know and be clear on this point that it will not come back while we have our arms folded. They say we are passing resolution after resolution but there is nothing that we achieve, they are the people who throw the monkey wrench in the machinery, let us get up and work.

May Day is approaching we do not understand what this day means we only know that it is a worker's day but if you attend the meetings you shall know why there was a May Day. According to the wages that we draw we only watch that period that will qualify us for higher wages but we do not understand what actually brings about higher wages - a rise. This ignorance is also because we do not attend the meetings. Here now there are passes for women, are we just going to take out the passes without having discussed anything? Some say they are in agreement with what the Government says they will take these passes because it does not matter. I am happy because on my own part I left my children at home having cared for them and I was prepared/.18.

prepared to come to this meeting in order to save their future. Let us prepare ourselves for the future. We must know what conditions we should bring about in order that we should be able to tell at least how our children will live. Thank you". *

CHAIRMAN: "I am going to allow two more speakers".

WOMAN SPEAKER: "Mr. Chairman and fellow comrades I am only going to speak on the resolution of organising our fellow comrades who are in the compounds. Even if we can have organisers who will be able to join and work in the mines to organise these people, there is going to be a very big difficulty because as we all know that most of the people who are in the compounds they are being controlled by the same individuals, that is the chiefs and the headmen. My idea would be this, I would say we should try and organise these chiefs and headmen, because they are the real stumbling blocks for us organisers, because we all know that before they come to work in the compounds it is the chiefs that tell them what to do. And I am sure that if we can organise these chiefs everything will come right. We must try to organise them because if a worker goes back after nine months the chiefs will tell him you did the wrong thing to join a trade union.

And another thing Mr. Chairman and fellow comrades I would suggest to this conference that when we employ organisers we should also change our tactics, try and get a female organiser. I am not saying that just because I am a woman Mr. Chairman. For a woman to organise a man is very easy Mr. Chairman. (Applause) I say it from experience Mr. Chairman. When you go to a factory where there is a stubborn Nationalist employer use a male organiser to enter this factory - I mean sometimes not always. After all Mr. Chairman we are the mothers of the workers and it is quite possible for us to convince our children and our men folk. I am sure Mr. Chairman if we can organise the farms and those comrades in the compounds South Africa will be a free country for us. That is why I think we should try and convince these headmen and the chiefs because we know that they are just there because they are paid a wage, but even then if we explain to them the unions they will understand that they are only there to better the conditions to work for better wages. The people in the compounds they are well organised, you remember in 1946 and 1952 when they were ready they had to go and return back home, those people who are at home they are the people who discouraged them all the time. We must be convinced that the chiefs are for the people. Thank you Mr. Chairman".

CHAIRMAN:/.19.

CHAIRMAN: "Comrades my last speaker now is Mr. Mathlangu".

MATHLANGU: "Comrade Chair and fellow workers, I think there was a discussion on how to reach the farms and the mines at the conference in Capetown. Problem number one is farms, mines, problem number two is permits. I will start with problem number one and then go on to number two.

You see comrades what difficulty we have in the organisation is money. If we can get plans to finance only to organise Johannesburg we shall be able to finance and organise them outside. People who are working here in Johannesburg I can say 98% of them get two pounds a week, 1% may get three pounds and 1% may get four to six pounds. Let us first prepare to sweep up Johannesburg and get everybody who is working in Johannesburg, let us first do that. Our problem is that we are not able to get to the workers in the offices, here there are thousands who are working around Johannesburg they have no unions.

Just near here we have got a beer hall and it is very hard to organise people who are rushing to the beer hall. Now our problems are how to close the beer halls and drive the people together and hold a meeting in their lunch hour. Our local committee we must have a pamphlet or a leaflet which we can now circularise amongst them and tell them that thousands can get five pounds a week, they should see the local committee and see how they can be organised. Now it is that alone because thousands of people get two pounds a week and if they go home they have only got one pound left. You know these people they think nothing about money, they do not think about their children they are stupified by the liquor.

Now problem number two is the permit system. The most uncivilised under the Sun are the Native Urban Areas Act, it is the most uncivilised Act that we have ever had under the Sun. There are no other Act like the Native Urban Areas Act. You know in this dark colony that if you use any measure, never they kill you. This was introduced by (Grey) it was to cover up slavery. In 1913 they said no we are not tightening up the slavery when they introduced the passes. Now once we can break up this permit system people shall move freely. For locations there are permits for everything there are permits. Once we can do away with this permits those people in the compounds and in the locations they will be able to come to

us we will call them to us. The system of permits comrades is the most uncivilised under the Sun. Comrades my last word is let us organise the passes in order to organise all our workers here then we will get out to the reserves and the farms. Thank you".

CHAIRMAN: "All comrades we have closed that part of the discussions we will have a resolution later on. Now I call upon Miss. Matsiwane to speak about the passes".

MATSIWANE: "Afrika! It is now about seven months since the Minister of Native Affairs announced that women should carry passes. Again the Minister promulgated to the effect that the new passes are not going to be like those of the men, they are not going to restrict their movement, he said they will be of great assistance to the womenfolk. We African women who have directly experienced the real meaning of what the pass is as far as its operation concerning our husbands. We have lived under evil perpetrated by passes issued to our men, we have seen much in which misery, oppression was rife among our people as a result of the passes. When our husbands wake up in the morning to go to work they must carry a pass, along the road they meet a policeman who demand for the passes and in the event of him not being able to produce a pass surely that man will be arrested. When we alight from the train at the station, we find our own brothers waiting there - our own brothers - policemen demanding the passes and arresting our menfolk. Even at home in the locations when a man goes out of his home across the street into a man's house and he meets a policeman who will demand for the passes and the pass has been left in his jacket at the house, he is arrested.

When my son goes to the shop to buy bread and unfortunately he comes across a policeman who is demanding for a pass, and if he has left it at home he is going to be arrested there is nothing to do, whether he has got bread or not. When a child goes to the pass office in order to arrange for his safety concerning the pass the police stop him and thereupon arrest him. Even in Market Street where the men queue in order to have their passes put in order the police will go to the queues and they ask for passes in the queue and if they find there is a person whose pass is not in order, even if that man came there with the aim of getting his pass put right, he is arrested there and then. My husband is not even allowed to leave his own place of residence for another place of residence to which he is not allowed, according to the official regulations he must in the first place he must have his pass, and in /...21.

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TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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