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CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

ELIPTONH,

Johannesburg, 25th and  
26th June, 1955.

"b27"

The meeting commenced with the singing of the National Anthem - *Hkoai Sekelele Afrika.*

CHAIRMAN: Br. Conco. "Well, the time has come that we will commence our Conference, and I ask you all to be seated. We have got a very long agenda and will have to start now if we want to get through our agenda before tomorrow.

Our next item will be a short prayer by the Reverend. (There will be no interpretation).

(Prayer by Rev.)

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, you will have a welcome by Mr. Moretsele who is the President of the Transvaal African National Congress".  
TANC.

MORETSELE: "Mr. Chairman, honourable members, delegates to this Congress of the People, we welcome you. Delegates and friends, I welcome you all here to this gathering here this afternoon. This gathering is open to all, people of all classes, people of all races, people of all languages, and with these short words I welcome you all".

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, after the welcome, our agenda here shows that we have the opening address by our President-General, Chief A.J. Luthuli. We are just getting that ready and we will skip that item and go on to the fourth - the explanation of the agenda. The agenda is very long and I ask you all to assist us so that we can finish in good time.

We have got the first session which should take us up to about 4.30. I hope we will get through. The second session starts immediately and ends at 6 o'clock, it starts with the reading of the Charter. The third session starts tomorrow at 9 o'clock, and I would be pleased if we all come here on time - the time is 9 o'clock. The last session - we will have a lunch hour break and that will take us one hour and we will have our last session from 1.20 to 5.15. I want you all appreciate that the time is against us. (Explanation of Agenda in Native).

--- "Friends" ---

"Friends, we have got a lot of messages here before us from people who felt that they should convey messages to this great gathering, the Congress of the People, and I will now ask Dr. Press to read the messages that we have here".

DR. PRESS: "It is interesting to know, by the world-wide nature of these messages, that we have friends all over the world. I have a message here from Mr. Chew N. Lai, and it reads as follows:-

(Reading of messages).

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, our next item is coming before we get the Chief's message read to you, that is getting ready and you will have it shortly after the ceremonials that will be held now. This is a new feature in the liberatory struggle of the people of South Africa. It is Isitwalandwe. There will be here presentations made to individuals who have distinguished themselves in the struggle of the people of South Africa.

These individuals are, our National leader of the African National Congress, Chief A.J. Luthuli; father Huddleston and Dr. Y.M. Daidoo who will get the presentations today. I might as well friends, make an explanation of what Isitwalandwe is. This is an honour which was given in African society to a great man in our society who has distinguished himself either on the national service or in war - in war-time. Isitwalandwe is a man and he used to lead the impi's, the warriors to success in any battle, and therefore every man who was given that honour got the highest distinction in African society.

Friends, the first presentation will be made by Mr. Beyleveld to Chief Luthuli's daughter who is here amongst us!

P. BEYLEVELD:

P. Beyleveld: We of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats, South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, have the great honour to present this honour to Chief Luthuli for his great services that he has rendered to the people of South Africa, for his wonderful and selfless services which he has given, and the amount of esteemed affection in which he is held amongst the Africans, Indians

--- and ---

Coloureds alike. He stands for Democracy and equality.

The African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, confer upon Chief Luthuli the title of Isitwalandwe, the highest honour that the people can award.

Chief Luthuli has sacrificed his position himself for the cause of leading our people on the road of liberation. Chief Luthuli's encouraging leadership is our own liberation. His leadership has opened up a new feature to make our country free and prosperous, not only for us but for the world. On this occasion of the Congress of the People meeting in Johannesburg on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, on behalf of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples' Association Organisation".

Luthuli  
Jnr.

SPEAKER: "On behalf of Chief Luthuli, Mr. Chairman, I take this occasion of being highly honoured to take the presentation to a great man, the great leader of the African people, of the people of South Africa. I am sure when Chief Luthuli asked me to express his wish he did so on behalf of the four movements ..... at the liberatory struggle of the African people. Despite that Chief Luthuli has been handicapped at this time and cannot be present. The spirit of the man lives as that of a great leader of his people which he wants to see liberated in our lifetime. Mr. Chairman, I thank you on behalf of Chief Luthuli, it is Chief Luthuli's wish that after this we sing one verse of Mayibuye Afrika".

(SINGING).

Chama.

SPEAKER: "Friends, I have the pleasure of presenting this great honour of Isitwalandwe which is the highest distinction of the liberatory struggle of the African people, to the Rev. Father Huddleston who is here on my left - on my right in recognition of his many years of honourable and selfless service in the cause of the nation, and as a man of experience and affection in which he is held by both men and women, African, Indian, coloured and white, who seek to build a better life for our country on the basis of equality.

The African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, South African Congress of Democrats, confer upon father Huddleston the title of Isitwalandwe.

Friends, the title of Isitwalandwe which is the highest honour that the people can award, I am now going to present on behalf of the people of all colours to this man because he has given us without fear, his courage and services. He has refused to compromise, whether in the field of education or freedom of speech".

FATHER HUDDLESTON: Mr. Chairman and friends, I find it very difficult to express my gratitude for the honour which I awarded this afternoon. It is a great pleasure to receive the title of Isitwalandwe on an occasion like this. I cannot help feeling sad that of the three people to whom this honour is given, I am the only one who is present to receive it, and I don't know whether it is to be biased on the part of our friends the police, or not, but the fact is I am here.

I would just like to give you one personal message but I will wait for the South African Railways to finish their work first. I have never known the South African Railways to be so efficient as they are this afternoon, and I am quite sure it is a demonstration to this Congress by the Minister of Transport.

The Minister of Justice is very well represented here in the background and I hope they have a happy afternoon to see if they can spot some of their friends in this large gathering. I daresay in this Congress there is a lot of people.

Here in Kliptown this afternoon we have just one answer to the Government in this country. The Government in this country wants to deprive people of their rights, the Government in this country uses unconstitutional methods, methods which are used to deprive majorities of their rights. Here this afternoon we will not be secretive, we will not confer behind closed doors, we do not seek to obtain -----  
----- by which we can achieve our ends, we meet openly, we want to discuss freedom, we met to plan a Charter which will be the basis of action for the coming years. Those are the principles we hold so dear, of justice and of peace in our time, and so I thank you from my heart.

And I wish this Congress of the People every blessing in the years to come. Thank you very much".

Dr. Conco.

CHAIRMAN: Friends, our next presentation of Isitwalandwe is to Dr. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, a man who has given all his time to the liberation of the people of South Africa. Dr. Dadoo cannot be amongst us, and we have the honour of having Dr. Dadoo's mother with us to receive the presentation.

This is a presentation to Dr. Dadoo in recognition of his many years of honourable and selfless service in the cause of human dignity and liberty and as a mark of his human affection in which he is held by countless good men and women, African, Indian, whites and Coloureds, who seek to build a better life in our country for equality.

This presentation is made by the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, South African Congress of Democrats, who confer upon Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo the title of Isitwalandwe. It is the highest honour that the people can award Dr. Dadoo, who will always be honoured by the people, not only as a leader of the Indian community but also as a gallant defender of the rights of all the people in South Africa for a life of freedom and dignity, on the occasion of the convocation of the Congress of the People on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, on behalf of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and the South African Congress of Democrats".

Dr. Dadoo's  
mother.

SPEAKER: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am pleased to come here this afternoon to receive this honour on behalf of Dr. Dadoo. It is well-known that he cannot be here today in person because he has been stopped from attending gatherings and from participating in the activities of Congress and other organisations - Democratic organisations - of our people by those satanic banning orders of Swart.

He has been taking an active part in politics since his student days. I remember too, in school days, O! how he used to come home after having scraps with school children who used to insult non-European children by calling them Koelies, Kaffirs and Hotnots. And in those early days Yusuf's political activities and anxiety gradually took form that freedom does not fall from heaven,

but that the people have to struggle and get it by these ends which all men and women journeyed. Today our few delegates around me who have gathered from the four corners of the Union to draw a Freedom Charter as a mighty weapon for uniting all the democratic forces in the country in the noble struggle to defeat the evil forces of racialism and oppression, and for the betterment of all in South Africa - the Peoples' South Africa - ensuring peace, freedom and human life, better and higher living conditions and unbounded social activities for all the people, both white and non-white. I wish every success to your deliberations. Africa!"

Dr.Conco. CHAIRMAN: "Friends, we are through this occasion of the presentations, which I hope the liberating struggle of the organisations, through the Congress of the People, might see to it that the spirit of service that has been shown by individuals, and also by those who might not be present, might be carried on and we hope this will be a feature which will be carried on in our fight for freedom.

Our next item which we will have is the opening message to this Conference by Chief A.J. Luthuli, President of the African National Congress, who is not amongst us. This message will be read by D. Leteli to you and will be summarised in Zulu and also Sutho. This message from Chief Luthuli".

DR. LETELI: (READING MESSAGE OF CHIEF LUTHULI).

Dr.Conco. CHAIRMAN: "Friends, there are just a few announcements to make. Will the volunteers who are responsible for catering report at the kitchen straightaway. Mr. Kunene of Newclare kindly report with your delegation at the entrance. Mr. Kunene of Newclare please report at the entrance.

Friends, I ask you again to control yourselves and I ask you people to sit down and we will have now the report of the Action Council of the Congress of the People, and due to the time it will not be discussed, it will be read as it is presented. Mr. Patel will present the Report of the Action Council of the Congress of the People, and please sit down it will not be very long".

A.E. PATEL: "Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, it gives me great pleasure to present to this great assembly the report on

behalf of the National Action Council. This great Peoples' Congress is the termination of long months' of freedom campaigning by our peoples' united ideas and harmony. This idea was born at the Queenstown annual conference of the African National Congress in December, 1953. The result was the meeting of the four Congresses, the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, and the South African Congress of Democrats, which launched the campaign for the freedom assembly of the people of South Africa. These four bodies issued a call, "Let us Speak Together of Freedom", read for the first time in Evaton by Chief Luthuli. The voice of the call echoed throughout South Africa and found an answering call amongst the land, in the factories, in the mines, among the housewives, teachers and students. The Congress of the People was launched after the heroic Defiance Campaign at a time when the people had been moved by the oppressive life, every act of the Nationalists, every new repression that comes in with every new Bill, has aroused the people with ever greater anger, and the Congress of the People - a campaign took root which spread fast because it is an expression of the will of the people for a change, for a struggle against this order of things and for freedom.

The National Action Council of the Congress of the People has directed, the campaign was set up by the four Congresses and issued an invitation to all national bodies who eventually became co-sponsors..... a Charter of the People for the people, demands sent in directly by the people themselves. This campaign is the wish of all the people for their own future and freedom, and in these months spreading the campaign, discussing demands, directing the leaders, the people formed into a major force for the freedom fight. Once freedom day had been adopted conferences were called and Provincial Action Councils set up to conduct the campaign in the provinces.

In this campaign we spent £200 to £300, money collected by the people, over a quarter million leaflets have been distributed, organisers sent out to the remotest corners of our land and a Congress meeting, the Congress has been brought close to the people.

The campaign was launched in several stages, popularising the Congress of the People, formulating and sending in freedom demands and finally election of delegates.

Our delegates assembled here are not only from the organisations and groups, they have been elected from the factories, from the streets and blocks, in the locations and townships by small groups of housewives, by farm squatters by miners in compounds, by people gathering in large numbers and small, our delegates assembled here speak with the voice of the people everywhere who have been taking part in the direct Democratic election and have spoken of their demands from their hearts. The authorities have tried from the outset to crush this campaign, leaders were banned, conferences invaded by the police, individuals intimidated and things like that, to people planning freedom, and the campaign for the Freedom Charter gathered strength. We have been planning freedom as fast as ever with a spirit of determination in all of you in the face of intimidation and police terror and no Government intervention has succeeded in calling us, no intimidation or terror will succeed. From here we will go on to even bigger achievements in the campaign for our future and freedom.

In conclusion I wish to thank the delegates who have come from far and near on behalf of the National Action Council and on behalf of the four sponsoring organisations. I only hope and trust that when you return to your places where you come from you must see that it is your duty that the Freedom Charter becomes a reality and a document and a Charter of the People of South Africa. I thank you".

Dr. Conco.

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, we have come to the conclusion of this session, of which I was the Chairman, and I will now call upon Mr. Hurbans who is the Chairman of the Second session which we are going into now".

CHAIRMAN: (HURBANS). "Ladies and Gentlemen, we are far behind our scheduled time and it is not my intention to make a speech. However, I appreciate the recognition given me by the South African Indian Congress, in that they have asked me as one of the nominees of the Congress to preside over this session. There is still doubt that had it not been for the restrictions placed upon certain individuals and because of circumstances beyond their control this recognition could have been accepted and carried out by no other persons than Dr. Dadoo himself, and in the absence or any other reason of Dr. Dadoo, by Dr. P.M. Naicker, Natal. However, their absence is due to the fact of the banning of these individuals.



You have, ladies and gentlemen, the Freedom Charter circulated amongst the people. There is no doubt that ultimately success must come to our Movement. I want to explain one or two things about the Agenda and about what is to be done under my presidency, so that you have the knowledge of the items, and with your co-operation it might be possible that we take a shorter time than it might otherwise take.

The ..... paragraph comprises five items. The first is the reading of the whole Charter in three different languages, then it is the call for the names of those who desire to speak: The third is a discussion of the Preamble of the Charter: The fourth, the first item is given as "The People Shall Govern" and the fifth which is headed "All National Groups shall have Equal Rights".

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have these five things to go over and after that we will adjourn until tomorrow. I would like to call for the names of those who desire to speak under the different headings. Ladies and Gentlemen, the first one comprises eleven paragraphs. (Train - not heard). The fifth (The Land Shall be Shared Amongst Those who Work It): The sixth, "All Shall Be Equal Before the Law": Seven, "All Shall Enjoy Equal Human Rights": Eight, "There shall be work and Security": Nine, "Doors of learning and of culture shall be opened": Ten, "There shall be houses, security and comfort": and the last, "There shall be peace and friendship".

Now friends, in sending in the names please write down your names and indicate the section under which you would like to speak and also indicate from where the speakers come, and it will be quite in order if you merely put them down numerically.

Now, the first item is the reading of the whole Charter by Mr. Bengbu in Zulu. Mr. Bengbu! Will Mr. Bengbu please come forward to read the Charter in Zulu? Is Mr. Bengbu here? Is Mr. here to read it in English? Mr. Peter Beyleveld will read it in English.

Bengbu.

MR. BENGBU READING DRAFT FREEDOM CHARTER IN ZULU.

CHAIRMAN: "Ladies and gentlemen, we have decided that the Charter be read in Sutho and in English and thereafter we

--- adjourn ---

adjourn until tomorrow morning 9 o'clock".

(Announcements made about accommodation - not heard).

(Reading of draft Freedom Charter in English by P. Beyleveld).

SUNDAY - 26th JUNE, 1955.

10 a.m.

Hurbans.

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, please be seated, we will now resume with our next session. Delegates please be seated we will now resume!

We are calling Mr. A.S. Hutchinson, will Mr. Hutchinson please come to the platform? Mr. Matla! Will Dr. Letele please come to the platform immediately. Please be seated so that we can start.

Ladies and gentlemen please be seated. We will now begin with our morning session. First of all I want to point out, the Draft Freedom Charter comprises eleven paragraphs, please write your name on a piece of paper, also state where you come from and also indicate the subject - number your Draft Charter and indicate under what you will speak.

The first item this morning is the reading of the Preamble. There is none who wishes to speak on the Preamble".

P. BEYLEVELD: "Mr. Chairman, and friends, (reading Preamble of Draft Freedom Charter).

Hurbans.

CHAIRMAN: "Pellow delegates, you have heard the Preamble read by Mr. Peter Beyleveld, and he is going to discuss it now".

P. BEYLEVELD: "I am honoured to be called upon to speak on the Preamble of the Freedom Charter of this Congress of the People which is of great significance not only to the People of South Africa but to the people of the whole world - to those people all this Charter is of significance ..... It is well friends that people should know what they want. This Charter has been drafted, not by a few people sitting in an office, but it is written from the demands, the expressions of all the people of all walks of life.

--- Yesterday ---

Yesterday you saw a board here with thousands of letters. These people told us how they wanted this Charter to be drawn up and that is what we say in this Preamble. I was very glad to see yesterday that the world press was so well represented here. What the people demand from the country in which they live and in which they work, the World should know..... and we pledge ourselves to strive together to achieve this.

Friends, we have a government in this country, but let me tell you that I believe the Government will never represent 20% of the people of South Africa, in other words we have a minority Government in South Africa. We have asked for freedom, we have asked for people to be given an opportunity to express their demands through what is written in this Charter.

Now, no Government can withstand the will of the people, they cannot withstand the just demands of the people, if these demands come from the majority of the people. I suggest to you that eventually it must be realised.

Let me say this in conclusion, what we demand here is freedom, the creator of Apartheid is the creator of oppression, freedom will eventually be ours. Thank you Mr. Chairman".

Hurbans.

CHAIRMAN: "Are there any other speakers on the Preamble? Ladies and gentlemen, if there are no other speakers and if we are satisfied that the Preamble should be adopted I will formally ask you to accept the Preamble by raising up your hands. Thank you very much.

The next item on the Agenda is the first subject of the Freedom Charter entitled "The People shall Govern". Mr. N.T. Naicker will lead the discussions on this matter".

N.T. NAICKER: "Afrika! Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, it is my special pleasure this morning to move the first resolution of the Freedom Charter of the Congress of the People "The People Shall Govern". I will read that portion of the Freedom Charter and I hope those of you who have .....

The People Shall Govern:- Every man and woman shall have a right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws: All People shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country: The Right of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour

or sex: All bodies of minority rule, Advisory Boards, Councils and authorities shall be replaced by Democratic organs of self-government.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, this is an historic Conference and as such ..... it is not unreasonable to accept the Charter. Those people who have political rights in South Africa and are now going to have those rights snatched away from them will have to choose between the forces of Democracy and the forces which are heading towards a dictatorship.

We who have met here at Conferences have declared ourselves on the side of Democracy. We do not subscribe to the documents of Apartheid, ours is a course of freedom to bring about a happy way of life. Ours is a struggle against the artificial barriers, no struggle for freedom is complete unless there are for equal political rights for all the people. For we believe, that no people, whatever their race or creed or colour, as long as they live, they cannot take Apartheid in the best interests of the country. You cannot expect them to.

Over the last fifty years people who are voteless looked forward to that right, but we have seen in the last fifteen years the reverse process being the case. There has been a consistent denial of these rights. The first time such liberties of the people have been taken away from them was even before the Act of Union, by 1924 the Municipal Franchise was taken away from them. The African people who were in it were removed from that role and after that we had the passing of the Native Representation Act which is greatly responsible for the tyranny and oppression which was to follow. In 1951 we saw the next attempt, the Nationalist Government did not stop. They came with the Separate Voters' Act, the Nationalist Government have come up now with the Senate Act and that is to take away..... and as such we condemn the Senate Act.

Mr. Chairman and friends, from the resolution you will notice that our demand is very, very clear, it is not on racial lines, it is a demand we want for all the people of South Africa, and as such I call upon you fellow delegates to support the resolution in complete unanimity".

Hurbans

CHAIRMAN: "The Charter will be read to you in Sutho now. I would like Mr. J. Mtini of Cape Western to come to the

platform as he has indicated that he would like to speak under this subject, and will be please come to the platform in the meantime. Will Mr. T. Msule from Newclare please come to the platform. T. Msule, he desired to speak under this section".

John  
Msuli spoke  
in Xosa.

T. MSULI: "Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, we are gathered here today in this Conference to draw up a Freedom Charter. Now in the first place we are going to start to mark the ..... by the Fascist Nationalist Government.

Now, the people shall govern. Now these people - we in South Africa are governed by a minority which are people with different minds, people with a different attitude towards other people, they differ at all from everybody in the world. They think that they are the only people created by God to come and rule the people of South Africa. It is not like that. But it is now time that the people should take over the people who are not allowed to bring out their own views on the Government of South Africa.

Today we have come here to tell the people, that the Nationalist Government will have to step aside. Conference will give the people a chance to go and sit in Parliament, they have tried by all means to stop us to come to this Conference, but this will not bar us to draw up our Freedom Charter, and after it is drawn up we shall see that it is carried out. Each and every one will help, each and every individual who is here will try and see to that, and there will be no oppression, no Apartheid, no discrimination irrespective of colour or creed. With these words Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates I thank you all very much and say Afrika!"

Hurbans

CHAIRMAN: "Are there any other speakers? There are no other speakers and therefore I will put to you the second paragraph of the first subject of the Freedom Charter for approval. Will you please signify your acceptance by raising your hands. The next item on the Agenda is, "All National groups shall have equal rights". Dr. Letele".

DR. LETELE: "Sons and daughters of Africa, I am going to speak on the topic which I think is the most important, because the basis of our struggle is to secure equal rights for all national groups. Before coming to it I will just read the Draft Charter referring to this section:

There shall be equal status in the bodies of State, in the Courts and in the schools for all national groups and races; all people shall have equal rights to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs; all national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride; the preaching and practice of national, race and colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; all Apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

I do feel that most of the things that we say to you from this platform, you will have by now already formed an opinion on this. So my duty this morning is to give you a lead on some of the points dealing with the Apartheid Legislation. I wish to tell you that Apartheid is not really a new thing that has come with the present Nationalist Government. We have had Apartheid from all the Governments in this country. The only thing is that it is turning up in a different way. Apartheid, baasskap, white supremacy, those names all aim at the same thing. The thing I am referring to is to keep the one race from having the right to develop. Apartheid is supposed to aim at separate development, but I wish to point out that South Africa is a country, a multi-racial country.

The only way to get happiness in this country is to do away with racial discrimination by having moral respect and fellowship in this country. One racial group has been given an inferior kind of education that brings problems which you will never get over. It stops us to rise to the highest possible levels. These rights must be protected. Different racial groups can however exist peacefully together on a basis of racial respect.

By dealing with the question of equal status in bodies of state, in the schools, I can only say we accept it exactly as it stands. We claim the right to rise to any level. We do not say that everybody must do the same kind of job, but we want the right to rise to any level that the human being is capable to.

Anyway ladies and gentlemen, I will not keep you here for a long time, because this subject can take all day. All national groups shall have equal rights. Afrika!"

Hurban.

CHAIRMAN: "The following speakers will speak on this section, will they please come to the platform. Martinia of Cape

Western, Leslie of Bloemfontein, Madula of Benoni. I have a request here that Mr. Archie Kunene from Natal Midlands please report at the .....

A.B.  
Mathuya

MARTINIA: (CAPE WESTERN): (Speaking in Native).

Hurbans

CHAIRMAN: "Mr. Leslie of Bloemfontein will speak to you in Sutho".

LESLIE: (Bloemfontein)(Speaking in Native): (In pencil: Monannayane)

Hurbans

CHAIRMAN: "Mr. Isaac Madula!"

ISAAC MADULA: (Natala - in pencil). (Mayibuye! Afrika! Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the preaching and practice of Nationalist race and colour discrimination are punishable crimes. Mr. Chairman, for the last 300 years we have been governed by a Government which is prepared only to oppress the people of South Africa. Race discrimination, it will be punishable by - it will be a punishable crime. Now we know that the only crime that an African can commit here in South Africa is to take the life of the man, or when you rob somebody. (Train - not heard).... clique of the nation be prepared just only because of my colour, only because of my race, because of all those things I must suffer as I am suffering still today. Why, why should I not be allowed because of my education, to vote freely in South Africa, why should I not be given a chance to represent my people in South Africa? Why, why should a clique of people be created by God, why should they take it upon themselves saying that "We are discriminating because it is God that wants these things"?

Mr. Chairman, I would like to touch Bantu education because here in our Freedom Charter we are demanding free education, why should a clique of men take it upon themselves to draw up education for us! Why today we have got Bantu Education which is poisoning us, which is put there to poison the minds of the African children. I would like to know why is in the right hand and who is in the left hand. Mr. Chairman we do not want Bantu education. I would like that this mass gathering should go back to their organisations and intensify the boycott against this Bantu Education.

Hurbans

CHAIRMAN: "Ladies and gentlemen, there are not other speakers under this section, the section "All National Groups

shall have equal rights". I would like you therefore to approve this Charter by raising up your hands. Will you please signify by raising up your hands. Thank you.

At this stage ladies and gentlemen, I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. George Feake of the Coloured Peoples' Organisation. While he is coming up we will have a song "Tina Sizwe" led by Miss Ida Mntwana".

(SINGING "TINA SIZWE" LED BY IDA MNTWANA).

CHAIRMAN: (George Feake). "Afrika! Mayibuye! Comrades, I greet all freedom forces on behalf of the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation. Delegates from the Cape, I much regret, some of our delegates are in gaol at Beaufort West. I am justly proud of the honour placed upon me, it is a momentous occasion. We now move forward to the new age, new age of intensified struggle and determination to win, a South Africa free of hatred. They brought vicious measures against us, we will only win when we cast aside oppression. We are going forward to a day of liberation comrades. Comrades we stand fully on the demand for freedom, ~~the~~ let us not be intimidated, there is only one road to freedom, forward to freedom, forward to the mutual idea.

I now have great pleasure to call upon Mr. Turok to move, "The people shall share in the country's wealth".

B. TUROK: "Mr. Chairman and friends, it is right that the Congress of the People is being held here in Johannesburg, it is right because Johannesburg has seen the beginning of a rotten South Africa. Friends, you know that here in Johannesburg the greatest contrast exists, a contrast between the rich and a contrast between the poor. We know that in Johannesburg exploitation of the workers has always gone hand in hand with their oppression. We know that oppression is something that is familiar to all the African people, we also know that exploitation is something that is known throughout the world.

Friends, when you enter Johannesburg you are met by those ugly things, the Gold Mines; they are not only ugly to the eye but they are ugly to the mind. They are ugly for many reasons, but the most important reason is that here in Johannesburg you find the most oppressed worker in South Africa. In these Gold Mines you will find cheap



labour, let me tell you just how cheap this labour is.

Do you know that in the last sixty years £2,000,000,000 of profits have come out of those Gold Mines, £2 billion, and do you know sixty years ago the wages of an African was £3.3.- a month. Friends do you know that in 1946, sixty years later, the wages of the worker in the gold mines was still £3 a month, where has the £2 billion gone to? I do not see it, the workers in the Gold Mines do not see it, the only people that see it is the people living in Lower Houghton and all the rich suburbs of Johannesburg.

Friends with the beginning of the gold mines in our country came the beginning of the worst oppression in the country, with the gold mines came migratory labour systems. When the workers left the gold mines they left their work sick. That is the price that South Africa has paid for its gold mines. They got the people to go from the reserves to the gold mines, you know better than me why young Africans leave the reserves to come to the gold mines, you know better than me that they still have to find that £1 a year to pay for hut tax and poll tax.

Friends, the system of the gold Mines is a curse not a benefit for South Africa. Friends with the Gold Mines has also come the colour oppression of South Africa, because how else can you get cheap labour if not by a colour bar, how can you keep this cheap labour if not by oppressing people and by calling them Kaffirs, and other things. All the Governments of this country, all the gold miners have used the colour bar to make you do the cheap labour. Friends we say that the gold mines means the robbery of the people of this country, it is nothing else but the thieving of the labour of the people, and we say this must come to an end. This low wages of the gold mines is a curse.

Friends we are often told that the African is lazy, we are often told that the African people do not work hard, I say to Mr. Strijdom, if you think the African mine worker is not working hard when <sup>they</sup> you go down, then you go down yourself. Let us see Mr. Strijdom, let us see the Ministers of the Cabinet, let us see the police at the back, let us see them sweating down in the gold mines. And I must say I will not be very sorry if they contract a few diseases down there.

Mr. Chairman and friends, it is not only the gold

also  
mines that are a curse to South Africa, it is the monopoly industry, it is also the big factories that exist throughout the country, it is also the factories that you find outside Johannesburg, inside Johannesburg, in Cape Town, in Port Elizabeth and in every big town. Wherever you find big factories you find many workers, and where you find many workers you find low wages, and where you find low wages you find a fat boss, a rich boss, a boss who oppresses you.

Friends you know that the owners of the big factories take an active part in South Africa. They will not have these lovely big Buicks that they drive around in. The whole system of the big factories and the gold mines in this country are the enemies of the people. Let us only look at the time when the workers are demanding higher wages. We see when they go on strike and the police are called in, how the pickets are pushed around from pillar to post. Friends let us see an end to the big factories and an end to the big great mines which give profits to the rich only.

Mr. Chairman we have just dealt with two aspects of South Africa's economy and people everywhere are asking how we can right this. This is a great wrong and it is obvious to everyone, every man sitting in front of me here knows very well how wrong it is, and our Freedom Charter says this. It says the ownership of the mines will be transferred to the ownership of the people, it says wherever there is a gold mine there will no longer be a compound boss, there will be a committee of the workers to run the gold mines. Friends we also say that wherever there is a factory and where there are workers who are exploited, we say that the workers will take over and run the factories, in other words, the ownership of the factories will come into the hands of the people.

Friends there is one other thing that worries me a little bit. When you walk down one of the streets in Johannesburg you see a very impressive looking building, and outside there you see various banks, and when you go inside you will find plenty of money. That money friends does not come back to you. It goes to our friends living in Lower Houghton. Let the banks come back to the people, let us have a Peoples' Committee to run the banks. We believe that those businessmen should be allowed to build bigger factories, and that is what we say to those people who are

working for the betterment of the people of South Africa. We say to all of you stand behind the Charter which we are going to adopt today. We say let us move forward to freedom. Long live unity! Long lives the Congress of the People! Long live the people of South Africa."

Peake

CHAIRMAN: Friends at this stage three speakers have indicated their intention to speak. We are calling Mr. Billy Meer. Mr. Mulundi!"

MULUNDI: (Speaking in Native). (In pencil: Nalindi).

CHAIRMAN: "Will Mr. Billy Meer please come to the platform".

Billy Meer

BILLY MEER: "Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye! Comrade Chair and Comrades, I fully support this demand of the peoples' Charter on behalf of the trade unions of Natal of which I am President. Now comrades the biggest difficulty we are facing in South Africa is that one of capitalism in all its oppressive measures versus the ordinary people - the ordinary workers in the country. We find in this country, as the mover of the revolution pointed out, the means of production. The factories, the lands, the industries and everything possible is owned by a small group of people who are the capitalists in this country. They skin the people, they live on the fat of the workers and make them work, and as a matter of fact in exploitation they oppress in order to keep them as slaves in the land of their birth.

Now friends this is a very important demand in the Freedom Charter, now we would like to see a South Africa where the industries, the lands, the big businesses and the mines, and everything that is owned by a small group of people in this country, must be owned by all the people in this country.

F1,F6,E4.

That is what we demand, that is what we fight for and until we have achieved that we must not rest. I appeal to you all to fight and struggle towards this until we have achieved it. Now comrades I have been asked to be short and brief, I will conclude now by saying Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye!"

PETER SELEPE: "My fellow comrades I am here to speak to the delegates of this conference, particularly my people the African people who are subjected to oppressive laws in this country. The African people are the only nation which the Government in this country fear. In this case friends,

I want to tell you that the freedom of the black man lies within his reach, but we have to struggle to drive the enemy away from us. I will speak from this platform, friends, without fear. I know the police are here but that is not important to me. I will definitely take my seat wherever the struggle of the African People is raised in this country. I will definitely do my duty to see that the enemy is moved.

The Africans are here to come and carry the messages that are here on this table. Dr. Malan. At least Mr. Strijdom is the last South African government as far as we are concerned. I do not see my African leader here, I do not see Dr. Dadoo, I do not see J.B. Marks, what must be true if the question for us to see that the Africans definitely achieve their freedom in time. If the white man is not prepared to co-operate with the Africans let them go back. I must tell you friends without fear that a white man came to this country to rob us, to rub us. I have received a letter from my father who is about 670 miles away from here. This man is having a difficult time, they have no way to plough, the Government say they cannot have more than six cattle. How are they going to live? I would like you to ask yourself. However, I understand time is very short here and I cannot say much.

Now, friends I must say that under the African National Congress we must see that the Nationalist Party is moved from their chair. When they call my father a boy, they do that because we have no political franchise. I want to see an African in that Parliament representing our people, I do not want to see my child a slave otherwise I am not a father. I hope your friends will understand from here that the education of our children should be an education of the people and not Bantu Education."

MARTHA MKWANE: (Bloemfontein). (Speaking in Native).

(In pencil: Motswane - see Sharp).

Peake.

CHAIRMAN: "We still have two speakers under this section and we are short of time. These people should be as brief as possible. Will Isaac Mashana of Randfontein please come to the platform. Please be short".

ISAAC MASHANA: (Randfontein)(Speaking in Native).(In pencil: Mosola; Mashabane).

Peake.

CHAIRMAN: "Friends, I am very sorry there are still two speakers under this section. I will appeal to those speakers

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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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