

to form congress of the people committees.

The volunteer force will issue instructions from time to time as to the best way of getting into these places to organise the people. But one thing all volunteers must realise, that their task is not going to be an easy one. There will be many obstructions, they will meet many difficulties and most important of all we must tell them again - constant provocation from all forces. They will come up against provocation with their own people who are openly in the hands - in the camp of the enemies, like those police who are sitting here this afternoon. And they will come across provocation by people - by dirty things who will go out to create suspicion and destruction. They must be a disciplined core of men, our volunteers must never allow themselves to be provoked, and the volunteers must ensure by constant explanation that the people too are not unnecessarily provoked.

In all great movements such as ours, and here we must learn a lesson from the National Liberation Movements in other countries, in all these movements the enemies will resort to all sorts of methods ranging from fights to open brutality in an attempt to crush our movement. Volunteers must be ever vigilant and guard against these acts. Every time volunteers allow themselves to be provoked we must remember it is a victory for the enemy. Foremost in our minds must be the goal for which we are striving and we must all behave in a manner that we do not in any harm the progress of our movement, bear in mind that the enemies in its fears, in its desperations are trigger happy. Previous(y) orders have been renewed by Blackie Swarts to his police that they must shoot first and think afterwards. We do not want to waste a single drop of freedom blood unnecessarily.

Chief Luthuli's call is not confined to any particular section of the people. No matter what your occupation, no matter what the colour of your skin, in the volunteer force there is a place for you. The only three conditions are that every volunteer must have a love for South Africa, for his people, and for the future. If you are a teacher, you have a very important task to perform amongst the people. You must carry the congress call to the schools - to the citizens of tomorrow. As a freedom volunteer you must teach your pupils the true history of South Africa, the history of great men of Africa like Dingaan, and their great sacrifices against aggression. You must teach the children to remember and to love these people and to learn from them. The teachers must instill into the young minds, not the poison, but the patriotism and love for South Africa. They must instill into the young minds the spirit of revolt against Bantu Education, and all, everything that carries with it the stamp of inferiority. They must help to build up a strong and upright people, people ready to fight, just like the leaders, the teachers have the same task to perform. .... /21

You must carry the call of the congress to every congregation throughout the length and breadth of Africa.

The preachers who do not help us to defeat apartheid they must remember that the very churches stand in the danger of being uprooted under the Group Areas Act and other acts of the Malan Government. Sportsmen must carry the message to the sportsfields, the doctors must carry the message to the patients, the workers must carry the message to the factories. Wherever you are and whatever you do, remember that there are millions of oppressed people who are waiting to see the light. Of course the volunteer force must be very careful in the manner in which they allocate tasks to the volunteers. Uppermost in the mind of the volunteers must be the safety of the volunteers and as far as possible they will see to it that no tasks are allocated to them that might cause unnecessary hardships. Each volunteer will have to fulfill certain requirements and is subject to a code of discipline."

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman I believe our able representatives are back and I would like to ask Mr. Kathrada to stop for a minute, Mr. Beyleveld will now take the chair". (Applause).

P. BEYLEVELD : "Before I take the chair I wish to make an announcement. This conference authorised myself and Mr. Wolpe this morning to make an application to the Supreme Court to ask that the Police who are present at this conference be ordered to leave. (Applause.)

We just came back from the Supreme Court and our request has been granted. (Loud applause and shouting.) I want you to be quiet for a minute and whilst you are quiet I am going to ask all member of the South African Police Force, European and Non-European and members of the C.I.D. kindly to leave this hall". (Shouts of voertsek ! )

SPEAKER : "My dear friends, this is a conference, we have our chairman here Mr. Beyleveld, and he needs no assistance from any of you delegates here, and you must sit down, your leaders are here to see the detectives out, and if everyone tries to assist the chairman without his consent, I will be pleased if he goes out with the police. We want complete discipline here and we are going to have it.

Mr. Unterhalter here has brought a message from Major Spengler".

MR. UNTERHALTER : "Major Spengler is outside, he asked me to convey this message to the detectives - any of them who may be in the audience at this moment. He states that he is under interdict from an order of the Supreme Court not to enter this room, and therefore he cannot enter the room himself. Would the detectives who are in the audience - if there are any, leave this room now on the instructions of Major Spengler which I am now conveying to those detectives on his behalf.

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MEETING CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE (TVL), TRADES HALL 30 KERK STREET,  
JOHANNESBURG, ON SATURDAY 21st MAY 1955.

**CHAIRMAN :** O. MOTSARI. ) Ladies and gentlemen this conference was supposed to have started at 2, and I think we shall make this conference business like so that each of you when you go home will have something to report of this conference. Now we will officially open this conference by standing up and singing our national anthem.

(Singing of Nkosi Sikelela Afrika).

Ladies and gentlemen I take you all to be the soldiers of liberation and soldiers does not waste much time because their existence is to fight. Now I have to announce to you that we have a responsible man who should be a statesman in South Africa who is going to open this conference for us, and he is sitting on my right, I think I need not introduce him to you. Before I go on I think I will ask the following people to come and sit at the table, Mr. Lawrence Nkosi, Andrew (Makgoti), John Nkadineng. Now gentlemen I don't want to waste more time."

**SPEAKER :** ( J. MATLOU ) Mr. Chairman last year we held a conference in this hall, and let me say that most of these halls that are rented here were filled on that occasion, and you will remember that day as the day when we were successfully removed from this hall at the instance of the South African Secret Police. Shortly after that conference the National Action Council appointed by the four sponsoring organisations and responsible for organising this campaign had to take a decision as to where this conference - this Congress - this great asseble from the people and from the enthusiasm at the conference itself, we had no difficulty in deciding that the conference should be in the Transvaal because the people in the Transvaal demonstrated on that day that they are indeed the vanguard in the struggle for the liberation of the people. The decision was therefore accordingly taken that this big conference was to be held in the Transvaal.

Since they - since we have taken that decision we have become a little bit worried because the campaign itself has lagged behind in the Transvaal. The other provinces, Natal and the Cape were going ahead of the Transvaal and of course we were becoming a little bit worried about this situation that the people of the Transvaal were in the vanguard of the struggle.

I am however very glad to see that after looking that at this conference I can go back to the Action Council and tell them that our decision was right and that they need have no fear and that the Transvaal is still the vanguard in the struggle.

Mr. Chairman just as you enter Kliptown, if you take the road from here to Kliptown just before you enter Kliptown there is a piece of Sacant ground on the right hand side, I predict here today that that piece of ground will go down in the history of South Africa, because

because that is the piece of ground on which on the 25th and 26th of June, we are going to hold the great congress of the people. On that day we hope to demonstrate Mr. Chairman, not only to ourselves and to South Africa, but to the whole world, that the people of South Africa reject the policy of oppression, baaskap and the policy of oppression. Not only are we going to reject in no uncertain manner this policy of oppression, but we are going to get the people of South Africa together to demonstrate to the whole world how they want to be governed. In other words we say it is not enough to reject the present laws, we must also show the alternative to those laws.

Mr. Chairman it is my opinion that the Congress movement in South Africa has for a long time needed a statement of policy, a statement of policy in which we say clearly - say clearly that it cannot be misunderstood by anybody the way in which the people of South Africa want this country of ours to be run. Between now and the 26th of June, it is my task and yours to mobilise the people to come there and to help us, to write into that freedom charter the aspirations of the people of South Africa. And Mr. Chairman do not let us make the mistake of thinking that the conference is in itself a means to an end. It will not be enough for us to write down on paper the way we want to be governed, we will have to mobilise the people of South Africa, every man, woman and child behind that demand for freedom and democracy which we hope to write into that freedom charter.

We hold the conference and the Government will say, ah that is just a few people who listen to agitators who is drawing up this charter. It will be up to us to mobilise the people in such a manner to demonstrate to everybody who wants to listen - and we will force everybody who wants to listen and we will force everybody to listen - we will organise in such a way that they will have ample opportunity of counting us, we will give them and opportunity to count the people of South Africa who will give their support to their charter that has been drawn up by the people throughout this country today.

Mr. Chairman on behalf of the four sponsoring organisations I call upon you today to go away and to spend the next month before the actual big assembly take place, to mobilise as many people as possible to come there with their demands and to show their solidarity behind their movements in its struggle for freedom. Let us go forward to the Congress of the People. AFRIKA!"

AUDIENCE : Mayibuye.

SPEAKER : Afrika".

AUDIENCE : Mayibuye.

CHAIRMAN : "Ladies and Gentlemen, I think you have listened very carefully what the gentleman, whom I think happened to be a man of honour, have explained to you what you are . . . 2/-

required to do, and he has also pointed out how important it is for you to go out and see that the campaign must be a success. And also he has pointed out ~~How-important-it-is-for-you-to-go-out-as~~ to you that the conference is not the end, but that actually after the conference it will be the beginning afresh, because you will have clearly understood what you want. So it is up to you to see that the campaign go forward.

As we are assembled in this hall today, the gallant sons and daughters, you have to go out. Now I have my next speaker Mr. Lawrence Nkosi who will address you on the Western Areas".

LAWRENCE NKOSI : " Comrade Chairman, comrades, ladies and gentlemen, as the Chairman has said I am going to speak on the Western Areas. Comrades when you speak of the Western Areas you must find out what is the Western Areas, what crime is committed, what the importance is of the Western Areas. What people are living in the Western Areas or what are the people doing that live in the Western Areas.

The Western Areas is a township of African people, of course we are not allowed to say it is the Parktown of the Africans. It is composed of people who work in the mines, in the factories, who are doing the washing, who are doing all the odd jobs. These people in this town, I need not say, but they came there because it was the land of their forefathers.

Now in the Western Areas you find churches of all denominations. You find that there are also the Dutch Reformed Church, but they do not want to consider this church because they know that Dr. Malan and Verwoerd belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, the church of no sin in the world. In the Western Areas there are doctors, I do not want to say there are six, maybe there are six, I do not want to say there are six hundred maybe there are six, I cannot tell you how many doctors support this battle, If I say there are six doctors then this Government say I blackmail the good name of South Africa.

Now comrades a member of Parliament in Eastdene, he lived in Westdene, one night he was sleeping in the night, you know dark in the night, there was no lights and he had a dream. While sleeping in the night he saw black as a black cloud in the Western Areas. How he had an officer he had a dream in the black night, the only thing that was light was Westdene, - everything was black in the Western Areas. Now Dr. Verwoerd said look here I am going to tell you a dream, maybe I will dream tonight, if I dream tonight I will tell you tomorrow morning.

Now the following night - the following morning Dr. Verwoerd said he had a dream in the night but this time not a black cloud but black spots - the Western Areas ... So Dr. Verwoerd as the Minister of Native Affairs, went to Parliament and told parlia-

Parliament what he dreamt. He said look here my friends I can now see many black spots in the Western Areas. Then he told Parliament look I have got enough Police, I have got enough troops, I have got sten guns, I have got machine guns, give me the power to remove them from the Western Areas, all I want from you, all you members of Parliament say, Dr. Verwoerd go ahead - "ou moet gaan voort".

Now friends in February this year 1955, it was on the 8th, unexpectedly during the early hours when the Nazis invaded Tobruk, most of you know you have read it in the paper. Armed police and troops went to Sophiatown and when they got there they knocked on the doors and when a voice was heard from within they said : Vula otherwise we will blow you to pieces right now, now now! like what has happened in Tobruk during the invasion of the Nazis. In this house where the police stepped in a woman was just busy giving birth. In these houses were women pregnant, expecting at any time, at any moment and they were chased out at the point of a machine gun.

Comrades-I am just telling you of what has happened in our own country, our motherland. Must we be quiet and must we just look at such things, or must we say let us do something about it, or must we just follow the Government propaganda and not see what is happening in communist China, but who is a witness, who has seen that it is the communists in China or the workers in China or is it the workers in South Africa.

Now during the removal the Government, Dr. Verwoerd instructed the police that if they - if any agitators should come to you shoot right through their hearts and when he is dead or she is dead, Swart will tell the dead body, look you agitator I killed you because you threatened the way of my life. Now when they saw what was happening - those that has been removed from Sophiatown to a wonderful paradise, when they got there they found the following : They found that the Government ~~must-say-to-them~~ was doing the same as on the mines, the Ntuthu that side, the Zulus that side, so that the spies of the Government must say to them, look here you must fight Zulus like hell there must be bloodshed, at no time must you come together and fight me and criticise the policy of the Government in this country.

It was only last year when the Government forced the City Council to increase the rents, but the people fought the rents, but the Government brought a plan now to influence the people of the Western Areas to go to Meadowlands and pay a high economical rent. The Government told the people of Meadowlands that when they get there, there will be trains for them, but I ask anybody to come and watch the train to Meadowlands after five o'clock and see how full it is. The Government should tell the people that when you get to Meadowlands you will find a university for your children.

Now another point is what benefit does the ....5/-

the European residents, the ordinary Europeans, the ordinary workers, benefit from removing the people of the Western Areas, these are the poorest section of the Europeans, are they going to get a big university where their children will be taught? Is the poorest section of the Europeans going to get good jobs in big factories in the Western Areas whereby they will get wealthy, is that what the Government is going to do?

The very fact that if you look at the police force today, you will find it is composed of youths, of criminals, 21 - 25. That just shows that the Government its electorates---that-is-the- under no means is prepared to attend to the interests of its electorates-. that is the poorest section of the whites - not at all. But the Government is prepared to use the poorest whites to enslave the African people while he on the other hand is ten times more enslaved, because his future is so dark so dark that when the forces of South Africa will take up their place, he will be with them because he is a worker, he has got a hope, he is with the working people irrespective of colour.

Now we are assembled to build, to bring back the country to happiness irrespective of colour or creed. I just want to say Mr. Chairman before I close, there will come a time when every human being is asked the question, what are you doing for the benefit of the country. When Hitler took power he told the whole world, he said look, give me the right in law, I want to get rid of communists, the greatest enemy of mankind. Unfortunately some people were so misled that they told Hitler are you draft. This happened again for the second time in 1948 when they had to vote for a leader in Parliament, they told Dr. Malan, are you draft. Now, we want a Parliament of the people, by the people whereby the people of South Africa are going to elect a leader of their own".

AUDIENCE : Mayibuye.

CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen I need not comment on what has been said and I think I shall call upon my next speaker who will address you on Bantu education in relation to the Congress of the People, I hope you will listen very attentively./

SPEAKER : (D. MOTSABI.) "Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa Mr. Chairman, in addressing this gathering on Bantu education I want to start off by saying that the power of the Nationalist Government in this country cannot be over emphasised. In many aspects of their administration the Nationalists have attempted to do one and several things to band the African people.

For many years now the non-European people of South Africa have been faced with tremendous difficulties out of which they were required to do only one thing, namely, to build ...6/-

to build up a strong courage and goodwill to be existing up to this day.

Mr. Chairman in Bantu Education the Nationalist Government is making the last bid and if they succeed in Bantu Education they shall have succeeded in one thing in which no Nationalist or Nazi or Fascist Government has ever succeeded in. In framing up Bantu Education Dr. Verwoerd the psychiatrist is trying to perform an operation on the minds of the nation, the object is to carry out this operation in such a way that it must change completely the outlook, the way of life, the ideas and the freedom of the human being. There is no power in this world, there is no Government anywhere where such a thing has ever happened in the past. In all the skills of oppression which other nations have employed we have not known of that skill where in fact the mind of the human being has got to be changed from nature, it must be changed and be made to accept slavery.

I want to say that Dr. Verwoerd and his group of Nationalists have set the highest aim, the highest effort, they have fixed their aim so high that they are bound to come down like a ton of bricks and crush right where they are. One danger is this, that if they succeeded, if they succeed in this which no nation has ever carried out, or attempted for that matter, if they succeed then you can rest assured that they will lead the world, because all they will have to do is to go to the English people, change their minds from so that they did not want freedom, go to the Indian people, change their minds, then they do not want freedom, in fact they will overthrow the whole world if they succeed.

As I said the importance of this scheme cannot be over emphasised, but Dr. Verwoerd made it very clear in parliament in outlining the object of this education. Dr. Verwoerd, like a student who knows his work, he said this education is intended to place the Bantu in his place. He made a point of it that the African people today has raised their standard and in raising their standard, education has played a very important part, now the next thing to do is to bring down this education so that this education must be at par with the education economical and social position. In other words the education which we received was higher than our economical and social position, therefore, instead of raising the social and economical position the best thing is to reduce education so that it must come into the part in which our economics move.

But what was the reply of the African National Congress in Natal. The African National Congress together with its allies gathered their forces, they stamped their feet on the ground and said, here in this issue Dr. Verwoerd must learn for the first time that we are going to take our stand and that we are going to oppose this. We have decided to protect our children, to protect our beloved children, from going to be poisoned. The whole country .....?/-



The whole country reared when Bantu Education was brought to the African people. People in every walk of life, churches, organisations opposition members - some of them, all blatant people were shocked at this sort of thing. Here was a blatant outrage, a blatant outrage upon African people. As the people took their stand what happened, what stand did the Christian church in South Africa take, what stand did the ordinary christian white people in South Africa take. The Churches were lost in the face of Dr. Verwoerd, those holy buildings in which man preach their relation with God every day, collapsed in the face of Dr. Verwoerd - the Nationalist Government.

When the African National Congress made their stand very clear, when the African people said, our children will be protected from this poisonous education some of the churches said, well this is very bad and this bad education and the system is very bad, but like some of the voters in South Africa, after all it is the law and we must obey it. Incidentally these are the churches who claim Jesus Christ as their leader, those are the churches who follow a man whom when what he believed in was in danger, then decided that He will hang on the cross for it. Some of them invited the children and said, you must come to school, what can you do, it is the law of the day. Well, I will leave it to you to determine whether these churches are truly christian churches and whether in fact they are serving the God which they are supposed to do.

Speaking to you this afternoon, I want you to rebuild yourselves, I call upon you in the name of the African National Congress to go and re-emphasise the school boycott in every area, it is your sacred duty to go back to your homes and to organise as you have never done before, to make it very difficult for this Nationalist Government to carry out this evil scheme, this fascist scheme of destroying our children, It is necessary for all those branches which have not started the boycott to start - who make a start, it is necessary for all those branches who have been lagging behind to mobilise their forces to prevent their children from going to be poisoned in their own hands.

Thank you Mr. Chairman I believe all the African people who are here and those who are going to get the message, will carry out this boycott to its very bitterest end."

CHAIRMAN : "Comrades and friends, you have listened very carefully to our friend. Now, as you are fighting for liberation you must not forget also to fight for peace. Now I have an announcement to make, on Sunday the 29th of May at 2pm. at this hall there will be a meeting of all women in South Africa irrespective of colour. See that you also take this message to each and every woman that you come across.

Now in my programme I have the People's Choir, you will open your ears and you will listen to the things they will sing to you"

**CHOIR MASTER :** "ladies and gentlemen, Mr Chairman, the People's Choir is going to lead us onto the road of Congress of the People. They are going to sing to you, to this great great assembly that will be taking place in our midst verry verry soon. They are going to sing to you the Call to the Congress of the People.

We call the people of South Africa, black and white;  
White and black, we call the people of South Africa;  
Lets speak together of freedom,

We call the people of South Africa, black and white, white and black, we call the people of South Africa, we will speak together of freedom.

We call the miners of coal, gold and diamonds, Let us come together.

We call the workers of farms and of trust lands, let us speak of freedom.

We call the workers of factories and shops, let us come together.

We call the teachers, students and some preachers, let us speak of freedom.

We call the housewives and the mothers, let us come together.

We call the farmers of reserves and of trust lands, let us come together.

We call the farmers of reserves and of trust lands, let us come together.

Let us speak of our wide land, and of the land on which we toil.

Let us speak of houses and of land, and of children without any food.

Let us speak of taxes and of passes, let us speak together of freedom.

Let us speak of our wide land, and of the land on which we toil.

Let us speak of passes and of taxes, and of children without any food.

Let us speak together of freedom.

(singing of another song.)

**MRS. MISOABI ( NTSALI ) :** "Afrika".

**AUDIENCE :** Mayibuye.

**MRS. MISOABI ( NTSALI ) :** "Afrika"

**AUDIENCE :** Mayibuye!

**MRS. MISOABI ( NTSALI ) :** "Mayibuye."

**AUDIENCE :** Afrika!

**MRS. MISOABI ( NTSALI ) :-** "Mothers and Fathers, Ladies and gentlemen of Afrika, I wonder what you think when you see this Afrika that is now standing in front of you, how do you want your children to be? I am very sure there is nobody who wants to see their children being educated under Bantu Education. That is why we must rally our forces so that this fascist and evil education must come to an end.

But I am not going to talk very much I am just going to make an appeal to you women, ...9/-

women, I am going to make this special appeal to white European women and the non-white women, these women can prevent our children from dying. I want to remind you that in 1948 when the Nationalists were busy electing, one of the biggest tasks were done by the Nationalists women, the Nationalist's women took part in that election to help their husbands to get into Parliament. Now is the time for all of us women who are here, especially you African women, please know that the time has long passed when we are just expected to be in the kitchen cooking. Please do remember that the Government of the day is the Government of the Nationalist Afrikaners and the very members of the people in this Government are Afrikaner farmers, just a very few of their leaders live in town. If we are not prepared to stop this threat of the Government, we shall be compelled to go down to the farms. Please you know that our leaders have been taken away from us, our leaders are being eviled, others have been banned from speaking at all, Now if you women are not prepared to stand up and fight for your children, who is going to fight for them. I told you please do remember that there are very many farms outside. There is not time to waste any more, what we need is action. You people must go out and organize the people against Bantu Education, you must collect money, if there is no money then you can never hope to achieve anything. Please you women come now and give your money so that we can show other women what we are doing.

I want to remind you in 1907, the day when the constitution of South Africa was being drawn up, we Africans were debarred from taking part. Now in this year 1955, when we people draft a constitution you people must be there. Now in order to do all these things we must have money, in order that delegates can come to the Congress of the People we must have money, if you do not give us money where are we going to get money from. I know you women you can make money if you like, bring that money we want money now, I sent two shillings from everyone. At the moment I want to call upon everybody please to donate two shillings at once, while you do so please listen to what I am singing.

(Singing while collection is being held.)

CHAIRMAN : " Friends I hope you have all shed your pockets because money is very important to our cause. Now I think it is time for me to call upon a speaker who will address you on the Congress of the People. I will therefore call upon Mr. John Nkadimeng."

JOHN NKADIMENG : Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa, it is clear that the wheel of freedom has started rolling, it is clear that you have come all from your various places to attend this conference in order to make the Congress of the People a very great success. I am not going to speak of the things that the speaker has told you already about. I think you have listened very carefully and the speakers analysed the sadness and the viciousness of the Bantu education "et.

I think you .....10/-

I think you have listened also very carefully when the speakers analysed the sadness and the viciousness of the scheme called the Western Areas Removal Scheme.

Now on the Congress of the People. On the Congress of the People I think whenever we speak about this campaign we should try our very best not to consider this campaign as a separate campaign, we should regard the campaign against Bantu Education, and we should regard the campaign against the Western Areas Removal Scheme as but just separate aspects of struggle, of our great struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Then some people say what will the Congress of the People bring to the people of South Africa, particularly the African people. Will it stop this nationalist Government from implementing its laws, will it stop the Nationalist Government from implementing and intensifying pass laws now?

Then the other side of this setup, and this is true because it will raise the political consciousness of the people, as long as everybody in South Africa is politically conscious of what is happening in South Africa, then we have no doubt that through the united action of the people we shall stop the Nationalist Party from implementing these laws.

Then there is for a moment - think every one of you have been a paper and we are going to read now about the election of the Congress of the People. The Chairman has told you that when this conference was opened that this conference is a business like conference. This is a conference where we are going to re-dedicate ourselves, where we are going to resolve to go together shoulder to shoulder to this great will of freedom of the people of South Africa.

Well Mr. Chairman Sir, Sons and daughters of Africa, these are items which I will read as efficiently as I can.

What is the Congress of the People? It is an assembly of delegates of all the people of South Africa, where they will speak of freedom and of how to get it. There they will adopt a Freedom Charter drawn up from all the views of all the people everywhere, of what they would do if they could make the laws.

Now some people say, well I belong to the African National Congress and the African National Congress should do the job for me. But that is not the way of sending your demands to the Freedom Charter. The individual members of every organisation must write down their demands and send it to the Freedom Charter and tell us what they want South Africa to be.

Now we come to the next item. Who can send delegates to the Congress of the People. You are Any group of men and women...ll/

men and women, no matter how many they are, they should live in the same street, block, village or town, or they should work together in the same factory, office shop or farm.

Now Mr. Chairman I think it is clear how to elect the delegates to the Congress of the People. You are not going to expect Secretaries of your branches to go again and ask the people to elect delegates of the African National Congress to represent you, but the people, the people in their jobs, in their blocks, they must elect delegates to the Congress of the People.

How are delegates to be chosen? By a vote of the people who come together in a meeting in a house, or in a hall in a village, where they can talk over and agree on what they want in the Freedom Charter, and what their spokesman to the Congress of the people must say.

You understand very clearly by reading this paper that what you are required to do is to gather with people in a house and agree upon the demands which they are going to send to this great assembly. And each delegate is not going to do his own work, but he is going to do what the people instructs him to do.

What are delegates to do? They are to travel to Johannesburg, so as to arrive not later than 10am. Saturday morning, June 25th, 1955. In Johannesburg, they are to report to the offices of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured People's Organisation, whose addresses we insert at the end of this leaflet. They are to bring their own blankets. Where they have no friends to accommodate them for the night, accommodation will be provided.

Their friends I think when you go back to your various areas you will be able to tell the people that when we come to this great assembly, we have to take our own blankets and take it with to the Congress of the People.

Who is to pay for the food and travelling? Those who elect the delegate must pay for his travelling, and give him five shillings for his food. If they are willing to speak of freedom they must be willing to collect money to help win it. Those who can, should collect food - mealies, potatoes, rice for the delegates to take to the Congress of the People Delegates Kitchen at the Congress.

It is very clear Mr. Chairman and members that the Congress of the People will be every great assembly indeed, and therefore everyone of us will be required to do a certain amount of work.

What if money cannot be raised? If every effort to raise the money fails, or if no one at your meeting can leave work to travel to Johannesburg, appoint a friend or any acquaintance who lives on the

Witwatersrand to represent you. Write and tell him hi is to attend and speak for you, and tell him what you want him to say. Tell him to take your letter to one of the Congress offices, and ask for a delegates card.

This is a very important item. It is clear that many of us has got friends in the Countryside, many of these people are not working like we are doing in the factories, many of them has got their domestic difficulties, they are required to contribute to this Congress great Charter of Freedom. They must send their demands, they must send delegates if possible, but this is what the Congress of the People Committee ask you to do. You must advise them, you must write a letter to your personal friends or brothers in the countryside and tell them whether they know and understand that this great assembly is taking place somewhere in June, and if they understand they must elect delegates, if they feel they must elect somebody here in Johannesburg, they must instruct him and send their demands to him and he must go forward to the Congress of the People.

What if you know no people on the Rand? Then write to the Congress of the People Committee, P.O. Box 11049, Johannesburg. Tell them what kind of people you are, where you live and where you work. They will find a suitable person to represent you at the Congress of the People.

So friends I would like to go into these things but I cannot waste any time.

Now do delegates get credential cards? As soon as delegates have been elected, write to the Congress of the People Committee at the above address for a delegate's card, or ask your Local Congress Branch Secretary for one. Fill it in carefully before giving it to the delegate.

What is to be done with demands for the Freedom Charter? They should be written out in any language and be sent in now to the C.C.P. Committee, saying how many people were present when they were discussed, and which town, or place of work they come from. Or, if this is too short, there is space for it to be written on the back of your delegates card.

Who is to organise for all this? You are, because you want freedom as much as anyone. Start by yourself, talk to your neighbours and your workmates. Organise a little meeting for them. Then get them to do the same in other places. Write about it to your relations and friends, especially in the countryside and the reserves, but you do it.

When is this to be done? Now, right away, today. There is no time to lose. Delegates have to be elected, money for the fare to be collected. So do it now. ....13/-

The Congress of the People is on the 25th and 26th June, 1955.  
Now it is time for you to act.

I do not want to go in the other side, but I want to tell you as I said in the beginning that the wheel of freedom has started rolling, that Mr. Strijdom and the Nationalist Party and all their henchmen are running away, and as you raise your thumbs and call the word 'Afrika' the whole world shakes. Make it a point to shake South Africa by collecting your friends, bring them to the Congress of the People, tell them what to do, make sure that this wheel is on the roll and it rolls freedom, which is realisable in the eyes of everybody. I can assure you, you can do it, you can do it, you must unite, you must speak, you must write now to the Freedom Charter and tell them what you want."

(shouts of Mayibuye Africa.)

CHAIRMAN : "Comrades and friends I can see - how you look like - this is the call of what you wanted, and what you wanted, is what you did not know. Now that you know what is the Congress of the People in leaflet form, and you are now required to take up your work, but before you do so you are now going to tell me now you are going to do the job.

As you will realise this is a conference of the Transvaal, and those of you who come from afar, you will know the programme in the Congress from now on, you also know and realise the difficulties, and I am now going to open this conference for discussion. Thankyou"

SPEAKER : - Mr. chairman before conference go into discussion, I have an announcement to make. The Congress of the People Committee is holding a concert in the Reg Cinema, Market Street, on Friday the 17th June.

Amongst the items on the programme will be the Gay Societies the Peoples Choir and also a film show, and we ask for volunteers to sell these tickets in the various areas where they come from. You should collect the tickets at the door as you go out. And all the tickets that are sold, the money should be handed in to Mr. Mosie Moola at the Transvaal Indian Congress."

CHAIRMAN : Well comrades we will now discuss what we have spoken of.

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman today we are gathered here in this momentous conference to come and discuss the programme of the Congress of the People. And I think Mr. Chairman the gist of the congress here today is to go now and put a stop light to the Nationalist Government. We quite realise that for quite a long time there was a green light or a sort of yellow light, and now we have assembled here to come and change the situation and to come and change the very way of life, we have gathered here to come and put a red light, to come and now stop the onslaught of the Nationalist ...14"

Nationalist Government on our people. We are gathered here to come and now see and take stock of what effort, what we can do to achieve the Freedom Charter.

I think as we are gathered here today, Mr. Chairman, our tasks are plain on the forthcoming congress. First of all we should see that the Congress that is to be held should be a success. It means that the whole of South Africa will be in a position to see that a democratic Government in a country should be governing.

Now we are confronted again with another difficulty whereby we see that the Nationalist Government is trying to retard the work of the country as a whole. We are confronted with the workers who are crying for better conditions. It is clear here Mr. Chairman that the whole work of the Congress is based on the Transvaal, and my appeal here this afternoon is that all the Transvaal delegates, irrespective of whether they are delegates or not, should see that the Transvaal is not failing on such a momentous occasion.

We are now told that we should subscribe to things like finance and other things, which I think most of our leaders outside is trying their very best to do, but I feel it is most unfortunate that the Transvaal Province has not pulled its weight to see that the Congress of the People is a success."

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman I suggest that the conference adopts a time limit for every speaker, and we ask every speaker to keep to the point and to be as brief as possible."

(Time limit of three minutes adopted.)

SPEAKER : "Friends when we come to discuss with the people what we want you to do, I think it is right on behalf of the organisers to tell you what we have done up to now, and how this campaign is progressing. I am sorry that the speaker did not mention a few important matters in his speech. I also want to announce that the collection here today raised £12.10.4.

Now if every person here would have given the two shillings that we asked for we would have had £70, but unfortunately some of our people here today did not find out the necessity of the Congress of the People and did not realise how much we need the money. But I shall explain to you what we have done. I also want to say that when the collection started Mrs. Meeabi told you that we want the two shillings from you, especially from the women, I knew that tomorrow morning some of the children will go without the bread that they get on a Sunday morning, but I also knew that there are quite a lot of people that will not think of the fifteen shillings that they spent on a watch, on a tie last week, on the six pence that they spent on a watch, on the three pounds that they spent on an extra pair of shoes, and they let the Congress of the People down. ..15/-



If every person in South Africa would have given a penny towards this campaign, we should have had thousands and thousands of pounds. We have got ten million people in this country and not two million people, and some of them Europeans, are assisting us in our work

The work that we have done in the organisation consists of propaganda, we have sent out persons to far off and remote places, to places where the people have never heard of the Congress of the People and have never heard of the African National Congress. We told the people of the Congress of the people, we told them of the African National Congress, we told them that the Congress of the People is not a tale but is very alive. The Government did not think that when they banned our leaders, that we can still carry on, they invaded our meeting here a year ago and they took the names and addresses of the people and they thought they would frighten the people, but did they frighten the people?

AUDIENCE - No'.

PREVIOUS SPEAKER : (Continuing) They definitely did not, the fact is you are here again. They wanted to put down this organisation before it grew into anything big, but they have not managed yet.

We have issued thousands of leaflets, not just hundreds but thousands, every night and every day there has been a meeting in some house, in some organisation, in some trade union, in some factory, in some township. What we intend to do also is to get the names of the people coming from places like Rustenburg, from places like Delmas, from places like Bethel and so forth, so go out to these people and to elect delegates.

What we intended to do if we have had enough money from this meeting here today, was to hire a few lorries and to ask those people here who have got mothers and fathers in the various places, to be ready to go out next Sunday and visit their people, and to explain to them what happening about the Congress of the people in Johannesburg. And if they cannot persuade their people to come in as delegates, then to elect a person on behalf of those people.

Now I want to ask you one question. Do you feel that it is important that the voice of the people in Bethel be heard? (Shouts of yes) Do you feel that the voice of the people in Rustenburg should be heard at what is taking place (Shouts of yes.) In that case I feel that £12-10-4. is definitely not enough, I do not want to ask for more money, the Chairman has done his duty, but I appeal to you come to our concert which will also be supporting the Congress of the People, come to our bazaar which we are organising and buy the goods that will be offered there for sale, that will be for the Congress of the People, come to all our functions and come to the Congress itself and make it a success. ...16/-

KUMALO : "Mr. Chairman I move that the discussions be closed, it is on use to discuss all these things, we know what to do."

(Discussions on this motion inaudible.)

CHAIRMAN : "Now I think the motion of Mr. Kumalo is not carried, because there are people from Middleburg and other places from afar and they want to exactly know."

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman this is very important. There is a meeting place for people in the various areas in the countryside and suburbs, to collect the money and submit your demands before the falling of the Congress of the People, and those demands must be forward to the National Action Council where summaries will be drawn up on these demands, which will be incorporated in the Freedom Charter which will be adopted at this conference on the 25th and 26th."

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman I just want to tell the delegates from Bethel and Middelburg to see Mr. Malau after the conference."

SPEAKER : "Mr. The point is Mr. Chairman, and I want to tell this to other areas. We have divided Sophiatown into several zones, these zones are under the leadership of a zone leader. The several streets falling under a zone are under street leaders who are responsible to the zone leaders and that zone leader together with others are responsible to a volunteer corps. Now we have completed our work, as far as the subdivisions are concerned, and probably tonight we are embarking on a big scale election of delegates, and we are hoping of course by next week to tender to the committee of the Congress of the People a complete list of delegates.

That is how we have carried out the work in our area, and of course they are working, as the volunteers go out they do not only do Congress of the People work, but they have to handle Bantu Education as well and they have to handle also the question of the removal. We are carrying our our work in this way. Thankyou "r. Chairman."

SPEAKER : "Mr. Chairman we have to leave the hall at six o'clock. Now I want to make one final appeal to you. When you leave this meeting. you have a great responsibility before you. Mr. Mkhadimong outlined to you what your duties are, and what your tasks are, and we hope, as the responsible committee in the Transvaal for the Congress of the people, you will not fail us. Dr. Press here has asked you several questions and men of the areas have answered those questions.

Before we leave, you have been shown a plan devised by Sophiatown. Now we hope in the shortest possible time, similar plans will be devised along the Reef, and you will report to us within a week that you have adopted a similar plan and that the election of delegates are on the way.

Now everybody, you must go back if the officials of your branches are not here, you must report back to them what the conference has called upon. You must contact every church, every sports organisation, every women's organisation, explain to them the Congress of the People and get them interested in the Congress of the People. That is your task and I know that you did not fail us in the great Defiance Campaign, that was the beginning in South Africa. And when we talk of struggle we cannot go back, but we go forward, now let us go forward in the liberation and the Freedom of our people. Now, I know and I am confident that we can have all our faith and confidence in you that on the 25th and on the 26th Transvaal will give a maximum number of delegates to this great assembly. Now that is your task and that is my last appeal to you, if you are a worker, speak to your fellow workers, get them interested, get delegates from farms, from homes, from everywhere, from today the topic must be the Congress of the People, and if we do so, then we can be sure that on the 25th and 26th we will be represented in full force.

Now that is my appeal to you and I hope it will not fall on deaf ears. Thank you "r. Chairman".

(Singing of Nkosi Sikelela Afrika).

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Richardus Arnoldus Estingh. 20587 2/S/Sers.

h  
G. 925

Verklaar,

Ek is 'n speurder Sersant in die Suid Afrikaanse Polisie gestasioneer te Afdelings Hoofkantoor, Johannesburg.

Vanaf 10 vm op 24/6/56 was ek op diens te Kliptown, Johannesburg, waar daar 'n vergadering van die Congress Of The People gehou was. Ek was tesame met S/Sers Coetsee en S/Kat Schoeman wie snelskrif notes van die verrigtinge geneem het en het die verskillende sprekers aan hulle ge-identifiseer asook dele van die toesprake wat in naturelletale gelewer was aan hulle vertolk.

Die sprekers het in die volgende volgorde gepraat.

- (I) Leslie Masina het as voorsitter opgetree.
- (2) Philemon Mathole.
- (3) Leon Levy.
- (4) Lilian Ngoyi.
- (5) E.P. Moretsele.
- (6) Kersaarde D.C. Thompson.
- (7) Gert Sibande.
- (8) Stanley Lollan.
- (9) Robert Resha.

Aangeging

Notes met 3 getekende afskrifte

HS 207/56

Dr. H.M. Moosa.

- (II) Dr. R.E. Press. (Het net die resoluëie gelees.)
- (I2) Leslie Masina. Was hierna die laaste spreker en het die vergadering gesluit.

Die vergadering het om 12 md. begin, om 2.30nm verdaag vir middagete en weer om 3.45nm 'n aanvang geneem tot dit gesluit is om 6.nm.

Ek het die volgende persone ook op die vergadering opgemerk. Sophie Williams, Rahima Moosa., Ruth Motsokane, John Hlongwane, Sampie Malupe, Victor Goldberg, Marcele Goldberg, Robert Mbalati, Selina Molefe, Winnifred Kramer, (Met geelband om arm.) Simon Chiki, A.J. Jacquessen, R.E. Press, Joan Anderson, Sydney Shell, Farid Adam, (Geel band om arm,) Barbara Cooper, Viela Hashe Winnifred Kramer (Geel band om arm.) Liouë Friedman en L. Peltou beide met geel bande om arms) Helen Joseph, Marcele Goldberg

2

Leon Levy en Norman Levy, Ida Mtswane, Myrtle V. Nokwe,  
en Henry Shabalala.

Ek het ook die volgende vragmotors en motors by die vergadering  
opgemerk. T.J. 132-827. T.W. 3910, T.V. 1946, T.O. 13215,  
T.V. 4152, T.O. 13179, T.E. 3898, T.O. 13215, T.V. 4354,

Die volgende slagspreuke was by die vergadering aangebring  
The People shall share in the country's Wealth, No passes for  
People, Demand National Minimum wage, There shall be houses Security  
and Comfort, No passes for women, Freedom in our lifetime,  
Long live Freedom Charter, The doors of learning shall be opened.

GAH.

Castro 20587 2/S/Sers.

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**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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