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 REPORT OF MEETING HELD AT BANTU SOCIAL

G.483

CENTRE ON 12TH JUNE, 1955, at 2.30p.m.

By Mr. J. Langa

At 2.30p.m. about 60 people were present. Most of them were natives, but there was a sprinkling of Indians, and three Europeans. From 2.30p.m. onwards people came in by dribs and drabs.

At some time after 2.30p.m., four people took up seats at tables on the platform. No. 1 was an Indian in a grey suit and white open-necked shirt. No. 2 was a Native in a grey sports jacket or suit jacket, fawnish-coloured slacks, a red jersey and a tie. No. 3 was a Native in a dark blue or black suit, white shirt and a striped tie. No. 4 was an Indian in a grey suit, white shirt and a reddish-white tie.

Throughout the proceedings which followed, a Zulu choir was singing in an ante-room, and outside nearby somewhere a band was playing dance-music, and there appeared to be dancing or revelry of some kind going on. The singing and the music made it difficult at times to hear what the speakers at the meeting said. I made verbatim notes in shorthand of the proceedings as follows:

W. Z. Centre No. 2: Well, friends, I think it is high time we started with our meeting. I must apologise for the little delay. We have been unable to start at the time mentioned on our agenda.

Before I make my opening remarks, it is the usual procedure, I think we understand, for all to sing the national anthem. (Audience sings Nkosi Sikelele Afrika) Ladies and gentlemen, this is a meeting called by the (inaudible) of the congress of the people. At this meeting...this original meeting of the Durban region, it does not represent the whole of Natal, and some of you might be surprised to see quite a very small gathering, because (inaudible) mass conferences usually are bigger than this. The reason is that here we have got mainly the delegates of the region, of the coastal region of Natal, and although we might allow people who are interested to come to the meeting, but it is really (inaudible) who represent certain particular areas just before the great conference of the people

which is coming to Johannesburg soon. I must extend my greetings from the chair to all the delegates who have come to this gathering, which may or may not be the last gathering before we go to Johannesburg. We welcome all the delegates and in particular our guest speakers who are with us here to-day. We are very lucky to have amongst our midst, from the left-hand, Dr. Metala, who comes from the midland region of the congress of the people, where I really belong to and not the coastal region, and I also am pleased to introduce to you Mr. (?) who is very well-known to you all and comes from Johannesburg, and more nearer the National Action Council which is controlling the Congress of the People as you all know.

And the other people who are in front here you all know from the coastal region in Durban.

Before I go on I would like to make an announcement, very important on this occasion. We have had many meetings like this, and I would like to report that our African National leader, Chief Luthuli, has been ill in Durban and went out of hospital on 1st April. The report is about his health, is that he is still going strong. (Applause). This gratifying report should strengthen us all to a resolve to fight for our freedom and in particular to-day we resolve to lay our demands on our South Africa on the Congress of the People coming shortly. In fact, it is a very gratifying report.

Here we have got before us the speakers who will very much dwell on the preparations which are fully at hand all over the country of South Africa for this very great gathering of the Congress of the Peoples, (Flashlight) the very first gathering of this nature since South Africa (inaudible) a multi-racial society. This is the very first, because the convention of Vereeniging didn't include the aboriginal people, that is, the African and the other sections of the Coloured people of South Africa. The Convention of Vereeniging was a sectional conference of one group only, and therefore was never a true representative

convention of the peoples of South Africa. We are now on the eve of preparing for the great test or congregation that has ever been held in this country, and we therefore sincerely call for all the demands of the people of South Africa that they are represented here at this conference. As I say, if the chairman makes a speech it is not liked by the audience, so I won't make a speech because the delegates know very well what their duties are, and the delegates, some of them are not here, but they will carry on the message to the great gathering that is coming.

I would like to explain the agenda before me without making very lengthy remarks, as you will hear all from the speakers who will come to the forefront. Firstly, I think we will have three speakers. Mr. , Dr. Motale, and Mr. , who is representing here amongst us the National Action Council of the Congress of the People. Before I call for these people, we have got here messages which have been sent to this conference, and I will ask Mr. Naicker on my right hand to read the messages we already have in hand. There may be some other messages which have not been delivered to me, and all those who have some messages kindly do so.

NT Naicker

No. 1 Mr. Chairman and delegates, the Congress of the People, this is a message from Dr. G.M. Naicker, Acting President of the Congress, to this Natal acting committee, regional congress of the Congress of the People.

WZ Conro

No. 2: I think at this stage I will have to have somebody interpreting. Does the meeting feel we should have an interpreter?

Voices: Yes.

NT Naicker

No. 1: The message reads: "You are meeting on the eve of the convening of a great democratic assembly of South African people of all races and creeds. In greeting you on this occasion I wish to proclaim that freedom in our lifetime is (inaudible) for all South Africans who have faith in the ideals of freedom.

"Volunteers for freedom are gathering together in preparation for the Congress of the People. As their enthusiasm for this assembly mounts we must remind ourselves of the great tasks that lie ahead. Our historic task is extending the frontiers of freedom darkness and threaten to engulf the entire country. We have seen liberty of the non-White peoples dwindle and extinguished by the rulers of South Africa now the Nationalists are on their march are making a mockery of Parliament itself even as a representative of the White people of the Union. The aim of the Senate Bill is to entrench one party fascist in our country which represents only a minority of White voters. The Parliamentary opposition has prove a failure and we must rally the White and non-white people of South Africa round the banner of freedom. We have held this banner high violence and hatred towards none. Let us march forward unitedly and liberate South Africa from the fear and to-day leading the country to chaos and disaster. Onward to the congress of the people, onward with our freedom charter and the freedom of all South Africa. Mayibuye, South Africa."

W. Conco

No. 2: We have just finished the messages, this message from Dr. Naiker, the president of the South African Indian Congress. We are really very grateful to have a message of this nature who is unable to be with us to-day, but is with us in heart and in spirit. He will be with us in that great assembly in Johannesburg. After the messages we will have our next speaker, will be Mr.

R. Resha

No. 3:
Mr. _____: (In dark blue): I prefer to speak in Zulu. (Speaks in Zulu. Those at table now include ~~Emilianxi~~ Native in blue suit, white shirt and red tie, with red handkerchief sticking out of his pocket. (No. 5). While No. 3 is speaking, a European in white open-necked shirt takes up a seat behind those on platform, and later moves up to table next to end on outside of No. 1. Flash. People have been coming in all the time. Applause.

P.G. Mai

F. Shaloy

No. 2: Ladies and gentlemen, I told you we have three speakers. I think I was a little mistaken. I have a name here which I hadn't mentioned. We have got here Mr. Errol Shanley, of the Congress of Democrats. (Applause) Our next speaker now will be Dr. Motala, who comes from the midland region from Maritzburg. An interpreter please?

No. 4 Dr. Motala: Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa, in the very first place I want to bring to you greetings of the Natal midland regional committee of the Congress of the People. I regret very much that my chairman, Mr. Gumede, of the Natal midlands, is not able to be present at this meeting. I regret also that other members of the Natal Congress who would have been pleased to be present at this meeting are not able to do so, for the reason that we have also an important meeting at this very time at Maritzburg.

To begin with, I want to say that we live in a time when history is being made in South Africa. People don't as a rule recognise the fact that they live in a time when history is being made or that they themselves are contributing to the making of such history. (Flash) But nevertheless, I havenot the slightest doubt in my mind that we meet to-day at a time which future historians will regard as a most important landmark in the development of the people of South Africa. I say that we are meeting at this time when history is being made for the simple reason that the steps that we propose to take on the 25th and 26th of this month at Johannesburg - namely, the formulation of the freedom charter - represents a distinct break from our recent past.

On the 25th and 26th of this month the freedom charter for all the people of South Africa will be formulated, and as you yourself, Mr. Chairman, have said, this will not be any more a convention of Vereeniging. This will be a charter that will determine - very unlike the original Convention of Vereeniging and the South Africa

Act - this will be a charter that will determine once and for all the rights and privileges not only of people belonging to any one colour but (Flash) people belonging to every race, colour and creed in South Africa. And this is important, Mr. Chairman and friends, that this charter will guarantee not only the rights of us, the non-Europeans, but even those of the white people of this country. This will be a charter that will give the lie direct, once and for all, to all those people who hold ~~that~~ with the contention that the non-European organisations in South Africa are political organisations that desire to establish a black republic as against the white republic with which we are faced to-day. And who is it that is making history in South Africa? I don't for one moment claim that it is the leaders, Dr. Luthulá or Dr. Naicker - it is by the very nature of this bend of the congress of the people, the people of South Africa ^{themselves,} ~~whom~~ who are making history to-day.

The demands and the grievances have come in their hundreds of thousands from the ordinary common man, from the people of South Africa, and the leaders can do no more than obey the demands of the people.

Speaking of demands and grievances, ladies and gentlemen, I might say that in our own midlands as we have held meetings, gone out to the people in order to ascertain their legitimate demands and their aspirations, and the one thing that struck me at all these meetings was that the demands, whether from Africans or Indians or from the Coloureds, were almost identical in every case. In every case was the demand for better wages, in order that people might be able to keep body and soul together. In every case they came forward, also irrespective of the fact whether they were Indians, Africans or Coloureds - with demands for better schooling facilities for their children. The demand for better houses, the demand for better public services - these were the things that people, irrespective whether Africans, Coloureds or Indians, invariably made at all the meetings we conducted in the Natal

midlands area. The people, I have no doubt, are completely aware of the disabilities under which they suffer. But I am afraid I may have to make a submission here, and that is that while the people are conscious of the fact that they labour under all these disabilities, it was not clear in the minds of many of the people as to from where these disabilities flowed, and it did not require much evidence in order to be able to show to the ~~past~~ people that every disability, whether it was poverty or hunger, starvation, schoollessness or a question of disease or housing - all these flowed from the one Act, from the South Africa Act which virtually made the non-European people of South Africa impotent by virtue of the fact that they were denied the vote in the land of their birth.

I made this point for the simple reason that there are to-day in South Africa a number of people, white and non-white - who claim to be friends of the liberation movement, who claim to be friends of the congresses, but nevertheless are apt to advance theories of constraint on the question of the vote. There are some people who say they are not ready, not ripe, not sufficiently mature to enjoy franchise, unqualified franchise, in South Africa.

I want to warn you that these people cannot be considered as friends of our movement. We must see them in the light in which they take their stand. So far as I am concerned, I have no doubt whatsoever that every genuine friend of the struggle of the non-European will stand on this platform for the demand of the complete and unqualified franchise.

As I said before, it was not difficult for us to convince our people wherever we held meetings that all our disabilities arose from the fact that we were voteless. We had only to point to the people...to the recent experience of the people, Indian, African and Coloured people of Maritzburg at the time of the recent floods. On account of the floods, a number of non-European people suffered

untold hardships. A number of them lost their entire belongings in the flood waters. In one particular area the people were completely face to face with starvation, having completely lost all their groceries. A number of lives - Indian and African - were lost in the floods. Yet the local authorities didn't lift one little finger in order to ameliorate the condition of these people who were stricken by the floods.

On the other hand, what is the picture as far as the European ~~part~~ people and the floods was concerned? One little spruit flooded and caused a delay of an hour or perhaps an hour and a half to certain people, Europeans who were living in that area. Immediately a meeting of the municipal council was summoned, and the burgesses, the people who enjoyed municipal vote and had the right to be present at the meeting, severely condemned the action of the municipal council and got them to give an undertaking that they would build a bridge or widen the road or do something to avoid similar occurrences in the future.

It goes to show that it is not impossible for us to convince our people if we talk upon the day-to-day experiences such as the one I have mentioned, that our disabilities do in fact arise from the fact that we are completely voteless and therefore unable to have a say in our affairs.

I want to say that there is one happy feature associated with this particular government we have at the present moment. This ^(at last?) government has at least made us conscious of the fact that we have to depend upon ourselves in order to conduct our liberation struggle. Gone is the sugar-coating that used to be present on the pill before. Gone are the days when the United Party, the Institute of Race Relations, the Indo-African Council, the Indo-European councils and all those pleasant little tea parties where we sat and got bluffed continuously year in and year out. Now more than ever before the non-Europeans realise that in this struggle for liberation here we stand alone. With this one exception, ladies and gentlemen,

that I must make, and that one exception is the most progressive role that the Congress of Democrats has been playing in our affairs, and certain other individuals such as Father Trevor Huddleston, Cannon Collins, Michael Scott. These are people who in the recent past have shown tremendous courage and character in standing alongside the non-European organisations. And we are able to distinguish the role these people play from the role, for instance, that the Liberals play. It is not enough for people such as, for instance, the Liberals, to assure us that their intentions are honest insofar as their relationship with the non-European peoples is concerned. The difference between the Liberal Party, on the one hand, and the Congress of Democrats on the other and people like Father Huddleston and Cannon Collins is simply this, that not only do these people say their intentions are honest insofar as the non-Europeans but they are prepared to align themselves, to stand side by side with the non-European organisations. In fact, the participation of the Congress of Democrats and individuals of courage and character such as I have mentioned from amongst the European community is the only effective guarantee that South Africa in future is going to be a happy, multi-racial society, free of discrimination on the basis of race, creed and colour.

I want to illustrate what I am saying, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I will say that this Government can be stopped in one single day, in 24 hours' time. There is this little question about the Senate Bill. Let the United Party, the Federal Party, the Liberal Party and all those others who pretend to be fighting fascism declare just one day as a day of national protest, and call for a stoppage of work throughout the length and breadth of this country, and I say to you that ~~say~~ it will have been made abundantly clear to this Government that they don't enjoy the confidence not only of the non-European people but even of the white electorate.

The call has already come from the Congress of Democrats, inside Parliament and outside Parliament, for a national day of protest. But where are the friends of the non-European people? Where are those people who are supposed to be fighting fascism in this country? Where is the United Party, where is the Federal Party, where is the Liberal Party? Not one of them has seen fit to join in this call for a national day of protest. They know, these parties that I have just mentioned know that they can put a halt to the policies and nefarious designs of this Government, but they are between the devil and the deep blue sea. They feel that should such a day succeed in South Africa, it will be placing a weapon in the hands of the non-European people for future action. They feel that the same method may be employed by the non-European workers of South Africa to the utter detriment of the exploiting class. I will repeat that - to the utter detriment of the exploiting class, because there is the worst kind of economic exploitation in South Africa.

We find a most barbarous, a most ruthless kind of exploitation that is to be found anywhere in the world. Unless some of my friends over there are not convinced that there is this most barbarous and ruthless exploitation operating in South Africa, I will give you just one or two figures which have been taken from perfectly respectable sources such as the Government Year Book and a booklet issued by the Institute of Race Relations.

In the first place, the average income, these respectable sources tell us, per head per month in the reserves is 17s. a month. And this income represents the income both in cash and in kind per head per month in the reserves - 17s. a month in a country where it requires very much more than 17s. to buy just one loaf of bread a day. The actual income in cash is no more than just two shillings a week in the reserves.

Unless you might think that outside the reserves there is a wonderful salvation for the non-European people, let me disillusion you completely by telling you that the average per head per month income is no more than 25s. a month. Some of you will probably wonder, because you earn £10 or £20 a month, but you have to balance that against the number of unemployed, and the average comes down to 25s.

Even in the urban, the peri-urban and the non-reserve areas.

The rate of incidence... I want to deal a little more on this question of the ruthless exploitation that operates in South Africa... the rate of incidence of tuberculosis amongst Africans at Port Elizabeth and East London is the highest in the world. It would be interesting to know that the rate of incidence of the European population in South Africa for TB is one of the lowest in the world. And let me tell you as a doctor, as a medical man, that the particular germ that causes TB has got nothing to do... has got no particular affinity to the colour of a person's skin, but has every affinity for low wages and high cost of living.

I could go on like this, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, giving you more facts and figures with regards to the type of economic exploitation that operates in South Africa, but I will just stop at one further example.

The infant mortality rate, which means the number of children who die before attaining the age of one year, in the reserves amongst the Africans is 638 per 1,000, which means... compared with that with Europeans, 30 per 1,000... which means that out of every three children who are born in the reserves to Africans in African homes, two must die. I have found, even in my own practice, that I have never had the occasion where I attended an African lady in my consulting rooms and when she was questioned as to how many children she had, it was invariably that she had had six or seven, but only two were alive.

Now this is the state of affairs, this is the status quo that our so-called friends of the United Party and the other European parties bearing the cross of democrats - this is the state of affairs that our so-called friends would like to see continue in South Africa. That is why they find it so difficult to join in this call for a national day of protest, because they see on the one hand that it would serve the purpose of eliminating or probably halting fascism in South Africa, but on the other hand it would be a dangerous weapon against their own methods of economic exploitation.

Now the all-important question arises: who is going to change the state of affairs? Well, I must say that this is not a condition that is unique to South Africa itself. The people of Asia and throughout the world suffered under similar conditions only as recently as ten years ago. But those days, so far as India, so far as Pakistan, Burma, China and a number of other countries, not excluding the Gold Coast, is concerned - those things are things of the past now. And who was it that brought this change about in those particular countries? The people themselves. That is the answer, and I want every single person in this hall to be convinced on this point, otherwise we don't get any further than where we are. We must be convinced that the power of disturbing the status quo, the power to change the type of society, lies within ourselves.

It is usually said that we, the non-European people, ~~xxxxxx~~ are illiterate, ignorant, immature and unripe. It is usually claimed by many people that all these benefits of White civilisation we see here are the result of only White enterprise. But I want to make this clear here, that all that goes in the name of White civilisation in South Africa - the huge buildings we see around us, the beautiful railways, the roads, the bridges and so on - not one single inch of these roads or railways could have been built without the power of the toiling non-European masses of this country. Who can deny it?

We have to convince ourselves on this one important point, that we are also partners in this particular civilisation that we see here to-day in South Africa, and that it is not true to say that the non-Europeans have not contributed, and that there is a White civilisation which the White man is for ever guarding against the Black man. I have no doubt whatsoever in my own mind that the non-Europeans are quite capable of changing the status quo in South Africa. They have the means and they have the power. Let us look at what is happening to-day only insofar as the struggle against the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in South Africa is concerned. Who are the people who are in the forefront of the struggle against the Strydoms, the Malans and the Donges? Who are the people who have made the sacrifices, ~~and~~ ^{in order to} halt the march of fascism in South Africa? Need I remind you, ladies and gentlemen, of the tremendous sacrifices that are being made every single day of the month, every single day of the year, particularly by members of the national organisations, the congresses? Have you not heard that only two weeks ago, that brave fighter for freedom, John of Worcester, of the Coloureds, was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment? Have you not heard of our own Yengwa, who has been banished? Do we not know of Luthuli and 1000 others to-day who are making tremendous sacrifices in order to fight fascism in South Africa? Do we not know of the victimisations that are going on day in and day out of the ordinary workers in the factories? Even in this particular week there are people, not only in Durban but in Maritzburg - ordinary workers with wives and families to support, who have lost their jobs due to victimisation for the simple reason that they were thought to be political, and there is always the combination between the Government and the ~~the~~ bosses? We have made these sacrifices and we shall have to make more sacrifices. Freedom would not be worth attaining if it were going to be delivered to us on a silver platter.

There is no people in the history of the world ~~which~~ ^{who} have attained their freedom without sacrifice, and the people of South Africa can be no exception. And we don't stand alone in this struggle. Recently only we had the magnificent example of a conference held in Indonesia, where no less than two thirds, where the representatives of no less than two thirds of the people pledged their whole-hearted support to our cause - at Bandoeng.

So then, ladies and gentlemen, we are not really alone in this struggle. All that is required, in conclusion I might say, is that we have to make even yet greater sacrifices than we have made in the past.

The great assembly of the Congress of the People and the formulation of the freedom charter is our immediate goal and objective. And once the charter is formulated we shall still have to go forward in order to see that the programme enshrined in the charter is fought for. Throughout the length and breadth of South Africa meetings, ~~many~~ I have no doubt, are being held to-day in the same manner as we are holding this meeting here. I am told that in Durban two branches of the Indian Congress, namely Clare Estate and Mayville, have already elected about 25 delegates each. (Applause) I was in communication with the Ladysmith Congress of the People only yesterday, and I was told that no less than 50 delegates would go from Northern Natal. (Applause) Our preparations in the Natal midlands are complete for the sending of at least 50 delegates also.

Let us therefore go forward to the Congress of the People, and through sacrifice to freedom.

W.L. Carter No. 2: Ladies and gentlemen, we have been very lucky indeed to have had a great contribution from this meeting of ours from Dr. Motale. I don't think time will allow me to say what is in the message Dr. Motale had for us in this gathering. We have more speakers, and all I can say is that the message you have given us

is well received, and we will go with it in this great endeavour, the Congress of the People, with all our enthusiasm and all our determination. Our next speaker will be Mr. Errol Shanley. Before I ask him to stand I must here formally tender an apology - I understand for certain circumstances I might have to leave the meeting, and ask Dr. Naicker to take the chair. I ask Mr. Shanley to address us.

E.T. MR. SHANLEY: Mr. Chairmen and friends, as the chairman has pointed out, I am here this afternoon to represent the Congress of Democrats. The Congress of Democrats, as you might know, is an organisation which represents European progressive thought in this country. I am not referring to the so-called Progressives of the Liberal Party and other small groups. The Congress of Democrats is a body of Europeans of progressive thought which believes that all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race or colour, should enjoy full democratic rights, - democratic rights which should not be determined by the fact that certain people have not been so fortunate as to pass Std. 4, for instance, or that certain non-European people are not earning more than say five or six pounds a month. The Congress of Democrats also believes that the only way we can have full democracy in South Africa is for all the people to get together and to do something about it.

Now, friends, to this meeting I want to bring greetings and best wishes from the Congress of Democrats. You have all heard this afternoon this word fascism mentioned very often. I heard this word mentioned and I read about it in newspapers when I was a young man. It was at that time that fascism was already in the saddle in Italy. That was Mussolini's brand of fascism. It was at that time I am talking about, the year 1933, when a new dictator arose in Europe - that was Adolph Hitler and Nazi Germany. Mr. Oswald Moseley was already very active in Great Britain, and it was

becoming an idea that was sweeping Europe right through to Poland. That was the time when the ruling classes of Europe could no longer rely on the old democratic methods to keep the people in subjection - to rule people - so they were employing the new method of the iron fist.

There were organisations in South Africa which were beginning to rear their head at that time, the Grey Shirt movement and various others. There was a body known as the Anti-Fascist League which was formed in Johannesburg, and it had branches throughout South Africa subsequently. But those organisations - those anti-fascist movements, were ridiculed by many people of high social standing in South Africa. They said that you would never see the things that had been going on in Europe, in Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, happening in South Africa. That was during the period of the Smuts government.

Well, to-day it is 20 years since those days, and we see that the Nationalist Party government of Mr. Strydom is making very deep efforts to emulate or to do the things that were done in Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Progressive people outside Parliament, when referring to this South Africa as being a Police state in the past were laughed at. To-day the official opposition, that is, the United Party, the Liberal Party and others on the Opposition side, frequently refer to the present Government as being a Police state government. When you read of the discussion and debate on the Senate Bill you will see that what I am saying is correct.

Let us ask ourselves: is this very nasty thing which we are saying about Mr. Strydom's government correct or not?

First of all, I want to ask you: where are those leaders of the African National Congress, the Indian national movement congress and a number of European progressives - where are they to-day? Why are they not allowed to attend meetings such as this? Why is Mr. Khan not even allowed to attend a little private party in his own home? Why are the African people of the Western Cape not allowed to send the persons they want to represent them to Parliament?

Why were the newspapers of the people which represent the views expressed here to-day by Dr. Motale and others - why were those newspapers banned?

Now we can ask ourselves a lot of other questions. For instance, why is the policeman allowed to go into a man's home and search his possessions for literature, etc?

The answer to these questions is, the reason for these things is that South Africa to-day is a Police state. We have another example which I nearly forgot to mention, and that is, you saw a picture ~~in~~ this morning in the Tribune of a photographic copy of a letter which was sent by the Liberal Party to their head office in Cape Town recently, and that letter was the subject of a big protest in the House of Assembly just recently. Mrs. Ballinger raised the issue. She is a Natives representative in Parliament. She raised the question of the Post Office opening and tampering with letters of private individuals. That is another example of the kind of democracy you have here in South Africa.

Now, friends, I don't believe that we have fascism in South Africa, because if we did have fascism in South Africa we would not be on this platform this afternoon at a meeting of this nature. But let us not make the mistake that fascism is not fast approaching in South Africa. When the Malan government came into power the first thing they did was to put through legislation - various measures through Parliament - of an anti-democratic nature, depriving certain sections of the people of civic liberties; and since that day there has been legislation to-day which we find is affecting all the people of South Africa, not only the non-Europeans.

From the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Suppression of Communism Act, the new Industrial Conciliation Act, and we can quote many others down to the present Senate Bill, we see how the Police state is operating in South Africa. We have an Opposition in Parliament - the United Party and a couple of individuals calling

themselves the ~~Labour~~ Labour Party. Of course I am not going to include amongst these people Mrs. Margaret Ballinger. And that opposition is supposed to represent the European electorate who don't support the Government. Now that Opposition has made a number of demands to holdup, prevent this legislation from going on to the statute book, but with the experience we have had in the last few weeks of the Senate Bill, I think it must be clear to everybody that the United Party is failing in its efforts. Already the Prime Minister, Mr. Strydom has already stated the United Party has failed altogether. Well, I think any progressive in this country can see that Mr. Strydom's statement is perfectly truthful. The Opposition in Parliament (inaudible) insofar as its efforts to stop this legislation, the Senate Bill, going through, was concerned.

Now, friends, what is the reason for this state of affairs? The reason for this is because the European section of public opinion represented by the United Party is not aware what is going on. They have not yet been able to grasp what is really happening in South Africa, and the United Party therefore has not got the full support of those people who sent their members to Parliament.

Now progressive public opinion in South Africa takes the stand that the only way South Africa can progress and the only way we will drive out the present undemocratic Strydom police government is to organise a broad democratic movement of the people of South Africa. That is, all sections of the people of South Africa. Now that is what the Congress of the People sets out to achieve. The Congress of the People is a movement which will represent all sections, and the freedom charter that Dr. Motlala has referred to is something that has been needed in South Africa for a long time. Those things that are needed in South Africa, that is, freedom for all, will only be won as a result, as Dr. Motlala has mentioned, by sacrifice and courage. The fight for democratic rights and civil liberties will only come as a result of the people moving together. There have been occasions in various parts of Europe when government of tyrants

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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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