

wise and they also got to get information from wise people. The Government sent some men we don't know. The Government couldn't buy me with ten million pounds from the African National Congress. Something which take my spirit from the African National Congress is because the Government kill us. If you want to do something you must have courage. Now, remember, not even the past Government killed our fathers when they asked for something. Remember, we are better off than our fathers, and we should take steps the same as the Government. Let us all have one aim. Let us tell the Government that all we want is freedom. We don't want to be spoonfed. The Government today wants to give us something which is sour bread. We don't want that. I am going to say something I don't want to say, so I rather sit down."

The next speaker ?-- Die volgende spreker was weer Enoch Mpanliwe, die voorsitter.

Laat sy toespraak uit. Wie het na hom gepraat ?-- Die volgende spreker was Martha Mohlokoane.

Is sy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Ja. (156.)

Lees wat sy gesê het ?-- "Mr. Chairman and Government officials. I stand here as a local member. We are speaking about the election of the President. I like to say what is in me. The local branch of Bloemfontein when we elect Mr. Mafura on the 7th September 1954. As you know, there was nothing he could do, because there was no books. Through him and his followers, that is where the local branch could carry you to the conference in Durban during December. We should also get a new chairman, as Mr. Mpanliwe only fill the place of our chairman who resign. Some of us had to take all our pennies to go to Kliptown. I want to tell you that the Bloemfontein branch have got everything. The annual conference must come here at the end of this year. So with these things, I don't see any trouble fighting this new work coming to Bloemfontein the end of this year. So I think we shall just tell our President that we are not accepting his resignation, as we don't see how we can

go to this conference without him. It is not each and anyone who can do this job. This year we got the experience of electing our chief for the whole Union. I don't know as things are bad as it was during this week. Everything we do in conference the people say we are going to be arrested. Are we going to stand all the remarks of the people outside. I would like to say to you members that the executive committee should remain as it is in the Free State. We should work according to our constitution which the Government already took on Tuesday. You will see we have elect members outside Bloemfontein, but our constitution does not allow that, and we must work according to the constitution. We have overtramping this constitution. The public must see that Congress is for everyone. So, Mr. Chairman, I would like you to let me have the constitution as it was made. Those who are elected as delegates should know that the Bloemfontein executive committee remains the same. I thank you Mr. Chairman as I know Bloemfontein has carried them all from the Durban conference to the Congress of the People."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Moses Nola.

Laat sy toespraak uit. Wie het na hom gepraat ?-- Jim Mahlayane.

Laat sy toespraak uit. En daarna, wie het toegepraat ?-- Samuel Legegeru.

Laat sy toespraak uit. En daarna ?-- Leslie Monanyane.

Laat sy toespraak uit. En wie het toe daarna gepraat ?-- Caleb Motsabi.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "I would like to carify you of the members absent from here, you can even elect those absent from this meeting. As you all know, members of African National Congress, that we are faced with great dangers of demanding our bread. They real demanders of bread not half loafers. Men who are in demand of full rise, men who don't care wat Faro say. During our lifetime that's all I want to say, sons and daughters

of Africa." In our commandments the people shall govern. When the people govern they shall elect their own leaders. The leaders will have to take from the people they govern. You all know we are so many races and we are governed by people. You didn't elect and people you don't know. I would like to tell you that I have speak in several meetings where there was more people than here. You should fear nothing and know that we are all brothers and sisters. You should elect your own leaders and not the leaders to elect themselves."

Wie het daarna gepraat ?-- Martha Mohlakoane. (156.)

Laat uit wat sy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat ?-- Shadrack Malang.

Laat uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat ?-- Caleb Motsabie.

Dieselfde persoon wat vroeër gepraat het ?-- Dis reg.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Mr. Chairman, Sons and daughters of Afrika. I am very glad to see a few here this afternoon. One thing I want to say, as they call me chief in volunteer, my request is this, when you go out ask your friends to sign this Charter. I don't know as some of you will take it as treason or sedition. I want to tell you this is not an organisation for treason or sedition. All organisations have been raided and they preach the same as we do. I think on Tuesday if I wear black green and yellow, I would have been arrested. One unlucky thing in my house was a small African National Congress flag which was confiscated, something which is unlawful is the confiscation of photographs. I bear this in mind, that this is only threats by the Government. Remember that you who are here must go and preach to your friends the freedom gospel. If you volunteer there is not much work for volunteering. If there is to be any arrest, only the people sitting in front here will be arrested. I remember that you have all read the Freedom Charter and there is nothing dangerous in it. If a person is faced to be defeated, he tries everything to destroy another. Of what

happens on Tuesday. On Tuesday it was better because there was no guns. I think they took some African National Congress badges. All the others, Africans, it is time to be free. Go on preaching this freedom gospel."

Wie het na hom gepraat ?-- Jacob Mafura.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Ja. (155)

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- Hy bedank die persone wat die vergadering bygewoon het. "On Tuesday I laugh when they raid my house, because I know Strijdom and Swarts were going, and one day Strijdom, Luthuli and myself will sit at this table and make the laws. We are all God's children."

(Notas ingehandig G.432.)

GEEN KRUISVERHOOR:

VERDERE VERHOOR DEUR P.A.:

(22/1/56.)

Op 22/1/56 het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Dis reg.

Hoelaat het die vergadering begin ?-- Die vergadering het om 2.30 nm. begin en om 5 nm. verdaag.

Where was the meeting held ?-- Batho-vierkant, Batho Lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Wie was die voorsitter van die vergadering ?-- Enoch Mplandiwe.

Het jy notas geneem by die vergadering ?-- Ek het.

Het jy nou jou notas by jou ?-- Ja.

Het die voorsitter die vergadering toegesprek ?-- Hy het.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- Enoch Mplandiwe verduidelik die permit se inhou aan die gehoor en sê: "We must have black bus drivers. We all know about Bantu Education. It is a slavery and we shall fight it until we have defeated it. We want a universal education. The women passes we want you men to give your opinion about the women passes. We will give everyone a chance to speak. Our African National Congress committee is totally against this passes for women. The gaols are full we don't like

it because this pass is an apartheid law. I think you all know this is a slavery document and we don't want it. We are appealing to you ladies. You even know if you are the wife of someone and you don't work you can be expelled. The Europeans are not arrested when they do not work. Those passes are only for black people. I go to the African bus drivers. I want all of you to give your views as we want the buses to be driven by African drivers. Some people say the time is not ripe for Africans to drive buses. In Jo'burg, Port Elizabeth and all big cities, buses are driven by Africans. You all know about the Freedom Charter and it must be signed by all of you. It was drawn up by four organisations, Africans, Indians, Europeans and coloureds. The laws must be the same for all and the wages must be the same. And we want equal rights. I think you have seen in the papers that from next month the European police will get more pay. We are going to fight these unjust laws. You have seen these cards, where the two hands meet, one should be a black hand and one a white hand. I think that apartheid is not liked by one of us. If it was not for apartheid there wouldn't have been Bantu Education and pass laws. We have seen our leaders have been expelled from Parliament. When the Nationalist Government came to power all our people were expelled. We want our own black drivers in the location."

Wie was die volgende spreker?-- Caleb Motsabi.

Laat sy toespraak uit. Wie het na hom gepraat?-- Gabriel Dechabe het na hom gepraat.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes?-- Hy is. (153.)

Lees wat hy gesê het?-- I thank you Mr. Chairman. On our programme we got five items. I will speak on the Freedom Charter. We Africans know that we were brought free to this Continent, but the Europeans make slaves of us. I will remind you Africans that the freedom is in your hands. Fellow Africans, let us come together and demand our freedom. We are made by God as people

and not as slaves. If the Europeans think they can make laws without us we will oppose it. I leave the Freedom Charter and take the pass laws. You have all seen the new nylon vans since the pass came into action. They are just for Africans and not Europeans. The Europeans are very intelligent and know they bring the pass to our women and mothers. Just imagine, we have always been kicked around and will all this happen to our women to be kicked around and thrown into the pick-ups. I say away with passes for women. If someone was a dressmaker in the location she will have to leave it and go scrub floors. The Government wants the passes so that our women can be arrested as we are arrested. They build a lot of new gaols. I say these passes are just a paper of slavery. These passes are just a badge of slavery. Now we will keep on and say the same until we die. That is why the Government take away our leaders, but we will keep on with the work. If the Government tell us that we got freedom we will tell them they tell us a lie. One of the Nationalist leaders said in the paper that we are exempted from the pass laws, but it is not the truth. We are not consulted about our women who must carry passes. I am sorry my time is up otherwise I would have you more lies of the Government."

Who was the next speaker?-- Caleb Motsabi.

Laat sy toespraak uit. Wie het na hom gepraat?-- William Sebitlo.

Laat ook uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?-- Jones Kgasane.

Laat uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?-- Rubin Malekele.

Laat uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?-- Martha Mohlakoane.

Is sy een van die beskuldigdes?-- Ja. (156.)

Wat het sy eintlik gedoen?-- Sy het n paar liedere aangehef om die gehoor in n beter stemming te bring wat nie veel aandag

aan die toesprake gelewer het.

Wie het daarna gepraat ?-- Jacob Mafura.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is. (155)

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, I was not prepared to make a speech this afternoon seeing that I am not well. I will ask you to give that respect to Chief Luthuli who will be soon Prime Minister of Africa. My committee members are worried if a person don't respect his leader he can't respect his own house. Sons and Daughters of Africa, I think my young men has put everything to you. In the history of Africa the African did not suffer a crisis as they suffer now. Dr. Verwoerd who introduced the pass to the African women. What are the African people going to do. We want all of you to come forward and join the struggle. Dr. Verwoerd has put it very plain that the pass is good. It is only the African National Congress who is opposing it. I agree it is good for the farmers, because then they can shoot some more. You find that the people arrested for passes are far above the other crime. When the pass come to the women the Minister of Justice will have to spend another few million pounds on gaols. Dr. Verwoerd said the book the African men carry is not a pass. Dr. Van Rooy the chief of the administration department in Pretoria made it clear in the paper. You are liable to be arrested anywhere in the street. Who asked Dr. Verwoerd to be a guidance to our women. We are there to look after our own women and Dr. Verwoerd must look after his own wife. You must know there is a Population Registration Act and you must be registered. But yours are different from the others. The pass is coming to the Free State again and it is a challenge to you. It will disgrace you. The African police and the European police who are very uncivilised. These people don't know how to buy bread for their wife will get jealous and ask you your pass. Will you stand that a man drag a woman around in the street. It is a challenge, the pass has made the Africans to have no place in

Africa. They say they can't get Africans to work but they kill them daily. They are forced to work. When you people can follow the African National Congress Verwoerd will go like this. We say follow the leaders of the African National Congress and the day Verwoerd introduce this pass to the women I will tell you what to do. The Bantu Education has shown its fruit. Verwoerd refused an African boy to go and study overseas, so that is the fruit of the Bantu Education. Keep them down, keep them down, so that Strijdom's white baasskap can stop. They forgot that the Europeans who drive the buses in the location vote for apartheid in 1948. Why can't we have African bus drivers here in Bloemfontein and if we can't get it we will call Verwoerd and tell him his apartheid has failed."

Wie het daarna gepraat?-- Martha Mokoane.

Jy het al vantevore na haar verwys?-- Yes.

Laat uit wat sy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?--

Caleb Metsabi.

Laat uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?-- Shadrack Malang.

Laat ook uit wat hy gesê het. Wie het daarna gepraat?--

Jacob Mafura.

Jy het alreeds na hom verwys?-- Ja.

Lees wat hy gesê het?-- Kondig aan dat Rev. Huddleston gevra het dat almal die Freedom Charter moet teken. "A message to those who are working in town. You should not take passes in town but should come and take with other women in the location."

Was dit die end van die vergadering?-- Nee.

Wat het daar gebeur?-- Naturelle vrou Martha Monanyane, die vrou van Leslie Monanyane, het gepraat.

Wat het sy gesê?-- "When a speech is made the people laugh."

Laat haar toespraak uit. Is dit die end van die vergadering

?-- Ja.

(Notas ingehandig G.433.)

HOF VERDAAG:

COURT RESUMES 1/5/1957

MR. COAKER ADDRESSES COURT:

Leave granted to Accused as previously stated to participate in feast of Ramadan.

Accused Absent: No. 111, F. Matemela.
No. 80, J. Busa
No. 132, Chief Luthuli
No. 116, S. Kamipi.

Further Accused absent as previously stated.

JACOB LODEWIKUS BAARTMAN, duly sworn, (31/7/55)

EXAMINED BY P.P.: (MR. VAN DER WALT):

You are a detective head constable, S.A. Police, stationed at Bloemfontein?-- I am.

On the 31/7/55, did you attend a meeting of the African National Congress at Bloemfontein -- which location?-- I did, in the Bochabella Location.

Did Sgt. Louw, the last witness, accompany you?-- He did did.

Did both of you make notes at the meeting?-- We did.

Who commenced to make notes?-- Louw commenced.

Did you make notes in the same book?-- We did.

Did you also take down speeches, and make notes of speeches?-- I did.

Whose speech did you take down?-- Part of G.430. I didn't put the man's name down. I just continued from where Louw left off.

Refer to those notes and tell us where you started?-- I have it now.

Whose speech was it?-- I am referring to the speech of Marth Mohlakoane.

Is she one of the Accused?-- She is. (156)

Will you please read from where Sgt. Louw stopped?-- "I now see what you think of the suggestion. Only 25 voted for it. I like you people that does not know the work of Congress to listen. Was anyone warned beforehand that you should pay your taxes. That is why you have blockmen. They fix everything

for you. But you do not listen to Congress here. I introduce Mrs. Lydia to tell you what is being done. I am not referring to Mohlatsi. He is a relative of mine. I wanted to cancel the meeting but the efforts of Leslie is here to help us. Tomorrow you will go about and say I was talking a lot of nonsense. Congress is here at the end of the year." Daarna sing hulle n lied.

Who was the next speaker of whom you took notes?-- The next speaker was Samuel Legegeru, 2514 Melk Street, Bochabella, c/o Williams Hunt & Co., Bloemfontein.

Read what he said?-- "What we want is what we have worked for must be given to us. I do not want to be deprived of my share. Our masters must realise we are humans and respect us. A visitor is arrested if he is not booked in in the location. There is no love for us by our masters. We want to live peacefully. Thank you." The next speaker continued, Caleb Motsabi. "I want to point out what has been said and by Leslie on the Congress of the People. Men and oppressors in your land of death you have heard what was said. It says the pass is only two miles from you women. We were blamed to be mad. Join this organisation. It will come to an end for drawers of wood. rains will not go if it is not for you people. What you work for is jus enough to feed your stomach. How is it for you fellow Africans if you work and the hours are thrown away. Are you satisfied that you worked from 4 a.m. to 5 p.m. and then find you have worked or are booked only two hours. I know that some of you talk things that you do not know. You are not Bantus. You are Africans. The foreigners are Bantus. If you are claiming your freedom, you are called a heathen. If that is the case then Jesus was a heathen."

Was that the end of the meeting?-- That is the end of the meeting except for a small note that I have made at the bottom. "£1.6.- op die tafel, verkoop van pamflette. Die vergadering was toegemaak met n gebed en gesing."

(No further questions)

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED:

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (18/9/55)

On 18/9/55, did you attend a meeting of the African National Congress at Bochabella Location, Bloemfontein ?--
That is so.

The witness Sgt. Louw accompanied you to the meeting ?--
Yes.

Did you take notes at the meeting ?-- I did.

Did you only take notes of some of the speeches ?--
Yes, part of the speeches of the speakers.

And did witness Louw also take notes at the meeting ?--
He did.

Who was the first speaker whose speech you took down ?-- I haven't got the first speaker. I have only the notes from where I took down the speech of Gabriel Dechabe.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- He is. (153)

Did Sgt. Louw commence the notes of his speech and you continued ?-- I did. It was the same book, but I continued on another page.

Will you read what you took down ?-- Gabriel Dechabe.
"I say what already has been said about the Bantu Education and pass laws. This new testament of ours, the pass, it must be killed. Their mistake they did not consult us or our leaders. They despise us. Our brains are as short with our hair. But put us with a European and we will show you. They tell us South Africa is a democratic country. They mean by that that they rule and make the laws. This South Africa is unconstitutional. The Government is unconstitutional. The laws are unjust. Christianity is going to be somehow I do not know. We know a democratic country for the ruler. One sixteenth of the rulers, of this country, laws made by them and does not concern others. And only unjust laws are passed for Africans. (English)" The

next speech was said in English. "The Minister of Justice says natives are governed sympathetically. No one sentenced to death was reprieved, said by the Minister of Justice. Is that sympathy? If you are forced mothers to carry reference books. If we are parted or separated from our wives. We are not consulted. The Government should think we want to eat. When making unjust laws they never make mistake of raising our salaries. Yet they are so sympathetic and democratic. When we are openly treated, chased in the streets, there is no more shame for an African to be arrested for nothing." This was said in English. "We shall be non-violent until we get our freedom. We are called Africans and we shall remain Africans. I am speaking to you to read that pamphlet. We want freedom. Mayibuye."

Who was the next speaker?-- The next speaker was ~~J.B.~~ Mafura.

Is he one of the Accused?-- He is. (155)

Please read what he said: "-- "I greet you. I have not much to say. The speakers have covered the field. Speakers have profited what I want to say. Government still gives us a chance to speak. Justice has said that they are not afraid of opposition. No Government will stand if there is no opposition. In Heaven there was opposition. Opposition has grown and we are going to oppose our Government. We are not concerned about a name as long as it is against us we will oppose it. People were worried what happened in Johannesburg re race classification. I must say a few words to hurt you. People were happy when coloureds were going to carry a pass. I want to remind the coloureds of things. All along when the Government made a law for the African, the Indians and coloureds were skipped. They thought they were safe. In 1910 the Land Act was passed. The Indian and Coloured did not stand with us. In 1936 when the Native Representative Act came into power a protest was called. Coloureds and Indians said this does not affect us.

In 1952 in Bloemfontein with the Defiance campaign the coloureds said we do not want anything to do with the kaffers. They forget the white man walked like a tampan. Now there is a big cry. They are going to die. We are in hell already. They had everything very nice. They will burn when they got to come to thi location. That is why I say we must sympathise with them. It was said that we are arrested daily. We do not care . We call on the coloureds when he is classified as a native it will be a simple thing. The pass is the greatest enemy of the black man. I don't want to see any race to carry a pass. The biggest slavedrivers in the Transvaal get Africans. We must have sympathy when the coloureds are classified as Africans. It is not all Europeans, coloureds or Indians that are against you. When God despised the Jews he had them on the last day. We will have them on the last day. I just think whether this God is now cockeyed, because he said 'Love they brother as you love yourself.' Did he say 'Make apartheid and let them carry a pass.' Christianity is coming to an end. The Nationalists has made them what they are today. There is no other heaven except the graveyard and the hell is the grave. We must go to God and demand. Say we want to be free. We must say you created us as a nation and we want our freedom. Since the Strijdoms have come, the Africans have realised that they are awakening. You must ask yourself what are going to be your future. When you are divided, how can you fight. The Afrikaner unites. If the one walks this side and the other that way, then there is danger. I want to appeal to you. There is only two parties n this country. It is Luthuli and the Nationalists. There is no other party that worries the Nationalists as the African National Congress. It is there from 1912 and it is going t stay. Africa belongs to the black and white who live here. Strijdom believes in apartheid. There is only two heavens. Strauss is like fish in the water, he does not know where he is.

I say there is only two parties. Those officials are not worried about Strauss. They worry about me. Strauss has today got a defiance campaign with women and I believe they are worrying Strijdom and Swarts wherever they go. We can only complain and keep on. God helps those who help themselves. To come here and go home and sit down is just as well you don't come here, we want members. Let us get up Sons and Daughters do what Kadalie said in 1926, when Smuts and Hertzog were fighting Kadalie sat on top of a tree. He said: Let them fight. When Strauss and Strijdom are fighting, let us come in. When the women of the Black Sash stood there this week with the conference, one woman said to the other: We must stand as we did in 1940 with Smuts. Every race has its own rebels. We can't all go and think one way. There is a great call by Luthuli. Not like this one at Thaba 'Nchu. (Fenjan.) On the 26/6/55, you had a big congress to show you that was a congress. The police did not trouble those people. I congratulate them. Not one was stabbed. They were guided by Swarts men. Luthuli has called for a million signatures. Everyone has got to sign his name in this Freedom Charter. Now, for the Bantu Education you must poison your own children. I can't take your child to the doctor. Where does civilisation come from. It comes from the east. The white man said it comes from the East and was brought here. Now they say it is from the West. But if you want to go to the West for education they refuse you. They tell you we have Bantu Education, but they forget South Africa does not belong to the Afrikaner. We can have Indian Hollander education but in a multi-racial country like this we have Bantu Education. We want education so that we can understand each other. It should be in universities. The teachers are now being changed to women, because Verwoerd say men cost too much. One said the money must be stopped as long as the boycott goes on. Let me tell this man we pay £1 a year. Then the Government comes and say they pay

for our education. We have direct taxes. In the trains there are taxes. Gentlemen, we are leaving the Bantu Education in your hands. You are the parents. Congress said, no, the Bantu Education Act is no good. Thank you."

Who was the next speaker ?-- The next speaker was J.D. Seku.

Omit his speech. Who spoke after him ?-- Emery Molatole.

Omit his speech.

(Notes handed in G.434.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (13/5/56.)

On 13/5/56, did you attend a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- I did.

Where was it held ?-- At Bochabella Location, Bloemfontein.

Did the witness Sgt. Louw accompany you to the meeting ?-- He did.

Who commenced to make notes at the meeting ?-- Sgt. Louw commenced to make the notes.

Did you also make notes ?-- I did.

Did you use the same book again ?-- The same book was used.

Were there various speakers at the meeting ?-- There were.

At what stage did you commence to make notes ?-- I took over from Sgt. Louw more or less half-way through the speech of Leslie Monanyane.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- He is. (157)

Read what he said ?-- I continued from where Sgt. Louw stopped. "The other day we received a letter from Molotole. He was supposed to be here today. He is being banned by Swarts. He may not meet more than five people and that will be in force for five years. He must also resign from the African National

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