MCH91-3-1-10 . Y. 5. The government will be ruthless. They will probably try to cut us off from one another, censor the Press, use their propoganda machinery to malign the leaders, mislead the people and spread falsehood about the campaign. Let nobody depend on either the Press or Radio. I, myself, MANGALISO SOBUKWE, one of the P.A.C. leaders, acting on my behalf, will call off the struggle, after our demands have been fully met. FORWARD THEN, TO INDEPENDANCE NOW, TOMORROW THE UNITED STATES OF AFRICA! Yours for emergent Africa, Mangaliso R. Sobukwe, President Pan-Africanist Congress" We are not going to burn or damage any part of the Pass Book in any manner. We are not going to fight or attempt to fight, insult or attempt to insult, provoke or attempt to provoke the police in their lawful duties. We are not going to throw stones at the police or do anything that is going to obstruct the police. Any person who does all these things shall be dealt with by the police, of course, and we, as an organisation, shall further deal with him. Nobody is carrying money, knives or any dangerous weapon with himself tomorrow. People are not going to join this struggle with evil personal interests in it. Nobody is going to burn any building, office, school or any property of the government. Nobody is going to cut wires or make attempts to cut the railway lines. Nobody is going to burn anu bus or threaten anybody. If anybody does all these things and the police begin to shoot, any person who will die or reveive injuries shall be demanded on the head of the mischief maker. The Gods of Africa shall pass judgment on such a person. The same applies to the police. We do not want to be provoked in any manner. We do not want to be given impossible instruction such as - disperse in three minutes - or some such mumbled orders. If the police officer wants us to disperse we

shall disperse. Our leaders will always be on the spot to tell us what to do. We do not want to be tossed about. If you baton charge us we shall not run away but we shall not flight back.

We shall leave you to the judgment of the eyes of the world and the the Great Gods of Africa.

In short - we know what we are doing and we know how to do it.

My prediction is that these police will not arrest us tomorrow.

What they are going to do is to arrest the leadership - the so-xx called agitators or inciters.

The peop; e will be told to disperse and go to work. In that case, the President's order is that you peacefully disperse, without making any noise or interjections. You go home, sit in your houses and paint the house or dig the garden or even play drafts.

You know our demands:

Abolition of Pass Laws, minimum salary of £35.-.-. and no victimization of leaders or the people.

Be careful of New Age, City Post, and possibly the Argus. Let us close our ears to what the newspapers say and continue with our dynamic programme. We shall win.

We said that "those who are not with us are with the enemy"

- at least Mr. Nokwe told us where he stands in yesterday's

"City kikk Late". You know what is happening to the Hon. Adv.

Duma Nokwe. Yes, it is the work of the good white man 
umlungu osithandayo. Perhaps Duma Nokwe is not carrying a pass 
we do not know.

Whether the struggle fails or succeeds, somebody is to blame for to-morrow's country-wide uprising. Strictly speaking, the campaign is not of our own choice. The hardened stubborness of the oppressor-group has driven us to a point of desperation. Whether the oppressor likes it or not the Pass Laws must go to-morrow. The myth of white supremacy must be blown to oblivion by the avalanche force of African Nationalism which sweeps the entire continent.

I request the Senier Police Officer in charge to phone
Dr. Verwoerd after this meeting and tell him that "Hyy,

Fellow Africans, the hour for service, sacrifice and suffering has come. Let us march in unison to the United States of Africa. Let us march to a new and independent Africa with courage and determination. Let us unite and fight relentlessy for a noble cause.

Forward to Independance: Forward:

Okaffele baphambene ngoku!"