

European rulers can associate their non-European subjects in a truly national state." Would you agree with Rev. Thompson if he says that those are the quotations which he read out?-- Yes, I cannot deny it.

(No further questions)

MR. SLOVO: NO QUESTIONS:

NO RE-EXAMINATION:

(2/3/1956)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

On the 2nd March, 1956, did you attend a meeting of the S.A. Congress of Democrats?-- Yes.

Where was it held?-- On the City Hall steps. Johannesburg.

What time did the meeting commence?-- It commenced at 1, but I came late. I did not write from the commencement of the meeting.

Until when?-- Approximately 2 o'clock. It concluded a little before 2. It was a lunch-hour meeting.

Who was the chairman at the meeting?-- The Rev. D.C. Thompson. He is amongst the Accused. (78).

Did you take shorthand notes at the meeting?-- Yes.

You have the transcript of your shorthand notes?-- I have.

When you arrived what was happening?-- The Rev. Thompson was speaking when I arrived.

Did you take down a portion of his speech?-- Yes.

Will you read what he said?-- "It is a fact that the Africans are being economically integrated in the industries of South Africa. In South Africa there are many businesses, some financed by Afrikaners, yes, Afrikaner capital, where the majority of the workers are non-Europeans. I know of one concern which employs 176 Africans and only 15 Europeans. Figures prove that the Africans are being slowly but surely integrated in the economic life of the Union. On the continent of Africa, the Africans are in the vast majority, and that is a very serious thing. We have to face the fact that we live in a multi-racial country, that Africa

has a population of 198 million, of which only 5 million are Europeans, and of that only $2\frac{1}{2}$ million live in South Africa, and another $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in French Equatorial Africa. If we want to preserve western civilisation, not white civilisation, then we must call in the help of the non-Europeans. But I have other speakers here who will address you. The first speaker will be Dr. Press." Dr. Press then addressed the meeting. He is amongst the Accused. (No. 60). He said: "Citizens of South Africa, both first and second class. Our fathers in 1910, by insisting that the vote should be exclusively preserved for Europeans, committed a sin, and that sin is visited today upon us. Today this Government rules because of the so-called volkswil of the people of South Africa, but we know that fascism will never last. Even in Germany it never lasted. They also had their cooked elections, bad laws which people had to obey. In 1910 a sin was committed. This sin was to exclude the non-European people from the Constitution, and yet the non-Europeans have to do the work in South Africa. The majority of work in South Africa are being done by non-Europeans, yet they are not allowed also to share in the government of the country. We know that in 1910, the non-Europeans were not granted the vote, and that in 1936 the Africans were deprived even from the small rights they had, and now it is the turn of the coloureds, and I can see no reason why this Government cannot in future deprive any section of the population of their rights. They realise that they haven't got the support of all the Europeans in South Africa. They have all the power they require to deprive any section of the population of their rights under the Acts which they have passed. We know that together with the non-Europeans we will be able to work harmoniously until freedom is won. We know that we cannot limit that freedom to ourselves. Until all are not free, none will be free. The non-Europeans are looking

after our children, cleaning our houses, and looking after our interests, and they are prepared to fight with us against the apartheid policy of the government. In fact, they are already doing so, their organisations, organisations like the S.A.Coloured Peoples Organisation, and the S.A.Congress of Trade Unions are doing so, the latter the only trade union body in South Africa admitting membership of all races, all workers, and they are working for peace and friendship with everybody in South Africa, peace and friendship with all men and women in South Africa. And in order to achieve that, in order to see that we live in peace and harmony, they came together and drew up the Freedom Charter, the beginning of a new constitution, at Kliptown last year. The forces of government have been launched against the Congresses, this Freedom movement. The Government say that it is immoral to ask for unity, that it is immoral to ask to be free. Is it? In June of last year delegates from all over the Union, three thousand delegates in all, came together, they came from the towns, from the kraals, from the villages, from the cities, people representing the Europeans, the non-Europeans, the Afrikaners, the English, the Indians, came together in brotherhood and they drew up the Freedom Charter, a charter which guarantees freedom to all men and women in South Africa, and it is therefore incumbent upon them to fight so that the Freedom Charter can be implemented. We believe that this is the only basis on which we can build a free and democratic South Africa. All the major countries of the world denounce racialism. It is being denounced in Russia, England and America. Eden, Churchill, all the statesmen say that the different racial groups should all have equal rights, except here in South Africa. Let us have a closer look at the Freedom Charter. Let us examine it a bit. 'The people shall share in the country's wealth.' You are well aware with the conditions in this country, where the wealth

of the country is concentrated in the hands of one section of the population. In the Eastern Transvaal there are farms stretching for seventeen miles along the road, and this farm is not even occupied, not a cow, not an animal in sight, and this, whilst thousands die from hunger. 'All shall be equal before the law.' We read reports every day of cases where non-Europeans are sent to gaol for periods up to six months for trivial offences, offences for which a European might only get a warning. Then: 'There shall be work and security.' Now, perhaps there are people who don't like to work, but isn't it a pity that in this country there are thousands of people who want to work, but can't get work? There should be enough work for everybody. South Africa has rich iron deposits, the richest in the world. Why don't we work it together? 'The doors of learning and culture shall be open.' Education is universal, but here in South Africa the African section of the population has an inferior education. How can you expect them to become good citizens of the community if you deny them the most elementary human rights? Then: 'There shall be houses, security and comfort.' It is true that most of us live in comfortable houses in decent neighbourhoods, but have you ever been to places like Jabavu? Have you seen the rivers they call streets? Mud, six feet deep! The people cannot get to their houses. It is not possible to bring up a family in such a manner. 'There shall be peace and friendship.' The Soviet Consul has been thrown out of South Africa without one good reason being given for it, and yet we say, we want to live in a happy world. It is time that we realised that we live in a world with millions of people --India has four hundred million, China has six hundred million. What is wrong with the people of the Soviet Union and China? Do we want napalm bombs, do we want germ warfare? Do we want these things for our children? No, we want peace and friendship with everybody, but we will have to fight

if Fascism and wars have to go. And if they had gone, then only can we move forwards. These freedoms we will have to fight for if we want peace and friendship, and I therefore ask you to oppose this government, and to support the congress movement. I am sure that there are people of the right mind in the United Party, but that Party is afraid to move one step forward. Then the Labour Party and the Liberal Party. They have the right ideas, and we say to them, come with us, let us move forwards together. We welcome everybody, all the people of South Africa, all those who oppose the Nationalists. Let us all live in peace and freedom." Then the chairman again: "Thank you, Dr. Press. Before I call upon the next speaker, I want to tell you that we have copies of the Freedom Charter here. See that you get a copy. I hope you will be able to secure one. Let us go forward together. The next speaker is Father M. Jarret Kerr." He spoke, he is not amongst the accused. "Ladies and gentlemen, I am both sorry, and glad to have this opportunity to speak here this afternoon. The person who should have spoken is Father Huddleston of my community, but he has left us. I am glad of this opportunity to demonstrate that his community will still go on, and that the work he has done for twelve years in this country will not lapse. I intend speaking to you about the practical effect of the legislature passed by the Union Parliament. The effect of the South Africa Act, Amendment Act. This Act makes me think of the game of musical chairs. I don't know whether you are acquainted with this game. It is a game where a number of people, accompanied by a musical instrument, runs around a number of chairs, the chairs being one less in number than the people. When the music stops everyone has to rush to a chair and take a seat, one person then being left without a chair. Well, the Nationalists play this game well, they have a chair for everybody. Everybody secures a chair for himself. That is what is being put into effect in South Africa,

that the Nationalists are entrenching themselves to such an extent that they can rule the country with the minority of votes. They can pass any kind of legislation that they want, that they like. We can talk as much as we want, but they are driving towards total apartheid, total separation. That is the clear basis of all recent legislation. The spokesmen of the Nationalists, they themselves are quite clear about this, they say that the only way to maintain their leadership is by domination, baasskap as they call it, and that is what we have to acquiesce in, but what does that mean in effect to the average person? It means that the tentacles of the octopus are being spread wider and wider, that a totalitarian state is being established, that there will be an increased witchhunt for colour. Let me put it this way. Say for instance a person would come up to you and ask you whether your grandfather or your mother's side was left-handed. I would not know, would you? Say for instance a policeman comes up to you and says, we have investigated all your relatives on your mother's side, and they were left-handed, and being left-handed means something sinister. Being left-handed means that those people will not receive an education, that they cannot sit on the same seat other people sit on. Would you like that? There would not be a family album left, for perhaps people would be able to discern left-handedness from the photos in the album. You would not like that, I know it. Now only substitute for the word left-handed the word non-European. We have that condition here in South Africa. Where a policeman can by putting a comb through the hair of a person, classify that person one way or the other, and if he is classified one way, it would mean hardships, anguish. We have those things here in this country, under the Population Registration Act, the new Marriage Regulations, etc. All these things follow from what lies behind, white domination in this country. No other civilised country in the world would al-

low things like that. And the Prime Minister himself said, when they were discussing these things in Parliament, that the Europeans can only maintain their position if they are in a dominant position. What domination has ever been civilised? I heard the other day what someone, Cecil John Rhodes, said back in 1888. When someone asked him: 'What are we going to do with the Africans?' Natives, as they called them, and this was his reply. 'We will use a policy towards the natives, a policy of benevolent despotism which proved so successful in India.' How successful indeed that policy. It helped the people of India to attain self-government, and I say the same thing will happen in this country. Now, the government of this country will no doubt accuse me of inciting the people to revolution, of being a communist, for according to the Suppression of Communism Act but would it be incitement if, perceiving a dark cloud up in the sky, I would point towards it and say: 'Look, it is going to rain.' I am merely stating what is going to happen. But nobody is more guilty under the Suppression of Communism Act than the government. They are in fact by their acts inciting the non-Europeans, and their acts will lead to a revolution, not mine. So let us join together, all men of goodwill, and work for freedom and democracy, work in every way that is open to us, and this freedom can only arise out of justice." The chairman, the Rev. Thompson, then closed the meeting: "Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for attending this meeting here. We will hold similar meetings from time to time, and let us always remember that democracy depends upon eternal vigilance. Since the constitution of 1910, progress has taken place. The future is with all the people, take note of that, All the people. And a Christian must always be on the side of the people. A Christian is a friend of the people. Now, one final word. Thank you for your visit. The next step is to sign the Freedom Charter with the young lady at the table there. Don't forget to sign the

Freedom Charter." That concluded the meeting.

(Shorthand notes handed in Exh. G.425; Transcript Exh. G.426)

(MEETINGS IN FREE STATE TO FOLLOW):

FRANS SCHOLTZ LOUW, beëdig verklaar, (Tolk A.P. Van Wyk)

VERHOOR DEUR P.A.: (6/2/55)

U is n speurder sersant, S.A.Polisie, gestasioneer te Bloemfontein ?-- Ja.

Op die 6/2/55, het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Dit is so.

Waar was die vergadering gehou ?-- Die vergadering was gehou te Block 9, Bochabella lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Watter tyd het die vergadering begin ?-- Die vergadering het begin om 2.40 nm.

Tot hoelaat ?-- Die vergadering het om 5 nm. gesluit.

Hoeveel persone was by die vergadering teenwoordig ?-- Daar was ongeveer 200 naturelle vrouens en naturelle mans en ongeveer 30 kinders teenwoordig by hierdie vergadering.

Weet u wie die voorsitter by die vergadering was ?-- Die voorsitter by hierdie vergadering was Motopi, n naturelle man.

Het u notas van die toesprake gemaak by die vergadering ?-- Ek het notas gemaak van die toesprake wat daar gelewer was.

En het u notas u notas voor jou ?-- Ek het.

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

Will you read what he said ?-- Ek sal: No. 1 spreker, Motopi. "The removal of the Sophiatown people because those people are Africans as you are, and I want you to think about them this afternoon, of the people of Sophiatown. Pray for Luthuli who is in hospital in Durban. We must look to the beginning of April when our children will suffer. I want you to sing a humn and then will start my prayer for those people and President Luthuli.

Today's gathering is to explain that we are not unloved, ^{but} that it is us that made us unbeloved. I say through what I have heard last week because I do not know what you think as Africans, and if something happens you say it is the fault of the African National Congress, and you don't come and listen and then you put nicknames to the African National Congress people. Everyone of you must stand and take off your hats."

Who was the next speaker?-- Die volgende spreker was Aaron Mosieleng. "Now we have come to work as our programme stands. After reading the report I will explain everything. Africans should stand together in prayer. I will call on the secretary to give the report."

Wie het na hom gepraat?-- Jacob Mafura, No. 3 spreker, het hierna gepraat. "Africa! Afrika!"

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes?-- Hy is een van die beskuldigdes. (No. 155.)

Weet jy watter posisie hy in die African National Congress gehou het?-- Ja, hy is die president van die African National Congress, Oranje-Vrystaat.

Lees wat hy gesê het?-- "Afrika, Afrika, Mayibuye. Alles sal regkom. Sons and Daughters of Africa, I greet you in the name of Afrika. When I thought of making this short prayer today, Africans got no place to put their heads. But the Africans are just in the same position as Christ was. He also had no place to put his head. The danger that is facing those people in Sophiatown is also facing us, and only God knows what will happen on the 12th. It is not nice if something is yours and it is taken away. The devil states that he was chased out of heaven, and so are these people. As long as we got God with us who can go with us, and please avoid violence. Do not cause disturbance and bloodshed. I am talking about things that are coming to you. If those Africans feel unsettled in Sophiatown, you will feel unsettled in Bloemfontein. Robert Resha said you must pray

God this week; let us make Thursday a day of fast and no-one must eat and lift your eyes to God and avoid crime this week. On the 12th when this people are removed let us do another thing, let us mourn. Let us make Monday the 14th a day of mourning. I am sure even Dr. Verwoerd will be surprised. It is not only to the people of Sophiatown. It happens in the Western Province too. The Africans built all those houses and they got to leave it for those people who don't want to work. The Secretary will give you a brief address of Chief Luthuli's report. As far as our present Government is concerned, you just a kaffertjie. Our young people we also call upon them. There is great struggle for the Congress of the People. In this Congress of the people we want Marote's, teachers and each and every one to join. I think I made this things clear to the people. Afrika!"

Do you know a person by the name of Robert Resha ?-- Ek ken n naturel by die naam van Robert Resha.

Weet jy of hy tussen die beskuldigdes is ?-- Ek kan nie sê of hy hier is nie, maar as ek toegelaat word dan kan ek kyk en sien of hy daar is of nie.

I will leave it at that.

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Martha Mahlakoane.

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

Less wat sy gesê het ?-- "Mr. Chairman, government officials and even you residents of the location, you will be surprised why I was called upon to speak about passes. I don't know anything about pass laws, I just now nagpas. I want to tell all women in Bloemfontein there are places where women got to carry passes as Welkom and Odendaalsrus. An African from Welkom had to geta pass, a pass in the real sense of the word. She had to get it at the Welkom pass office. You women must listen. I specially speak to you; if you haven't got a pass you will go to

gaol or get out of Welkom. Last time when I was speaking to you, you said you talking nonsense. Today you got a beautiful pass with the photo of your husband in. You speaking about the new passes with the hard covers. May I say this to you, we are washing our hands as when you take a little child to be baptised in the name of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. You African children won't have a chance to go overseas to study. It will only be the Bantu Education. They say a dog is better than a kaffir. I say this because the Government has brocke us up today. He mixed caustic soda and food and say, eat. They want to kill us. The Government is taking us to the dirty places where he dumps all his rubbish. I got two children in my family."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Die volgende spreker was Samson Lebala.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "I just want to co-operate of what she have said about Welkom. I am a member of the Advisory Board, Welkom. This week the women was given passes. We are also forced to take passes when going to town. What you have heard is true. Just stand up and fight."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Leslie Monanyane;

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is. (157.)

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, and the government officials. We are now in a very difficult moment. It may be over, over, over, a week or tomorrow. I say it is not the African education. I am going to speak on the Congress of the People this congress is composed of four races of South Africa, the Africans, Europeans, Indians and the Coloureds of South Africa. This Congress of the People wants 15,000 volunteers. The campaign volunteers of 1952, we want freedom volunteers. The young people of South Africa are wanted in this campaign. I will call upon all the youth to come to the table and to join as freedom volunteers. Now coming to this Bantu Education Act.

The 1st April no African child will go to school, even if their parents want them to go, let them stay at home. No one will do anything to them. We will never go to school until we have fought this Bantu Education Act and this thing of the Bantu Education Bill will start with the young people in Sub-A. I don't think there will be any blame on them. It will be on us; we are their eyes, so I say if you think you an eye of the African people then fight this Bantu Education Act till Dr. Verwoerd will give it in our hands. So I call to all Africans to come to this table and to become members of the African National Congress. Thank you sons and daughters of Africa for lending me your ears."

Weet u watter posisie daardie spreker in die African National Congress gehou het ?-- Ja, hy bekleë die posisie van sekretaris.

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Ishmael Senoko.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Mr. Chairman, we are here today, because we can do nothing to our parents. This Bantu Education are opposed to our mothers, that it is a state of slavery. We know that Mr. Schoeman wants us on the mines and farms. I can still remember one day on the farm, 'Kaffir, kom sit hier.' I appeal to the mothers to stop their children to go to school on the 15th April and just stay at home and do nothing. I wonder what would happen. Dr. Verwoerd said an African shall not go to school if he is over 16 years of age. I mean as far as Bantu Education is concerned, a child is mondig when he is 16. I appeal to the mothers to stop their children on the 1st April to go to school."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Aaron Mosieleng.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "You have been listening to the previous speakers. You have listened to Dr. Schoeman and Verwoerd. I remember one day Dr. Verwoerd summoning an advisory board. He said Verwoerd cannot eat a little pap. As the Africans now claim freedom, freedom is right on hand." The meeting closed at

5 o'clock.

(Notes ingehandig G.427)

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. BERRANGE:

Have you attended many meetings of this nature ?-- Ek het.

Over a period of many years ?-- Nie so baie jare nie.

Well, how many years have you been attending meetings of this nature ?-- Van 1954 af.

That is three or four years ?-- Dit is reg.

And this meeting according to your notes took place more than two years ago. ?-- Dis korrek.

Have you got any independent recollection of what took place at this meeting; by that I mean an independent recollection which would assist you if you did not have any notes in front of you ?-- Nee, daarvoor het ek notas daarvan gemaak om dit te onthou.

Well, that is quite understandable, and therefore in order for you to be able to tell us what happened at this meeting, you necessarily have to refer to your notes ?-- Dis reg.

You wouldn't of your own accord be able to remember what language any speaker addressed the meeting in ?-- Nee, ek sal nie kan sê in watter presies taal elke persoon opgetree het nie, want hul het dikwels, Engels, n naturelle taal deur behulp van n tolk gepraat.

You were assisted by an interpreter ?-- Ja, wat n lid van die African National Congress is.

Who was this person that assisted you as an interpreter ?-- Ek sal nie by elke spreker kan sê wie die juiste persoon is nie want verskillende persone van die African National Congress tree op as tolk as een van hulle sprekers praat.

I see, when you say that you were assisted by an interpreter you mean that the speakers themselves had their own interpreters when they spoke in one of the African languages, and then you took down what the interpreter had to say ?-- As die spreker in natur-

elle taal gepraat het, het ek afgeneem wat hy deur behulp van sy tolk gepraat het.

What his interpreter said ?-- Ja.

And when an interpreter was not used, what did you do then ?-- Hulle was nooit toegelaat om sonder 'n tolk te praat as hy naturelle taal praat nie.

What do you mean they were never allowed, do you mean the police didn't allow them ?-- Reg, volgens regulasies het ons beheer oor die vergadering wat ons bywoon.

And you wouldn't allow these persons to address meetings in one or other of the African languages unless an interpreter was used to interpret what was being said ?-- Dis heeltemaal korrek.

And if one or other of the speakers had said: 'Well, I am not going to be bothered with an interpreter, or I'm not going to listen to these instructions from the police,' and had addressed the gathering in his or her own language, what would you have done, ?-- Volgens die regulasies in die Vrystraat kan jy daardie vergadering verbied en uitmekaar uitjaag.

And that is what the police would have done ?-- Presies.

I must plead great ignorance of the law; I must ask you to be so good as to tell me what regulation this is ?-- Ek ken nie al die Vrystaatse regulasies nie uit my kop uit nie, en ek dink dit is beskikbaar vir enige persoon om dit te koop.

Well, a regulation framed under what ordinance or Act ?-- Dit is onder die munisipale regulasies.

So the municipal regulations, you say, provide for this somewhat strange rule that no-one can speak in his own language unless it is interpreted into either English or Afrikaans ?-- Dit is so.

And the municipal regulation gives you, as a police officer, then, the right, if this regulation is breached, to disperse the gathering ?-- Dit is as ek in bevel is van daardie vergadering.

How can you be in charge of a meeting; you are not a member of the African National Congress, are you ?-- Ek is bly ek is nie. Ek sal u sê waarom ek sê dit, dat ek in bevel van die vergadering is, dat die persoon in senioriteit neem bevel van daardie vergadering.

DEUR DIE HOF: Hoe bedoel jy 'in bevel' -- jy kan nie in bevel van die vergadering wees nie. Dit is die beswaar wat gemaak word. Jy bedoel seker dat as jy moet beheer uitoefen, vir die doen en late by die vergadering ?-- Volgens die regulasies sê dit: You have sole control over the meeting.

We seem to be getting in deeper waters here.

BY MR. BERRANGE: I think I had better check up on this, Sir

BY THE COURT: I don't see how a policeman can be put in charge of a meeting. Het u die regulasies self gelees ?-- Ja.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Could you produce the regulation, Sergeant ?-- Ek is nie op hoogte met elkeen daarvan nie, en ek het nie daarvan n afskrif hier nie.

Where have you read this regulation ?-- Ek het dit gelees in die munisipale regulasies uitgegee deur die Stadsraad, Bloemfontein.

Yes, but where, where -- where did you read it; in your office, in somebody else's office, an attorney's office, or where ?-- Uit n afskrif wat ons in die kantoor gehad het.

You had in the office -- I take it is still obtainable then ?-- Op die oomblik is dit in besit van die Distrikskommandant, ja.

I am getting to the position where I will have to subpoena the District Comondant. Where do you say these regulations are obtainable and can be purchased; perhaps you can tell me where I can purchase one of these somewhat amazing regulations ?-- Ek is natuurlik nie op hoogte van elke posadres nie, maar dit

sal heelmoontlik verkry kan word deur die klerk van die Bloemfontein se munisipaliteit.

Very well. We will leave it at that. So what you say then is this, that at meetings of this sort, a police officer is put in charge of the meeting?-- Daar wat ek bedoel by 'in bevel' is beheer oor die vergadering.

In control, very well; a police officer is put in control of the meeting, and thereafter speakers are required to speak in one or other of the official languages and if they do not do so the officer has the right to disperse the gathering; is that a fair way of putting it?-- In die geval waar n permit aan hulle uitgereik was, ja wel.

And if meetings are held without permits?-- Hulle is nie geregtig in die munisipale-gebied van Bloemfontein n vergadering te hou sonder n permit nie.

And I suppose that one of the conditions on which meetings are permitted, is that at discussions at such meetings, they should take place in such a manner as not to provoke or tend to provoke a breach of the peace or any disturbance?-- Ja, die vrede steur in die onmiddellike omgewing waar dit gehou word.

In other words, things must not be said which are liable to cause any disturbance?-- Dit kan natuurlik gesê word, maar die moment wat daar moeilikheid veroorsaak word sal dit natuurlik onder die aandag van die voorsitter gebring word en hy sal moet beheer uitoefen oor daardie persone.

BY THE COURT: Are you expressing your opinion now, or are you quoting from the regulations?-- Dit is wat ons doen as ons n vergadering bywoon. Ek praat nie nou van regulasies nie.

I don't think we're concerned with the witness' opinion.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

No. I am only interested in the conditions under which a permit is granted, and one of the conditions I want to suggest to you is that the meeting must be held in such a manner as not to

provoke or tend to provoke any breach of the peace ?-- Nee, ek kan nie presies in woorde sê nie waaronder nie, maar dit word gewoonlik uitgereik 'provided nothing is said or done in conjunction with Act 8 of 1951.'

I want to know from you whether you are prepared to deny that one of the conditions of the grant of a permit, and as you see, I have got one in my hand here, that one of the conditions is that the meeting and the discussion must be held in such a manner as not to provoke or tend to provoke a breach of the peace; is that a condition of the grant of the permit or not ?-- Ek sal nie op hierdie moment kan sê of dit daar staan, want ek het nie n permit voor my nie.

But you must have seen hundreds of these permits ?--

BY THE COURT: Who issues these permits ?-- Dit word uitgereik deur die naturelle administrasie. Ek het niks daarmee te doen nie.

Of the municipality, you mean ?-- Yes.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Do you never see them ?-- Ek sien hulle.

Well, that is all I am interested in. You might well smile. In other words, the police have got to give their authority before the permit is granted, is that not so ?-- Dit is heeltemaal reg.

Well, why have I got to drag this out of you ?-- Die vraag is nie aan my gestel in die eerste instansie nie.

I am only interested in knowing whether you have seen hundreds of these permits, yes or no -- or dozens of them, or many of them, whatever you like ?-- Ek het al baie van hulle gesien.

Now, we have wasted five minutes in getting that admission from you ?--

BY THE COURT: I don't think that is quite the right thing. These questions have been put now, they haven't been put before. But

it may be that the witness knows about the condition; if he has seen many of these permits

BY MR. BERRANGE: That is all I want to establish, Sir.

BY THE COURT: If it is an invariable condition, then he ought to know about it.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Now, I am putting it to you that you have seen dozens of these permits, many of these permits, as you have now admitted, and that this is an invariable condition of every permit ?--
Ek sal dit nie betwis nie, ek sal dit ook nie erken nie.

BY THE COURT: Sersant, wat is die moeilikheid? U het tog al die kondisie gesien ?-- Ja, maar ek kan nie die presiese woorde onthou wat op elke permit kom nie.

Wat kan u onthou ?-- Dat die permit word uitgereik vir n plek en tyd.

Nee, van die kondisies; wat kan u onthou ?-- Soos ek reeds gesê het, die wat onderaan geskryf word, 'provided nothing is said or done in contravention of Act 8 of 1951.'

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

That is what is written by the police on the permit ?--
Dit word nie deur die polisie op die permit geskryf nie, dit word geskryf deur die naturelle administrasie onder die munisipaliteit.

After they have consulted the police ?-- Dit is reg.

Now, I am talking about the printed conditions of the permit; have you never read them ?--

BY THE COURT: The permit is actually printed, in fact?

BY MR. BERRANGE: Yes, it is in print; a printed document with only two conditions.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Isn't that so ?-- Dit kan so wees.

Don't you know ?-- Soos ek reeds gesê het, ek onthou dit nie.

Have you a bad memory ?-- Nee.

And you have seen dozens of these documents ?-- Dis nie al waarmee ek werk nie, so kan ek dit nie onthou nie.

I say you have seen dozens of these documents ?-- Soos ek gesê het, ek het al baie daarvan gesien.

And I put it to you there are only two printed conditions which stare you in the face . I will read them to you. (a) That discussion be restricted to the subjects mentioned below. (b) That the meeting and discussions be conducted in such a manner as not to provoke or tend to provoke a breach of the peace. The only two conditions on the permit ?-- Dit kan moontlik wees. Ek het dit reeds gesê. Ek sal dit nie betwis nie.

But you don't remember it ?-- I have already said so.

Don't you think it is rather important a prohibition against breaching the peace should be contained in a permit; don't you think that is somewhat important ?-- Dis heelmoontlik nodig.

I am not asking you whether it is possibly necessary; I am asking you to answer my question. Do you consider it an important condition ?-- Ek kan nie sê of dit belangrik is of nie.

What do you say is your rank ?-- Ek is 'n speurder sersant.

In what branch ?-- Is dit enigtiets te doen met die saak in watter afdeling?

Are you shy ?-- Nee, maar as dit betrekking het op die saak dan sal ek dit antwoord.

DEUR DIE HOF: Sersant, dit is nie vir u om te vra of dit relevant is of nie. U moet die vrae beantwoord.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

In what branch ?-- Die Veiligheidsafdeling.

In the Security Branch. And you a sergeant in the S.A. Police of this Security Branch, are unable to say whether you

think it is an important condition to contain in a permit that there should be no breach of the peace ?-- Dit is nie vir my om te sê want ek maak nie regulasies nie; ek kan nie sê wat is belangrik vir die munisipaliteit of wat is nie belangrik nie. DEUR DIE HOF: Ag nee, Sersant, kyk ons weet dit is nie die doel van die vraag nie. Die doel van die vraag is wat is u opinie; is dit belangrik volgens u mening, dit is al ?-- Volgens my mening is dit belangrik.

Ja, nou waarom moet ons die vraag herhaal.

(Geen verdere vrae.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(6/3/1955)

Op die 6/3/55, het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Dis heeltemaal reg.

Waar ?-- Batho Square, Batho Lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Hoelaat het die vergadering begin ?-- Die vergadering het om 3 nm. begin en om 5 nm. verdaag.

Hoeveel persone was by die vergadering ?-- Daar was met die begin van die vergadering 10 naturelle mans, 3 naturelle vrouens, en dit het lateraan gegroei tot 30 naturelle mans en naturelle vrouens.

Wie was die voorsitter van die vergadering ?-- Die voorsitter was Aaron Mosieleng.

Lees wat hy gesê het -- voor dit, het u notas gemaak by daardie vergadering ?-- Ja, ek het notas gemaak by hierdie vergadering.

Het jy nou jou notas voor jou ?-- Ek het. Mosieleng: "I declare the meeting open and we will start with the agenda. I think in the future we must call the meeting in the morning and see if we could get more people. Before going into the agenda, I want to announce that Mrs. Mothlokoane who was also a member of Congress was buried last week. We have three different things to discuss. Passlaws, Bantu Education, Congress of the People.

I will start with pass laws. Sons and Daughters of Africa. I think you have heard of the new passes when they were still in print. We told you that we were against it and that this passes if your first enemy. That is the reply of the Europeans 300 years ago. It has moved to a further scale. Today we have got as what you know the reference book. Some of the people that got the pass said that they can go wherever they like with this book, but it is not like that. That book only allow you in town as long as you work in town for the baas, you was registered under. You haven't seen anything because we had more like that. Apart from this big suitcase you carry, you must get another pass. We have told you before there is darkness on the black people. I think sometimes you have heard that you must get rid of it. Today we are marched like cattle. You have seen all those things and you must study it. There is nothing good. I got from the commissioner, I wish he was here to tell you how many times this pass will take you to gaol. I wish we got somebody to explain the pass to us. I am sorry there is no one in our race who can explain this pass to us. This pass tell you before leaving Bloemfontein you must first report yourself, and when you get to Cape Town or Johannesburg you must report in two days when you get there you must first report yourself and say you are here. If they caught you after three days without work you right in gaol. The Government show you that there is no better place for you than gaol. When you leave the location they picked you up under Section 17, and you right in gaol. No matter whether you are a teacher, minister or preach. You very well that we have been treated badly. They just got hold of you and shoved you in the van, no matter whether you break your neck, loose your teeth, or whether you die, they got nothing to do with us. Bantu Education, I like to tell you this coming education has no understanding and no one understands it. First I am going to ask you parents to give us your opinion as to this Act.

Is not going to take your children over Std. VI. Congress of the People. New Age was sold by Gabriel Dechabe."

Is die Dechabe een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is. (153.)
"This Congress of the People is not a new organisation. It is formed out of four organisations. A member of the African National Congress is a volunteer to the Congress of the People. I think this was the decision of the people. Today is a day for the Congress of the People that we can go back and tell them we have told you."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Caleb Motsabi.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- Hy het ' Afrika' driekeer uitgeroep. "Sons and Daughters of Africa. Education of our children which is governed by Verwoerd, who said our children are not to learn according to our children. I think if I got a child and I want to education that child. I want not my child when I send him to school I want that child to have a better education than I got today. Sons and Daughters of Africa, listen to me. I think today you can march up. Which nation can live without education today? If a nation opposed that another nation education is defeated. I think you can see what this education is driving to. At the coming month the Minister don't contact us. This education kill our children. Where is this Bantu land where this Bantu Education Act comes from? It is nothing. As Verwoerd has said, we are Bantus. Are you going to believe the Bantus or Africans. I am not appealing to you but the African National Congress is appealing to you. Organisation wants to know if you are servants of Verwoerd. Today you people carry passes and since 1912 the African National Congress appealed to you to fight it. Is it a Bible? No, it is a death warrant. I remember sometime in 1954 when I was on the annual conference, a gentleman asked what resolutions have you passed. Are you against this Bantu Education Act and against the removal scheme. Now your people are not settled. If one is not settled, the Congress of

the People is not settled. Today there is a gentleman called Verwoerd, said if an African is to be removed, it is like a wink of the eye. The machine of 2,000 policemen when you wake up a policeman is there. I must tell you you must think if your meetings are not well attended but that our few here, we the African National Congress, is not against a man who is created by God. The colour of the skin of a man, God will never be a fool. You know when a jackal is amongst sheep, you know something must happen. The shepherd God created everything under the sun. A police must be there. Some of them are so foolish that they cannot understand some of them are elected in the Special Branch and they know everything of politics. A policeman who is not well trained who are not gentlemen. A gentleman is a man who said: I only fight for my rights. Let me go back to passes. You blame the African National Congress for introducing this pass; the African National Congress has introduced no pass. Away with the pass. If you can govern this country, how would you govern it? I was born in this country. A whiteman in this country is of a great help to us. So are the Africans. A white man can't do without a black man in his kitchen where we "Hier is n woord wat ek nie nou kan lees nie. "... where we dig diamonds and gold. Who lose the most lives underground the Africans and what is your reward? Mine phthisis. Maybe wars can come because the world is not settled. I appeal to the field marshal of Sophiatown Mr. Swarts. He should send his lorries and ammunition the right time and not when the people are asleep. The way Resha acted, he acts right and the police did a hell of a good job for their master. You must know today in Bloemfontein you can build a house, but you not better off than the people in Sophiatown when Verwoerd with his artillery, machine guns, came you have no hope against them. Verwoerd sê: Slaan hulle met die sjambok hulle is almal kaffers. The field marshal of Sophiatown which is Verwoerd knows it is the African National Congress. Gaol is a college for

an African which is built on the farms. The African National Congress and the Nationalist party will be so happy to have no people in the African National Congress. We are a nation even if we are poor. Why can't Dr. Matthews represent us in parliament? Why should Ballinger do it? You are teaching your child to help him. Tomorrow, Sons of Africa, I tell you one thing, there is no better organisation in Africa than the African National Congress. They have always fight for you. A man like Father Reeves, Huddleston and the Bishop of Jo'burg are the only people we can believe is Christians. Afrika! Afrika! Mayibuye!"

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Die volgende spreker was Shadrack Malang.

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

Jy het alreeds gesê hy is een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Ja.
(153)

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Ladies and Gentlemen: I will concentrate on pass laws. This paper called a pass carried by the Africans is a warrant of slavery which refuses you to travel freely. The very passes contained in one booklet. It is true the very same pass that me don't get enough pay. It contains a lot of sections to help the police to take us to gaol. The lowest salary we are paid is through this very same pass. What good is this pass. This book is no good to an African. The moment you are sacked you got to go back where you came from. Now, my good friends, this is an enemy amongst us. Even our mothers got to carry it. The Bantu Education is taking us back to slavery. It includes Europeans, Indians and every living soul. This Congress is for all races to sit down and think what laws is good to govern the people."

(Notas ingehandig G.428)

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. BERRANGE:

In this meeting do you know which of the speakers used interpreters ?-- Nee, ek weet hulle het tolke, maar ek weet nie watter tolke gebruik is.

My question was a different one. My question was: Do you know which speakers used interpreters ?-- Al die sprekers daar genoem het tolke gebruik.

Do you remember telling me earlier this morning that you would have no independent recollection of what has taken place at these meetings, other than what is contained in your notes; do you remember saying that ?-- Dit is heeltemaal korrek.

I would like to ask you a question. This meeting of the 6th February, 1955 - first of all, in what language did this woman Martha Mohlokoane speak ?-- Nee, ek kan nie sê nie.

You don't know whether she spoke in Sesotho gepraat het?-- Nee.

Or in English ?-- Nee.

Are you able to tell us in which language Leslie Monanyane spoke ?-- Ek kan nie sê nie.

Or Ismael Senokwe ?-- Ook nie.

Or Matopi ?-- Nee.

BY THE COURT: You can't remember in which language any of the speakers spoke ?-- Nee, al wat ek kan onthou is hulle het in of n naturel of in Engelse taal gepraat wat teruggetaal was.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. BERRANGE:

Now then, at the meeting of the 6th March, 1955, in what language did S. Malang speak ?-- Ek kan nie sê nie.

And Mosieleng ?-- Ook nie.

I don't know why you found it necessary to inform His Worship that all these speakers spoke in an African language and that all their speeches were interpreted ?--

BY THE COURT: No, he said all the speakers used interpreters.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Do you say that all the speakers used interpreters?-- Dis reg.

Even when they spoke in English?-- Ja, dan het hulle dit aan die gehoor in naturelle taal teruggetolk.

Now then, when an interpreter was used, who interpreted into English, I take it you wrote down what he had to say, as much as you could?-- Dit is heeltemaal korrek.

And you also used his words in writing down what was said, you didn't substitute your words for his?-- Nee, ek het dit net neergeskryf soos wat dit deur hom getolk was.

And you used the same sort of grammar and the same manner of expression he was using?-- Ja, dit is soos ek dit neergeskryf het.

And you will agree that some of the things that have been recorded here, don't make any sense?-- Dis korrek.

And you say that is due to your inability to record correctly what the speaker or the interpreter said, or do you say that the interpreter was talking nonsense, or saying things that did not make sense?-- Dit is soos dit.... die wat ek afgeskryf het was net soos wat dit deur die tolk aan my getolk was. Ek sal geensins sê dat enige persoon onsin praat nie.

DEUR DIE HOF: Maar jy het erken dat daar is gedeeltes wat nie sin uitmaak nie?-- Dit is heeltemaal reg.

Waarom skryf jy dit toe?-- Dit is net die manier waarop die tolke dan teruggetolk het.

Is dit die tolk wat onsin gepraat het; en nie jy wat nie die vermoë gehad het om alles neer te skryf?-- Nee, soos ek gesê het, ek het dit afgevat alles wat daar op die notas is soos dit deur die tolk aan my teruggetolk is. So as dit nie sin maak nie, dan moes hy onsin.....

Dis nie aan jou te wyte nie, maar aan die tolk?-- Aan die tolk, ja.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Or the speaker himself -- if the speaker was speaking in English, and some of that which is recorded makes nonsense, then it is the speaker's fault, not your fault ?-- Dit is korrek.

I want to put it to you that that is not the case, and I don't say it in any spirit of criticism of you. But I want to suggest to you that your own knowledge of English is not sufficiently good to be able to cope with the speakers ?-- Ek het dit net afgeneem soos dit gepraat was deur die tolk.

Well, let's be fair. I want to suggest there may be a combination of two things, there may be a combination of your inability to hear, your own inability to hear and understand correctly on occasions, couple with, on other occasions, the interpreter or speaker not making himself clear; won't you concede that ?-- Dit kan heelwaarskynlik wees.

And that being so you would not be prepared to say in all cases where there is nonsense, or lack of sense, if you prefer it that way, that it is the speaker not you ?--

BY THE COURT: I think we must accept that on his final answer.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Yes. I still haven't got an answer to my question. Again, I don't put it to you in any spirit of criticism. I want to suggest to you that your own knowledge of English is not sufficiently good to enable you in all cases, in all cases, to be able to record everything that a speaker in English says, coherently; would you agree with that or not ?-- Ek is natuurlik nie 'n genie nie, ek sal daarmee saamstem.

No, you don't need to be a genius

BY THE COURT: He means that he is not so efficient in English that he is altogether infallible in recording what is said.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BERRANGE CONTD.:

Well, I am sure I would be a great deal worse in recording

would be a great deal worse in spelling myself, but just to give you an example. When you talk about a man breaking his neck, how do you spell the word 'break' ?-- Breaking.

And when you say somebody is going to shove you into the van. How do you spell the word 'shove' ?-- Ek het dit volgens my notas gespel 's-h-u-f-t-.'

And according to your notes you also spell 'break' -- 'b-r-a-k-e.' The word 'rob' is spelt 'r-o-b-b.' And so on.

BY THE COURT: I think he has acknowledged that he is not proficient. It is difficult for a man to gauge his own proficiency in any language.

BY MR. BERRANGE: Quite, but I think he has acknowledged the fact that it might at least be a combination.

(No further questions.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (19/6/55)

Op 19/6/55 het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Ek het.

Waar ?-- Freedom Square, Bochabella Lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Hoelaat het die vergadering begin ?-- 2.30 nm. tot 5 nm.

Wie was die voorsitter van daardie vergadering ?-- Die voorsitter by daardie vergadering was Enoch Mpandliwe.

Het u notas by die vergadering gemaak ?-- Ek het.

En jy het nou jou notas by jou ?-- Ja.

Het die voorsitter die vergadering toegesprek ?-- Ja.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- Enoch Mpandliwe, open vergadering en sê o.a.: "We got four items today on our agenda, and the most important is the Congress of the People and this made us to come together this afternoon, so that you Africans can elect the delegates to represent you at the Congress of the People on the 25th and 26th of this month. I as the chairman of the African National Congress have elect my people who will attend the meeting at Johannesburg. You remember the last war. Many people did not go but we finance. I want to call upon Mrs. Mohlakoane to

say a few words, as she is the treasurer."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Die volgende spreker was Caleb Motsabi. "Afrika, Afrika, Afrika, Mayibuye. Sons and Daughters of Africa and government officials. We are here today to wave farewell to those who are here, for next week we will be in Johannesburg at the Congress of the People where all races of South Africa will be together to say something about their land, South Africa. Yes, all four Provinces will be represented. False statements will not be accepted, but the true ones will be, and everyone who wish to go will be welcome. There is no one who will say God sent me to this land to be a black race of the land. So everyone who wish to go will be welcome. Understand this Africans. Since we had these books we never had any gatherings as today, but the enemy is here to break everything, but all those will never come right. The enemy has made its decision to the Congress of the People but still all this will never happen it is only to show itself. Today we have applied for a permit first, if somebody applied before us, we wouldn't have got it. But look there Africans, what is now taking place over there. When did they apply for a permit. But today the police left their duties to come and see to this gathering. All those policemen are not politicians, but the gentlemen in the car are writing a history of what I am saying. But next week we will be at Kliptown where all the nations will meet and they will never disappoint us going to Kliptown at Johannesburg. Africans, it is not only Bloemfontein but all the races of Africa and even those from overseas. They have sent messages to us which have surprised me. When reading it, because I couldn't believe that a black man was created by God. The Europeans from overseas realise that we as a black nation are created by God. Today we live under a Government which you can call a police state. No African can say he is free because they are all handcuffed. There is no country without a Government, but it must

be a government for all of us and for all living beings on this black continent of South Africa. This is our land by birth. It is still clear Africans that you have told your children to be leaders of this flag of the African National Congress, so I feel very proud of the few listening to me, and I say we got leaders who are more educated than Mr. Strijdom, our Prime Minister. We are feared not because we have got machine-guns or hand grenades, but because we speak the truth. The time is short nowadays. What we are looking at is the conference of the Congress of the People where all races of Africa will be represented. There no-one of us will footed, because those going there will not foot, but you who want freedom must bring money, because they will be guarded with machine guns and ammunition like at Tobruk. The people who will be guarded, is people who will not even have a knife in their pocket. Although some of our leaders have been banned, remember the time is short, and we must only look forward to the Congress of the People at Kliptown, but you must collect money to send them there. Some leaders may be delayed and will have to go by air, so collect enough money. The African National Congress is an organisation not for a rich man or any one who own a car, but for all of you. Today I can say to you, where are your young children education. You all know that the leaders of the African National Congress told you not to let your children drink poison from this Bantu education, but all these things will be straightened out at Kliptown next week. Even this poison in the Bantu Education. It is not for me to stop your children from going to school, but you parents yourself. What do you think of people like Dr. Moroka and Professor Mattheus and Mr. Mafura. They are against the pass, but you think they mislead you, because they just want money to buy a car. Passes and Bantu Education is only for our Africans. Education, which is telling our Africans that a European is my baas, because I am black and will remain black because my tail is cut off. Education teaching

me to be a slave or a woodchopper or a water drawer for Europeans. So they can earn money through me. I don't want such education. Today policemen are hired to arrest only Africans under the pass laws. The gaols are full of our people and the new ones they built are also full. And is those testament the passbook in your pocket causing all this enslavement. We are told that passes will be issued to coloureds and the Europeans too. But why do they always start with the people whose land it is. The Government has already failed in governing us. A minister is a policeman and all those who don't want freedom is a policeman. I don't say there must not be any policemen, but look what our policemen and Mr. Swarts does. Minister Swarts gave the police more power to enslave us, but all these things we are fighting and on the long run we will win. We have already gained strength on these things."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Die volgende spreker was Leslie Monanyane.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Ja. "Sons and Daughters of Afrika and government officials. I once enter in a European bîscope when they played God Save the King. All people stood up to attention. But when we Africans sing our songs, you people are busy doing all sorts of monkey tricks, and you do all this when there are Europeans present. I will speak about the Congress of the People of which I have a lot of difficulties. About six months ago I introduce it to you, and it seems to me only the committee members are interested in it, but everyone will be welcome at Kliptown on the 25th and 26th of this month. I like to advise you that everyone who wish to go there, should see me before Tuesday, so that I can give him a card. But we got suspicious that people come to our Congress and then we found that they are spies. I will sign two cards with your name on, the one you get to enter at Kliptown, and the

other one I send to Kliptown so that they can check on it. The Europeans belongs to all sorts of parties, but we Africans only got the African National Congress. And how many of you are members of it. Remember unity is strength. Mr. Swarts even banned our leaders, because he sees it is not good to all Africans for them to preach to others or poisoning them. Sons and Daughters, at this Congress of the People you will find all races to draw a Freedom Charter, and this will be sent to Parliament to tell them how to rule this country. When we come back you will have to join Congress because we will have an indoor meeting to members only, to give them everything of what took place at Kliptown. We want ladies and gentlemen like those here in uniform to fight for freedom. We want women as nurses, as they had in the last war. The one who wants to go to Jo'burg must see me at 3373 Mtinkulu Street, to obtain a card for entrance. Listen : the late Field-marshal J.C. Smuts had women in his committees."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Die volgende spreker was Shadrack Malang.

Laat sy toespraak uit. Wie het na hom gepraat ?--Daarna het Martha Mohlokoane die vergadering toegesprek;

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

Wat het sy gedoen, verwys net na jou notas. ?-- Hierdie spreker was gekleed in n African National Congress khaki uniform en het die touskouers hewig begin aanval omrede hulle nie bydraes daartoe bydra om die afgevaardigdes se onkoste te dek nie. Hierna het die spreker aan die volgende lede van die Kongres n wapen oorhandig naamlik die swart Africa.

Aan verskillende persons het sy oorhandig, is dit korrek ?-- Dit is korrek.

Wie het na haar gepraat ?-- Hierna het Gabriel Dechabe gepraat.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Dis reg. (153.)

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "We are here to discuss Congress of the People, Pass Laws, Bantu Education and apartheid. We are all here about the item apartheid. Those who haven't know apartheid know it today. You see it at the station at the Post Office, and in shops, and one of the days it may be applied in the streets too. We have been told that Bantu Education is made up for Africans only. As far as I know, if you educate an African you will obtain the same education as Europeans and he will be real educated. But the Europeans say we are not in a good standard to govern our own country. I refer to the Gold Coast where you got an African as Prime Minister. Why can't we have it here? What is wrong with people like Professor Matthews and Dr. Moroka? But they will never become such because they say 'kaffer op sy plek.' You holding the paper "New Age" in your hand, you see a wheel with four spokes which represent the four organisations, which covered all races of Africa. So far every nation has gone forward, and we have been called upon here in Bloemfontein for delegates. What are we going to do to support this Congress of the People. It is up to us to send delegates. You don't have to be told about pass laws, because you know everything about it. You see what happens in Jo'burg can happen here too."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Jones Kgasane.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "I thank you Mr. Chairman and government officials, brave sons and daughters of the Southern Hemisphere. All my views will be on the points of my former speakers. When we come to the Congress of the People which is the most important of all. The Congress of the People as it is, is consisting of four congresses. Firstly, African National Congress, Congress of the People, S.A. Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats. This organisation, the Congress of the People is there to bring freedom to everyone, white, black, red yellow, poor rich. Yes, everyone of us in this Southern Hemi-

sphere has right to express our own views. Every white man or anyone feeling responsible for this may be there. You people as a whole, I want you to understand that the Freedom Charter will be drawn t Kliptown, so you must elect your delegates to go and stand for your demands. Those of you who have no transport, your demands will have to be sent by letter. You my people want to die like slaves, but I don't want to die like a slave and I don't want to see you die as a slave. I pray every day for you to get freedom. Let us make up our minds. Let us push forward. Freedom lies in our hands, so my people let us fight for freedom. God will see that we fight for something. There is a war of ideas and a war of ideas is more advanced than a war of arms. I thank you my people as you are so make up your minds as you are I call upon volunteers, volunteers, volunteers for Afrika, Afrika. You must think as I think and pray as I pray and we will fight for freedom."

(Notas ingehandig G.429.)

GEEN KRUISVERHOOR:

VERDERE VERHOOR DEUR P.A.:

(31/7/55.)

Op die 31/7/55, het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Ja.

Waar was dit gehou ?-- Freedom Square, Bochabella Lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Hoelaat het die vergadering begin ?-- Die vergadering het drie-uur begin en 5 nm. verdaag.

Hoeveel persons het die vergadering bygewoon ?-- Daar was ongeveer 50 naturelle mans en naturelle vrouens teenwoordig.

En wie was die voorsitter van die vergadering ?-- Die voorsitter van die vergadering was Leslie Monanyane.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is een van die beskuldigdes. (157)

Wie het u vergesel na die vergadering ?-- Ek was vergesel deur Sp. Hof. Konst. Baartman.

En het jy notas by die vergadering gemaak ?-- Ek het notas geneem by die vergadering.

En Spr. Hof. Konst. Baartman, het hy ook notas geneem ?-- Ja, hy het n gedeelte van die vergadering afgeskryf en notas gemaak daarvan.

En het beide van julle hoe het julle geskryf, op dieselfde boek ?-- Ja. Ons het net die een boek gebruik en ons het nie gelyktydig geskryf nie.

Wie was die eerste spreker wie se toespraak u afgeneem het ?-- Die eerste spreker van wie ek sy toespraak afgeneem het was Leslie Monanyane.

Dit is een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Ja.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Today we got a message of the Congress of the People here and it will be sold for 3d., which is for Chief Luthuli's message. The people speaking must confine themselves to the agenda, which is Congress of the People pass laws, and Bantu Education." Lees boodskap van Luthuli aan toeskouers uit. Party boere het te groot plase, elkeen behoort n stukkie te kry, en die tronke op die plase moet mee weggedoen word, want die mense word uitgehuur en deur die blankes geslaan en hulle gaan sonder kos, daar het ook al van hulle doodgegaan van die slanery.

Laat die res van sy toespraak uit, en gaan net na die end van sy toespraak, daar toe hy weer in Engels gepraat het, lees dit: ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, what is written in this book is our last report of Kliptown. I don't want any misinterpreters, you must listen carefully what is written in this book has been said at Kliptown. We must all agree that the people must not be governed by a group of people. We have been told that we have a representative, but it is not our representative. Those people I referring to our blockmen."

Wie het na hom gepraat ?-- Martha Mohlokoane.

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

Is dit een van die toesprake deur u genotuleer ?-- Ja.

Lees wat sy gesê het ?-- "I am mostly glad that the Government waste his petrol to go to Johannesburg. We don't make any progress if the Government officials are not here. These books we don't want to carry them back home. I see all along the Government accused me the other day. They took my badge, but it is you people who say I am to blame. I am glad Mr. Baartman protect us, and see us off at the Station. If only our people who are oppressed would get up and say something. All the things that are written here, may happen after a time. All this can happen if you people who are oppressed just agree. I don't want any blockmen here. Any person who claim to be a policeman just knock and say 'Open I am a policeman,' they have not even been properly dressed. The chairman of this committee was locked up because he had people who slept with him who had no right there. Those who say the police are right to come in at 4 o'clock in the morning in your house up with your hands. This book say the law should be equal for all. The Government got cells for their prisoners, but the municipal police just arrest left and right." Is dit al wat jy op daardie vergadering van die toesprake afgeneem het ?-- Dis reg.

Wie het verdere notas geneem ?-- Hoof-konstabel Baartman het verdere notas gemaak by die vergadering.

(Geen verdere vrae.)

GEEN KRUISVERHOOR:

(Notas ingehandig G.430)

VERDERE VERHOOR DEUR P.A.: (18/9/55.)

Op die 18/9/55 het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Dis reg.

Waar was dit gehou ?-- Bochabella Lokasie, Bloemfontein.

Hoelaat het dit begin ?-- 2.30 nm. tot 5 nm.

Hoeveel persone was daar teenwoordig ?-- Daar was ongeveer

250. naturelle mans en naturelle vrouens teenwoordig.

Weet u wie die voorsitter van die vergadering was ?-- Die voorsitter van die vergadering was Martha Mohlakoane.

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

Het Spr. Hoof. Konstabel u weer na die vergadering vergesel ?-- Hy het.

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

Het jy notas van die toesprake van al die sprekers gemaak ?-- Nee, ek het net van sekere van hulle wat in die begin gepraat het.

Het jy jou notas wat jy gemaak het by jou ?-- Ja.

Wie was die eerste spreker ?-- Die eerste spreker was Martha Mohlakoane. "Thanks the Government for what he did not to allow Africans to the new stadium in the Free State, because the Africans who want to go there can stay away and spend those money on their own people. Our Africans want to be spoonfed. I like to let you know that on the 17th, 18th and 19th December our conference will be held in this very new place. Strictly members will be allowed to enter the hall. I like to tell you Africans who are arrested every day. Even though you are not members of the African National Congress."

Wie was die volgende spreker ?-- Leslie Monanyane.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is. (157).

Watter posisie hou hy in die African National Congress ?-- Hy is provinsiale sekretaris van die African National Congress, Oranje-Vrystaat.

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- Leslie Monanyane, Secretary of the African National Congress, tell the people that they got pamphlets to sell for 9d. Sing the song 'Away with Bantu Education' "Africans the two letters I told you about of Chief Luthuli. I want all of you to sign this paper when they come around to you. Our representative Mr. Ballinger was here and he explains everything about Bantu Education. I don't know whatto say because

it was explained by a white man and it is just good enough to kill our children brains and our nation. The classification of races is very complicated, it just comes to kill our black nation. I say those coloureds at Heatherdale are all all right and say, if those coloureds come up here and we marry them and have children, what will they be. I am totally against the Minister's decision of the classification of races. Tell them I am a Msutu they must believe it. Our blood is all red. They brought the Bible here and we understand it. There is not such things in Europe, America, India or Asia. It is only in South Africa. Before this classification takes place they should come and have a round table with us and explain why they made such a horrible law. It seems if the Government is not satisfied and the mothers, fathers and children must all carry passes now. I think if you are observant you will see in New Age two ladeis for passes under Section 10."

Wie was die volgende spreker?-- George Nyezi.

Lees wat hy gesê het?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, before I speak I want to know if the Government officials are here. I do not know. We are tired of these passes. The classification of races don't start here in Bloemfontein, but it start all over and then come around to Bloemfontein, which is the centre city. We are running away of these passes. What about you mothers? If you want to fetch water, they ask for your pass. There is an association in Bloemfontein called the "Bantu Apartheid Association." We are small dogs and we look at the Government as a bulldog. That association said this country is for white people but they found us here in 1652 when they came here. I don't know whether this passes will effect our children. As far as I am concerned, I got a pass. No, it seems to me if you mothers don't understand me. Remember a war is not fought by one soldier. Remember Africans whenever you join an organisation, join the African National Congress."

(Notas ingehandig G.431)

(Geen verdere vrae.)

GEEN KRUISVERHOOR:

VERDERE VERHOOR DEUR P.A.: (2/10/55.)

Op die 2/10/55 het u n vergadering van die African National Congress bygewoon ?-- Ja.

Waar ?-- B.S.I. saal, Batho Ldasie, Bloemfontein.

Hoelaat het die vergadering begin ?-- 2.50 nm. tot 5.10 nm.

Weet u wie die voorsitter was ?-- Die voorsitter was Enoch Mpandliwe.

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

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

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

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, we will start, and we got four items to discuss. We shall discuss our first item which is delegates of Conference and the president's statement. I think some of us are afraid of the raids which took place on Tuesday. Do not be afraid. I love Congress because it teach and talk of freedom. We have call you here to come and elect delegates for the conference next week and Sunday in Bloemfontein. We shall met in Bloemfontein on the 9th and 10th. Before I read a letter, our secretary wants to say something."

Wie het daarna gepraat ?-- Leslie Monanyane.

Is hy een van die beskuldigdes ?-- Hy is. (157).

Lees wat hy gesê het ?-- "The thing I am going to speak about is a new thing which just happened. I just want to say something of what has happened on Tuesday 27/9. Something which surprised us happen. This didn't happen in Bloemfontein only it happen all over. The people in the street say some people has been arrested for stolen things. This is just propaganda and the Government wants to frighten us because we taking a step forward. The Government reason is that the African National Congress people are

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