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Yes. And he ends up his speech on page 9 in exactly the same way, doesn't he, about getting together. Then Ngwenya, the next speaker, refers to money and asks for money and says "As you know, others are sacrifficing by addressing you here. Others have been imprisoned that you may be free. Now we're asking you to give silver so that we can have ammunition to fight with. Anything given to this cause i given to the cause of the people."

And, Mr.White, at the risk of wearying the Court, would you just refer to Nkatlo's evidence at the top of page 10. You read a passage towards the end of page 10, but at the top of page 10 there is a strong appeal for all races to enjoy democracy equally, and have a say in the country. And at the bottom of the page he strikes a religious note in which he says that one cannot believe in God unless one also believes in the onenessof mankind. Then it was the custom at these meetings, Mr. White, to pass resolutions, wasn't it?—— Yes.

And these resolutions also covered a very wide range of subjects; if you look at the bottom of page 11 these resolutions go on to the middle of page 13.

That's correct, isn't it? They deal with the Defiance Campaign, a struggle against tyranny, condemning apartheid in buses, and the beerhall at Langa, also the Urban Areas Act etc. Now I've taken the trouble, Mr. White, to go through this at some length because that gives one, doesn't it, a fair picture of everything that occurred at a meeting of this kind?—— At that particular meeting.

Yes. Would you have a look at the meeting reported in G.325 of the 5th August, 1954, a meeting to which you did not refer. Chronologically it follows

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on the one you've just dealt with? -- Which meeting is that?

This is not a meeting dealt with in chief; it's a meeting on the 5th August, 1954, on the Parade, and it is a meeting of the African National Congress. Is that before you, Mr. White? -- The 5th August, yes.

You see, this was a meeting addressed by Lee Warden who welcomed the opportunity of speaking, and went on. "I must say that this is one of the very few occasions when I welcome the members of the C.I.D. in our presence, and I trust that they will take note of exactly what the Congress of the People is. If you read in the Argus of Tuesday night the remark of the Chief of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. I've never read a more bloodcurdling report in my life". And he says he went to a meeting and was under the impression that High Treason and Sedition were being carried on. Can you imagine a more irresponsible statement from a high Government official. Was it really that he didn't know any better?" etc., etc. And then he went on to describe what the Congress of the People was, would be rather. Is that correct? -- That is correct.

Now would you look at the next meeting chronologically, one not referred to by you in your evidence—in-chief, G.319 of the 12th August, 1954, at the Parade and it's a meeting of the African National Congress.

The first speaker at this meeting was Morolong, as recorded by you, who again referred in the first paragraph to the peace and friendship which the African National Congress would be able to bring — by which it would be able to govern. You see the last sentence in the first paragraph?——Yes.

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Now if you would turn - we'll skip the meeting G.321 of the 23rd September, to which you testified,

I have no questions to ask you there, and I'd like you to have a look at the meeting G.323 which are notes of a meeting of the African National Congress held on the 30th September, 1954. I'll read you the first sentence, Mr.White, while the document is being found . . .

MR. FISCHER: Not dealt with in chief?

MR. FISCHER: Not dealt with in chief, my lord.

Morolong started the meeting, "Friends and Comrades, this

is a meeting of the A.N.C. The A.N.C. and the Nationalist

Party are at war." Just pausing there for a moment, Mr.

White, of course it's clear to you that a phrase such as

"are at war" doesn't mean that there is any physical war

about it, does it?-- Not a shooting war, no.

It goes on to explain. "The Nationalist Party is not dealing with the A.N.C. only, it's dealing with the people; the people are suffering injustices", and then he says "The A.N.C. is there to educate the people"?-- It does, yes.

And this is one of the speeches in which the speaker indicates how the Suppression of Communism Act could be used - has been used to deal with people who are not Communists?-- That is so.

There were, of course, I take it, to your knowledge a very large number of responsible leaders of these various organisations banned from participation in their own organisations?—— Quite a number have been banned, yes, my lords.

Just keep that for one moment. Yes, may I just refer you to the end of this; you'll see the speaker

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Morolong is dealing with the Congress of the People and claims that if Mr. v.d. Merwe has the right to speak in Parliament, all of us have that right. Now, Mr.White, I want to put it to you that there are a very large number of references in these speeches to the desire of people to get into Parliament, to have representatives in Parliament?—— Yes, that is so.

You must have heard that on many occasions?--Yes, but the next sentence to that tells the people, "You must tell the people that white supremer must be crushed".

I'm not talking about that at the moment, I'm talking about the expressed desire for people to have Parliamentary Representatives - at other meetings, Mr. White?-- At other meetings, yes.

After all, that was the whole burden of the speeches when it came to the Bill to abolish Coloured Representation, wasn't it?— They deal with topics as they come up from time to time.

Yes. Mr.White, would you look at your next note, that is G.327; this was dealt with in chief, dealing with a meeting of the 31st October, 1954. You will see there the first speaker listed on page 2, "a number of people had been banned though they were not Communists", Mr. Lee Warden, Secretary of the Food and Canning Workers Union was banned, and so on?—— That is correct.

Now I want you to turn to page 6 where there is the speech of George Peake from which you read a small passage, or a small passage was summarised to indicate that the Coloured Peoples Organisation had joined forced with the African National Congress, and you'll see that

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just preceding that the speaker Peake has expressed his pride of standing there to fight for freedom and so forth, and says "Friends, I am prepared to struggle with my comrades, because I am sincerely convinced and I believe that only through the struggle of these people who fight from the bastions of the liberatory movement can hatred, feat and poverty by replaced by prosperity for all, justice for all, and above all, racial peace for South Africa."

And do you know whether Peake occupied any position at that time, or subsequently, in the S,A.Coloured Peoples Organi-sation?—— I'm not sure, I think he was the secretary.

He may have been some sort of office bearer?--Yes, he was an office bearer.

Again, at the end of this meeting there were quite a number of resolutions, three resolutions - two of which were summarised and the other dealt with the banning of people?-- Yes.

We passnow, Mr. White, to the notes of the meet -ing of the 4th November, 1954, G.330 which you referred to in chief. I just want to get it on record to whom the speaker was referring in the first paragraph which you read out. Remember the speaker Turok said "I feel that this is the spirit, the spirit that encouraged Sam Kahn the spirit that encouraged Brian Bunting, Fred Carneson and Ray Alexander, and so lately Mr. Lee Warden." Those were all members of Parliament, representing the Cape African Vote and they had all been banned from Parliament, isn't that correct?— Except Carnesson who was a Provincial Councillor.

Yes, he was a Provincial Councillor. And the election being referred to here in these notes is the

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election campaign of Lee Warden himself? -- That is so.

Now this is Turok speaking, at the foot of page 2, "Three weeks ago the Police put me in gaol. I went to an ordinary conference at George and they put me in 'tronk' - and here I am,", and so on. Did you know that he had been arrested while going to a meeting?-- No, I don't know the facts.

Did you hear of it? Right, would you turn to G.332, that is the meeting of the 23rd January, 1955. The first speaker was Mtini and he discussed the reasons why they were there speaking, "We are here because our women are ordered to carry passes". Now, he dealt with another topic which I notice appears very frequently in these speeches, and that is the application of Section 10 to women in the Western Cape, not so?-- Yes.

There was strong feeling about that, was there not, Mr. White?-- Yes, there was.

The danger which was run of breaking up families by expelling wives from the urban areas? -- That is so.

And you'll notice, I think, Mr. White that speaker after speaker, after a certain date, refers to this problem?-- They referred to section 10.

I beg your pardon, I didn't hear?-- They referred to this section 10.

Yes. And here, again the speaker refers to this problem, and at the opening of this passage says "We call upon the people that like freedom, white, black or yellow - in the African National Congress there is no discrimination." Then Annie Selinga on page refers to the same thing in the first ten or fifteen lines of her speech?-- Yes.

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I just refer you to page 3, the speech of Mrs. Sonia Bunting who introduces the topic by saying: "This meeting which is being called to protest against the Native Laws Amendment Bill and particularly against the implementation of the notorious section 10, especially as it is being applied to women." ?-- That is correct.

She says "In April 1950 the man who was then our Minister of Native Affairs and who is now our Governor—General, Dr. Jansen, gave his solemn promise to the people of South Africa that the pass laws would not be extended to African women. But less than two years later they extended the pass laws to every man, woman and child."?—That is correct.

Then at the top of page 4 she emphasises the reasons why the Congress of Democrats, as Europeans, realised the importance of equality in the country?—Yes.

She repeats that several times in different Now, Mr. White, I want you to turn to G.335, the forms. notes of the meeting of the 13th February, 1955. From Mtini's speech you read the first three lines about the meeting having been called under the auspices of the Congress of the People, namely to protest against and oppose Now, here, again, one finds Mtini at the unjust laws. foot of the page, just before the end of the last paragraph but one saying, "We will not allow this country to be be ruined. The African movement is out to make this country a country of peace and happiness, and anybody who is peaceful will remain in this country. Our African movement is not opposed to any race or colour. There is no better way to build this country than by peace and happiness, and we are convinced that everybody can live

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in this country in peace." Correct? -- That is correct.

Sometimes, Mr. White, the speakers who referred to a Police State referred to particular instances, as giving the reason why they call it a Police State, don't they?—— Yes.

Look at the top of page 4, where Peake is reported; you'll find that he calls it a police state and says that that is so when 2,000 armed police are required to remove people from the Western Ameas. Isn't that so?—— That is the reason he gave for calling it a Police State.

Yes, that was why he called it a Police State.

Will you just refer here to one little point that I want
to clear up; page 5 of the transcript. You'll remember
you marked a passage there which my learned friend summarised
by referring to the closely linked struggle between the
South African Coloured Peoples Organisation and the African
National Congress. Now I'll just read the sentence which
precedes that. He is discussing the "divide and rule"
policy.

BEKKER J: I beg your pardon, Mr. Fischer, who is the speaker?

MR. FISCHER: This is Peake, my lord, George

Peake. He was discussing the "divide and rule" policy,

just before the passage that was summarised by my learned

friend, and he says: "It has been used by successive

governments to split people up into opposing groups, but,

friends, I say that the very nature of anti-Coloured

Legislation that has been brought up today proves to us

Coloureds in no uncertain terms that our struggle is so

closely linked with the struggle of the African National

Congress, with the struggle that the African National Congress

Congress is now the spearhead of." Then at the foot of page 6 the speaker Manana, likened the Congress of the People to the United Nations Organisation?—— He did.

At the foot of page 8 Beyleveld congratulated the people on holding the meeting when he said "In Johan-nesburg it would be impossible because all meetings had been banned"?— He did say that.

I want you to look at the top of page 10. Again I would like for the record to have the full statement and not the summary which you made. The sentence actually reads: "I want to say a few things to correct 10 these wrong impressions. First of all the C.O.P. is not an organisation that plans a violent revolution such as the Government makes it out to be. The C.O.P. is a conference to be held in June this year - the date has 15 not yet been decided - at which the representatives of all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, will come together to draw up a charter called the Freedom Charter." And at the foot of page 14 a summary was given which related to the speaker's hope that the work-20 ers would give the lead in the struggle for freedom, the speaker being Turok. May I just read the passage as 1t stands: "The workers of this country are oppressed not only because they are black but because they are workers, so I say to the workers, unite. Not until the 25 workers give us the lead in this country will we have freedom. As a white man I think there are many white people who are sympathetic with your cause, but they are scared. And there is only one group of people in this country who are not scared and those people are the workers. I say to the workers, rise up and cry against

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Just to complete the picture of this meetapartheid". ing, would you look at the resolutions on page 15. They do the following; they condemn the Western Areas Removal Scheme and demand that all South African citizens be giben the right to own properties and live where they desire; (2) They call for the repeal of the Urban Areas Act and particularly for the notorious section 10 which breaks up the lives of Africans living in the cities; (3) The meeting demands that all South Africans be given equal opportunities for education." Now, Mr. White, 10 would you turn to Exhibit G.337, meeting of the 13th of Would you look at the speech of Nimrod March, 1955. Kota?-- I have it.

To which you did not refer in chief, and about three quarters of the way down the page, halfway through that paragraph at the bottom, the speaker says: "It has been inferred that our organisation is subterranean and fighting against the Capitalists". Then something is left out, I think. Is that what you mean by sotto voce ?-- Yes.

"It is said in other words that the organisa—
tion is uniting against Capitalists; in order to dispel.
that which has been said always the African people
preach hostility between white and black. That is not
so. This is exemplified in the four organisations whose
object it is to rally round the organisations." Then
again, at the end of his speech at the top of page 2 he
returns to the subject and says: "Our cards are on the
table. The country is big and we can live harmoniously.
There should be no differences between white and black.
The representatives of the Government are inclined to

distort what we are saying here every time." I want you 1 to have a look at the next speech where the speaker Sogiba expresses the same idea. You see the sentence starting -"Even this Congregation here for the freedom of our people. We want the white man to associate with the black and the 5 black to associate with the white. There is something that has been said over and over again, that is not true, that we, the Africans, want to drive the white man into the sea. That is not true. We know that the white man has been brought into this country and he is established in this 10 country, and we don't want to part with him. This is the time that we should not complain but praise the white man for having brought civilisation amongst us." Then at the foot of the page he uses the old simile which you find repeated over and over again, that the person who holds one 15 man down is himself not free. I just want to refer then to the top of page 3. He is talking about the organisation that preaches freedom to all people. "We have no arms to fight against the Government", says the speaker, "We only ask God to ask the white manto free us in this country. We 20 can only get freedom through the meeknessof the white man. There is nothing that would force us to ask a man outside to come and free us. It is only that white and black should come together and discuss the matter mutually." Skip a few lines, and he goes on: "If we call upon people 25 to come and tell us what their feelings are it is only to tell the white group that we want them to come together And he says it is the object of with us for freedom." the Freedom Charter, and continues somewhat lower down, "We know nothing about Communism and we don't want Communism 30 until we have been taught what Communism is. We want equal

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rights, we don't want Communism." John Mtini spoke next and he repeated the same theme once more. I think we've had several passages from him already. That's correct, isn't it?-- Yes.

Incidentally, Mr. White, John Mtini is a very senior member of the African National Congress, is he not ?-- He is an old man and has been in the Congress for many years.

Yes, for many years. Well, then, just as an illustration of the variety, you recorded a lengthy speech of B. Turok and on page 5 you say "Hy het toe voortgegaan" and you say "I want to tell you something about mass removals. Ftiends, we've got give types of removals." From there he went on to discuss the Group Areas Act, Section 10, Banishment and so on. The various types of Laws by which people could be removed from one area to another ?-- That is so.

The resolutions on page 9 cover Arbitrary Powers, given to the Police to enter homes, to test against the Native Urban Areas Act, section 10; homeless wandering people, population register and so on?—Yes.

Would you look now at a meeting which you did not deal with in chief; it's the meeting of the Congress of the People in Simonstown on the 9th April, 1955, and the No. is G.339. If you'll just glance at this you'll see that this was a meeting held to discuss the Congress of the People at Simonstown. At the top of page 3 Turok speaking says: "I think I should warn my friends over there that he's talking to a policeman; don't give him anything, he's only looking for information. At the last

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meeting on the Parade a young man spoke about freedom. When he had finished speaking another coloured man came to speak to him and he was asked quietly 'Where do you work'. The next morning the C.I.D. went to his work and said 'Pasop, you're employing a Communist'". Did you know that that was a practice, Mr. White?—— No.

You don't know if it?-- No, I simply took down what he said.

Yes, I know, but did you ever hear of the C.I.D. going to employers?-- No.

Never?-- No.

You're quite sure, Mr. White?-- Not as far as
I know. Not to my knowledge.

Have you ever heard of it?-- I beg your pardon?
Did you ever hear of it occurring?-- No.

Now I want to take you to No. G.341 which was not dealt with in chief, and is the notes of a meeting of the 18th April, 1955, a meeting of the South African Co-loured Peoples Organisation at Mowbray, Townhall?-- Yes.

Now, Mr. White, I was about to refer you to G.341 which is the meeting of the 18th April, 1955. It was a meeting not dealt with in your evidence in chief. The first speaker here was A. Hurzuk, is that how you pronounce the name?— The correct spelling is Horzuk.

Who was he?-- That is the way I understood it at the time.

Who was he, Mr. White? -- He was a member of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation.

I seein the second paragraph he complains about the presence of the police. He says "You can see yourselves, friends, where South Africa is going. The

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people are gathered here this evening to discuss their homes and where to live, and members of the C.I.D. are present to spy on the people and see what is going on. But I can assure everybody that our movement is one of discipline. I can boast about it." Then there was a lengthy discussion on the Group Areas Act, wasn't there ?-- Yes.

Now if you'll just turn to page 2 the speaker concluded in this way: "We can do marvels in the country if we all stand together. We don't say we must blow up the Houses of Parliament and Power Stations. No. We are human beings, we are going to fight in a legal, in a nonviolent manner. We have proved it since the struggle has started, that non-violence pays. We have proved ourselves to be the most law-abiding citizens of this country." Then he ends up "We are proud of the fact that we have fought in a non-violent manner, we shall carry on the fight to the bitter end for the future of our children," Is that correct? -- Yes.

Peake, who was the next speaker, again refers 20 to racial harmony on page 3. You see the third paragraph there. "I can say without hesitation, Friends, that it is the policy of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation to educate people politically and lead them in the interests of racial peace and harmony for everybody in South Africa." I refer now to a meeting you did mention, namely the meeting of the 1st May, 1955, on notes marked G.345. Some parts of this were summarised and I want you to turn to page 6. There the speaker Motloheloa in the first paragraph deals with Education and he goes

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on, "They are liars when they call this civilisation. For them to call the civilisation white is nothing but to give the impression that the African children in this country are being educated, which is a lie. I know most of the white people in the country are democratic people and would like everybody to be educated. And I want to tell Dr. Verwoerd that this thing of Bantu Education must come to an end."

In addition I just want you to have a look at the resolutions on the same page. You'll remember that you quoted the resolution which ratified the stand taken by Kotane and Cachalia at Bandung.?—— Yes.

Other resolutions refer to May Day, which I take it you know, Mr. White, is a day which is eelebrated by workers all over the world?-- Yes.

Another resolution refers to Bantu Education?-Correct.

And another resolution refers to the Group Areas Act?-- Yes.

Finally I would like you to refer to the last part of page 8, that is the conclusion of the speech of George Peake, which was very briefly summarised by my learned friend. I think it would be advisable to give the Court the whole of that. The speaker said: "I say to Mr. Strydom, for heaven's sake, not matter how fierce you behave towards us, time is against you, your policy of stepping up your oppressions and hate will rebound on you. I am sure you don't sleep peacefully. Your sleeping hours must be disturbed by nightmares of suffering black millions, and no man who sits on a precarious throne such as yours can have a contented mind. And we will pester you continuously until we prove to you that you are wrong.

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Mass organisation is all that is required in South Africa. It is absolutely essential that every man, woman and child that is of the oppressed class, realises that he is in the fight. When we have that unity, comrades, we can march forward to freedom. Forward to the C.O.P. comrades, forward to freedom. Africa!" ?-- Yes.

Now just one or two references to G.343 which is the meeting of the 29th May, 1955, to which you referred in chief. I want you to have a look at the passage that was summarised on page 4. The speaker there was dealing with the problem "If three quarters of the people cannot vote" - you see that, it's just about halfway down the page?-- I see it, yes.

He asked a question "We demand votes for all; every man who is good enough to vote can vote." He says South Africa can't stay out of the next war because of its Uranium and he then says the A.N.C. and the SAIC have . called for a united front of all present to hit the Nationalists. There are people even in the Nationalist Party who are prepared to join the united front which would at all times be constitutional. We don't want to be branded in the eyes of the world; we want to fight by constitution -al means. When we are united we will have freedom in our life time. So to hit the Nationalists we must make a resolution to fight the Nationalists." I just want you to refer finally to one or two passages in the speech of Adams at page 6. I see that at the end of his first paragraph he says: "When one speaks of du Plessis - I want to say that whenever I speak I speak as a Muslim. We Muslims believe that du Plessis can do something for us.

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Then on page 7, in the first paragraph, about half way down, he is reported as saying? "Black hands made South Africa and black hands will keep it safe for South Africa.. The whites say we are 'outnumbered by the blacks and they must take control sooner or later'. They fear that we will retaliate, and that we will hate them the same way as they hate us. But we say no, we are civilised people; one day we will rule this country and we will still say 'Come, white South Africa, there is room for all of us'." Now, at the end — at the bottom of that page you read a pledge which he himself spoke and then which he got thr audience to repeat after him, but you left out the second paragraph on page 8. It continues as follows: You remember that was a pledge which said they must all fight together....?—Yes.

Rather die fighting than live on their knees ?-- Yes.

Then it goes on as follows: "This pledge that we have just taken is a thing that we must carry out. It is not impossible. How big, how strong, is the South African Government? The strength of the Government is concentrated in that House of Parliament. They represent only a certain section of the Nationalist-minded people. Is it so difficult to shift this government? If India, that was under the British Empire, if India can shift the British, then I say we can shift the Nationalists." Is that correct?— Yes, he said that.

You were referred next to a meeting on G.347 the 8th June, 1955. If you'll have a look at your note Mr. White, you'll see that this was a meeting to send off the delegates to the Congress of the people; it was a

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sort of farewell? -- Yes.

La Guma referred in about the sixth line of his speech to: "In spite of the banning of leaders of the people, and in spite of the intimidation by Special Branch and the C.I.D. the Congress of the People has gone ahead to this great campaign". Do you know anything about the intimidation, Mr. White?—— No, I don't know what he was referring to.

You know nothing of it? I won't ask you about it if you don't know, Mr. White?-- I don't know anything about it.

Do you know that a lot of people were arrested at Beaufort West on the way there?-- I beg your pardon?

Do you know that a lot of people proceeding to the Congress were arrested at Beaufort West?-- I know of it, I was not present.

Right. Now would you look at the speech of Mrs. Sonia Bunting at page 3, about two-thirds of the way down - - your emember she had been talking about UNESCO and she went on as follows: "I would like to point particularly to the Gold Coast where only 15 years ago a ten point programme was drafted. I said ten points - I mean This programme is similar to what a ten year programme. our Freedom Charter is going to be like when drafted in Johannesburg. When they asked for votes for all it was considered to be utterly fantastic, and at this time the Gold Coast had a limited franchise like South Africa - the majority of the people didn't have a vote, but today, 15 years after they first put forward that demand to have the vote they have an African Government headed by Dr. Nkrumah. And although we may think that Dr. Nkrumah sometimes does

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things that we don't agree with, we must regard it as a terrific victory for the freedom of the people of Africa." That was the passage which immediately precedes the passage you read out, "The struggle for freedom and liberation" ?- Yes, that is so.

Now, the next speaker was Turok who you reported at 5 very considerable length. I want you to read from the last page of his speech, that's page 6. You'll remember my learned friend summarised the passage which talked about closing the factories and it sounded something like a general strike. May I just read you the passage? "They were 10 looking for a lead and the United Party failed them. The Congress of Democrats has passed a resolution calling forma one day of protest. We say that you cannot defeat the Nationalists in Parliament alone. We say let us fight, let us protest, and on a certain day we say that 15 everyone must stay at home. We say close the factories -Mose the shops. Let us all stay at home. Let the Government see how serious we are." And then at the end of his speech he says, "In the South Africa of the future we want there to be a law which makes all race hatred illegal; it must be illegal to call a man a kaffir, a hottentot, a coolie. This is the kind of law we want in South Africa and so, friends, let us move forward to a free South Africa where race hatred is illegal and where all people will live 25 in happiness." It seems a fairly strong statement on racial tolerance . . .

BEKKER J: Mr. Fischer, "Let us close shops and stay at home and let the Government see how serious..."

MR. FISCHER: How serious we are, my lord. And, Mr. White, at the risk of endless repetition George Peake

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where he says: "For South Africa to be safe from a racial blood bath - to have the future generations free from hatred and fear, then I say to all folks who love your freedom to stand together whatever your race or colour. We must tell Strydom we have had enough, we don't want any 5 more." Now the next meeting which you testified to, Mr. White, was that of the 3rd July, on G. and this is the report of that meeting. Remember the last one you dealt with was a send-off meeting to the Congress of the People, and here is the reporting back in Cape Town?— That is so.

The first speaker John Mtini says that the speakers are going to tell everyone what happened?-- Yes.

La Guma said "We have come to speak of freedom, not Treason". "You have just explained to this whole gathering here that in spite of the Government's attempts to prevent the Congress of the People that great contress took place in Kliptown Johannesburg." And it is in here that you will find some description of what the speakers referred to as intimidation, but just to finish off with La Guma's speech, turn to page 2 and you'll see he says: "It is a long struggle ahead of us. We call upon the people to stand firmly behind the leaders. In Johannesburg where we came together they pledged themselves to work so that one day South Africans will live in decency and comfort...." ?-- That is so.

Now, referring once again to the speech of Mrs. Sonia Bunting at page 3, do you see that she was discussing certain aspects of the Charter - of the Freedom Charter, and at the end of paragraph one she says "One of these clauses shays 'Allshall be equal before the law',

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and the other one says "All shall enjoy equal rights".

"The best document we can find to justify our demands is the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights itself.

This document has been accepted by the majority of nations outside South Africa - the whole world. It is only Eric

Louw who says that the United Nations is not implementing 5

its charter because it is interfering in the internal affairs of the Union. He forgets that if South Africa implemented the declaration of human rights no country would be able to point a finger at us. Many citizens are deported without a fair trial."

At the foot of page 4 you again have the speaker Hoersoek, is that right?—— Yes.

He apparently was also a Malay?— That is the same person referred to in a previous meeting.

Yes. You see at page 5 he discloses strong religious outlook. "Now friends, brother Moslems, I am asking you the most serious thing we hold is our religion - are you going to allow and so on, and he deals with the Charter too. Then I'd like you to look at George Peake on page 6. His first paragraph gives a description of the meeting at the Congress of the People and in the second paragraph he says as follows: "And then, comrades, like a bolt out of the blue, policemen converged on the platform. We down in the Cape have often heard of armed Police invading meetings but this was my first experience of armed Police attending a meeting, and although I can assure you that no one wavered - they got up and sang - Africa! And Comrades, this show of force was against people asking for freedom. They say they came to investigate Treason - I ask you? I had always

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heard and read when people plot Treason they get together in the dark, but I have never seen 3,000 people in the open Now that description appears in plotting Treason." quite a few of your notes, does it not, the description of the parade on the Congress of the People? I skip one of the meetings which you did not report onand I want you now to turn to your report on the meeting of the 4th July, 1956 - no, my learned friend dealt with what I wanted to deal with there, my lords. I want you to go instead to your notes on the meeting on the 5th July, 1956, G. 359. Parts of this were summarised - - I just want you to have a look at the foot of page 1 in the speech of Robert Resha where he says this, after having talked about Mrs. Siliga: "I want to tell you, friends, that when the time comes and the A.N.C. takes its rightful place in South Africa the Europeans will not be pushed about like they are pushing about the non-Europeans. The democracy loving Europeans in this country want to clean the mess that has been made by the powers that be." A number of subjects were discussed at that meeting and he dealt with that in a general Would you look at G.360 relating to the meeting way. of the 2nd September, 1956; that was a meeting for women. I think it was a meeting to enable women who had gone on a mass deputation to Pretoria to report back to their supporters in Cape Town. Is that correct? -- I don't know if it was called for that purpose, but it was a meeting of that nature.

The third and fourth lines - "This me eting was called by the African National Congress so that women who went to Pretoria can give a report to Cape Town."?--Yes, I see that.

And you'll see the first woman speaker told 1 about how they had gone to Pretoria to speak to the Government, about reference books etc, and that they were Then the next speaker in the not able to see Mr. Strydom. last paragraph says this: "In 1902 the Boers were defeated in war, but they never stopped to raise their voices, but 5 our women are stopped to speak for their rights. In 1914, you know what happened. In this past war you know what happened. When this Government....." etc., etc. you particularly to refer to page 3. This is the speech 10 of Morolong I'm sorry, it's the speech of a woman in Xosa which wastranslated. She says this: "I thank you for having gathered here to listen to the sad news of bravery. Because on the 9th I thought everybody would attend at Salt River, especially the women. Women should take a step 15 further against the passes. Every woman must refuse to I cannot forget the sight I saw at Salt River, because we were treated with great respect there. It was the first of these occasions in South Africa. Never before had the non-European women gone to see the white 20 Government. We went to see the Commissioner personally and I told him to take away his passes and give it to his own wife. Never mind section 10 because when the pass comes you will go anyway. Come nearer. That man at the Pass Office is a real gentleman. He said he would send to Mr. 25 Strydom and tell him what we said." I want to ask you if you know that that was one of the methods adopted by the women in what they called their campaign against passes - it was to see local native commissioners? -- They did go there, yes.

Imjust want to complete a passage which you

on page 6 in your evidence—in—chief. You remember you read a passage, "We must fight our own fight in South Africa, we must rid ourselves of the iron heel". It goes on, "We have been slaves for a long time, millions of people are dying every day, sons and daughters of Africa, this country produces so much food and yet people are dying of starvation; people are dying every day for lack of doctors. You cannot see a doctor unless you have money.

Even the A.N.C. cannot get freedom unless we get some money".

I think that is all, Mr. White. I'm sorry I've kep you so long, I thought with your experience you might give the 10 Court a fairly full picture of what happened.

MR. HOEXTER: No re-examination, my lords.

RUMPFF J: Thank you.

MR. HOEXTER: My lords, I ask then that this witness stand down until Tuesday morning.

RUMPFF J: Is he going to give evidence about...

MR. HOEXTER: Yes, my lord. My lords, my learned friend will lead the evidence of the next witness.

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MR. v.d. WALT: D/Sgt. Oosthuizen, my lords, is available for crossexamination, my lords.

S.E. OOSTHUIZEN (Under Former Oath) (Contd.)

XXD. BY MR. BERRANGE:

Sgt. Oosthuizen, you were formerly the superintendent of the Kiamanze Location, were you not?-- No, I was not.

I beg your pardon. Well, then, I have no further questions, my lords.

MR. v.d. WALT: No re-examination, my lords.

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EBENEZER COKIE S.S. (XOSA)

XD. BY MR. v.d. WALT: You are a native Detective Sergeant in the S.A.P. stationed at Cape Town?--Yes.

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Are you attached to the Security Branch?-- I am, yes.

Now, do you know a person Robert Resha?-- I have seen him.

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Where have you seen him?-- In the Cape.

At what places? What was he doing there?-At a meeting at Langa, at the Market Hall, I saw him.
Also at the Grand Parade, Cape Town.

And when you saw him there can you remember whether Sergeant White, the last witness, was present?--He was present.

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Did you point Robert Resha out to the D/Sgt. White?--

RUMPFF J: Did the last witness say so?

MR. v.d. WALT: No, my lords. I won't pursue

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that. Now, will you identify this person, Robert Resha if he is in Court?-- (Witness identifies accused No.17).

Is that the person you saw down at Cape Town?--Yes.

That is all, thank you, my lords.

MR. FISCHER: No cross examination, my lords.

PETER MKHI S.S. (SESUTO)

XD. BY MR. v.d. WALT: You are a native detective constable in the S.A.P. stationed at Johannesburg?-- Correct.

Are you on the Security Branch?-- Yes.

Have you passed Standard VI?-- Yes.

What is your home language? -- Sesuto.

Do you speak any other native languages?-- I speak Zulu and Xosa,

Do you understand English? -- Yes.

And Afrikaans?-- Yes.

Now, you have certain documents before you; just look at them?-- Yes.

They are certain G exhibits, is that correct?--Yes, my lords.

Are some of them notes taken by you at meetings?

RUMPFF J: What are they; pocket books or what?

-- These are pocket books, my lord.

MR. v.d. WALT: Containing notes taken by you at meetings.?-- Yes, I made notes in these books. Others are notes I made on loose pieces of paper, on pads.

Are there also reports compiled by you?--Yes.

When did you compile those reports?--

RUMPFF J: Well, did you attend meetings over a

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certain period? -- Yes, on several occasions, my lord.

What meetings were they?-- African National Congress, Youth League.

And did you make notes while you were attending these meetings?-- Yes, my lord.

And do those notes reflect what happened at those meetings?-- Yes, my lord.

Did you write them in longhand?-- Yes.

MR. v.d. WALT: You also have certain reports prepared by you?-- Yes.

Are they in connection with meetings you attend- 10 ed?— Yes.

Did you take longhand notes at those meetings?-Yes; all the notes I made were in long hand.

What happened to the other notes? -- Which?

The notes from which you made the reports now before you? -- Some got lost at the office.

Have you an independent recollection of what took place at these meetings?-- No, if I do not look at my notes I would not be able to remember what happened.

My lords, may the witness refresh his memory 20 from the documents before him?

RUMPFF J: From all documents?

MR.v.d. WALT: From all documents, my lord, yes.

RUMPFF J: Well, now, have you got notes reports made? Have you led him on when the reports were 25
made, and from what he made them?

MR. v.d. WALT: Yes, my lord. May I go over that again, my lord?

RUMPFF J: Yes.

MR.v.d.WALT: The reports before you, from what 30

did you prepare them? -- I drew up these reports from notes which I took down at the meetings.

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RUMPFF J: When did you make the notes in relation to the meetings?-- In this one particular instance, my lord, the meeting was on the 16th and I wrote this report on the 17th.

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How many reports have you got?-- Three reports, my lord.

Did you make the reports shortly after the meetings?-- The next day.

And what happened to the notes?-- I handed them into the office, my lord, and we have looked for them and cannot find them.

Did you look for them? -- Yes.

What office did you hand them in to?-- In Johan-nesburg.

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What office in Johannesburg? -- The detective's office.

Security Branch? -- At the Security Branch, my lord.

MR. v.d. WALT: May he refresh his memory then 20 from the reports, my lord?

RUMPFF J: Yes.

 $\underline{\mathtt{MR. v.d. WALT}}$: Do you know the following persons and will you refer to them in your evidence . . .

RUMPFF J: How can he do that?

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MR.v.d. WALT: Well, my lord. . .

RUMPFF J: He can point out persons and tell the Court that he knows them and then afterwards give evidence about them he can say 'That is the person I referred to....'

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As your lordship pleases.
        MR. v.d. WALT:
Do you know L. Levy? -- I do.
        F. Gollen?-- I know him.
        N. Mandela?-- Yes.
        L. Masina? -- I know him.
        P. Motholoa? -- I know him.
                                                                 5
        P. Maloaoa?-- Yes.
        L. Ngoyi?-- I know her.
        E.P. Moretsele?-- Yes, I know him.
        R. Resha?-- Yes.
                                                                10
        Will you be able to identify them? -- Yes, I will.
        May the witness leave the witness box, my lord?
        RUMPFF J: You want him to remember this list?
        MR. v.d. WALT: I'll ask him to identify those
he can, my lord. Will you firstly identify L. Levy?--
                                                                15
(Witness identifies accused No. 4).
        S. Lollen? -- (Identifies accused No.5).
        N. Mandela? -- (Identifies accused No.6).
        L. Masina?--(Identifies accused No. 7).
        P. Mathole? -- (Identifies accused No. 8)
                                                                20
        And P. Maloao? -- (Identifies accused No.
        And L. Ngoyi? -- (Identifies accused No.
        E.P. Moretsele? -- (Identifies accused No.
        R. Resha? -- (Identifies accused No.
        Now do you know the following persons, H.G. Magothla
                                                                25
?-- I know him.
         A. Hutchinson?-- Yes.
         P. Sibandi?-- Yes.
          J. Makwe?-- Yes.
         J. Matlou? -- Yes.
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         P, Ntiki?-- Yes.
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B.Mashaba?-- Yes.

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- R. Press?-- Yes.
- B. Hlapane?-- Yes.

Can you say whether the persons I have mentioned appeared at the Magistrate's Court as accused in the Preparatory Examination?—All those that you named now were accused at the Preparatory Examination.

Will you now look at the pocket book G. 120?--Yes, I have it.

Those are notes from page 1 to 8 in the pocket

book - did you make those notes at a meeting held on the

17th April, 1955?-- Yes.

Which meeting was this? -- The African National Congress.

Where was this meeting held?-- Benoni Location.

Do you have a typed copy of your notes? Marked

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G.121, my lords?-- Yes, I have one.

Did you check it yourself?-- Yes.

Is it correct?-- Yes, it was correct.

May the witness refer to the checked copy, my lord?

RUMPFF J: Yes. Yes.

MR.v.d. WALT: Who was the chairman at the meeting?-- Rasha Nobadula.

Turn to page 4 of the copy; was there a speaker H.G. Makgothi?-- Yes.

The same person you mentioned previously?-- Yes.

Turn to page 5, at the top did he ask the audience at the meeting to fight the Bantu Education Act?-- Yes.

MR PLEWMAN: My lord, I wonder if I might ask
my learned friend to indicate where in the speech he is

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summarising or q uoting from; possibly these have been re- 1 typed, and I have some difficulty in following.

RUMPFF J: What page was this?

MR.v.d. WALT: The top of page 5, my lord. At about the middle of his speech.

RUMPFF J: Your copy is different then, to the one handed in.

MR.v.d.WALT: Was there a speaker Robert Resha

On page 9 of the copy, my lord.

RUMPFF J: That's 5 on this copy.

MR.v.d. WALT: Was that the same person you pointed out?-- Yes.

Will you read what he said?——"Sons and daughters of Africa, time to talk has ceased, it is only time to act, we talked in many languages to Europeans but that does not suffice. It is obvious that the white men are drunk—ard. Since they came here we made many things for them, we dug gold for them and potatoes, we worked and we are still arrested for passes. That is why Verwoerd comes with this Education. Education is to know that this is our land and to know that Dingaan and Moshesh killed the Boers. Education is to know that Sekukune chased the missionaries, to know that Van Riebeeck came running to this country and made his goals. It is to know that the passes we carry make us . . . "

That's enough. That's all in respect of this meeting, my lords. Now will you look at your report G.1177?-- I have it.

In connection with what meeting did you make this report?-- Colonial Youth meeting.

Dhishes a meeting in connection with the Colonial Youth held on the 16th February, 1954.

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Where was this held? -- At Orlando Community Centre.

Will you refer to page 2 of your report, who was the chairman?-- H.G. Mokgothi,

Did he address the meeting? -- Yes.

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Did he ask a representative of the Government to leave the meeting?-- Yes.

Did you then leave the meeting?-- Yes.

And did you write down the names of persons who were at that meeting?-- Yes.

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Now do you have the names D. Tloome? -- Yes.

N. Mandela?-- Yes.

The accused you pointed out? -- Yes.

E.P. Moretsele?-- Yes.

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Also an accused you pointedout? -- Yes.

P. Mothole? Yes.

L. Mokgothi?-- Yes.

A. Hutchinson?-- Yes.

You mentioned him previously? -- Yes.

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Now, will you refer to Exhibit G.122, is it a pocket book containing notes made by you, page 65 of your pocket book?-- Yes, I have it.

What meeting were those notes made at?-- I'd have to look through my notes to find it.

Page 65 of your notes? -- At Benoni.

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What meeting wasit? -- An African National Congress meeting. The chairman was G. Sibandi.

And the other speakers?-- He is a member of the A.N.C.

RUMPFF J: Why do you say this was an A.N.C.



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?- Well, all the salutes were to indicate that, my lord.

MR. v.d. WALT: Where was the meeting held?-
At Benoni.

What date? -- On the 15th May, 1955.

And you already mentioned that the chairman was G. Sibandi?-- Yes....spekt Ntfidande.

After him did J. Makwe speak?-- Yes, J. Makwe.
Will you refer to page 67 of your notes?-- Yes,
I have it.

Was the theme Bantu Education? -- The boycott.

Boycott of what? -- Boycott of Bantu Education.

Will you turn to page 77 of your notes, this
is still the speech of the same speaker? -- Yes.

And you have the sentence "The Government is scared"?-- Yes, I have it.

Will you read from there what he said?— "The 15 Government is scared. We have the same. Tell the children not to go to school. The N,A.D. Manager was scared. The people are worried, not the people but the police. We are prepared to die. When the people die we are non-violent, but I say blood must shed. The guns will be ours, and not theirs. If we want to kill the Boers we will kill them one day. When they come to our locations let us go to their own houses. The sell-outs are writing but we are prepared.

RUMPFF J: Who are the sell-outs?-- He was referring to us. To me at that time because I was writing wown.

MR.v.d. WALT: Will you refer to page 99 of your notes, bottom of page 2, was there a speaker Petersen ?— Yes.

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Refer to page 99 of your notes; did he introduce certain people? Leaders from Sophiatown?-- Yes.

Did he introduce Mr. Nkithe?-- Yes.

Is he one of the accused?-- No.

Mr. Makhlo? -- Yes.

Do you know his Christian name?--Jonas.

Is that the person you mentioned previously?--Yes.

And Maloao? -- I know him too.

Did he introduce him as well?-- Yes.

Do you know his Christian name? -- Patrick.

Is that the accused you pointed out?-- Yes.

And will you refer to page

KENNEDY J: What do you mean, did he introduce him? I don't understand.

MR.v.d. WALT: Refer to page 109...?-- The notes I've got down is that he stood up, then he said "I want to let you know the people who are prominent people from Sophiatown." Then he introduced them. He then mentioned their names.

Do you know whether those persons were present at the meeting?-- Yes, they were present; they were requested to stand up.

And will you refer to page 109 of your notes; that's the end of the meeting?-- Yes, I have it.

Was there a speaker Nthithe? -- Yes.

Is that the person you mentioned previously?--- 25 He is. yes.

That's all on this meeting, my lords. Now will you refer to G.162?---I have it, my lord.

BEKKER J: Have you only got one copy?

MR.v.d. WALT: Unfortunately, yes, my lord.

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Is that the report prepared by you? -- Yes.

?-- Yes.

At what meeting?-- A meeting of the African National Congress.

When and where was this meeting held?-- On the 12th June, 1955, at the Benoni Location on the Square.

And who was the chairman?-- F.R. Nabadula.

And was there a speaker C. Sibandi?-- Yes.

Will you look at the last speaker, who was it?-- J. Makwe.

The same person you mentioned previously?--Yes.

Look at the first portion of his speech?--Yes.

Did he ask the people to send in their demands

And to elect their delegates to the Congress of the People?-- Yes.

About the middle of your report, ""The police can send their delegates too"?-- Yes.

That is all in respect of that meeting, my lords.

BEKKER J: Mr. Hoexter has the habit of informing us how many meetings he is going to deal with, Mr. v.d.

Walt. Would you acquire that habit too, Mr. v.d. Walt?

MR. v.d. WALT: Seven more, my lord. Now will you look at your pocket book, Exhibit G..661?-- I have it.

Where did you make those notes? -- At Davidton.

What meeting? -- It was on the 25th March, 1956,
and it was a meeting of the African National Congress.

Will you refer to page 18 of your notes; who was the chairman of that meeting?-- J. Makwe.

Did he speak?-- Yes.

Will you read what he said? -- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, don't accept the meat of Verwoerd. I want _

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you to make Verwoerd mincemeat in this location. You must shed blood and not accept Verwoerd. We don't want Verwoerd and his meat that he is bringing. We don't want ethnic grouping because these Boers want us to fight together. Don't show Verwoerd that you are worshipping him. Davidton people, boycott the Bantu Education. That is the only way to boycott Verwoerd. Strydom are running away from the Parliament. Teach these Boers that they are fools. We are the people of South Africa. We will fight till late. People shall govern. People shall share the inheritance of the country. People shall be equal at Law. There shall be work and security. Doors of culture shall be opened. Those who say this place will be ethnically grouped, we don't want them. Write your names here now. Don't be afraid of the Police. Go and spread the propaganda."

And who was the next speaker?-- Lilian Ngoyi.

Is it correct to say that she supported the Bantu Education Campaign, and also the Pass Campaign?--

RUMPFF J: I take it the campaign against Bantu Education?

MR. v.d. WALT: Yes, my lord?-- Yes, that is correct, my lord.

Will you refer to page 31 of your notes?-- I have it.

Was there a speaker Robert Resha?-- Yes.

That's all in connection with this meeting, my lords. Now will you look at document G244. Is this a report made by you?-- I've got G.244, my lords.

Yes, G.244; is that a report made by you?-- Yes, it is.

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In connection with what meeting? -- It was a meeting of the African National Congress Youth League.

Where wasit held, and when?-- It was held in the Benoni Location on the 13th May, 1956.

And who was the chairman at that meeting?-- C. Sibande.

Was there a speaker Malao? -- Yes.

Do you know his Christian name? -- Patrick.

Is that the accused you pointed out earlier?--Yes, it is, my lord.

And who spoke after him?-- Bertha Mashaba.

Is that the person you mentioned previously ?-- Yes.

Did she ask the audience at the meeting to join the African National Congress Womens League? -- She did.

And did she speak against passes? -- Yes.

And was there a speaker Y. Putini?-- Yes, there was, my lords.

And who spoke after him? -- Robert Resha.

Will you read what he said?——"Africa, Africa, Mayibuya, Freedom in our life time. We are meeting today when our leaders are suffering in some parts of South Africa. Today the Government says there are two hundred leaders to be arrested. Now you, the people, know well what to do when you do not want a dog; you tie it with a string and take it out of the location. When you are outside the location you take a stick and hit it and say 'voetsak'. Today Monare, a very gallant soldier, was last year sent to Vryburg to stay there for no reason. The Government thought that by sending Monare away the school boycott would stop. He was mistaken, it carried on."

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That concludes his specen.— Tes.	
That's all in connection with this meeting, my	
lords. Now ill you look at G. 247, a note book? Yes,	
I have it.	
At what meeting did you make these notes? It	
was a meeting of SACPO.	
What does that stand for? South African Colour-	
ed Peoples Organisation.	
Where and when was it held? It was held in the	
Benoni Location, Indian Sports Ground, on the 1st July,	
1956.	1
Will you refer to page 5 of your notes; was	
there an unknown Indian male speaker who addressed the	
meeting? Yes.	
On behalf of which organisation did he speak?	
Transvaal Indian Congress.	1
Will you refer to page 22 of your notes?: I	
have it.	
Was there a speaker Leon Levy? There was.	
Is that the accused you pointed out? Yes.	
Is it correct to say that his theme was the	2
Trade Union Movement? Yes.	
Did he say every worker was exploited in South	
Africa? Yes.	

And did he then ask the A.N.C. to help them?---

Did he also say that the workers in Benoni should

Did he also speak against the Pass System?--Yes.

He then went on to speak about the Freedom Char-

Yes, he said they must join the A.N.C.

be organised? -- Yes, that is correct.

ter?-- Yes.

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