

This meeting of women urges the Federation of S.A. Women to consult with the Congresses, other organisations and Church bodies, with a view to organising a mass deputation of women of all races to Pretoria to protest against the Bantu Education Act and all other oppressive legislation, to protest against the site and service scheme and to demand proper housing for all people.

This Congress of Mothers demands that the Minister of the Interior who had the audacity to assume the responsibility of deciding on the future of an African child, issue immediately a passport to Stephen Ramasodi, so that he may proceed to America for further education and share in the culture of the world.

This meeting of women demands that the Government of West Germany releases immediately the two Democratic Youth leaders who have been imprisoned because they fought for the right of children and youth and for world peace.

When the Women's Federation calls upon the women to join together in the Pretoria protest, then will be the opportunity for the C.O.D. women to give a lead to other European women by turning out in full. Every C.O.D. woman will be needed for this display of solidarity, it will be our chance to show the women of the Transvaal and of South Africa how mighty their march to the Union Buildings to protest against the Senate Bill could have been, if they had opened their ranks to all women, if they had united all women in a protest, not only against the Senate Act, but against the unjust and oppressive legislation, the fascist government of South Africa, of which the Senate Bill is but a symptom.

In Fighting Talk this month.....Cecil Williams on Helsinki. Hilda Watts on Police State, Muller on Native Labour Act and Haldano on Einstein.

Enrol as a Subscriber now.

"CULTURAL CLUBS"

Bellevue for Benoni, Greenside for Sophiatown, Hillbrow for Germiston and Natalspruit, Youth for Brakpan! Already 4 local committees have been set up, but many more are needed, for there are clubs in Moroka and Jabavu, W.N. Township, Alexandra, Newclare, Boksburg and Springs; all these will need local committees to undertake the collection of funds and materials and to give technical assistance.

The cultural clubs sub-committee which is responsible for programmes, stories, games and instructions for activities and the organisation of demonstrations for the club leaders needs the experts. We want the nursery school teachers, the school teachers, the typists, the physical culture teachers, C.O.D. members with bright ideas - we want you every other Saturday afternoon for demonstrations and discussions with group leaders, and we want you to write stories for the children to draw up games and activities.

Branch Secretaries, please recruit and contact the office secretary for further details.

MESSAGES FROM "FIGHTING TALK": Buzman's Holiday.

All credit to a member of Bellevue Branch who collected 42 subscriptions when on holiday in Pietermaritzburg last month, and, still not satisfied, went on to Durban where she enrolled a further 20 subscribers and then her leave ran out.

C.O.D. members should follow her commendable example. The subscription rates are 5/- per annum, post free.

FIGHTING TALK FUNCTION: A film and social evening will be held at 39 Regent Street, Yeoville on Saturday 27th August. All C.O.D. people are invited. Details from the C.O.D. office. There is an advertisement of a Gala Social, 20th August, 1955

at 8 pm. 17, Natal Street, Bellevue, organised by the Hillbrow Branch, C.O.D. Counter Attack issue for 14th August, 1955."

..At the top of the third page, second column, just beneath the Fighting Talk, messages from "Fighting Talk," is that Bushman's holiday and not Bushman's holiday? -- Yes.

Do you know the persons referred to as Lilian Ngoyi of the Transvaal African National Congress? -- Yes, I have already pointed her out this morning.

Who is it? -- Accused No. 52.

You hand in this document? -- Yes.

Now, we come to Exhibit C.167, is that "Counter Attack", Bulletin of S.A. Congress of Democrats, 28th August, 1955, which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.168, South African Congress of Democrats, a circular letter signed by L. Bernstein as the Acting Secretary, undated, you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.169 Bank stop order form in favour of Fighting Talk, you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.170 a letter from the Natal Indian Congress dated the 10th March, 1955, to the Secretary, S.A. Congress of Democrats, signed by one A.H. Bux for N.T. Naicker, Acting General Secretary, inviting fraternal representatives of your Congress to attend the opening of our Conference on the 25th instant and the sessions on the 26th and 27th of March, 1955. You hand that in? -- Yes.

Together with a carbon copy of a letter to the Secretary, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Durban? -- Yes.

The next document is C.171, report to Counter Attack for next issue, Congress of Democrats, Claremont Branch dated 7th June, 1955, you hand in this document? -- Yes.

C.172 a letter to "My dear Yetta" from Michael, Sunday 11.9.55, you hand in this document? -- Yes.

C. 173, "Liberation", a journal for Democratic Discussion, August 1953, it appears to be a periodical, will you just read the contents and hand in this document please? -- "Contents: Editorial: Putting the Screws on, page 1. M.R.A. - Weapon of the "Cold War" By D. Tloome, page 6, The War that Fails by L. Bernstein, page 9. The Problem of many Tongues, by J.M. Nhlapo, page 13, The Road to Slavery by E. Weinberg, page 14 and Book Review: "Return to Goli" by A.P. O'Dowd, page 16."

Will you hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is C.174, "Liberation", September, 1953, will you just read the contents? -- "Editorial: Prospects for Peace, page 1, Africa and World Peace, by Nelson Mandela, page 7. The Glory of Man, by Joseph Gillman, page 9. The Liberal Party Replies by T.W. Price, page 10. The Linguistic Revolution, by Peter N. Raboroko, page 14, The Battle of the Books, by A.P. O'Dowd, page 19." I hand this in.

Do you know a person by the name of Nelson Mandela? -- Yes.

Is he one of the Accused? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- Yes. Accused No. 32.

The next is No. C.175, "Liberation for November 1953, will you read the contents? -- "Editorial: The crisis of Leadership, page 1. A.M. Kathrada: British Guiana: Prelude to Massacre, page 6. Ruth First: The Constitutional Fallacy page 10. Nelson Mandela: Towards Democratic Unity, page 14. Alan Doyle: Languages - Another View, page 18."

Do you know a person by the name of A.M. Kathrada? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- Yes, I have already identified him this morning. Accused No. 18.

Do you know a person by the name of Ruth First? --
Yes.

Can you identify her? -- Yes.

She is the person known as Ruth Slovo? -- Yes.

You identified her this morning? -- Yes.

No. 73. And Nelson Mandela? -- Yes.

The Person you have just identified? -- Yes,
Accused No. 32.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.176, "Liberation", February 1954, will you read
the contents and hand this document in? -- Editorial:
Drunk with Power, page 1, I saw New China, by Walter Sisulu,
page 5, Africa, by Betty du Toit, page 10. The Teacher and
the People by Mokgoanana, page 11, At the Zoo by Ruth Miller
page 16, The Bafabegiya, by David Bopape, page 17 and The
Bend in the Road (Book Review) page 20." I hand in this
document.

Do you know a person by the name of Walter Sisulu? --
Yes.

Can you identify this person? -- Yes.

Will you identify him? -- Accused No. 70.

The next document is C.177, "Liberation", no date,
No. 8 of 1954. Will you read the contents and hand this
document in? -- "Editorial, page 1. Farewell to Mission
Schools, page 5....."

On page 9, is there an article by Moses Kotane? --
Yes. "Western Areas" by Moses Kotane.

Do you know Moses Kotane? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- Yes. Accused No. 16.

Will you look at page 12, is there an article on page 12? -- Yes, "Life in the Soviet Union, Building, building, building" by Ruth First.

Do you know Ruth First? -- Yes, she has already been identified by me as Accused No. 73.

Page 15, is there an article on page 15? -- Yes. "Nusas and Student Unity" by Lionel Forman.

Do you know Lionel Forman? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- Yes. Accused No. 83.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is "Liberation", number 11 of 1955.

Exhibit C.178. Will you read the contents? -- "Editorial: On the Eve, page 1. L. Bernstein: The Great Conspiracy, page 5, Helen Joseph, South Africa's Greatest Daughter, page 10. Paul Monaghan: Calvinism in South Africa, page 15. R.K. Cope: Native, Bantu and African, page 18."

Do you know a person by the name of L. Bernstein? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- Accused No. 5.

And Helen Joseph? -- Yes, Accused No. 13.

You hand in the exhibit? -- Yes.

C.179, "Where the Devil Drives", is that a pamphlet published by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg? Yes.

Do you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.180, is that a pamphlet "Educating for Ignorance" the South African Congress of Democrats' view of the Bantu Education Act, published by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg? -- Yes.

Do you hand in that document? -- Yes.

100 copies of these pamphlets were found.

C.181, is that a document The South African Congress of Democrats announces the publication of "Educating for Ignorance" do you hand that document in? -- Yes.

C.182, S.A. Congress of Democrats, a circular letter regarding "Educating for Ignorance" signed by P. Beyleveld National Chairman, S.A. Congress of Democrats? -- Yes.

Do you hand in that document? -- Yes.

Do you know P. Beyleveld? -- Yes.

Is he the National President of the S.A. Congress of Democrats? -- Yes.

Can you identify him? -- I can identify him, but he is not here today.

That is No. 6 Accused. Now, C.183, this is a letter dated the 1st March, 1954, to Dear Yetta from Moses, "Please give Joseph 50 copies of "Educating for Ignorance" required very urgently"? -- Yes.

C.183 will contain now a letter from Moses to Yetta - a telegram from Durban, Secretary Box 4088, Johannesburg from COP and a letter from J.S.P. Mothloheloa to "Dear Son of Africa - Chairman" ? -- Correct.

C.184, two letters, both from S.B. Maharaj, to the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg, do you hand this document in? -- Yes.

C.185, is that a circular, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Head Office, dated the 29th January 1955 to dear friend, and it is signed by P. Beyleveld, National Chairman? -- That is correct.

C.186, is that a telegram to the Secretary, C.O.D. Box 4088, Johannesburg from Seedat "Post today 500 copies education" from Durban? -- Yes.

C. 187, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Head Office, circular regarding "Educating for Ignorance", unsigned, dated 17th March, 1955, you hand that in? -- Yes.

C. 188, is that a letter dated the 23rd March, 1955, to the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg regarding two pamphlets "The Threatened People" and "Educating for Ignorance" from one Abraham Maholi? -- Yes.

C. 189, is that a document entitled S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation (Transvaal), undated to The Secretary Dear Sir/Madam, "Regarding classification Coloured People", do you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.190, is that a number of copies - forms four of which have been filled in, "I volunteer to assist SACTU, I volunteer to assist SACPO, I volunteer to assist the Women's Federation, and I volunteer to assist the Peace Council", one form? -- Yes.

C.191, is an envelope addressed to the Congress of Democrats, 5, Somerset House, Fox Street, Johannesburg, from the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation, Transvaal, re the classifying Coloured Persons, 31st August, 1955? --
S.
Yes. Signed by/Lollan.

The next is C.192, a carbon copy letter to the Secretary, Afro-Asian Conference, Indonesia, dated the 23rd March, 1955, will you please read that letter? -- "Dear Sir, In the name of that minority of white South Africans who believe in the practices of democracy, who subscribe to the U.N.O. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and who hate and oppose racialism and race discrimination, we wish, through you, to extend our greetings to the representatives

of half mankind, gathered at the Afro-Asian Conference.

From our own existence in a land bowed down by race and colour barriers, we have learnt that it is only with the fraternity of different peoples, with their mutual respect, assistance and co-operation that men can rise to their full stature, enjoying all the good things of life, enriching themselves and all mankind with the full sweep of their talents.

We believe that your conference will point the way towards such conditions of fellowship and liberty for our own country together with all Africa, and rally all those who love their fellow men to oppose and resist racial discrimination, racial oppression and the colonialism from which they spring.

We wish your conference well, and through the assembled representatives, convey the greetings of democratic white South Africans to all the peoples of the lands of Africa and Asia. Yours fraternally, P. Beyleveld: National Chairman for the National Executive Committee" The name is typed in at the bottom.

Do you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.193, Newspaper "New Age" Northern Edition, Thursday, April 7th, 1955. On page 1, is there a photograph? -- Yes.

Whose photograph is this, Moses Kotane's? -- Yes.

And is there an article next to the photograph? -- Yes. "Kotane and Cachalia for Asia-Africa Conference".

And will you look further, is there another photograph in the paper, on the second or third page? -- There is a photograph of Chief A.J. Mluthuli "Africa-Asia Conference of Highest Historical Significance".

Do you know those two persons whose photographs

appear there, who are they? -- Moses Kotane and Chief A.J. Luthuli.

Are they amongst the Accused? -- They are amongst the Accused.

Can you identify them? -- Yes. Moses Kotane is Accused No. 16 and A.J. Luthuli is Accused No. 132.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

Now, on the last page of that paper, I think at the bottom, you will see that that paper is printed by a certain firm, or purports to be printed by a certain firm? -- Yes. "Published by Real Printing and Publishing Co. (Pty.) Ltd., 6, Barrack Street, Cape Town and printed by Pioneer Press (Pty.) Ltd., Forgate Street Woodstock. Unless otherwise stated, all political matter in this issue by L. Forman, 6, Barrack Street, Cape Town."

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is C.194, is that a waxsheet and a number of roneod pages regarding a motion of the National Conference of the African National Congress held at Bloemfontein from 15th to 19th Dec. 1949? -- Yes.

Did you find the wax sheet only or did you find those forms too? -- I found the wax sheet.

And did you roneo a couple of pages? -- Yes, I roneod off some pages from the wax sheet. They are attached to the wax sheet now.

You hand in this document? -- Yes.

C.195, is that a telegram? -- Yes.

You hand in that telegram? -- Yes.

C.196, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Head Office, circular letter dated the 10th November, 1954 regarding the candidature of Mr. Len-Lee-Warden in Cape Western Districts in the Native Representative Elections with the name of

P. Beyleveld typed in as National Chairman? -- Yes.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.197 is a letter from the Congress of Democrats, Cape Western Region, dated the 14th April, 1955 to the Secretary, C.O.D. Johannesburg with two annexures; will you please read those documents? -- "Congress of Democrats, Cape Western Region, P.O. Box 4552, Cape Town. 14.4.55. The Secretary, C.O.D. P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg. Dear Friend, It has come to my notice that you have issued two Counter Attacks which we did not receive. They are headed the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, and Bantu Education - C.O.D. tasks. Did you send these? Yours fraternally, L.B. Lee Wardan, Chairman. Thank you for the remainder of the Population Leaflets." And the next one is "South African Congress of Democrats, Election Fund. P.O. Box 4347, Capetown, 29th September, 1954. Dear Friend, The Cape Western Vigilance Associations and Advisory Boards have accepted the recommendation of the S.A. Congress of Democrats and have nominated its candidate in the forthcoming Parliamentary Native Representative Elections to be held on December 1, 1954.

In this connection, I wish to bring to your attention the true position of the forces that confront us in this election.

For the first time the S.A. Congress of Democrats in participating organisationally in a Parliamentary election Its opposition is the Liberal Party.

To assess the potential forces that confront us it must be pointed out that the Liberal Party is throwing all its resources into this fight. Their official candidate has been working hard in this constituency since his defeat

against Ray Alexander last April, when he polled over 1,000 votes. Since then, their election machinery has been overhauled and strengthened and today they constitute a major threat - a threat to the seat that, since 1948, has been a symbol of freedom and equality.

Unlike the Liberal Party, the S.A. Congress of Democrats has been severely hit by the banning orders imposed upon many of its most active members and also handicapped by lack of funds.

We, who have undertaken the task of defeating the Liberals, and preventing them from using the African people as a means to further their own ends, appeal to you to assist us financially in this campaign. If you fail us, our task will be most difficult. If you support us, victory will be ours. An addressed envelope is enclosed. Thanking you on behalf of the Election Committee, yours sincerely, Len. Lee. Warden, signed in ink and typewritten. Official Candidate of the S.A. Congress of Democrats."

You hand in those documents? -- Yes.

C.198, is that a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Lee-Warden, P.O. Box 4347, Cape Town from - typewritten at the bottom - P. Beyleveld, you hand that document in? -- Yes.

C.199, is that a copy of a letter addressed to Mr. Len Lee-Warden, House of Assembly, Capetown from "for Secretary"? -- Yes.

C.200, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Cape Western Region, dated 26.5.55 to the Secretary, S.A.C.O.D., Johannesburg, a letter from B.T. - typewritten? -- Yes.

C.201, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Cape Western Region, Cape Town, 22.9.55. signed Ben Turok? -- Yes.

C.202, is that a document starting with a passage, "Only the Rich shall have Meat" which you hand in? -- Yes.
BY THE P.P.: Your Worship, C.203 and C.204 is omitted, my learned friend can have a look at them.

EXAMINATION CONTINUED: C.205, S.A. Congress of Democrats, circular to all branches and regions, for all members, "Police Powers of questioning and the rights of Citizen", do you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.206 "Political - Dealing with Legislation" "Restriction on Civil Liberties", do you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.207, is that a memorandum "Speakers should guard against contravening the following laws:" do you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.208, is that a circular from the South African Congress of Democrats, Head Office, a memorandum on the proposed increase of rents in sub economic housing schemes presented by the South African Congress of Democrats to the Johannesburg City Council? -- Yes.

You hand that in? -- Yes.

C.209, is that an appeal and directive to Branches, Areas, Groups, Members and Officials, addressed to "Brother Congressites, from the A.N.C. Transvaal, P.O. Box 9207, and roneo-signed E.P. Moretsele, Provincial Treasurer, together with an annexure of Programme of Action and other matters? -- Yes. The one document is signed by W. Sisulu. I can identify Moretsele.

Will you do so then? -- E.P. Moretsele is Accused No. 46.

The next, C.210 I am omitting. The next C.211, is that a manuscript document, apparently referring to

passports? -- Yes.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.212, a typewritten document, entitled "Book Review" you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.213, it appears to be a carbon copy of a document, will you please read that document? -- "1. SITUATION.

The salient factors in the situation are: a) With the aid of the most backward and reactionary section of the white electorate and the passive support or acquiescence of finance capital, the Nationalist Party is rapidly imposing a fascist Republic on South Africa. b) It has entrenched itself in Parliament by dubious constitutional means to the extent where it can scarcely be removed by the electorate in a general election or by any constitutional methods of struggle. c) The European electorate as a whole is still orientated to conventional and orthodox methods of struggle and is incapable therefore of arresting the process. d) The Nationalist Party at the most can mobilise less than 1/5th of the total population in support of its Government and programme.

2. The Strategic Needs. The urgent strategic needs would seem to be: a) An all out effort to mobilise the overwhelming majority of the population who are already opposed or who are moving towards opposition to the Nationalist Party and its programme. b) Consciousness of the need for extra-parliamentary struggle, the constant propagation of this concept and the organising of the opposition, white and non-white, in this struggle.

The Congress Movement as a whole is fulfilling this need with varying degrees of success among the non-white population, but little or insufficient is being done among Europeans. The Congress Movement consists of four

organisations, each of which represents a different section of the population. While each has a general responsibility for the Congress Movement as a whole, each has also a specific responsibility for the work amongst its own section.

In terms of this the Congress of Democrats has very difficult task of winning over the militant anti-nationalist European to the Congress Movement, for an extra-Parliamentary struggle, and for the aims of the Freedom Charter. To do this it must act in European affairs as an independent organisation presenting an independent policy and programme. It must avoid the tendency to "fall" on to the more progressive elements among the white population. C.O.D. must be itself the most progressive in that sphere and strive to draw those elements to itself.

The tendency to act as a "ginger group" arising out of a lack of understanding and confidence in the function and role of C.O.D. is to be countered as well. While it is necessary to act as a ginger group at times, this can be justified only if C.O.D. is at the same time acting as an independent organisation putting forward its own policy and programme in the European sphere. C.O.D. and its rank and file members in particular, must be clear, that numerically weak as it is and despite the difficulties of the task, C.O.D. has an important and vital role and function. It is in fact challenging for all comers, including the United Party and the Bernard Friedmans, for leadership of the militant white opposition to the Nationalist party and its programme. It must do so increasingly as the process develops.

In theory as the process of fascism makes its impact

on the whites more and more of them will be compelled to take their stand on the fundamental principles of democracy, and to look for militant and realistic methods of struggle.

They will then be as potential recruits to the Congress movement.

There is ample evidence that the process has already begun. The many different organisations which are coming into existence such as the Covenanters, the anti-Republic League, the Defence of the Constitution League Committee, and even the Friedman election indicate that the allegiance of the whites has been shaken and that the situation is becoming fluid. It is clear also that they are conscious in some measure of the futility of a purely Parliamentary struggle and that they are groping for more adequate methods.

It is against this background and in consideration of all these factors that the N.E.C. decided that:

Obviously it is correct for the C.O.D. to contest Parliamentary and other Elections. It cannot hope to influence and attract militant white democrats unless it enters the field of European politics and uses the situation, no matter how directly unprofitable, as a means of getting its policy and programme to the white population.

The decision that 'that it does not consider that it is technically or tactically correct to oppose Friedman in this Hillbrow By-Election', is based on the assessment of the tactical and practical advantages and disadvantages of contesting this particular election.

The decision that the N.E.C. will not direct its members to canvass for Friedman is a logical one since C.O D. has still to fulfill its own independent role and function. If it cannot contest the election for tactical

or practical considerations it must use the opportunity to present its policy and programme and to attempt to clarify the issues for the electorate." I hand in this document.

C.214, Speaker's Notes, No. 11, Attack on Civil Rights which you hand in? -- Yes. 20 copies of these were found.

215, 216 and 217 are omitted. C.218 is a pamphlet "The Sky is the Limit" to which you have already referred to.? -- Yes.

My next number is C.224, I am omitting the others. "Ten reasons why you should join the S.A. Congress of Democrats", do you hand this in? -- Correct.

My next number is C.239, I am omitting the others, are these returned cheques drawn on the account of the Congress of the People, signed inter alia by E.P. Moretsele and A.M. Feinstein? -- Yes.

You hand in those cheques? -- Yes.

C.240, is that a document issued by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, "All Democrats Agree....", do you hand that document in? -- Yes.

The next number is C.245, is that a letter dated the 8th August 1955 to the Secretary, Congress of Democrats, from the Toy Workers Union? -- Yes.

C.246, is that a circular letter from the Friends of China Society to the Secretary, Congress of Democrats, dated the 19th September, 1955 signed by S. Esakjee for S. Muller, Secretary? -- Yes.

C.247....? -- That document has already been identified.

C.247, S.A. Congress of Democrats, N.E.C. Statement on the Political Implications of the Hillbrow By-Election? -- Yes.

C. 250, is that a Press Statement? -- Yes, a carbon copy. Apparently by the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

My next number is C.256, is that a booklet on the Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which you hand in? -- Yes.

C. 257, a pamphlet "Young People, the V. Festifal Beckons You", do you hand that in? -- Yes.

Issued by the International Preparatory Committee of the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, Warsaw, you hand that in ? -- Yes.

C.258 is an envelope addressed to Fighting Talk, C/o Somerset House, 110, Fox Street, Johannesburg, containing "Information Service" of the World Federation of Democratic Youth which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.259 is an envelope addressed to the Congress of Democrats, Youth Branch, Johannesburg containing Press Communique "Declaration of the W.F.D.Y. Secretariat on the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace". which you hand in? -- Yes.

Also posted in Budapest. C.260, a circular letter from the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, International Preparatory Committee, to "Dear Friends" containing information bulletin of International Preparatory Committee, which you hand in? -- Yes.

C. 261, Information Bulletin, Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship, International Preparatory Committee, March 31st, 1955? -- Yes.

C.262, is there a cover containing the World Trade Union Movement which is a periodical from the World Federation of Trade Unions, September 1955, No. 9? -- Yes.

You hand that in? -- Yes.

C. 263, is that World Trade Union News, bulletin published by the World Federation of Trade Unions, 15-30th September, 1955, together with envelope addressed to Fighting Talk, Johannesburg? -- Yes, I hand this in.

C.264, envelope addressed to The Editor, S.A. for Peace, Johannesburg, a Democratic German Report, February 4th, 1955 which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.265, The Truth About Life, a booklet in the German Democratic Republic which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.266 is that an information bulletin Agerpres, date February 1, 1955 which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.267, Agerpres, information bulletin, May 20th, 1955 which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.268, is that a booklet "The Threatened People" apparently issued by the S.A.C.O.D., Johannesburg? -- Yes.

C.269, leaflet No. 2, issued by the Trade Union Unity Committee, Johannesburg on "What does the Industrial Conciliation Bill mean to you?" "Security or Catastrophe", you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.270 is apparently a roneod document entitled "We will not be intimidated" which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.271, it is a typewritten document of declarations, the same as C.270 which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.273 is a pamphlet entitled "Listen Young Friend" issued by the S.A. Indian Youth Congress which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.274, is that a pamphlet "D.Day for Democracy" and at the end "Written by L. Bernstein and published by the Springbok Legion", which you hand in? -- Yes.

C.275, is that a pamphlet issued on behalf of the Western Areas Protest Committee, "Displaced persons", 'Fortiter et Recte"? -- Yes, I hand this document in.

C.277, is that a booklet "S.Africa's way Forward by Moses Kotane"? -- Yes, Moses Kotane is Accused No. 16.

The next is C.278, "Workers Unity", volume 1, No. 4, August 1955? -- Correct.

Will you read the passages marked? -- "W.M. Sisulu on "The Alliance of the Trade Union and Liberatory Movements in Africa - One of the main tasks of leadership both in political and economic spheres is to give vigorous education to the oppressed and exploited masses of our people about the inextricable inter-dependance of the political and economic struggles. This fundamental truth emerges more sharply in all colonial and semi-colonial countries; where people suffer dual forms of oppression and exploitation, as workers as well as national groups."

"What then is the correct policy which we must follow in order to defeat our enemies? -- As already stated above, we have only one answer, and no other. The victory can only be won and imperialism uprooted by forging strong ties of alliance between the liberatory movement and the trade union movements, by correcting any misconception that the trade unions have nothing to do with politics. Similarly, political leaders must know that the struggle of the people depends on the workers, and therefore, it must be their duty to organise workers into trade union movements."

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is C.279, is that a Peace and Friendship Bulletin issued by S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the U.S.S.R., March/April, 1955, which you hand in? -- Yes.

The next is C.280, that is a number of copies of the document entitled "The Road to Liberty" which has been referred to as C.52 and which has been read? -- Yes. Quite a pile of these documents in the office.

THE COURT ADJOURNS TO 15.1.57.

THE COURT RESUMES ON 15.1.57. APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

THE CROWN PROCEEDS:

MR. VAN PAPENDORP CONTINUED: s.s.

XD. BY THE P.P.: The next document is C.281, is that a Draft of The Immediate Programme of Action, by J. Hodgson? -- Yes.

Will you please read that document? -- "Draft of The Immediate Programme of Action, J. Hodgson. The form and content of the activity of the new organisation are determined by factors beyond its control. The organisation exists as part of a Movement which has to meet a particular and immediate historical need; it exists in a particular situation and has to work in an existing set of conditions to achieve certain relevant immediate and long term objectives.

Since an understanding of these factors is vital to effective activity, we must examine them. We must examine the movement of which this organisation is a part. The Movement. The Movement as a whole is the peoples' answer to fascism and the drive to war. It draws its main strength from the oppressed non-white peoples, who are motivated by the compelling and urgent need for relief from intolerable conditions, and by the need to arrest and

defeat the process of fascism with its inevitable worsening of these conditions. Since the masses of people in South Africa are non-white, and the same compelling and urgent motivation does not yet exist to the same degree for white South Africans (and probably never will), it is inevitable that this Movement of resistance to fascism should be National Liberatory in character.

The Movement finds its main organisation expression through the peoples national organisations, the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.P.O., and now, the new organisation.

We must examine the Relation of the new organisation to the Movement.

We should recognise at the outset that the new organisation is but a section of the Movement. Because of the class and historical factors the main burden of the struggle will be borne by the Non White people. As a consequence in general therefore the character and tempo of the struggle can only be determined together with the mass organisations of the Non White people.

The Social, economic and political structure of South Africa has imposed on us this sectional form of organisation. In the circumstances it happens to be the most suitable form for our purpose. Each organisation section has the responsibility of organising and leading that group to which it alone has the most ready access, and of whose problems it alone has the clearest understanding. This form of organisation not only delegates responsibility for sectors of the front, but it also demarcates spheres of activity and yet permits of unity of purpose and common action where such is appropriate.

The A.N.C. has the responsibility of organising and leading the African people. The S.A.I.C. has the responsibility of leading and organising the Indian people; the S.A.C.P.O. has the responsibility of organising and leading the Coloured peoples and we, the new organisation, have the responsibility of organising and leading the whites and all unorganised sections. Collectively we have the joint responsibility for the movement and for aiding and assisting where we can with the tasks of the other organisational sections.

We must examine the particular and immediate historical need which the Movement has to meet. It is the urgent and immediate need of the common people, white and non-white, to defend themselves their aspirations, their economic standards, their weapons of struggle in the shape of fundamental rights to organisation, assembly, speech and movement, against the attacks of fascism - against fascism itself. We are presented with the need to withstand and defeat fascism. Failure to meet this need as quiddly as possible will mean untold suffering and misery for the millions of our peoples.

The attack of fascism can be withstood only by the stubborn resistance of the organised militant democrats, white and non-white, taking their stand on the basis of their adherence to basic democratic rights and their active and militant assertion of the legality of these concepts and aspirations.

Fascism can be defeated only by the mobilisation of all the people, white and non-white, in some decisive action which asserts the will of the people for Democracy. It follows from this that the organisational sections have the tasks of:-

organising all militant democrats on the basis of their adherence to basic democratic principles and practices. Providing stubborn resistance to the attacks of fascism. Asserting, actively and militantly the legality of democratic concepts and aspirations.

Mobilising the people and preparing them for some decisive action which will assert the will of the people for democracy. We must examine the Particular situation in which the organisation exists. The salient factors in the situation are: a) that fascism can be defeated only by the defeat of the Nationalist Government. b) The Nationalist Government can only be defeated by extra-Parliamentary action involving the masses of the people. c) As a consequence, the alternative to the Nationalist Govt. is no longer a government of any of the white parliamentary political parties; the alternative now, is a Democratic Peoples Government, elected by direct, universal and equal suffrage. d) The struggle is one between white and non-white democrats on the one hand and white and non-white reactionaries on the other. Let us examine the Existing set of conditions, under which the Movement, and therefore the organisation, has to work. The Movement has to work under very difficult conditions. It has to carry on its activity in despite and in the face of, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Public Safety Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, and other measures designed to hamper, cripple or prevent any effective expression of the aspirations of the people and any effective action in support of those aspirations.

The wide and ambiguous definition of 'Communism' in the Suppression of Communism Act enables the authorities to interpret it very much as they like. As a consequence much of the activity of the organisation will be interpre-

ted by them as illegal. Again, since the concept of full equality for all peoples and similar democratic concepts are now equated in the minds of the authorities, if not in law, with 'Communism', it is to be anticipated that where ever possible, administratively and otherwise, the Authorities will use their powers of intimidation and victimisation against the movement.

As a consequence, while having to militantly assert the the legality of its activity, the legality of its membership, the legality of its aims and objects etc., the organisation will have to be organised in such a manner and conduct its activity on such a basis as to ensure the minimum of casualties and interference.

Other factors are that: The people are as yet ill prepared and equipped ideologically and organisationally to meet the onslaught of fascism. They are fumbling for a strategy and have not as yet evolved effective tactics, and many are immobilised by ineffective leadership and by illusions of (legal and constitutional' forms of struggle. There is an atmosphere of fear and defeatism, particularly among whites.

Let us examine the relevant immediate objective.

The immediate objective is an effective resistance to the attacks of fascism. A defensive struggle: to harass, hamper and retard the programme of the Nationalists, to prevent the further weakening of the progressive forces, to rally and to organise more and ever more people for the task of defeating fascism. For the new organisation this means an effect, and immediately, the organising of militant white democratic elements and the preparation and equipment of them for the tasks required of them.

Let us examine the long term objective.

This is in fact, the mobilising and preparation of the people for decisive action to bring about the defeat of fascism. To summarise: The organisation is part of a National Liberatory Movement of resistance to fascism and war. It has the task and responsibility for organising and leading the Militant democrats not catered for by the Congress movement.

It has a collective responsibility for organising and assisting other organisational sections wherever possible, legality of the struggle for democratic rights.

It has the task of mobilising and preparing the people for decisive action which will assert the will of the people for democracy.

It has to deal with a situation which requires the defeat of a government and its replacement with a democratic peoples government, and the mobilising of white and non-white democrats for a struggle against white fascist and non-white reactionaries.

It has to work in difficult conditions which include an atmosphere of fear and defeatism and the need for strenuous and extensive activity against a background of laws which make most of this activity subject to persecution.

It is axiomatic that the activity of an organisation should contribute as directly, effectively and economically as possible to and the achievement of its aims and objects.

With this in mind and taking into account the factors already examined, a programme of action is outlined hereunder. Many of the details, including methods of work and organisation etc. will have to be worked out by the National Council.

The Conference is asked to agree to the principles of what is proposed.

In the light of our principles and objects, we must react rapidly to every single issue that arises in South Africa, to new legislation, to cases of suppression and persecution, to administrative injustice, to such issues as the threat to the Western Areas, the refusals of passports, the institution of apartheid practice, the group areas scheme, the interference with trade unions, the budgets and economic decisions of the authorities.

We must attempt, on all such matters, to rouse the widest possible public activity and reaction, and to use our daily campaigns on these issues to bring home to South Africans the understanding which we have - that only a society based on full equal rights for all can live in peace, security and freedom.

Although the programme is divided into a number of sections, it is on an arbitrary basis for convenience in discussion. In practice these sections will be found to be inseparable.

1. Building of the New Organisation.

a) Contacting and recruiting of all Militant White Democrats. It is possible that there is a large immediate potential of known, unorganised progressives scattered throughout South Africa. It is proposed that contact be made with them and efforts made to recruit them into the organisation.

b) Organising of Membership: In order to make the maximum contribution possible with the small number of our members it is necessary to organise them into active branches. The conditions under which the Movement has to work make this even more desirable. It is proposed:

1) That the membership be organised into branches on an area and occupational basis wherever this latter is suitable.

11) that branches should meet regularly at least twice each month.

111) that a part of each meeting should be set aside for membership education in the form of lectures and discussions.

c) Education of Members: It is proposed:

1) that prepared lectures and discussion notes on appropriate subjects should be furnished by the National Council

11) that panels of speakers and lectures should be organised by the National Council, Regional Committees and that

branches that are too remotely situated to avail themselves of these should supplement the prepared lectures and speakers notes by inviting appropriate people in their particular community to address them on suitable subjects.

d) Financing of the organisation and its work.

If the organisation is to be effective, if it means business, it will require full time personnel, offices and a journal. It requires money for propaganda material such as pamphlets, it requires money for its organisational work and for the campaigns it will have to undertake if it is to provide more than a token resistance to the fascist programme. We must realise and understand at the outset that this money will have to be found by the membership. While there will always be a proportion of sympathisers and supporters prepared on occasions to give donations the main burden of finding this money will fall on the membership, Members must accept this responsibility.

It is proposed:

1) that each member shall be asked to accept the personal responsibility for finding a minimum of at least £1.0.0. per month.

11) that branches should undertake regular fund raising activity by means of house parties, jumble sales, book and cake sales, film evenings, etc.

111) that Regional Committees should undertake the responsibility of canvassing sympathisers and major fund raising functions such as dances, fetes, concerts, etc.

1V) that Regions and branches have a responsibility for the maintenance and support of the Council and its work.

2. Relations and Reciprocal aid to other organisational sections.

a) Co-ordinations.

To facilitate the work of the Movement as a whole and to provide for common policy, strategy and tactics, and **consultation**, it is necessary that means for national co-ordination and co-operation be found as soon as possible.

b) Joint activity and campaigns should be furnished wherever it is required, and an interchange of speakers arranged. Fraternal delegates should be invited and should attend the conferences and meetings of the different sections wherever possible.

d) There should be mutual participation of memberships in joint political, social and sporting gatherings wherever and whenever these can be organised.

3. Resistance to Fascism.

In order to provide the greatest possible resistance to the fascist programme it is necessary that the organisational sections should work to rally the whole population on the issues that affect them, in co-operation with other organisations whenever our immediate policies are parallel, and to organise and canalise their opposition.

There are already many issues of this nature. The process of fascism is such that there will be many more. It is necessary that the organisation should be constantly

on the alert to anticipate such issues and be prepared and ready to use them effectively.

The organisation will have to wage campaigns on such issues as the attacks on the peoples organisations, bannings, the Group Areas Act, the Western Areas Removal Scheme, Passes, attacks on other civil and political rights attacks on the living standards, for peace, and whatever else there may arise.

4. Preparation of people for the Defeat of Fascism.

This is a relatively long term objective which requires the education of the people by means of experience in practical activity, and by appropriate propaganda material to prepare them for appropriate action, and for the acceptance of each other as allies in what is a common struggle.

This is an outline of the proposed programme of action. It does not pretend to be other than an outline, since each of the sections covered in themselves would require more time than is available if they were to be dealt with in detail.

Conference is requested to accept the proposal in principle as a guide for the National Council, Regional and Branch Committees."

You hand in this document? -- I hand this Exhibit in. There is an accused with the name of J. Hodgson in Court. BY THE COURT: Can you identify him? -- Yes, I think it is No. 12 Accused in the front row.

EXAMINATION BY THE P.P. CONTINUED: The next document is C.281A, this document should be between C.280 and C.281. Now, C.281A is a document "National Liberation Struggles In Asia", will you please read the portions marked on pages 2, 3 and 6? -- "B. The Composition of the National

Movement Alliances.

- a) despite the brutal colonial wars of the last century the fight for national independence continues ever more powerful but today is altered both in form and content.
- b) (1) The colonial world has since the beginning of the century been completely divided between the great metropolitan powers. These now have to wage war against each other in order to , redivide the spoils of colonial domination: this leads to the temporary, and in many instances even permanent weakening of the domination. The 'home' countries are obliged to enter into alliances with sections of the population (and often whole colonial countries) of colonial and dependent countries in order to prosecute these wars. This results in the arming and training of decisive sections of the colonial people. Example:- the French alliance with the Viet-minh against Japanese imperialism during the last war.
- 11) economic development has not been confined to the metropolitan countries alone; despite many restrictions and obstacles industrialisation and trade has grown in colonial countries. Thus a local middle class has developed and sooner or later sections of this class have come into competition with their counterparts in the metropolitan countries. This class of merchants, industrialists, landlords and financiers has played a leading role in the political, social, economic and ideological fight against the colonial powers and has provided much of the impetus in the growth of national consciousness.
- 111) since the vast majority of the colonial populations are peasants and they are subjected to crippling

exploitation by the whole machinery of imperialist government they form the backbone of the national revolts. The colonial peasantry suffer from:- 1) overcrowding of the land. 11) destruction of old bodicraft industries. 111) retardation of modern industrial development. 1v) expulsion from the most fertile areas. v) crippling taxation. vl) almost non-existent land reform.

These factors have led to the ever-increasing pauperisation of the masses of peasantry in colonial and semi-colonial countries. The deepening agrarian crisis springing from these conditions is the main driving force of the popular revolt against imperialism. New forms of struggle have been developed by present organisations such as the seizure of land and subsequent sub-division - in Telengona, India, the peasants seized over two thousand square miles of land in 1947 and 1949 and heroically defended the land against large armed forces.

1v) a third force exists as a component part of the national liberation struggle. That force is the industrial working class and the landless workingclass in the rural areas. This emergence of a colonial working class has led to the strengthening of the national liberation movements in a number of ways:-

the organisational strength of working class actions such as strikes, the militancy and consistency of the working class, the possession of a theory of political, social and economic phenomena - the theory of socialism, the power of a continually growing class in society, the international alliance of the working class with the working class in the metropolitan countries.

v) thus a great popular front uniting groups of various interests has grown up in the colonial and semi-colonial

countries to form the national liberation movements."

Your Worship on page 6: "G. The Peace Movements. Throughout Asia the struggle for peace has been clearly linked in the minds and actions of the peoples with the national liberation struggle. The colonial and semi-colonial countries have learnt and are learning today that preparations for war mean:

- 1) increased exploitation of resources.
- 11) intensified recruitment for foreign service.
- 111) more frequent seizure of strategic bases.
- 1V) delayed realisation of liberty
- V) intervention and repression on the pretext of security.

They learn that peace and the settlement of disputes between nations peacefully creates a more favourable atmosphere for the realisation of their aspirations. The people of the metropolitan countries are also realising that their interests lie with those of the colonial peoples in the common desire for peace - for example the interests of the French people and those of Vietnam leading to the 1954 Geneva conference and its success."

Do you hand in this document? -- Yes.

Now, the next is C.282, is that a document entitled "Indians in South Africa" roneod, you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.283, a document entitled "Segregation in South Africa", you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.284, is that a roneod document entitled "Congress of Democrats", Johannesburg, August 1953, "Notes for Speakers"? -- Yes.

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is C.200, "Speakers Notes", S.A. Congress of Democrats, No. 11, "Attack on Civil Rights" which has already been referred to, you hand that in? -- Yes.

C.286, is that "Speakers Notes No. 6", "Race and Intelligence", you hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.287, is that "Speakers Notes on the Congress of the People", will you please read that document? -- "Speakers Notes on the Congress of the People".... "L. WHAT IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE?"

A. The Congress of the People is to be a gathering of representatives of the people of South Africa. They will come together with the object of discussing their demands and aspirations and drawing them up in the Freedom Charter.

The Freedom Charter will, for the first time, embody the demands of all our people.

B. The Congress will not simply be a Conference of various delegates. It is to be the climax of a great campaign, spread over the length and breadth of South Africa, reaching alike into the cities, small towns, country districts, farms, and reserves. The people of this country, black and white, will formulate their demands through nationwide discussion. The Freedom Charter will be the living document, breathing the life of our people.

C. A Call for the Congress has been adopted. It calls on farmers of the reserves and trust lands; on miners, on workers, of farms, forests, factories and shops, on housewives and mothers, teachers, students and preachers, on African and European, Indian and Coloured to speak together of freedom, to write their own demands into the Freedom Charter, to meet in a great assembly to discuss and adopt a Charter for Freedom. (Speakers can quote extracts from the Call).

2. WHO IS ORGANISING THE CONGRESS?

A. The idea of the Congress of the People came into being through joint discussions of four organisations of the people. The African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation. Members of the executive of these four organisations have appointed a national action council to prepare for the Congress. These organisations may be said to have sponsored the Congress but it will be organised by the people of South Africa as a whole.

B. A network of local committees will be set up throughout the country. Through these committees demand that will eventually be incorporated in the Charter, will be formulated. Representatives from the particular locality will depend on the local committee. Above all, the creation of a network of local committees in every corner of South Africa will in itself be a major political achievement.

3. WHAT FORM WILL THE CONGRESS TAKE?

A. The Congress will consist of delegates elected to speak on behalf of the people. Though Elections will be on the basis of a vote to every person over the age of eighteen years. For the first time there will be elections for the whole population with direct representation, in contrast to the long history of indirect sham representation which the Non-European people have suffered.

B. Wherever possible representatives will be elected by direct vote at a public meeting of the electors in various electoral units. Where this is not possible, as for instance on a mine or European farm, then other methods will be used.

4. HOW WILL WE PREPARE FOR THE CONGRESS?

A. The same spirit of self-sacrifice and discipline which

was the hallmark of the Defiance Campaign must be created. This will only be achieved if people grasp the significance of the Congress and regards the Charter as their document embodying their demands.

B. It will be necessary for teams of organisers to cover every corner of the land. Every area should be visited, not only by organisers but where possible by prominent leaders of the people. Thousands of volunteers will be needed.

C. Freedom volunteers will pledge a certain time, weekend or even longer periods to carry the campaign to all parts of the country where an organisational basis does not already exist.

D. Pamphlets and propaganda will be distributed on a large scale. Money must be collected for all this preparatory work.

5. WHAT CAN I AS AN INDIVIDUAL DO?

News of the Congress must be brought to every man and woman throughout the land. Every organisation must be brought into organising for the Congress and every leading member of an organisation pledge his support.

Everyone of us must become an organiser. We must work together with our congresses and the regional and local committees that will be established. We must see that these committees are functioning in our areas. We must assist in organising committees in areas where there are no Congress Branches and the people lack political experience.

We must help to make the idea of this Congress and the Freedom Charter capture the imagination of the people. Each of us must be tireless in collecting money to make the Congress a success and to supply funds to issue the propaganda which must go all over the country.

The delegates at the Congress will be the result of free elections, such as our people have never participated in before. The Congress will not only show the world the false and limited basis of what is called Democracy in South Africa, it will also broadcast to the world the needs and desires of our people, the things they will work for to which we are prepared to pledge our lives.

Make the Congress of the People the greatest assembly that South Africa has ever known. Make the Freedom Charter the starting point of obtaining freedom.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM.

LET US WORK TOGETHER FOR THE FREEDOM CHARTER.

LET US ORGANISE TOGETHER FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO FREEDOM."

You hand in that document? -- Yes.

The next is C.288, "Self-Discipline for Volunteers of the Congress of the People". It is a speech of Dr. G.M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress delivered at the first Natal Conference of the Congress of the People held in Durban on the 5th September, 1954. This document has already been referred to. You hand in that document? -- I do.

C.289 is a document entitled "Western Areas Removal Scheme - A Protest". Will you please read that document? -- Witness reads: "Western Areas Scheme - A Protest. The project to expel the African community from the Western Areas of Johannesburg is fraught with dangerous possibilities. We are alarmed by the signs already given that the pursuit of this scheme will have the most serious consequences not only for approximately 80,000 people immediately affected but, in the repercussions on race relations, for all who live in Johannesburg.

Our consciences are deeply stirred by the cruel inhumanity of this scheme which intends to drive thousands of families out of their long-established homes and dump them and their belongings on the open veld. "site and service" scheme after the Mooiplaats model - lacking every one of the amenities attained after many years of efforts attained in Sophiatown. Martindale and Newclare. The tenets of religion, no less than the principles underlying Western Civilisation are outrages by this heartless proposal.

For over half a century Africans have enjoyed freehold rights in these suburbs and have paid normal rates into the city's treasury. Although representation on the City Council has been denied, this group of ratepayers. Now they are to be deprived of this basic human rights of land-and-property ownership with its incentive to stabilise family and community life.

Having built and bought homes there, the Africans have developed a sense of community to which schools, churches, hospitals, cinemas and shops have all contributed. The municipal survey conducted in 1950, showed that the conditions prevailing there are certainly no worse than in other places where Africans have to live under stricter control. If this area is a slum, there are far worse slums elsewhere.

But this is not a question of clearing slums in order to create better conditions for people to live elsewhere. Whatever disguises or pretexts may be put forward, it is plain that the whole project has not sprung from a genuine desire to improve the quality of African life. It has, in truth, sprung from a political obsession which is grimly determined, whatever the social cost, to treat non-white people as chattels, movable here or

there in the imaginary interests of the ruling race.

Africans will never be persuaded that this project is really designed to benefit them. On the contrary, the protests they have already organised show that they are imbued with a fierce spirit of resistance. If the authorities remain unmoved in their determination to carry out this scheme, we must face the facts that forcible measures will be required. This means that disturbances are almost inevitable as hopes of strengthening racial tolerance and racial peace will be grievously impaired.

We appeal to the citizens of Johannesburg to act, while there is time, in order to stop this project, so cruel in its conception, so callous of human sentiment and moral values, and likely to be so disastrous in its execution.Signed.....".

You hand in that document? -- I do.

The next is C.290, "Constitution of S.A. Congress of Democrats" which has already been referred to, will you please hand in that document? -- Yes.

C.291, S.A. Congress of Democrats "Notes on the Political Situation by the National Executive Committee for discussion at Conference", which is the same as C.41, you hand in this document? -- Yes.

C.292 is a circular from Springbok Legion dated 15th June, 1953, to "Dear Friend" roneoed-signed by Jack Hodgson, National Secretary? -- Yes.

Do you know Jack Hodgson as an Accused? -- Yes, I know Jack Hodgson to be Accused No. 12 and secretary of the Springbok Legion at that time.

Now, C.293, is that a document circular with the names of A. Fisher, Chairman - Congress of Democrats and C.T. Williams Chairman of Springbok Legion typed in at the bottom? -- Yes, I hand this document in.

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