

And then he talks, my lords, about the land, how  
the land is not being used properly; he speaks about  
prisons being built instead of farms; the State must  
provide tractors and not handcuffs, and then he goes on,  
my lords, about the Pass Books, and the in the middle  
of page 7576 there is that passage which has often been  
quoted, about there must be work and security. The  
period is fast arriving when . . . the shorthand writer  
has in brackets 'all the people will join in the Libe-  
ratory Movement in this country'. Finally, all the  
workers who are in the grinding mill of misery and  
poverty shall join hands and determine the achievement  
of the peoples' freedom. This start of the struggle  
cannot be won early enough. Whilst there are other  
sections of the people who for one reason or another  
enjoy certain rights and concessions, and feel that  
they must stand aloof to protect and maintain their  
privileges, whilst the rest are perpetually injured.  
It will be good therefore for the workers of all races  
to join Trade Unions and affiliate with one co-ordinating  
body of Trade Unions. The example is the South African  
Congress of Trade Unions. And he deals with that and  
says: "It's all very well for the State to say that  
the State shall recognise the right and duty of all to  
work and draw up food". Your lordships will remember  
that clause is in the Freedom Charter. "But what  
must we do? We have to make the State do these things.  
It requires hard practical work and sacrifice. One  
must be prepared to clash with the servants of the  
State; if the struggle assumes very large and country-  
wide dimensions one shall have to clash even with the

armed forces of the State; that is the test we must pass 1  
before we can have work and security." "Apparently the  
major opinion that we are oppressed and must be emanci-  
pated is crystallising in the minds of the people. The  
working class is ready when necessary conditions have  
arisen; the time is becoming more opportune, more and 5  
more opportune. Some one must step forward in the  
presence of the police and the armed forces."

Now, my lords, that passage has not been ex-  
plained by any of the Defence witnesses. They have tried  
to explain it, but they cannot explain it because that 10  
passage cannot be reconciled with policy of non-violence.

My lords, what struggle is this that is going  
to assume countrywide dimensions? And, my lords, if the  
struggle assumes countrywide dimensions, the speaker  
says they have to clash with the armed forces of the 15  
country. Now can your lordships visualise that picture?  
Visualise what this man is holding out to the audience  
as being necessary to implement the Freedom Charter,  
a preparedness not to have the armed forces clashing  
with you, with the audience - not merely the armed 20  
forces clashing, but, my lords, you have a struggle  
on a countrywide basis, and why are the armed forces  
being called out? Where are these armed forces to come  
from, and for what reason, and the preparedness, my  
lords, on the part of the people who want the Freedom 25  
Charter to clash. My lords, they can explain that  
clash; they can say that it is some kind of sharpened  
opposition, sharpened political opposition. My lords,  
your lordships will not, we submit with respect, accept  
that as an explanation. My lords, no organisation 30

having as its policy a non-violent campaign, will conduct it on the basis that they have a struggle on a countrywide basis, assuming dimensions so large, my lords, that they will have to be prepared to clash with the armed forces. They say that the time is becoming opportune and they want somebody to step forward in the presence of the police and the armed forces. That is what this man wants, my lords, from his audience.

Now, my lords, one can, if you have this distorted view of your duty towards the State, that you can do anything - you can do anything on a countrywide scale - - you can do anything even to the extent of compelling the Government to call out the armed forces, the police - and you can even go to the extent of having a clash with these armed forces on a countrywide scale, and still, my lords, say 'our policy is non-violent' - - that one can do, my lords, but if that is your approach it's a distorted view of what one's duty is, and it's a distorted view of what non-violence is, and if you, in the face of that, my lords, represent your policy to the public as being non-violent, it's dishonest, my lords.

He concludes, my lords, he concludes his speech after referring to their struggle, by saying: "Don't fear the police, don't even fear the armed forces, your powers of resistance are greater even than the atom bomb. Freedom in our lifetime", and then there is applause.

Now, my lords, we respectfully submit that speakers who were there tried to get away from it, they tried to avoid it, but the fact is that this speech was

made, and this speaker was applauded, and not a single speaker after Sejake made his speech, not a single speaker tried to disassociate himself with what we say my lords, is an open incitement to a violent clash with the State, when the time is opportune, to achieve the aims of the Freedom Charter.

My lords, there were a number of speakers after that. Moosi who spoke at page 7578 refers to the fact that the charge of High Treason was being investigated, and he says at page 7579 "I want to live and to eat; if I want to do like everybody else. Even if we can answer that question of any oppressed in South Africa he is not prepared to answer . . . they will come with Sten guns. Of course people can shoot but they will not stop the work for freedom. Of course we must tell them that even they are oppressed, and if they can only realise we will accept them on the path to freedom, and of course I must say this, there is a paper here on the table which says the African women carry passes - - it's not going to happen in South Africa."

The same idea, my lords, that they will have to face the prospect of a violent clash.

He is followed, my lords, by a native male speaker who was not identified, who says at the conclusion of his speech that he has been a soldier in 1941; he is not afraid to die at any time, he is prepared to spend 10 years in gaol; a man dies once, no man dies twice; when the time is near they will not be able to hold their sten guns. We haven't got guns but we respect God. Hitler did the same but where is he to-day?"

I quote that, my lords, because it shows the

minds of the people at that meeting were running along  
the use of force.

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Then, my lords, Resha spoke at this meeting;  
he spoke for the first time, my lords, at page 7582, which  
was after the adjournment, and my lords, may I refer your  
lordships to the bottom of page 7581 and 7582, where  
Coetzee made the notes - at this point, after a number  
of people had spoken - at this point members of the  
police present went up to the platform and seized docu-  
ments.

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Then the afternoon session, my lords. . .

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BEKKER J: Did he say so in evidence?

MR. TRENGOVE: Yes, he says, my lords - -  
the record reads as follows: ("Q) What happened immed-  
diately after the chairman had announced that there be  
an adjournment for lunch?-- (A) The members of the police  
present went up to the platform and seized certain docu-  
ments." Page 7582, my lords.

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Now, my lords, after the adjournment Resha  
acts as chairman and he calls upon Lilian Ngoyi to give  
evidence, rather to make a speech, and Lilian Ngoyi  
starts her speech at page 7583; she says she has been  
asked to call for donations, and, my lords, at page  
7583, line 21, she says "You are the people with under-  
standing because you are the soldiers of liberation.  
The soldiers of liberation must teach the police that  
freedom is not only for you but for cream, yellow and  
black. In other words, all who are here must be pre-  
pared to protect this country, and there must be a  
government of the people, for the people of the people.

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And I want the police force for the people. It is not wrong for them to be here because they are supposed to be servants of the State. " Page 7584, my lords, - "Right here in South Africa there is no apartheid at Jan Smuts Airport, that is in Europe humanity is respected. Please, Mr. Strydom, stand aside on the road, we are marching to freedom. In Europe there are countries which are free because of their liberation fighters; this freedom is a very heavy trip. There are some people who are opposing us, but the time will come when they will be taken alive and thrown into the fire. I think about an example in Germany under Hitler. Strydom, the Lion of the North, the same will happen to him but I'm not going to make a speech to-day; the time is now to work together."

And, my lords, that evidence was not challenged in the cross examination of Coetzee, and the only person who did challenge it up to a point was Helen Joseph. She, if I understand her evidence, said that she didn't hear that. She doesn't remember it, my lords. We ask your lordships to find that Lilian Ngoyi did in fact say that. That is how Coetzee took it down; he was not cross examined. Lilian Ngoyi did not go into the witness box to deny that. In the context there it's a proper context; the only evidence is that one speaker, one Defence witness, said she cannot remember it, my lords.

My lords, it's in keeping with what other speakers said before her - what they, the other speakers who spoke before her had in mind - - the type of speech that they were making, my lords.

19347.

MR. TRENGOVE

BEKKER J: This is the afternoon session, is it? 1

MRL. TRENGOVE: This is the after dinner session,  
my lords.

BEKKER J: Is there evidence of who were present  
when S ejake spoke?

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, we have the evidence of 5  
van Pappendorff.

BEKKER J: Are you going to deal with that later  
on?

MR. TRENGOVE: Yes, my lord.

BEKKER J: Alright. 10

MR. TRENGOVE: When van Pappendorff and Sharpe  
gave evidence of people present at the meeting, my lord.

BEKKER J: When Sejake spoke?

MR. TRENGOVE: Yes, my lords. My lords, we know 15  
that the speakers who were there in the morning, who  
spoke with Sejake, were speaking from this platform.  
Resha and Lollen were there, my lords. Now, my lords,  
after Lilian Ngoyi there was a speech by Leon Levy and,  
w lords, his speech is - - I don't want to deal with it 20  
in detail now, it's an attack on Imperialism dominating  
the non-whites, at page 7585 of the record to page 7587.  
And in concluding his speech, my lords, he says at page  
7587, "We in South Africa know the soil of South Africa  
is rich with minerals and gold; we know it very well 25  
because many of us have dug it. We know, too, that as  
in our country there are freedom fighters, there are  
oppressed people all over Africa who are daily fight-  
ing for their liberation. They are fighting for self  
government and independence. We salute them for their  
efforts and we draw enthusiasm and courage and encourage- 30

ment from them. We want to co-operate with all the people  
of Africa; we wish to make the Freedom Charter known to  
the people of Africa, so that they will see that we recog-  
nise the right of all the people of Africa to independ-  
ence and self government. The Freedom Charter is the  
people's document in South Africa's history. It is  
South Africa's greatest contribution to peace"; then  
he speaks of freedom, peace and friendship, my lords.

Now, my lords, take Lilian Ngoyi's speech.  
Resha was the chairman; he didn't say anything in his  
evidence about that speech not having been made in those  
terms, and there are many people - a man like Leon Levy -  
who could have contradicted it, if it had been the case  
and if it had been said that it had not been said?

Then, my lords, a number of people made  
speeches and the meeting concludes with the statement  
by Resha at page 7597; it says he made a speech imme-  
diately after a native woman had spoken. He said:  
"Friends, we have got to close our meeting now. I had  
to give a chance to the old lady; the old lady is in  
the position because of oppression. If our mothers are  
like this must we live? If we are going to run away from  
struggle and put our mothers in front, friends, remember  
our struggle is non-violent, but if there is a pool of  
blood we will still have to go through it. It is my  
prayer that in five years time there shall be no old  
ladies like this one moving about and having no food.  
These are the things which make some of us feel like  
revenge. These are some of the things which make us  
pledge for freedom, and that it must come in our life-  
time. We here are gathered in order to understand the



significance, meaning and implication of the Freedom Charter." 1

Now, my lords, that passage is a very good example of how one can prepare to have a policy of non-violence, and yet have to go through a pool of blood. Resha's explanation, my lords, of this at page 17019 is the standard explanation, Vol. 81, that what he had in mind there was - - - it was put to him at the bottom of page 17018 where he is asked, "What did you mean by that, Mr. Resha?-- (A) What I meant by that, my lords, is that our struggle is non-violent, and we are not going to be deterred by the actions of the Government in this struggle; even if we are gaoled, even if we are baton charged, even if we are shot the struggle must go on." 5 10

So, my lords, it doesn't matter what the Government do in order to maintain law and order they will still go through the pool of blood to achieve their aims, and that there will be a pool of blood - - and that is why he mentions it - - Resha says, he felt it was evident from the actions of the Government. 15 20

Now, my lords, taking this meeting as a whole - taking the speech of Hutchinson, of how they were going to crush the opposition; the speech of Sejake of how on a countrywide scale there must be a clash with the armed forces; the speech of Lilian Ngoyi, throwing people into the fire; the speech of Moosi, the speech of the unknown, the unidentified native male, the speech of Resha about the pool of blood. My lords, this meeting, we say, is entirely irreconcilable with any policy of non-violence, and this, my lords, is a very important 25 30

meeting, because it connects that type of action with the 1  
achievement of the aims of the Freedom Charter, which  
Sejake says that the opportune moment - - it's not merely  
a question of signatures, it's a question of going into  
action.

And we say, my lords, that that was what they 5  
had in mind; they knew, my lords, that the Freedom Charter  
and its achievement and implementation would result in  
this conflict which Sejake speaks of, and this pool of  
blood which Resha says they will have to go through, and  
no matter, my lords, how many non-violent speeches they 10  
make that speech stands, that speech has not been explained,  
in our submission.

My lords, as far as Coetzee's evidence is con-  
cerned, there is a further meeting on the 6th November, 1955,  
which is a meeting of the South African Society for Peace 15  
and Friendship with the U.S.S.R in Johannesburg. Coetzee's  
evidence in Vol. 38 and 39, pages 7599 to 7618. My lords,  
I won't detain your lordships by referring to the speech  
of Thompson, or the speech of Beyleveld; I'm more concern-  
ed at the moment, my lords, with the attitude of the 20  
African National Congress and as far as that is concerned  
my lords, a message was read at page 7607 - a message  
from the African National Congress Youth League on the  
occasion of the 38th Anniversary of the Soviet Union  
and the celebration of the Socialist Revolution, and 25  
it's signed, my lords, by Kutene and after referring  
to the leadership of Stalin, Lenin, he refers to the  
fact that the people of Russia, long exploited and op-  
pressed, succeeded in overthrowing the Zarist oppression

and eliminated the remnants of party influence from their  
land, and it says "The establishment of the Union of the  
Soviet Socialist Republic, a society which is free from  
exploitation of man by man, and which has been an everlasting  
source of inspiration to the oppressed people the world over.  
The African youth fully realise that all these achievements  
would have been acquired with great difficulty were it not  
for the active participation of the Soviet Youth. We as  
Youth particularly applaud them for their sacrifice. Today  
we pledge ourselves to support the efforts of the Soviet  
people to oppose international war in their fight for peace!"

And, my lords, at this meeting, too, Magothe - H.G.  
Makgothe spoke, and your lordships will remember that at that  
stage he was on the Executive of the A.N.C.Y.L. and he says  
in his speech, at page 7614, "Mr. Chairman and Friends . . ."  
Now this man, my lords, was President of the A.N.C.Y.L.  
Transvaal in 1954 and 1955, according to Resha; he was also  
a member of the National Executive of the A.N.C.Y.L. during  
this period - - Resha's evidence at page 16829 and 17141.  
And, my lords, he was also elected to the National Executive  
of the A.N.C. at a later stage. He says: "Mr. Chairman,  
and Friends, on this first day of the Union of the Soviet  
Socialist Republic I bring to this meeting, to this gather-  
ing, the greetings of the African National Congress, and  
in particular the African people in general", and then he  
speaks about the U.S.S.R and the significance of the cele-  
bration to the African people. Page 7614, line 24 he says:  
"Mr. Chairman, I think it is particularly important because  
propaganda is made in our country to-day by people for  
reasons best known to themselves and because they want to  
subdue us. They always try to point a finger at the

struggles of the African people, the leaders of the African people, and seeing that these people are endangering the country, are sabotaging this country, I would like to say the struggle of the African people is directed at nothing - towards nothing but freedom. Briefly, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that this is the meaning of the significance of the foundation of the U.S.S.R to the struggle of our people, to the Africans in particular and the oppressed people in general in this country. Firstly, Mr. Chairman, the U.S.S.R is an example to us. It is an example to us, it is an inspiration to us, to look forward to the future, to see even in our day, today, the struggle in our day to day struggle, that the people are making towards freedom, peace and liberty; the great Soviet Union stands to us as an example and an inspiration that lies even in our small struggle, Mr. Chairman - if we do not falter then we can also look forward with some confidence to a future of peace", and then he talks, my lords, about the misguided propaganda in this country, and he says: "When we look at the Soviet Union then we see how the Soviet Union struggled and achieved freedom". The second reason is, my lords, "Because in the Soviet Union exploitation of man by man has been done away with." In this country, my lords, he says the A.N.C. also are looking to the day when exploitation of man by man is past and thirdly, my lords, he sees in the Soviet Union "The great peaceful construction that is taking place: the universities that are being created, facilities for the people", and he sees my lords, in the Soviet Union all these things have been achieved, and he concludes by saying that it's not impos-

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sible to live in peace with Communism, and he concludes 1  
his speech by saying "Many people have told me - page  
7616 line 25 - - "Many people have told me that they  
support the Vienna Peace Appeal; they do not want to die  
needlessly; they don't want to die fighting for wars  
for which they don't know the purpose; they like to live 5  
in peace."

And he concludes, my lords, by saying at page  
7617, "We want peace, we want to live in peace. If need  
be we shall die for peace and for the realisation of a  
better life." The same theme, my lords, "to die for the 10  
sake of peace".

So one has, my lords - - we are not making a  
point, my lords, that they are merely commemorating the  
38th Anniversary of the Soviet Revolution; we are making  
the point that they show unrestrained adulation for the 15  
Soviet Union and its system, and the way it achieved its  
freedom, in its liberatory struggle - on the one hand, and  
the condemnation of everything in the other camp on the  
other hand, my lords.

Then, finally, my lords, as far as Coetzee is 20  
concerned, there is a meeting of the 3rd June, 1956, also  
mentioned in the Policy Schedule, Vol. 39 - the evidence  
of Coetzee - page 7644. My lords, this is a meeting  
of the African National Congress at Moroka Square in Johan-  
nesburg on the 3rd June, at which Dr. Selakie spoke. The 25  
evidence is given at page 7646, and at which Faried Adams  
spoke, and Faried Adams during the course of his speech  
at page 7648, line 10, referring to the Freedom Charter  
says "One day in South Africa we shall get a Government  
who will take the Freedom Charter as the Constitution of 30

South Africa", and he says at line 15, further on, "The Freedom Charter will become the constitution and will take a lot of work; we will not get it by merely coming to meetings; we will have to fight; we will have to die for it."

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He is followed by Morrison, my lords, who says at line 7649, "In five years we will be sitting in Parliament", and who says at 7650 referring to Bantu Education, that Verwoerd is trying to stop a wave; the wave will drown him. He refers to the presence of the police and he says "You know, after saying Verwoerd is trying to stop a wave, we warn him that he will be drowned in this wave", and he says "You know there is also one thing that astonishes me, and it is our own people standing there and taking a whole lot of notes; don't they know they are signing their own death warrant - those people, the Natives and Bantus - they are doing the dirty work of Swart."

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"He asks you poor people because you are really poor in sense, leave that work to Swart, let ....and Spengler do that work, you are antagonising the people, you must accept the wrath of the people."

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The same, my lords, always the fact that the police are being present; the same idea, my lords that one finds in their bulletin "Isizwe" - "We have long memories and the wrath of the people against those who stand for the maintenance of law and order - the police, the State".

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Then he refers to the celebrations of the Freedom Charter Day at page 7651. My lords, I'm not dealing with this speech in detail at the moment, because evidence is also led in respect of the D/Sgt.Maselele who

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was present and who took certain notes, and it will  
 be necessary, my lords, when discussing Maselele's  
 evidence, to show how these notes compare with those  
 of the shorthand writer at this meeting.

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My lords, that concludes the evidence of Mr.  
 Coetzee. There are still other meetings, my lords, to  
 which Coetzee testified. We are not using those at the  
 moment, we are confining ourselves, in order to illus-  
 trate the type of propaganda at these meetings - we are  
 taking those only in the policy schedule, and your lord-  
 ships will see if your lordships refer to the schedule  
 that I handed in yesterday, I haven't specifically  
 classified the speakers every time but we indicate, my  
 lords, where certain speeches occurred under the differ-  
 ent headings in the policy schedule, either as part of  
 the liberatory movement, or in campaigns, whatever the  
 position may be.

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RUMPF J: Are you coming back to the other  
 speeches reported by Coetzee?

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, they will be dealt  
 with for the purposes of showing the participation, par-  
 ticularly of the accused in a conspiracy, or the co-  
 operation of the associations, but they will not, my  
 lords, be used as the basis for showing accused's  
 credibility. It is only commented on as such, my lords,  
 when these speeches that I have referred to now - if  
 it does become necessary to refer to them again there  
 will only be a general reference on the basis as has  
 been argued already.

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RUMPF J: Yes.

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, we are in some dif-

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difficulty in endeavouring to avoid a duplication for argument. 1

MR. FISCHER: My lords, just before my learned friend goes on, it would be of great assistance to the Defence naturally if it knew at this stage precisely what speeches are being relied upon for violence. I would like to know, my lords, if the speeches on this schedule are the only speeches which are relied upon for violence, for violent policy? 5

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, I don't know if I'm called upon to reply to that at this stage? We are not . . . 10

MR. FISCHER: My lords, I'm not suggesting my learned friend is called upon to reply; I am suggesting that it would save any future postponements.

RUMPF J: Yes. 15

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, we are referring on all the evidence for the policy of violence.

RUMPF J: Yes. Well, the question is related really to speeches and so so on; we know that all the evidence as used by the Crown will be relied on, but for the purposes of convenience in regard to the incidence of violence from a particular speech; if there is a list of speeches as such on which the Crown relies. 20

MR. TRENGOVE: I don't know what use would be made of the reply to that, my lords; we don't want to be put into a straight jacket, in which we say we have discarded certain speeches for violence and then they cannot be used, my lords. 25

RUMPF J: Yes.

MR. TRENGOVE: The next, my lords, is Schoeman. 30



He's also a shorthandwriter, my lords. Now, my lords,  
Schoeman as I've said - the only real attack, my lords,  
on his ability as a shorthandwriter was that he couldn't  
guarantee that it was impossible for him to make a mis-  
take; subject to that possibility of human error there  
was no other attack on his ability to report meetings.

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Now I have already, my lords, dealt with the  
meeting of Schoeman of the 27th June, 1954, which was  
the meeting that he attended together with Coetzee  
- the Anti-Apartheid meeting - where his evidence appears  
at page 7767 to 7768. My lords, I don't intend to  
deal with that any further.

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The next meeting, my lords, that he dealt with  
is a meeting of the 21st May, 1955 and his evidence in  
this regard is at vol.39; it's a meeting in the Trades  
Hall, Johannesburg, - a Congress of the People meeting -  
and, my lords, the cross examination in connection with  
this meeting was directed to eliciting from the witness  
firstly that he was concealed - that his presence was  
concealed - and secondly, my lords, that this meeting  
was in order to discuss the organisation of the Congress  
of the People, which was on hand, and also, my lords,  
that a witness D. Motsabe - the speaker D. Motsabe spoke  
on the Bantu Education. That cross examination, my  
lords, is at page 7881 of the record, and apart from  
passages the Defence were interested in there was no  
further cross examination on this meeting.

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My lords, I don't propose dealing with this  
meeting in detail. The Defence said it was an organisa-  
tional meeting of the Congress of the People. Nkademeng  
was called upon to speak and they deal, my lords, with the

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formation - in this meeting they speak of the formation  
of the National Action Council; he deals with mobilising  
the people to come to the Congress of the People, and  
my lords, they deal with the demands that have to be  
achieved from the people. 1

Then there is a speaker Lawrence Nkosi who 5  
speaks at the bottom of page 7781 to 82, who says he  
is going to speak on the Western Areas, which he then pro-  
ceeds to do, and in the course of his speech, my lords,  
at page 7782, line 10, he deals with the removal of the  
people in February, 1955; how armed police came along 10  
and troops knocked at the door and so on. Then at page  
7782, my lords, after referring to this what he calls  
the incident in Sophiatown, and likening it to the invasion  
of Tobruk by the Nazis, he says: "Comrades, I'm just tell-  
ing you of what happened in our country, our motherland. 15  
We must be quiet and just look at such things, or must we  
say 'Let us do something about it? Or must we just follow  
the Government's propaganda and not see what is happening  
in Communist China. And who is a witness? Who has  
been and seen that? It is the Communists in China, or 20  
the workers in China, or the workers in South Africa.  
Now, during the removal the Government instructed the  
police that if any agitators should come to you, shoot  
right into their hearts and when he or she is dead Swart  
will tell the dead body 'Look, you agitator, I killed you 25  
because you threatened my way of life'."

Then he refers, my lords, to the Ethnic group-  
ing of the people and the fact that it leads to bloodshed,  
which he is against. And then he refers to the Police  
Force composed of youths - of criminals of 21 to 25, and 30

the Government using these people, the poorest of whites,  
to enslave the African people.

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Then, my lords, the chairman speaks again at  
page 7785. He talks about the fight for liberation and  
says the people shouldn't forget the fight for peace.  
And then Nkademeng speaks on the Congress of the People  
and the set-up. My lords, I don't propose dealing with  
that speech any further because, as I say, my lords, we  
quote it in our schedule - - the part relating to the  
Congress of the People and the new State they want.

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Now, my lords, we come to the next meeting on  
the 29th April, 1956. . .

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BEKKER J: Well, this meeting at Kliptown?

MR. TRENGOVE: Oh, yes, the third one on the  
Schedule is the actual Conference at Kliptown. My lords,  
I'm not dealing with that; Schoeman's evidence has been  
read into the record. That will be dealt with, my lords,  
I think more on an ideological basis as to what was actually  
said at Kliptown, and the relationship to the Freedom  
Charter. I don't propose at this stage, my lords, deal-  
ing with that, in order to avoid repetition.

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Your lordships will see that we quote in our  
Policy Schedule evidence of the new state that they want.

Now, my lords, the next meeting that we wish  
to deal with of Schoeman's is the meeting of the 29th  
April, 1956. My lords, there was no cross examination  
of Schoeman as to what was said at this meeting. There  
was some cross examination of Ngcai who identified the  
witnesses but my lords, Schoeman himself and his evidence  
there was no cross examination at all. This, my lords,  
was the meeting that was commented on by Resha in his

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evidence as being a meeting that he made outside policy, and this is also commented on by Maloao as being outside policy. I'll deal in detail with Resha's evidence, my lords.

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(COURT ADJOURNED FOR 15 MINUTES)

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ON THE COURT RESUMING:

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, I was referring to the meeting of the 29th April, 1956. That is the meeting at which Resha made the speech about the youths at the Beer-hall. Now, my lords, in view of the evidence of the Defence in regard to this meeting it may be necessary to deal with it in some detail, because the Defence evidence was - Resha said "I spoke outside policy"; he was approached by two of the Executives after the meeting and Maloao also said this was dealt with by the Executive.

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My lords, I propose considering the meeting in that light. My lords, the chairman at that meeting was Mtiti, T.Mtiti. Now, as Resha said in his evidence, Mtiti was not on the African National Congress Executive; up to a point that is quite correct but, my lords, Mtiti was on the African National Congress Youth League Executive, and according to the evidence of Resha and the evidence of Maloao Mtiti was not only an Executive member of the African National Congress Youth League, but he was the Provincial Secretary of the African National Congress Youth League. Your lordships will refer to the evidence of Resha at page 16829, and my lords, the evidence of Maloao at page 17230. My lords, he was not what one calls

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a minor official. The first speaker at this meeting, my lords, at page 7818 is Makgothi, H.G. Makgothi. Now, my lords. Makgothi was President of the African National Congress Youth League in the Transvaal in 1954 to 1955. I gave his position earlier this morning. Resha, page 16829, my lords. He was also a member of the National Executive of the Youth League in 1954 to 1956, and my lords, he was - according to Ntsangani - elected to the National Executive at some stage during this period; page 16256, 16230. Now, my lords, he, too, is not a minor official. He speaks, my lords, in the vernacular; his speech was not taken down by the shorthand writer Schoeman, and at page 7818 the Chairman refers to Makgothi's speech and he says that Makgothi, line 20 - "You must listen to Mr. Makgothi, he's giving us an outline of the struggle for liberation in South Africa." That was the topic, my lords, that Makgothi apparently discussed, at this meeting.

Then, my lords, after Makgothi spoke Ntite made a speech which your lordships will find at page 7818 to 819 and he introduced Maloao as the next speaker. Your lordships have had the evidence of Maloao himself; also not a minor official, my lords. Maloao then makes a speech at page 7819 to 20, and he says at the bottom of page 7819 "You will find today in South Africa it is white against black; it is the sole intention of the whites to see that the African people remain slaves in this country, and the other forces, of course, are the forces of liberation of the African National Congress."

Then he refers, my lords, to Chaka, line 10 on page 7820, "When the last speaker said he can only remind them of the famous man Chaka I felt my blood running; Chaka was one of the youths in this country who was not

prepared to have laws made for him. I am sure that you, too, are going to rally around and see to it tomorrow that the youth will be responsible for the laws of this country. I would appeal to the youth that they must not accept the laws of the Government of South Africa - that the Government of South Africa wants to impose upon them, because to-day you see that all the laws that are made in this country are made to intimidate the African people."

Then he refers, my lords, to camps that are being erected for agitators against laws. Now, my lords, Maloao himself - I don't want to deal with that fully now, it will be dealt with when his personal position is considered - Maloao himself explained the reference to Chaka at page 17205 of his evidence, and he talks and explains the relation of Chaka as a leader, but, my lords, the only comment that I want to make here is that his reference to Chaka and his explanation does not fit in with what he said, because he holds up Chaka to the youth as a man who was not prepared to have laws made for him, and it is that aspect of Chaka's rule that he wants the youth to follow. Not accepting the laws of the Government in this country, the laws that the Government want to impose upon them.

Then he refers to Bantu Education and he refers to the passes, and at page 7821 he says: line 11: "One thing the Government in this country is not prepared to see is that the crime wave is diminished because the Government knows that those boys in those cars will not be running . . . he says the Government

is not concerned about diminishing the crime wave because that gives the police the opportunity of going about in their cars. 1

Then, my lords, after referring to what people are taught under this Bantu Education, he says at the bottom of page 7821, "When I say South Africa is the determining policy I do not mean the Europeans, I mean the masses in this country, for the Dutch must definitely leave. I call upon the youth of Africa to rally around Congress." 5

Now, my lords, one finds this attitude - "Everybody must live together; everybody - the whites, and others are all going to live in peace - - one finds when they talk to the youth of Sophiatown that they have a different language, a language in which the Dutch are excluded, from participating in the new Africa. 10 15

After Maloao spoke, my lords, the next speaker was Modise at page 7822; he was also a Youth League member and he speaks about the victory of the Winburg women, and he says "If they are determined, not long from now we will celebrate another victory". And he continues with his speech and says at page 7823: "I say to those Dutch people they must tell their people that it is not yet too late to make friends with the African people; I say to them, 'Let them go and tell Strydom, let them go and tell Verwoerd and Swart to change their minds. Even if the black man is to get his independence by force he will get it." 20 25

Now, my lords, Maloao at page 17207 agrees that Modise could have said they were going to get their Government by force if necessary, but he, my lords, says that 30

must be read as pressure.

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Then, my lords, the chairman speaks again, Nthithe, and I want to quote this, my lords, to show what value one can attach to their statement about bloodshed - not having bloodshed. The chairman speaks after Modise at page 7823, line 10 to 20, where he says: "Mr. Modise has expressed on behalf of the African people their eagerness to see a change in the policy of the Nationalist today. Mr. Modise has come on to this platform to try and change the minds of the Nationalists. We appreciate it because it is not our desire to get our freedom with bloodshed". Then he talks about the Tomlinson Report, my lords.

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Then he introduces Mrs Mashaba at line 7824 and her speech is in the vernacular, it was not taken down by this shorthand writer; the chairman comments on it. My lords, according to his speech he pointed out the example of the Winburg women. Bertha Mashaba, my lords, among other things she was a member of the National Executive of the Federation of South African Women, according to Helen Joseph's evidence at page 13989.

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And then, my lords, the chairman Nthithe introduces Resha and he says that Resha has an important message to deliver. "I call it important because he is going to explain the fact that our campaigns in the past are not forgotten, but our struggle still depends upon it. It is an unpardonable mistake to leave the Government to do what they want; the African people have decided that the Government is no longer to decide which way the wind must blow." Then he says: "It is the task of Mr. Resha to educate us; I therefore call upon him".

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My lords, apparently Resha started his speech - 1  
the first fifteen minutes of his speech - in the vernacular,  
which was not taken down by this witness. It was taken  
down by another witness, my lords, that portion - I'll  
deal with that later. Then Resha says - - and, my  
lords, although Resha in his evidence intimated that it 5  
was really the references to the Sophiatown beerhall  
incident that referred to violence, the whole speech, my  
lords, can be read as nothing else than an incitement to  
the youth to commit violence. And, my lords, he is called  
specifically by the chairman to educate the youth. 10

Now, at page 7826, he talks about the Afrikaners  
being afraid to give the African people education; then  
he refers to the Afrikaners being afraid, and to the fact  
that they are no better than bugs. Now one has other  
speeches of Resha, my lords, in which he is moderate, 15  
other speeches in which he purports to promote racial  
co-operation, but, my lords, it is significant that when  
he talks to his own people, the youth in Sophiatown who  
are to be educated, then this is the type of racial pro-  
paganda that he makes - - this is the type of incitement 20  
- white against black - - this he apparently thinks is  
required for the purpose of their struggle. Then he says  
"The Afrikaners achieve their education they will remember  
the day of Bloed Rivier. They know that the Zulu blood  
is inherent in every Zulu man; they will remember the 25  
day when Dingaan put his spear in the heart of the Boers.  
They know that the sons and daughters of this country, if  
they are educated, they will remember the day when the  
great Sikukune . . . ." and then a passage is left out.  
Then he refers to another incident at line 20 to 25 - 30

"They will remember, of the course, the Basuto people will remember the day that revolvers and guns could do nothing, the day when stones came running - everyone was killed." My lords, if this is a holding out to the people - even though the Basuto people had no guns and revolvers they could yet engage successfully in a violent struggle - - - then he says, "The Afrikaners and Dr. Verwoerd know that if you are educated you will play on them the same trick, that the great Dingaan played on the world when he called them to lunch because they are always hungry, and they put their spears into the hearts of the Afrikaners."

My lords, I submit that could only be understood in one sense, and that is that if these young people get the education Resha wants them to get, they will remember Dingaan and they will remember the trick he played when he called the people to lunch and put his spears through their hearts.

"The reason why Dr. Verwoerd...." he says at page 7826, "doesn't want them to be educated is because he knows the minute you are educated you will know that the grandfather of every Afrikaner was that thief, no other than Jan van Riebeeck." My lords, the same type of propaganda that is made in the African Lodestar to which I have referred - the white men came to this country to steal what the African people had.

And he continues, my lords, on this theme of Bantu Education.

Then he refers at page 7827 to China and says "One day in China where the English people had refused education to the Chinese the people were in

the same position as the African people to-day - that 1  
 is what is happening. The Chinese people could not get  
 paper, they could not get pens to write with, but they  
 decided to use stones in order to write with blood - -  
 in order to send messages to other Chinese in the pro-  
 vinces", and he says "And therefore I want to say to the 5  
 youth of Sophiatown our first duty is to handle these  
 people in the flying squad; they are nothing - we can  
 handle them." "For many years our great leaders have  
 been speaking to the various Governments of South Africa;  
 still the Governments could not understand the language 10  
 that our people have been speaking. This happened in  
 Russia, in the 18th Century", and he talks, my lords,  
 of the overthrow of the Czarist regime who couldn't  
 understand the language of the leaders of the libera-  
 tory movement. They only understood it when the youth 15  
 spoke. He refers to the French Government and the  
 youth who started the action, and then he says "When  
 the people of Sophiatown said to Dr. Verwoerd 'We do  
 not want to be removed from Sophiatown, Dr. Verwoerd  
 would not listen", and then, my lords, he refers to 20  
 those two incidents at the beerhall, which I won't  
 read again.

Then he refers to the need to get their libe-  
 ration; then he refers to an incident in Port Eliza-  
 beth where people were killed, and he says in the 25  
 middle of page 7829 - "It is time for us to consider  
 that the blood of that young man must be a way to  
 freedom" - that is the youth who was shot according to  
 Resha at New Brighton. "Therefore we must see who our  
 enemies are, and it does not matter who it is, somebody 30

somehow must pay for that blood". Same theme, my lords - "We have long memories and murder will out". The article one gets in 'Isizwe', my lords.

"Yes, if an African kills a European in this country we know that only the African who has committed the crime is going to suffer, but all of us are going to suffer. Why should we sleep when an African is killed just because the Afrikaners have decided to kill him? It is clear to me, youth of Sophiatown, that this country will never be free from oppression and exploitation until the youth take it upon themselves to say 'We can give it to them' - the day, friends, is coming, and I call upon the youth to join the Youth League because you may not be there - so that when the day comes we know where to get you; we have run ourselves into a river and we have decided rather to drown ourselves - - that rather than drown ourselves it is better for us to turn back and save the men and women who live in this country."

Now, my lords, quite apart from his references to the beerhall and Germiston, the whole speech is nothing else from beginning to end but an incitement to the youth to prepare themselves for violent action. The youth of Russia, the youth of the French revolution, the need, my lords, to have restitution for blood that was being shed - the beerhall, Germiston - everything, my lords, from beginning to end, is nothing else but incitement. And, my lords, during the course of this speech at page 7829 one gets this passage in which they refer to the policy of the African National Congress as being a non-violent one. My lords, the passage is the one in which he says the A.N.C. policy - in its national

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policy - - also says "We must live happily with everybody  
in this country" - - that policy of the African National  
Congress must be carried out.

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My lords, in the midst of this speech this man  
comes along at the top of page 7829 and having referred  
to the beerhall, Germiston riots - before referring to  
the Port Elizabeth incident he intersperses that with  
this policy of the African National Congress "Everybody  
wants to live happily" . .

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My lords, that may be their policy but the  
only way of achieving that is through this revolution;  
this violent revolution that he is inciting the youth to  
take part in. Resha was not unmindful, my lords, of  
the policy of the African National Congress, the policy  
of 'everybody wanting to live happily together in this  
country'; that policy must be carried out and he follows  
that by telling the youth how to carry out that policy.

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And, my lords, what makes this speech worse  
is the remarks of Nthithe, the chairman, Executive member  
of the A.N.C.Y.L. in which he says he wants to thank  
Resha for everything he has said. Resha made it very  
clear, whenever these dark people in this country, when-  
ever the white man imposed something on the people, they  
have one thing in their minds; he deals with it, and  
he dealt with it in the middle of page 7830 - "With  
the spies among the people is an educated native with  
a pencil", obviously, my lords, referring to the police  
who were present taking down notes. Then in the middle  
of page 7831 he refers to the answer that the African  
National Congress will give as a result of the young  
people coming into the struggle, and that the clear

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picture, and the clear language that Resha has used, and that the language of the youth, is not what they say but what they do. And he has shown that the blood of the African persons - we must consider that a serious crime and that particular person must be brought to judgment. And he talks of the same theme, my lords, and he refers - - your lordships will remember in this connection, after referring to the alleged killing of African people by whites, he refers to "the white bastards every day murder us, why do they not hang? Who is going to do the hanging....."and then he refers to Dingaan and Sikukine. And he refers to the riots at the Germiston Beerhall.

Now, my lords, we respectfully submit that if your lordships have regard to the people who were present at this meeting; if your lordships have regard to the fact that one can hardly visualise a more violent speech and a more dangerous speech directed, as it is, to the youth of Sophiatown, your lordships will have regard to the fact that not a single member of the African National Congress there and then repudiated that speech. Mylords, one finds this position that not only did these responsible leaders of the African National Congress - the leaders of the youth - - not only do they not repudiate it, but the chairman went so far as to confirm on behalf of the meeting and the African National Congress what Resha had said.

And, my lords, we submit that Resha knew and the accused knew that the only thing that Resha could do was to go into the witness box and say 'That speech was outside policy'. They had to do it, my lords, because

it's inconsistent with any other policy, but we say, my lords, that the attitude of everybody at the meeting is inconsistent with the policy of non-violence. The approval and approbation by the chairman, and the failure of people there and then to neutralise the effect of this dangerous speech is a very important factor, my lords, in gauging what the real policy was.

Now, Resha, my lords, says in his evidence that he was approached by Matloao and Mgwendu immediately after the meeting. He says that at page 16773, vol.79. He says he was approached by these two people and they said they felt his speech was outside policy, and he says, my lords, the matter was reported to the Executive. Now the interesting thing, my lords, is that Resha himself was never at any Executive meeting where this speech was delivered, and he himself knows nothing more about this - he didn't even know, my lords, or take the trouble to find out, or wasn't informed as to whether or not the African National Congress ever publicly repudiated the speech.

Page 16985, this part of Resha's evidence is dealt with. Now, my lords, it is a strange thing, that a man of Resha's standing in the African National Congress - the Volunteer-in-Chief of the Transvaal - should make a speech like this and not even he himself repents and takes the trouble to repudiate that speech publicly - not even he himself is called on to the carpet to face the executive and explain his position. It was dealt with apparently in his absence by the A.N.C. Executive, my lords. And nothing is done about it, my lords, except, as Maloao suggests in his evidence, that the following Wednesday

- this is at page 17208 - the following Wednesday a warning is issued at a meeting of the Congress which was not a public meeting but to which the public apparently had access.

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We ask your lordships when dealing with Maloao's evidence not to accept that explanation.

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My lords, we also ask your lordships to reject the evidence of Resha.

BEKKER J: Well, what did Resha say? Did anybody ever get in touch with him from the Executive?

MR. TRENGOVE: Resha's evidence is at page 16773, my lord, says this: after referring to the speech he says: "I want to ask you whether this speech, this speech of yours, the reference to the language of the beerhall - the Germiston language - was it ever discussed by any member of your branch?-- (A) Immediately after this meeting I was called by Mr. Mgwendu . . .

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BEKKER J: All I want to know, Mr. Trengove, is, does the evidence show whether or not the Executive Committee got in touch with Resha?

MR. TRENGOVE: Resha says, my lords, at page 16985, Vol. 82, - my lords, in his cross examination at Vol.80, he is asked: ("Q) Who were on the Executive apart from Mgwendu and Maloao, when the Executive condemned this speech you made in 1956?-- (A) Tshiki . . .

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BEKKER J: Did the Executive condemn it?

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MR. TRENGOVE: My lords . . . .

BEKKER J: What you read is "Who was on the Executive when your speech was condemned".

MR. TRENGOVE: Yes, my lord.

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BEKKER J: Did the Executive condemn it? 1

MR. TRENGOVE: My lords, Maloao said that it was condemned; if I could just return to Resha's evidence; if your lordships would just allow me one minute. According to his evidence-in-chief, my lords, it was reported to him that the Executive had condemned it. 5

BEKKER J: By whom? Who reported to him?

MR. TRENGOVE: That he heard, my lords; that was not investigated.

BEKKER J: And there was no action taken against him - from the Executive? 10

MR. TRENGOVE: Not according to Resha's evidence. The only thing that was done, my lords . . .

MR. FISCHER: Perhaps if my learned friend would read from the bottom of page 16773, my lords, it becomes quite clear. 15

MR. TRENGOVE: "Immediately after this meeting I was called by Mr. Mgwendu who was then the Vice-chairman of the branch, and Mr. Matloao, also a member of the Sophiatown Executive. They both discussed the speech with me; "What did they say?-- They were of the opinion that the speech fell completely outside the policy of the African National Congress!" "What happened about that then?-- (A) I agreed with them and I apologised for having made the speech on the platform of the A.N.C. Later it was reported to me that both Mr. Mgwendu and Mr. Matloao reported this matter to the meeting of the Executive Committee. Their line was accepted by the Executive, of having condemned the speech I made." 20 25

And that is what I said, my lords, that Resha 30

never appeared before the Executive, and Resha says in  
his evidence that he didn't repudiate the speech and he  
doesn't know, my lords, if the Executive repudiated it.

Now, Mr. Resha - page 16985 - ("Q) Did the  
African National Congress at any stage publicly repudiate  
this speech that you made?-- (A) Not to my knowledge."

("Q) And did you in any way repudiate it publicly?--

(A) No, my lords."

So, my lords, one only has the evidence of  
Maloao at this meeting the next Wednesday where some  
warning was issued. Maloao was not at the Executive  
meeting, Resha was not at the Executive meeting, Resha  
received a report that it was condemned, Maloao received  
a report that it was condemned, and there was this warning  
Maloao said at this meeting on the Wednesday evening.

My lords, it was rather late in the day - the  
Wednesday - to repudiate at a meeting of branch members  
to which the public were invited, to repudiate the state-  
ment made at large to the public, to the youth of Sophia-  
town. One wonders, my lords, why on the very next Sunday  
if meetings were held every week, why some statement was  
not made to disassociate the African National Congress  
from the speech, and one also wonders, my lords, why  
Mthithe was not taken to task for his association with the  
speech of Resha, and why, my lords, he didn't do what was  
apparently expected of chairmen at meetings when these  
violet speeches were made, to there and then repudiate the  
speech that was made.

My lords, the next meeting to which Schoeman  
testifies is the Congress of the People anniversary,

on the 24/6/1956. Now, my lords, this was also at Klip  
 -town and the only cross examination directed specifically  
 to this meeting which is to be found at page 7886 to 7890  
 was a request on behalf of the Defence which was acceded  
 to, the message by Father Huddleston; they requested that  
 portion of that be read into the record, at 7886; portion  
 of Lilian Ngoyi's speech read in at 7887, portion of what  
 Helen Joseph said on Bantu Education, read in at 7887 -  
 a sentence from the speech of Lollen referred to at page  
 7889, and also some reference to Dr. Moosa's speech.

My lords, Schoeman's evidence is at page 7883,  
 Vol.40, 7886. Now this, my lords, has also been referred  
 to by the Crown only in reference to the question of the  
 New State and I propose dealing with this meeting very  
 briefly. This was apparently an open meeting at which  
 people of different organisations were present, including  
 people such as the Rev Thompson - this was held at Kliptown.  
 Now, my lords the one thing that strikes one at this  
 public meeting is the fact that Leslie Masina who was  
 the chairman in opening the meeting at page 7835 is at  
 pains to stress the significance of this day on which the  
 people were meeting, the 26th June, and he, my lords, makes  
 that same statement that one finds repeated in many docu-  
 ments dealing with the 26th June. "That day is the day  
 when the Freedom fighters gave their blood", and he refers  
 to the various incidents leading up to that - page 7835  
 to 7836, my lords. He refers to the Defiance Campaign,  
 June 26th 1950 when freedom fighters gave their blood, and  
 so on. He is followed, my lords, by Mathole at page  
 7838, and Mathole reads a message from Luthuli to this

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Conference, and Luthuli in his message makes the statement which was read in and already referred to in L.I.N.8, in which Luthuli in his message deals with the significance of June 26th.

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Your lordships will remember the reference to that L.I.N.8; it was read into the record at page 4383, portions of the messages and speeches on this occasion are reported in that bulletin, and Luthuli makes that statement, my lords, at page 7838 on the significance of June 26th - line 25 - he says: "In history to any people some dates assume national importance because this significant national event is associated with them; so it is with June 26th in our history of the Liberatory Movement - the movement beginning the day when for the first time the white man came into contact with the black man, ostensibly to civilise him but really to rob him of his all, including his land, his freedom and his manhood " The same theme, my lords, the white men came to this country as robbers.

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And then, my lords, Luthuli deals at page 7839 with how June 26th gained fame and he mentions those events which are repeated in a number of documents, and then he concludes his reference to these events by saying at page 7840, "Let us here in all unanimity remember that we in this age are not the first, the only ones who have struggled for the liberation of our land, so that we can recall the many . . . of all ages to-day who in defence of their freedom in an exaltive and humble way have voluntarily sacrificed most dearly for it, to the extent even of making the supreme sacrifice."

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The same theme, my lords, 'that you struggle for

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freedom by defending freedom and you make the supreme  
sacrifice in defence of freedom. Any revolutionary  
activity is apparently a defensive action, in which  
the supreme sacrifices are made." 1

Leon Levy speaks, my lords, on behalf of the  
Trade Unions; Lilian Ngoyi speaks, my lords, at page 5  
7847, 7848 - talking about the passes for women, and  
the need to be determined like a crocodile, and the  
Winburg women and how the people must be prepared to  
sacrifice themselves rather than carry passes, and also  
with reference to the many people who died for the free- 10  
dom struggle. Then she refers, my lords, at page 7848  
to examples of exploiters and oppressors who have not  
succeeded. Pharoah in Egypt who tried to kill the  
Israelites. The Tzar in Russia who tried to kill the  
workers. Chiang-ki-chek who sold the workers of China. 15  
Hitler in Germany. She refers at page 7849, my lords,  
to Jomo Kenyetta in the following way: "I also call  
upon you, Jomo Kenyetta, and other leaders who are suffer-  
ing under the Imperialists - you are not forgotten, we  
are with you. The oppressed people of South Africa, we 20  
shall give the last drop of our blood for the liberation  
of the oppressed people in South Africa, and we shall  
enjoy human rights and all shall enjoy human rights. Long  
live the Charter."

Then, my lords, there is Moretsele's speech. 25  
Now, in spite of all these references to supreme sacrifice  
and the shedding of blood for the freedom struggle Moretsele  
comes back to the theme at page 7850 - the usual theme -  
that they are a non-violent organisation and they are not  
prepared to shed blood and they are going to be liberated 30

without blood shed.

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And yet, my lords, in the same paragraph he talks about the police who were there, the Europeans who were standing there and who don't see that the wheel of freedom is going to crush them.

And, my lords, we say again that this kind of reference - what does this mean, when after Luthuli has held up to the people that freedom lovers have shed their blood from 1950, and Lilian Ngoyi refers to the shedding of blood - of the chairman Masina who refers to blood being shed for liberation - Moretsele comes along and says 'This is a non-violent Organisation who are not prepared to shed blood; we are going to be liberated without bloodshed.'

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How can one reconcile those statements, my lords? The only way one can reconcile them is when Moretsele says this - this dissertation of the position that 'we ourselves will not shed blood, although our blood is going to be shed.'

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Then, my lords, the Rev. Thompson speaks on behalf of the Peace Council. Sibande speaks at page 7857 - starting at page 7856, after referring to the Peoples Parliament - - at page 7857 a portion of his speech is read in; he says "If you are fighting an oppressed people you must have a short time to do so; if you continue to oppress him you never know when he will throw you off. For a long time we have spoken in many languages; these languages have never gained freedom; we have tried by all means that the people must understand; we have spoken in all languages, so that the people can understand. If these people fail to

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understand those languages we are marching forward to  
freedom. There is nothing that can stand before us  
even our eyes are being shut - freedom is ours. Afri-  
cans, prepare yourselves for freedom; if you do not,  
if you yourselves do not re-dedicate yourselves there  
is nobody who is going to reinforce you. The only  
thing to do is to be prepared day and night. If you are  
prepared nothing will stand in front of us."

Then he says in conclusion of that speech at  
7858, my lords, "Ten years is too long, five years is  
enough to get liberation".

Then there is a speaker from the Eastern Cape  
who refers to the African people at page 7863 as having  
to make the supreme sacrifice. Then, my lords, at page  
7865 the chairman speaks again of the struggles of other  
nations fighting against the exploitation of man by man.

My lords, we say that at this meeting there  
is nothing onconsistent in the speeches made despite  
Moretsele's statement that they are non-violent -- there  
is nothing to take out the ambit of the struggle involving  
a violent clash which they call non-violent because they  
are not going to use violence first.

That is our interpretation, our lords, of  
their actions on this occasion.

My lords, I must just point out that in the  
Defence Maloao said, although he was identified as having  
been present at this meeting, Maloao said in Vol.82, page  
17266 that he was not present at this meeting.

My lords, that concludes Schomman's meetings.  
Then, my lords, there are two meetings of the shorthand  
writer White which are referred to in this Schedule,

I don't propose referring to them; your lordships  
 have the references there; they are quoted for the pur-  
 poses of the new State; they are Congress of the People  
 meetings; there was no attack on White as a shorthand  
 writer in regard to these specific meetings, and I pro-  
 pose leaving that matter there, my lords. Ther is nothing  
 to which I think I need draw your lordships' attention  
 to specifically.

The next meeting, my lords, is the shorthand  
 writer Langwidge; its a Congress of the People meeting  
 on the 12th June 1955. Your lordships will find the  
 references at page 8723, at which Resha also spoke.  
 My lords, Resha admitted-there was some doubt as to his  
 identification;. Resha admitted in his evidence at page  
 17152 that he spoke at this meeting.

Now, my lords, the cross examination of this  
 meeting - your lordships will find this at pages 8738 to  
 8743, where certain portions of the speeches of N.T.  
 Naicker, and Resha were read into the record. My lords,  
 one of the passages that the Defence read in from Resha's  
 speech - and this was on the 12th June, 1955 - where  
 Resha says, referring to the Congress of the People, it  
 will be the first meeting in the history of this country  
 where even the Police will be given an invitation to come.  
 We in the Liberation Movement have nothing against the  
 Police, particularly the Afrikaner Police."

That's an amazing statement, my lords, from  
 Resha, when one compares his statement in Durban to the  
 Congress of the People with his statement in Sophiatown  
 where the police were held out to the youth, particulrly  
 the Afrikaner police, as being the poorest section of the



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