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So that, my lords, we say your lordships will bear in mind on different occasions, different audiences - the same speaker doesn't always have the same approach

Now at this Congress of the People meeting, my lords, the first speaker referred to by Langwidge - he says the speaker was announced as Dr. Motala, and Dr. Motala speaks at page 8726 and your lordships will remember that Dr. Motala is the person who Conco said held those lectures on "The World We Live In" at Pietermaritzburg, and he refers to the formulation of the Freedom Charter which is to take place at Kliptown on June of that year, and, my lords, he refers at page 8728 to the failure of what one might call the Constitutional Political Parties to join in this struggle, and he gives the reasons why. He says at the bottom of page 8728 "The call has already come from the Congress of Democrats inside and outside Parliament for a National Day of Protest, but where are the friends of the non-European people? Where are those who are supposed to be fighting Fascism in this country? Where is the United Party? Where is the Federal Party? Where is the Liberal Party? None of them have seen fit to join in this call for a National Day of Protest; they know, these parties I have just mentioned now, that they can put a halt to the policies and nefarious designs of this Government, but they are between the Devil and the deep blue sea; they feel that should such a day succeed in South Africa it will be placing a weapon in the hands of the non-Europeans for future action. They feel that the same methods may be employed by the non-European workers in South Africa to the detriment of the exploiting

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class." I will repeat that - to the utter detriment of the exploiting class, because there is the worst economic exploitation in South Africa", and then he continues on that theme, my lords, that the purely constituted parties are not prepared to join in because they fear that their actions would lead to their own elimination; they are the exploiting class.

And then Dr. Mtala refers to the fact that in South Africa the conditions and state of affairs is not unique. He says at page 8729, "Now the all important question arises : who is going to change the state of affairs? Well, I must say that this is not a condition that is unique to South Africa itself; the people of Asia and throughout the world have suffered under similar conditions, only as recently as ten years ago; but those days, so far as India, so far as Burma, so far as China - and a number of other countries, not excluding the Gold Coast - - those things are past, and who is it who brought it, those things, about in those particular countries? The people themselves. That is the answer. And he says: "We must be convinced - -" skipping a sentence, my lords - "We must be convinced that the power of disturbing the status quo, the power to change the type of society lies within ourselves", and he goes on at line 10: "I have no doubt whatsoever in my own mind that the non-Europeans are quite capable of changing the status quo in South Africa. They have the means, they have the power; let us look at what is happening to-day insofar as the struggle against the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship is concerned. " And then he refers, my lords, to the sacrifices that have been made.

He concludes his speech, my lords, by saying that they must be prepared to make those sacrifices for freedom because freedom is not handed out on a silver platter.

My lords, after that a man by the name of Shanley speaks. I omit his speech, my lords. Then Resha speaks at page 8734, line 30: "We are meeting here this afternoon at a crucial time in the history of the world. We are meeting at a time when the great powers are deciding whether it is wisdom on their part to use Atomic bombs for the destruction of mankind. We are meeting at a time when the oppressed people throughout the world are marching ahead in a manner unknown in the history of mankind. The forces of oppression and reaction are shrinking. Yes, we are meeting at a crucial time in the history of our mother country, South Africa. We are meeting at a time when our minority group of the country has brought in a government, a party which is determined to make South Africa not only a Police State but a fully fledged Fascist State."

Then, my lords, he refers to a number of things, Bantu Education, the Congress of the People, the Defiance Campaign, and he remarks about the Defiance Campaign and they have some significance, my lords. He says: "The Defiance Campaign was not an achievement for freedom itself, but it was a campaign whose sole intention was to bring about a high political consciousness among the people of South Africa." And then he quotes Luthuli, my lords, at page 8736: "Freedom comes only to people who are prepared to pay dearly for it; it will never come to people who stand in the middle of Grey Street....."

Then, my lords, at the bottom of page 8736

he refers to the Government of South Africa and the need to stop Fascism, and he concludes his speech, my lords, at 8737 by saying: "I want to close with the words of my leader, but I want the Government to know this, that whenever we meet at meeting places or halls of South Africa I always think of Chief Luthuli. The Government of this country is going to regret when the people of South Africa will one day decide to move forward, and before them will be passing Chief Luthuli, for when the people move forward without their leaders no one knows what they are capable of doing. The Congress believes in non-violence, but if the Government is going to take them away from us we shall not stand the responsibility for what the people will do in the absence of their leaders, and I want to say it is not any absence of Chief Luthuli which will discourage us, but it is his absence which will make us forge ahead. Chief Luthuli says that the highest relationship between men and God is their preparedness for man to work and die in the service of his people."

Now, my lords, one finds this theme repeated quite often by African National Congress people, that they are warning the Government 'If you take away our leaders we are not going to be responsible for violence which might break out if the African people have not got the correct leadership.' Now the Crown's reply to that type of statement, my lords, is contained partially in what Resha himself says. My lords, they are engaging in an unconstitutional and an illegal struggle, involving defiance of laws and other possible forms of illegality.

They know it is a dangerous struggle, they know that the people cannot continue with that struggle. As they say, assuming for the moment it favours of the African National Congress - - people cannot continue that type of struggle without being involved in violent action unless they have proper leadership.

Now, they place the Government in this position, of either having to allow them to continue their unconstitutional and illegal conduct - - if leaders are banned, they don't stop their illegality, they don't stop their unconstitutional action, knowing what risks are involved; no, my lords, Resha says that won't discourage them, they will go ahead. So, my lords, it's idle talk to place on the Government the responsibility for what could happen if these leaders are banned, because their attitude is banning or no banning 'we will go ahead', irrespective of the consequences.

Then, my lords, at the same meeting N.T. Naicker makes a speech which will be dealt with under the Indian Congress, in which N.T. Naicker once again emphasises the banner which they hold high - violence and hatred towards none; and he emphasises the fact that their struggle is a non-violent one.

Then I have already referred your lordships to the cross examination in the portions of Mr. Resha's speech which were read in, that is at page 8742 to 8743, my lords.

My lords, that concludes that meeting. Our schedule, my lords, merely refers to this meeting as supporting the allegations of "We want a new State".

The next meeting, my lords, is one of Swanepoel. It's a recording, my lords, of a meeting at Pietermaritzburg

on the 5th December, 1954; it's a Congress of the People meeting and your lordships will find Swanepoel's evidence on this meeting at page 8023. My lords, the meeting itself starts at page 8014, the portions I'm referring to - Resha's evidence is at 8023, my lords.

My lords, this was a Congress of the People meeting of which a tape recording was handed in and in which Resha appeared for the Transvaal, bringing the greetings of the African National Congress and the African National Congress Youth League.

Now, my lords, at page 8022 your lordships will get a reference to the people who were present; 8023 Resha starts his speech on behalf of the African National Congress and the Youth League, and, my lords, at this Congress of the People meeting Resha refers at 8024 to the Imperialist struggle: China, Imperialist America, the stooge and criminal Chiang-ka-Chek and the Korean War, and the struggle in Morocco - page 8025 - the struggle of their brothers in Kenya who are combating the Mau Mau terrorists, and my lords, at page 8026 he refers to South Africa which has become a Fascist State along the lines of Hitler's Germany, and he gives his reasons and refers to the banning of their leaders.

My lords, we quote that speech of Resha to show that the whole tendency of that speech is on the Liberatory struggle as set forth in our Indictment - in our Particulars, and also, my lords, in connection with the Congress of the People.

Then I also refer your lordships to a message from the Peace Council which was read at page 8030 and I also refer your lordships to the message that N.T.Naicker

read at page 8034 to 8035 where Naicker was called upon
to read a message on behalf of Dr. G.M. Naicker, and in
which he stresses once again their policy which is one
of non-violence.

My lords, Resha also admitted in his evidence
at page 17151 of the record, to 17152, that he was present
at this meeting, and, my lords, if one reads Resha's
evidence it is an illustration of this attitude of the
two camps in the world - the camp of Imperialism and the
camp of freedom and democracy. And, my lords, if one
reads Naicker's message he refers to Ghandi and the
struggle for passive resistance - that being the non-
violent policy - - but in that connection, my lords,
we point out that the struggle of the African National
Congress and the Congress Movement as a whole was not one
merely of passive resistance, as Ghandi knew it; your
lordships have B.25, the document - "Political Organisa-
tion" - in which they show clearly, my lords, that
passive resistance by Ghandi, as they understood it, was
merely a means of carrying the struggle to a higher
level, and that in itself could never enable them to
achieve their aims.

My lords, that deals with the evidence of
Swanepoel as far as he relies on the tape recording..
Then the other one in this category, my lords, is the
tape recording of Diederichs; that has already been
dealt with and, my lords, I propose at this stage to
deal with the other type of evidence - we have the
evidence of longhand writers at meetings, my lords,
illustrating by way of examples how the Crown respect-
fully suggests that type of evidence should be taken.

(COURT ADJOURNED.)

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COURT RESUMES ON THE 23rd NOVEMBER, 1960.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

Accused Nkalipi and Accused Nene are
not in Court.
Accused Adams is also not in Court.

MR. TRENGOVE :

May it please Your Lordships. His Lordship Mr. Justice Bekker asked yesterday about the attendances at meetings of the Freedom Charter Committee on the 18th of September, 1955. There were the two sessions Your Lordship will remember, Sejake made a speech in the morning and Resha took over in the Afternoon. Now My Lords, as far as the attendances are concerned, the evidence was given firstly by Detective Sergeant van Papandorp, and his evidence, My Lords, is at page 8374 of the record, where he gives the lists of the people whom he saw there when he attended the meeting in the morning. He mentions My Lords Sejake himself, Fress, Helen Joseph, Leon Levy, Dr. Moosa, Stanley Lollan, and My Lords some other names. Just for the sake of reference, My Lords, he also mentions at page 8379 that the point of time at which he took possession of the documents from which Sejake was making a speech was when the meeting adjourned. My Lords, the further evidence on attendances was given by the witness Sharp, Detective Sergeant Sharp at 10144 of the record, where he testifies to the fact that he arrived at 9 a.m. and then he gives the names of all the people that he took down, and he makes a note of when the meeting actually started at 11.15 a.m. Those names, My Lords, are set forth at 10144 and 10145. n

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My Lords, could I now deal with some of the longhand - witnesses who took down notes in longhand, and could I start by way of an example with Maselele, who is No. 9 on the list that I gave Your Lordships, Motseki Maselele. My Lords, I made certain submissions in connection with these longhand writers, and certain tests that could be applied in order to test their general ability to take down notes. Your Lordships will have regard to the effect of the cross-examination, to what the ability of these witnesses were to understand and take down notes either in English or to translate them from the vernacular. Apart from the general ability, the Crown also submitted, I just want to repeat it here in connection with the longhand writers, that the Court would be entitled in our submission to have regard to certain topics which appears in certain documents and propaganda of the A.N.C. are to be found in these speeches in much the same language. One also finds, My Lords, that certain speakers always speak on certain topics in a certain way. One can also have regard to the context in which the remarks as taken down appear, even though a speech may not be complete in itself. My Lords, we don't say, and we accept the position that a longhand writer cannot take down everything at a meeting, but My Lords, we say as far as that is concerned, the test would be whether the evidence of the meeting as recorded gives a fair resume of what was said by the speakers at that meeting, - a fair report of what was said by a speaker at a meeting, on the topics recorded.

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MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Isn't there another criticism too, that they tookdown what to them appeared to be important?

MR. TRENGOVE :

They took down, My Lords, what they say represent a fair report of what that speaker said.

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Didn't some of these people say they took down only what they regarded as important?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, that may be the position, differing in individual cases with which we will have to deal, but generally speaking My Lord we submit the reports made by these writers, apart from specific cases, - we are basing part of our argument My Lords on the basis of being a fair report of what was said at that meeting.

My Lords, I start with the witness Maselele. Now Maselele's evidence and the cross-examination of Maselele in general is to be found, My Lords, starting at page 8905 of the record, where he is cross-examined by my learned friend Mr. Fischer. My Lords, in his cross-examination and as far as his general ability is concerned, Maselele said that his home language was Sesotho, and he admitted, My Lords, that his knowledge of Zulu was weak. He also said, My Lords, that at Alexandra speeches were made either in Zulu or Sesotho or Sepedi or English.

And he says when the vernacular was used, either Sesotho or Zulu he translated it into English himself. He took down what a speaker said, he did not take down what the interpreter said that was provided at the meeting. He also says, My Lords, that he cannot say that he took down

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everything. My Lords, we say it is obvious that this longhand writer cannot take down everything, and his evidence must be considered in that light. He admitted, My Lords, in cross-examination that during the course of these meetings, general topics discussed at the meetings were--speeches against the Bantu Education, speeches against laws detrimental to the African people as they saw it, speeches on the Defiance Campaign, the Group Areas Act, passes, busfares, Bantu Education, rents, on non-White representation in Parliament, references to Ghana and India and references to the fact that they want to obtain control of the country without bloodshed. Those were suggested to him as topics, and he admitted that those were general topics and we accept that position. My Lords, we will submit after having dealt with Maselele that his notes of speeches, having regard to the various factors ~~that~~ we say the Court would be entitled to take into consideration, these notes and speeches are reliable.

Your Lordship will also see that his evidence is more or less confined to a series of speeches made in a certain area, Alexandra, and My Lords, they give a picture of the A.N.C. activities in that area, particularly during the months of February to July of 1954, which we say were crucial months of preparation for the activities of the African National Congress both in regard to the Western Areas and the Congress of the People, and they give a good picture of how the African National Congress conducted its campaigns and public meetings in that area over that period.

My Lords, the first meeting that we refer to, is

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a meeting of the 22nd of February, 1953. It is an A.N.C. Colonial Youth Day Rally in Alexandra, and Your Lordship will find that in Volume 44 at page 8761 to 8838. My Lords, I'll deal firstly with the meeting itself, the cross-examination My Lords on the meeting Your Lordship will find at page 8911 to 8913. My Lords, the meeting itself is opened by Resha at page 8763 of the record. My Lords, the first part of the meeting recorded is at page 8763, where a certain speaker Desai speaks. Now he was cross-examined on that, My Lords, I will be coming back to that just now. Then My Lords, at 8764 there is a speaker Motseli, he was also cross-examined My Lords on that, and I'll be coming back to that passage too. Then at 8764 at the bottom, My Lords, there is a speech of Resha, to which I want to refer shortly, in which Resha says : "Friends, I want to open this meeting by saluting you in the name of Africa. Today we meet under the auspices of the Youth League and the South African Indian Youth League and those who live in the whole world. Last year the three organisations met - the three youth organisations met and decided to break the apartheid laws." Last year in that case, My Lord, would be 1952, the breaking of laws, My Lord, would refer to the Defiance Campaign. Then My Lords, it says, "24th February..." - My Lords, I checked with the notes, this is a typing error, the notes were 21st, but be that as it may, My Lords : "24th February, 1946, in Bombay.." - it says "repealed" here, My Lords, I think that is a typing error too, it should be "refused." "... refused the orders of British imperialists..." and it says the "Sudans", it should be "students", "... students met and

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supported the Bombay youth. February, 1947, the Egyptian youth stood up and forced the British imperialists. 21st February, 1948, in Calcutta, at the meeting of the World Federation Youth League, thousands of people came out in support of the youth, and it was said in February of every year they would meet and appeal to their people to support the fight for the oppressed people. And today we have come here to show our solidarity and we support other people, Malaya, Morocco, Tunisia who fight the imperialism. Let us come nearer home in Kenya, you can see the children, men, women are searched (?) by British imperialism to shoot them. Today we have to examine the situation in Kenya. It is this day we have to tell the British people that they are unjust. If the British people did not go to Kenya, there should not be any anti-British. The people in Kenya demanded human rights, more lands, and Kenyatta today is in gaol. We want to tell the Kenya people that the blood flowing there will be cried for..." -and then the sentence is incomplete. And he goes on : "At home the land of South Africa is a police state. We meet today when fascist bills are hanging over our head. Today our country is ruled by people who are supposed to be Christians and civilised, do you think these bills can be made by Christians? Three days from today, two bills, Criminal Amendment Bill will be signed by the Governor-General, and they will be laws and the governor will..." - and the sentence is incomplete - "... state of emergency. It is important therefore that the youth of this country must renew their courage and fight for freedom. If the future

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depends on the youth, so it is the duty to fight for freedom. South Africa has become a jungle. Perhaps this may be the last meeting. Even if we can be arrested, the struggle will carry on. Conference decided to carry on no matter what the consequences may be. We can die for freedom, that is nothing. Today we are going to show how we can live harmoniously in South Africa, where Europeans, Indians and Africans can live together and we will share the platform."

Now My Lord, that speech, if Your Lordship has regard to what the African National Congress attitude is, about the significance of Colonial Youth Day, that circular, the bulletin African Lodestar, how they show how Colonial Youth Day started, the rise of India in 1946, the trouble in Egypt, how it was established in 1948 in Calcutta, this attitude to Kenya, My Lords, it shows that this as far as the contents of this report is concerned, it is a report that makes sense, it is a report that one can expect a speaker to make at a Colonial Youth Day meeting. And that has not been denied by Resha that that was said, so that My Lords, one is entitled to accept that type of report as representing what was said at that meeting by that particular speaker. Resha was - there was some cross-examination, My Lords, in regard to this speech about the sentence at page 8912/3 about the sentence, "Let us come nearer home to Kenya. You can see the children, men, women are searched by British imperialism to shoot them", and he was asked - it was pointed out to him that that doesn't make sense and he was asked what that meant, and he said what he understood was that the police were searching the men and women who

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had fled away, looking for them in the forests and shooting them when they found them. Your Lordships had many statements by the African National Congress about the indiscriminate shooting and bombing of women and children in Kenya. My Lords, take this statement of the fascist bills which were hanging over their heads. Your Lordships know that in 1953, after the Defiance Campaign in fact the Public Safety Act was passed and the Criminal Laws Amendment Bill was passed. My Lords, by those tests one can test the correctness of the statements made and the reaction of a witness like Resha not denying that these things were said, and we say, My Lords, that Your Lordships will find that they are reliable.

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Just pausing there. Resha said he can't remember what he said years ago. Now if that might be true, what point can you make of the fact that he doesn't deny it?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords, he - in a number of speeches he did remember what he said.

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

I want to find out from you, where a man says I can't remember, it is humanly impossible for me to remember what I said five years ago, that really means that he is not in a position to admit or deny, isn't that so?

MR. TRENGOVE :

That is so, My Lord.

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Then what value can you attach to the fact that he doesn't deny it?

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MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords, the value that one can attach to that up to a point is that there are certain things that one can say you never said. My Lords, I take it for instance - take the question of violence or inciting people to violence. Now a person may not be able to remember what he said in a particular speech, but he may be able to say I never in any speech made any statement which could be regarded as an incitement to violence, or I never in any speech referred to the Colonial Youth Day or the bombing and shooting of women, that was a topic that I never discussed. In that sense, My Lord, he couldn't say if it is a common subject which he ordinarily discussed, he couldn't say My Lords whether he discussed it on that particular day. But if it is something My Lord, which was quite out of the ambit of his range of topics that he discussed, he would be able to say that, My Lords.

MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

But Mr. Trengove, if a man has made dozens of speeches over a period years ago, then he can't possibly recollect each of them individually, particularly if he treated a number of topics at those meetings, he can't do it.

MR. TRENGOVE :

That is so, My Lord.

MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

What does he say about - was he asked whether he could have made a speech like this?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords, as far as this particular speech is

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concerned, there was no cross-examination of Resha, he didn't mention it in his evidence in chief and the matter was then left there. Your Lordship will remember that the matter was not pursued in examination in chief.

My Lords, Your Lordships had a speech yesterday taken down by a shorthand writer of a Colonial Youth Day in 1955, at which these people spoke too. We say My Lord that it is the same theme every year at Colonial Youth Days. We refer My Lords, to the speech of Shall, at the same meeting, at page 8767, in which one gets the same theme, supporting Kenya, supporting Malaya, supporting the Gold Coast, and showing solidarity with Kenya and the youth of Kenya. One has, My Lords, the speech at 8768 of Kathrada, and he says : "On behalf of the Youth Congress I bring you greetings. We are meeting today on the Colonial Youth Day. We are meeting to salute the young people of Kenya and Egypt. Nobody who knows freedom can forget the youth people of Korea. We gather here to greet the people of Korea who are being killed by the American people. Let our hearts get to Korea. No universities, they have been closed. Three million have been killed by Americans. Their mothers have been raped in the presence of their children. The children walk naked in Korea. These have been shown to the Korean people the way of life of the American people. I have been told how the people were killed by Americans, people in Korea. There is one thing to learn. Nobody can hold the force of freedom, nobody must go back. Now South Africa we like is on the lead of a and the people have never been so divided. The white

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people live under fear and bills introduced show that the time of domination is coming to an end. They go to bed with guns under their pillows." And then he refers to the giant which has awakened and which has been asleep since Jan van Riebeeck came to this country. At line 10 of 8769, he talks about the - about demanding democratic rights, and "every whip you drive in your body you are driving your own nail into yourself, you are driving our determination to freedom", that is to the government. He shows My Lord how conditions have perpetuated and forced the people to steal, and how people have been shot because of their demands. He refers to the 1st of May, 1951, in Odendaalsrus, he talks about Denver, Kimberley, East London, Port Elizabeth. "You must remember those people you have killed, you and your police. We will remember in our hearts".

My Lords, take these references to Denver, Kimberley, East London and Port Elizabeth. From the documents Your Lordship knows, the youth bulletins, those references were made. There was evidence in these papers, the youth bulletins of these riots, and Your Lordships have the position that the police were blamed for killing the people. Now Motsele, My Lord, when he makes a note of that nature, he can't be fabricating that. My Lords, in this context in which Odendaalsrus, Denver, Kimberley are mentioned and this blame on the police,...

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

It wasn't suggested that this man for instance, Maselele, was in every case in every speech fabricating a speech of his own and substituting that for what the

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speaker actually said.

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, no, that was not suggested. I want to point out how one can test the reliability of certain facts set forth in a speech, how one can test whether in that context, as they appear in the notes, whether they are reliable or not. We submit, My Lord, that references like this, if tested against the background of other propaganda of this organisation, do provide a test. Now My Lords, he concludes by saying : "Let me conclude to you, Mr. Swart, we like to live but not to die. We want to make everybody happy. In order to achieve this we are prepared to do anything. If death is the price, we accept that". My Lords, here Your Lordships have a speech by Kathrada, who is an accused in this case, Maselele gave this evidence, and My Lords, he didn't go into the box and say that he couldn't remember, as far as he was concerned he didn't attack the correctness of Maselele's report, except through the general cross-examination.

The same thing, My Lord, one finds with the speech of Nokwe, made on this occasion. Nokwe in his speech at 8770, also refers to the Korean situation and the casualties suffered by America, the struggle in Malaya, and in that context saying that the South African people are also fighting for freedom, and praying for the success of the people of Kenya and Tunisia, and all the people fighting for world peace. And then, My Lords, at 8771, attacking imperialism, who have determined to continue the war, and the capitalists who live on the

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sweat of the people, stating that these wars are all for the benefit of the capitalists and imperialists. My Lords, if one takes Nokwe's position, Your Lordships have that National Executive Report, Z.K.M.6, of 1953, where the National Executive of the African National Congress on Korea and on Kenya report in the way - in the same way as the speech alleged to have been made by Nokwe on this occasion.

MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

If some portions of some of the speeches read nonsense, and others apparently read coherently, what do you suggest the Court should do?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords, if there is any passage in the speech, as there are in many cases which one finds, My Lords, one can't place a meaning on them, the Court will ignore those speeches, if they - those parts, if they are nonsense. If there are portions, My Lord, which makes sense, the question is, are those portions reported in what one might call a proper context, having regard to all the circumstances, and to that extent, My Lords, Your Lordships can place reliance on those parts of the speeches showing that that was the type of propaganda made by this organisation or made by that particular speaker.

MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

There are certain passages in this speech as recorded which really don't make sense, are there not?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords, I'll be referring to one or two of

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these passages now which were put in the cross-examination. My Lords, in the cross-examination of this witness he was asked My Lord about a portion of his reporting at page 8763, the accuracy. And at 8763, My Lords, he reports a speaker Makgozi (?), and the speaker says "We have this Colonial Youth Rally and this is the Colonial Youth Rally, as it is the Colonial Youth Rally, it will be handed to the youth. We are glad when you have chosen Alexandra to welcome Chief Luthuli here, so I welcome you as well as the president. I hand over to Resha". And then after that reference to Luthuli and welcoming him, Desai speaks, and Desai is reported to say : "Today we meet here to greet a great friend of Chief Luthuli. We have chosen Luthuli as our president". Now it was put to Masellele there that he couldn't say - he couldn't have said "Today we meet here a great friend of Chief Luthuli", because Chief Luthuli was there himself, and that doesn't make sense, and that Masellele admitted, that that sentence - in that sentence the "of" should come out, and he made a mistake there, My Lords. That was obviously My Lords, an obvious mistake in the context because Luthuli was being welcomed, that reference was made and the speaker was obviously greeting Chief Luthuli as being present at that meeting. Then My Lords, he was asked about the statement that he made on page 8764, where he says - now this meeting was in February of 1953, when he says: "On the 8th March, 1953, some of our leaders were supposed to come and speak, but they stayed away because they feared the police". Now it was put to him, My Lords, that that must be the 8th of February, because they were

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at that stage - they were only celebrating the 21st of February, 1953. Now that mistake he also admitted. We don't say, My Lord - even a shorthand writer, My Lord, we don't say is infallible. And then My Lords, he was asked at page 8912 about British imperialism shooting the people, and his explanation was that he understood that to mean that women and children were hiding, the soldiers were looking for them and shooting them when they found them. And then he was asked on this meeting, page 8913 of the cross-examination, if it was fair to say that we cannot rely on any single word as necessarily being what the speaker said, and he replies : "I have already said that what I took down here is what the people said, and if there are any English mistakes in it, then all I can say is I did it as well as I possibly could to take down what the speaker said". My Lords, that is all that he can do, and we say that taking this meeting as a whole and this speech as a whole, it is - it makes sense, My Lords, and it fits in with their whole attitude towards the problems discussed at this Colonial Youth Day meeting.

My Lords, a year later this same reporter was reporting on the same occasion, Colonial Youth Day, 21st February, 1954. This evidence in chief is at page 8778 to 8789, and the cross-examination My Lords on this meeting is at page 8916. Now My Lords, this is also a Colonial Youth Day meeting, the 21st of February, 1954, and we have Resha speaking at page 8780, in which he calls upon the people to sing a freedom song, Cheesa-Cheesa, and aggression in the African forces (?) of capitalism(?). Now the witness was questioned on that

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and it was suggested to him that that song was not the Cheesa-Cheesa song, but the Cheli song, the Cheli-Cheli. That is at page 8916 of the cross-examination. My Lords, he says as far as he is concerned that was how the song was announced, but be that as it may. Then My Lords, Resha speaks on the 21st February as an important day, and he tells them "We have got to remember the 21st of February, 1954, when the youth and workers and fifty thousand students demonstrated in Egypt and the oppressors were powerless. We are met here, demonstrations of youth all over the world remembering their heroes. We must dedicate ourselves to fight for freedom." And then Ruth First speaks. My Lords, Ruth First makes a long speech about the situation in Kenya and in other countries. I just want to refer to that at page 8781. "Everywhere, in Kenya, Malaya, China they have held this meeting. In China the youths are demonstrating for freedom. In Indo-China they are fighting for freedom and progress. The people of Korea, we have to show sympathy to them through the wars they have been fighting." Then she talks of Malaya, she talks of Kenya and the Mau-Mau, where she makes a statement that has often been made, My Lords in documents : "The war fighting in Kenya is not only to destroy the Mau-Mau but to destroy the people of Kenya. That was is a war against the common people. Bombs and soldiers from England and aeroplanes." And then she says : "I believe the Mau-Mau were doing atrocities, but the British are doing the same." And she talks of support for the Mau-Mau people. Then Shall speaks, My Lords, Molife speaks, in the same manner, My Lords, and then

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Cachalia speaks, and My Lords, there are a number of other speaks. There is also Nokwe who speaks at page 8787 to 8788, talking about Colonial Youth Day, and the wars of imperialism of the Europeans against Malaya, Kenya and the brutal sentencing of Jomo Kenyatta and the dismissal of Dr. of British Guiana, and sending this message to the youth all over the world. And Resha, he speaks, My Lords, and in this - of this speech Resha in his evidence in chief did say something, My Lords, I just want to refer to it. Resha, at 8788 : "While thousands of colonial youths are rejoicing, we in South Africa are mourning, because thousands are lying in hospital, others in gaols. We are mourning because Chief Luthuli should have been here, not only him but J.B. Marks and others should have been here. So the youth should unite and come together. I appeal to South Africa not to address the people of this country as tsotsis. These people who will be sent to camps by Dr. Verwoerd must be called soldiers. I wish to say to these people called foreign natives, we will be with them there. Those in Parliament say Indians must go, they will go first. This country is ours. We are prepared to face bullets, atom bombs for the cause of freedom. There is no such thing as the Cheesa-Cheesa movement, it has no meaning, just like Mau-Mau. The government and its amendments. The government of Kenya built Mau-Mau. Here in South Africa they introduced Cheesa-Cheesa, so that they can use their amendment." It is the same theme that Resha suggested in his evidence in chief, that the Mau-Mau was fiction, the type of thing that is being used by governments in order to enable them to

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suppress the people, and what he is saying here, My Lords, is they introduced the Mau-Mau so that they can use their amendments, the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1953. "We have the A.N.C. Africans, ALN.C. of (?) the South African Indians. So long as we live in this country we will not allow a fascist government in our country. The government is waiting to see what the African people will do. Sisulu left without their knowledge". That is also, My Lord, a statement which is often made that Sisulu went out of the country without the knowledge of the government. "They do not know what is happening in Sophiatown now. We the oppressed people are prepared to sacrifice with our bodies or blood if freedom should be achieved in that manner. We will organise everywhere for the people to join the liberatory movement. You will be told what the second phase will be. Be ready, nobody knows the day or the hour." Now My Lords, Resha in his evidence in chief referred to this meeting, he was asked at page 16788 whether the A.N.C.Y.L. was affiliated to the W.F.D.Y. and he said that that was so. And he was referred My Lord to this passage in his speech, "We the oppressed people are prepared to sacrifice with our bodies or blood if freedom should be achieved in that manner." Now his reply to that, My Lords, was that he couldn't say if he used those words at all, but he said that even if he did use those words - that is at page 16788 of the evidence in chief - he said even if he did use those words, they weren't intended as violence because he won't talk violence at a Colonial Youth Day meeting. My Lords, in asking oneself what are the probabilities, did Maselele correctly report Resha

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or did he not? Is this the type of statement, My Lords, that Resha would make, or is ^{this} something which he would never say. Now My Lords, when one finds that other reporters, shorthand writers and other people reported Resha as making this type of statement on other occasions, if one has the attitude of the African National Congress that they will have to sacrifice their bodies and their blood for the sake of freedom in order to achieve freedom, My Lords, on the probabilities we say that in this context and referring in particular to Sophiatown, we say that Your Lordships will place complete reliance on a report of this nature, as being a correct and reliable report.

Now My Lords, Your Lordships had these two meetings of the Colonial Youth Days, there was a third meeting reported by a shorthand writer at the Colonial Youth Day meeting in 1955. If one takes what was said at these three meetings, the same occasion, the same anniversary, the same topics mentioned every year, then we submit Your Lordships will come to the conclusion that quite apart from what he might have omitted, the things reported by Maselele as having been stated are in their proper context and are reliable, and show him My Lord, (a) to be a reliable reporter. Then My Lords, on his reliability as a reporter, one could also for instance compare what Maselele reported on an occasion when he and Coetzee were together. Take My Lords, for instance the meeting of the 3rd January, 1956, testified to by Coetzee, a shorthand writer, and which My Lords, we discussed yesterday. At that meeting Maselele took notes

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and Coetzee was the shorthand writer. That was a meeting on the 3rd of June, 1956, at Moroko, reported by Coetzee in Volume 39 at page 7644. My Lords, this meeting was also reported by Maselele at page 8897 of the record.

We will ask Your Lordships to compare the speeches reported by Coetzee and by Maselele. My Lords, Coetzee reported at page 7646 the speech of a certain Dr. Selonkie.

That same speech was reported by Maselele at 8898 of the record. My Lords, I just want to by way of illustration compare these two speeches, these two reports of the same speech. Dr. Selonkie is reported by Coetzee at 7646 as saying : "Mr. Chairman, I am not much of a speaker, but it is better not to be a speaker and be a worker, because things can only be achieved by working, and not by words." Now Maselele reports that "I am not much of a speaker, but I choose to be a worker, things cannot be achieved by words but by work. The result is only hard work and more hard work." Then in Selonkie's - in Coetzee's translations there are three lines which have been omitted in Maselele's speech which refers to sitting about in the lounge and not doing work, and then Coetzee continues : "Now you all know the Freedom Charter will be one year old this month. There is a mass meeting on the 24th of this month, the place to still be decided upon. It is for people like us to spread the word round that a mass meeting has been called for that day. Therefore I appeal to everyone of you to spread the word round that the Freedom Charter contains principles that we are fighting for, and that they can actually be achieved by hard work, so I expect everyone

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of you to spread the word around." Now that idea is conveyed in the speech of Maselele, the report of Maselele at 8899, where he says : "As you know the Freedom Charter will be one year old this month. Now on the 24th of this month, but we do not know the place yet, the mass meeting will be called on that day. I appeal to you now to know that you are on the way to the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter will only be achieved by hard work, speak the message to everybody. The Freedom Charter contains many things." Exactly the same thing supporter by Coetzee. Then both reporters show, My Lords, that they then gave the terms of the Freedom Charter. Coetzee then reports Selonkie as concluding his speech by saying, "Even God does not help those who help themselves. J. Nehru said success comes to those who dare and act, it seldom comes to those who are timid". And Maselele, My Lords, in his report of that speech says "All things - all these things can be achieved by hard work, even God does not help those who cannot help themselves. Mr. Nehru says success goes with those who struggle." My Lords, that is...

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

What language did Selonkie speak?

MR. TRENGOVE :

Coetzee took down speeches that were made in English, he spoke in English.

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Or with an interpreter?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, there was an interpreter - I think

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there was an interpreter at the meeting, but Selonkie himself spoke in English.

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

What would happen to a speaker who would speak in a native language?

MR. TRENGOVE :

A speaker who speaks in a Native language, My Lords....

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

If there is an official interpreter - by official you mean one provided by the meeting, would Coetzee take that which was interpreted?

MR. TRENGOVE :

Yes, My Lord.

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

And would Maselele directly translate from the native language into English by himself? He would not take down what the interpreter said?

MR. TRENGOVE :

That is correct, My Lord.

MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

I don't know if that ever happened, but that apparently is the effect of the evidence.

MR. TRENGOVE :

Yes, My Lords. Some of the speakers actually say - Ngcai says that was the practice that he followed. My Lords, the next speaker at this meeting was Faried Adams, and there too My Lords, I invite the Court to compare what Coetzee reported Faried Adams as saying at page 7647 and 7648, with the report by Maselele, 8901. My Lords, we respectfully submit that the reports agree

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My Lords, very nearly, the same ideas are contained, in many instances exactly the same words, and Maselele's report is most accurate. I just want to refer to one or two instances. My Lords, during the course of his speech Faried Adams is reported by Coetzee to have said : "When it comes to passes for African women.." - page 7647 to 7648 - "When it comes to passes for African women, then our government must say that the people don't want passes for anybody and that the women shall not carry passes. When it comes to our children and education, then it must be that the people of South Africa who don't like Bantu Education, that nobody can force us to accept Bantu Education. Friends, unfortunately in our country we have a government which does not represent the people. They do not take the wishes of the people into account, and we have got no other means except to stand up here and voice our protests, but we are sure that one day in South Africa we shall get a government who will take the Freedom Charter as the Constitution of South Africa." Now that, My Lords, is reported by Maselele "Now on the passes for women, the government should say the people don't want passes. When we speak about Bantu Education, the government must say the people do not want Bantu Education. The people cannot be forced on Bantu Education. Unfortunately we have a government that does not represent the will of the people, that is why we want here, but one day we shall have a government that will take the Freedom Charter as the Constitution of this land." My Lords, exactly and entirely accurate reflection of what Coetzee also reported. Then My Lords, another passage, where Coetzee reports Adams as saying,

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at page 7648, "Then each and everyone of us here will have the right to go to parliament and say what we feel like. Then laws shall be passed to educate our children and not to make them into slaves. But friends the Freedom Charter to become the constitution of South Africa it will take a lot of work from each and every one of us. We will not get the Freedom Charter as our constitution by merely coming to meetings here. We will have to fight for it and we will have to die for it". That is what Coetzee reports. Now Maselele says, in the corresponding passage : "Now everyone here will have to go to parliament. Laws will be made to educate the children, not to take them to gaol. The Freedom Charter will not be our foundation(?) of coming to meetings only, but we shall have to fight for it and even die for it. The people agree to accept the Freedom Charter, yet the government is refusing it". In the same way, My Lords, there was a speech of Lionel Morrison at that meeting, which was supported - which was reported by Coetzee, and by Maselele. Coetzee says, the opening part of the speech, reporting Morrison at 7649 : "Friends, in five years time we shall sit in parliament. Today the government wants to enslave us with their Bantu Education. Tomorrow they will want to do it with the Coloureds, with Coloured education. Always they take the Coloureds after they have taken the Africans, and then they - and then after that they go to the Europeans themselves." Now that same passage, My Lords, is reported by Maselele at 8902 : "Friends I can assure you that within five years we shall be in parliament. They have introduced Bantu Education for the Africans. Next they will go to the Coloureds, after that

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to the Europeans themselves." Then Coetzee reports Morrison as saying : "When you are afraid of the people you always oppress the people. Those people who -

- Those teachers who accept Bantu Education to help enslave their people and help put them in Verwoerd's society (?), we warn those people, they must accept the rightful wrath of the people. We ask them, why do Verwoerd's dirty job, why must Africans try to oppress Africans. Leave it to Verwoerd and his dirty dogs." Maselele reports this in a much shorter way, and he says : "We warn the teachers who accepted Bantu Education. Why should Africans oppress Africans. Leave Verwoerd to do his dirty job and his dogs."

Then My Lords, just to quote one more passage, page 7650, Coetzee reports Morrison as saying : "We say Verwoerd with his Bantu Education, Tomlinson with his Report and the government with all their oppressive legislation cannot stop the forward surge of the people to freedom. You know it is like a wave, you can never stop a wave. Verwoerd is trying to stop a wave, but we warn him he will be drowned in this wave. You know there is also one thing that astonishes me, and that is our own people standing there and taking a whole lot of notes. Don't they know that they are signing their own death warrants? These people are natives, Bantus, those are doing the dirty work of Swart. We ask you poor people, because you are really poor in sense, leave this work to Swart, let Dirker and Spengler do the work. You are antagonising the people, and you must accept the wrath of the people". Now that same passage, My Lords, is reported by Maselele in the following way at page 8903 : "We say to Verwoerd and the Tomlinson Report and the government

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with the oppressive laws, will not stop the people to freedom. You cannot stop a wave. Verwoerd wishes to stop the wave. I say that he will get drowned in that wave. Those people taking notes are signing their own deathwarrants. Those people are Africans and Bantus. They do Verwoerd's dirty work. Let Swart do it himself, and Spengler. It is the policy of the government who oppress us to divide and rule us."

My Lords, of course, certain passages in the speeches as a whole should be compared, and we submit My Lords that if one takes that as an example where you have a shorthand writer, that Maselele was a very accurate reporter of what was said at meetings.

My Lords, on the question put to me by His Lordship the Presiding Judge, that matter was canvassed in cross-examination by my learned friend Mr. Fischer at page 8905. He says : "Where it was spoken in the vernacular, then you would, if it was in Sesotho, you would write it down in English wouldn't you? --- Yes".
"Because all your notes are in English? --- Yes".
"So you translated as you write down? --- Yes".
"Where it was in Zulu I would wait for the Sesotho interpreter or the Sepedi interpreter to translate it?
--- No, I take down what the speaker says, not what the interpreter says, and when I am unable to do it, then I don't take notes."
So My Lord, he translates into English from the vernacular, and if he is unable to translate, he doesn't take the notes.

My Lords, we submit therefore that not only on

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the two Colonial Youth Day meetings that I have illustrated My Lords, where one has on the nature of the topics the reliability of Maselele, but My Lords, also both on the comparison with the notes of Coetzee and on the general reporting of his speeches we submit My Lords that Your Lordships will find that Maselele was an accurate reporter. My Lords, there are certain other speeches reported by him. I want to briefly refer to them. The next is a speech of the - a meeting of the 7th March, 1954.

The evidence is at page 8790 to 8794 of the record, and the cross-examination My Lord on this is at page 8914. Now the cross-examination on this specific meeting, My Lord, was merely directed in the manner in which Luthuli was described in the notes by this witness. He said that the speaker described Luthuli as the President of the Africans of South Africa, and it was put to him that the description should be, the accurate description should be President of the A.N.C. Maselele says in his notes that he how he was described and that is how he took it down. He admits, My Lords, that Luthuli on this occasion - it was said that the African people, if they get the rule, they do not want to dominate other races. My Lord, we accept that that was said at meetings. My Lords, at this meeting the chairman was Nene, who is the Accused in this case, and My Lords the first speaker that I refer Your Lordships to was a speaker Michael Motsela at page 8791. We submit that there is nothing in this report which renders it unintelligible or out of context. It is a clear report, it is in keeping with what was said at other meetings, and it is also - Your Lordship will find

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that at other meetings which we refer to, this is one of the instances where one finds the same speaker always using the same kind of illustration to make his point, where Motsele says at 8792, "My last word is Africans unite. Wherever you are moved to, your blood will be the renewer (?) of freedom. Don't be cowards, be brave. When we speak to you come to the A.N.C. and fight for freedom." That example and that exhortation to be brave and that their blood will be a renewer of freedom, that My Lords is repeated by Motsele in a number of instances, and we quote it My Lords merely to show that there are speakers, they say certain things, and one can rely on the accuracy not only for that particular meeting, but because that is repeated at other meetings, reported by the same reporter. One finds, for instance, My Lords, that Nene says on more than one occasion that the Europeans must leave the country because the colour of their skin isn't fitted to this country. Not - it is not only said on one occasion, My Lord, it is said on a number of occasions. My Lords, I refer to this because this is one of the meetings to which Sibande referred in his evidence in chief. Sibande's speech at this meeting is reported by Maselele at 8793. There was no cross-examination - My Lords, I am sorry, Sibande's evidence is at 17368, and Sibande makes this point in his evidence at 17368, he says he didn't like Motsele's speech, it was not a nice speech, with the result My Lords that he spoke to the chairman Nene about it. It was a speech which he felt was in conflict with policy, and therefore he spoke to Nene. My Lords, whatever one might say about

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the reporting of Maselele, the speech itself by Motsele, as reported by Maselele shows My Lord that it is not a nice speech, and one can understand, if you have a policy of non-violence, one might be concerned about that type of speech. Sibande confirms that. But My Lords, the explanation given by Sibande in his cross-examination at page 17435, to 17443, he says that Motsele was one of these people that they were having trouble with and they couldn't really get rid of Motsele and the other speakers who used to come along to these platforms and speak with them. That is his explanation, because it was put to him that Motsele continued to speak from A.N.C. platforms long after 7.3.1954. My Lords, we respectfully submit - the question was also put to him by His Lordship Mr. Justice Bekker, at 17441, why couldn't adequate steps be taken either to prevent Motsele from speaking or dissociating - publicly dissociating the African National Congress from anything that was said by Motsele. That was not done, My Lords, Your Lordships will see when we refer to the evidence that Motsele continued speaking and if this speech was bad, and if Sibande was upset about this speech, My Lords, Motsele continued in the same strain, notwithstanding the fact that Nene was the chairman, and he continued appearing on public platforms with Motsele, and apparently nothing was done about repudiating what Motsele was saying. Therefore My Lords, we respectfully submit that the explanation given by Sibande at 17368 to 17373, read in the light of the cross-examination starting at 17434 to 17443, Your Lordships will find that Sibande's evidence is confirmation of Motsele's notes, and is not

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an explanation of why notwithstanding that, Motsele was still being used by the African National Congress from public platforms. As far as his own speech was concerned, Sibande comments on that at page 17374, and says that he remembers talking about this one incident in the speech at Vereeniging, but in a slightly different context.

Now My Lords, the report says - Sibande is reported as saying "I saw in Vereeniging the Dutch children asking the African children for their passes. The time will come when our children will do the same to the European children". Sibande's explanation of that is that he says he remembers that incident at Vereeniging, he remembers seeing European children asking African children for his pass,- for their passes, but he didn't say the time will come when our children will do that to the Europeans, he said the time will come that nobody will have passes. Then he comments, My Lords, on this sentence which he says doesn't make sense in this context, "The Africans today are not afraid of blood because they always stab each other". He says that he didn't say, and he explains the context. At 8794

Motsele reports him as referring to army cars when the war was over, they turned against us, "yes, they were chasing the Germans, the government today make the people a slave life, but if you die for something which is yours you will be dying the right way. I say this government must destroy Sophiatown under our dead bodies". Now Sibande deals with that, My Lords, and says he remembers there was some reference about the army cars being used, but also that the context isn't correct. My Lords, we

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respectfully submit that if one has regard to Sibande's explanation of this speech, then in fact Maselele gave an accurate report of what he said.

My Lords, the next meeting is a meeting of the 14th March, 1954. My Lords, I refer the Court to it, it is not necessary to quote the speech in full, we are relying on it. The only cross-examination of Maselele was directed at page 8917...

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

What are you relying on?

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, we are relying on the speeches of Mavuso at 8796, the speech of Motsele at 8797/98, In this case too, My Lords, Motsele concludes his speech with the "renewers of freedom - of the tree of freedom is sweat and blood, so be ready for that day". The same type of speech that he made My Lords on the previous occasion.

MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

And Mavuso's speech? Just tell me what the topic was?

MR. FISCHER :

May I draw the Court's attention to the fact that according to my note Mavuso's speech isn't relied upon in the Schedule of violent speeches.

MR. TRENGOVE :

Yes, My Lord, my learned friend is quite correct, that particular speech is not set forth, but as I said at the outset My Lords, we are relying on these meetings. I merely referred to the policy schedule to

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give Your Lordships an idea of what meetings were actually in the Policy Schedule.

MR. FISCHER :

My Lord, I don't wish to hold the Court up now, that will be argued in reply that my learned friend is not entitled to rely on anything outside the Schedule.

MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, on that aspect I make the same submission My Lords that I made in respect of the documents, that Schedule was there to give the Defence information to enable them to prepare themselves for trial, it was not My Lords particulars given in the sense of further particulars required as part of one's indictment, to make it a good indictment which binds you and which doesn't enable you to go beyond those averments (?) that you make. When once these speeches - the evidence is led, we are entitled to rely on the whole meeting.

My Lords, Mavuso's speech is at page 8796. He deals with the impression of - the oppression by the White people on the African people in general. Then Motsele's speech is at 8797, he deals firstly My Lords by warning the Africans taking notes, "I want to warn the White people that one day they will turn against them", and then he talks of the Suppression of Communism Act and he talks of their struggle, and at 8798 My Lords, he talks at lines 2 to 10 of "freedom that comes with the blood of somebody else. Be ready for your death", and about the struggle for freedom, "tell your child the Boer is your enemy", and he appeals to the tsotsis to join the A.N.C. and fight for freedom, and "tell your

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friends that sweat and death brings freedom", and he talks about the formation of the African National Congress and how the Dutch people were beaten in regard to the 1950 Suppression of Communism Act which had to be amended "after a clever man came to the country, Salodi", it is typed in the record as Selodi, we have A.N.C. documents which show - they say a certain Goliko (?) came, and then he concludes his speech, My Lords by making the statement that they must sacrifice and the "manure (?) of the tree of freedom is sweat and blood".

The next speech, My Lords, is one of Sam Masimula, and I don't want to refer to that, except we might deal with it personally. After that at 8800 there is a speech by Mashamaiti, lines 1 to 30. They refer again to the order alleged to have been given by the Minister of Justice to the police to shoot the Africans, and he says "if you like your lives (?) you cannot get freedom." My Lords, the theme we say at this meeting is the same theme that one finds at many other meetings, that the struggle for freedom will go hand in hand with and sacrifice, even to the extent of sacrificing one's life. My Lords, we didn't place reliance on Madzunya's speech, but the Defence at 8917 elicited from this witness that Madzunya spoke inter alia about the African National Congress wanting direct representation, about the Gold Coast, Nkrumah, about the Public Unility Transport Corporation and the need to love one's neighbour. My Lords, take that position where the Defence for instance elicits certain information

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