

branches were out on the boycott. There had followed Dr. Verwoerd's threat that children absent from school on the 25th of April, would be expelled from school. The Working Committee had issued a statement to the effect that areas ready 5 to go out on boycott, should do so. Had branches been informed of the decision of the N.E.C. to defer the boycott, had branches received any circular informing them of this decision, they had been informed and circulars had been sent out to the 10 branches. There had been a meeting of branch officials and a special conference. People had engaged in the boycott and felt that they had carried out the decision of Congress. Bethlehem, it was reported, had gone out at the instigation of the 15 AN.C.Y.L. Private Schools and arrests: Since the 24th of April, a good number of children had returned to school. There were private schools at Alexandra - 800; Germiston - 350; Benoni - 730. Of the four private schools in Sophiatown, none 20 was registered. The Police were vindictive and a number of people had been arrested and one deported. Deputations : At a meeting of the 20th of April, 1955, Mr. Vundla was reported to have called upon children who would be expelled from 25 school as a result of the boycott, to come to him and he would get them back to school. He is reported to have repeated this statement at a meeting on the 27th April. It was reported that Mr. Vundla had led a deputation to Pretoria, together with 30 other persons, to request the authorities to re-

admit children who had been expelled. Mr. Vundla stated that the deputation had arisen as a result of parents requesting him to try and get their children back to school. He had undertaken the deputation in his individual capacity, and had 5 made it abundantly clear that he was not acting as an official of Congress. 'I am doing this, and I am accepting the responsibility', Mr. Vundla had said. Mr. Vundla's action was deplored by the meeting. His deputation was embarrassing to 10 Congress and had other further complications to an already complicated situation. There was no question of him having acted in his individual capacity. To the rank and file, Mr. Vundla was first and foremost a leader of Congress and his 15 actions carried an official sanction. Mr. Vundla had disclaimed all knowledge about the reports of his intended deputation in the Bantu World. Since leading the deputation, he had been asked twice to report to the A.N.C. office to discuss the matter. 20 He had not done so. It was felt that his actions were indefensible and a commission of enquiry will investigate into this matter. The Transvaal took a very serious view of Mr. Vundla's assault. This act opened the way for Police violence and 25 excesses. The commission of enquiry had two terms of reference - Mr. Vundla's assault and his deputation. Draft Statement: Draft Statement re Bantu Education submitted to the N.E.C. was read, corrected and adopted. Tremendous work was still 30 to be done in the countryside against the Bantu

Education Act. A tour of certain areas by the N.E.C. member was suggested by the N.E.C. Details of the tour were to be worked out by the working committee. It would not be possible for Cape personnel to take part in the tour and Prof. Matthews was to be at Fort Hare when students were re-admitted." 5

You can skip the next paragraph, and just read the next page, the top paragraph on that page - continue from there on? --- Under Deputy President. 10

Under Deputy Presidents? --- "Chief Luthuli expressed the view that Bantu Education would not become for joint action, but would remain a matter of the A.N.C., whilst co-operation by other organisations was to be welcomed. The A.N.C. was to bear the brunt of the campaign." 15

Page 5? --- Page 5 - "Removal Scheme. The Government had so far removed people from its property and were now removing people from private property. Where tenants had left, the Government had made it illegal for owners to take new tenants. Some property owners were defying the Government, and it was feared that the conflict between the two would sharpen. The National Secretariat felt that the N.E.C. should give instructions and directives. Preparation of the C.O.P. : Mr. Tshunungwa explained that since his visit to the W.Cape in January, he had not been out organising for the C.O.P. There was no money. He had been ordered out of Queenstown. The date and 20 25 30

place for the holding of the C.O.P. was now fixed and branches were required to send in demands and delegates. Chief Luthuli felt that any attempt to make the C.O.P. an organisation, were to be strenuously opposed." 5

And will you skip the following three headings and proceed with "Items for the next Meeting"? --- "Items for the next Meeting: The next meeting was to be held on the 24th June, 1955. The meeting would devote time to a consideration of a new constitution. The report of Mr. Kotane's visit to Bandung and the banned leaders. The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m., after 17 hours of sitting." 10

Signed? --- It is signed Arthur E. Letele. 25th of June, 1955. 15

Mr. Moeller, do you know Masina? --- I do My Lord.

Can you identify him? --- (THE WITNESS IDENTIFIES ACCUSED NO. 17).

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF : 20

I think he has identified No. 17. I think you ought to keep a list of those that had been identified. It would save at least a small amount of time.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Mr. van Niekerk, I wonder whether it would be possible for you, not now - to do this - take this last document. I think I spotted, maybe because of the relevancy of the portion, of why it was read, but there are certain other portions that I definitely could not guess what the Crown was reading that out for. Now would it be possible for you to take a document where he is merely an official, and you want to 25 30

prove the capacity of the particular Accused, could you say "this document I'm going to use for purposes of proving the capacity of the particular Accused" - could you say in the case of another document, "this document I'm going to hand in for purposes of demonstrating anti- 5 Government propaganda"? I don't know whether it is possible, but it would help me if you could do so.

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

If that would not mean binding myself, My Lord... . 10

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

No you need not bind yourself, but let me into the secret....

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

If I say at this stage what the document is 15 going to be used for, that might amount to an admission that it is only going to be used for certain purposes?

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Oh no, you can do it without prejudice. But if you'll just say "this document I'm going to use, 20 inter alia, to show anti-Government propaganda - this document I'm going to use to show boycotts - this document deals with Freedom Volunteers" - just to let us into the picture. You'll have to do so, sooner or later. 25

BY MR. MAISELS :

Also the Accused.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Mr. van Niekerk, I find we may go a bit further. Couldn't you perhaps say after today - after 30 what we've heard today, just prepare a short note on

what the Crown's submission is in regard to these documents - except violence. Violence you can leave out, because that is dealt with separately, but if it can't be done before, then perhaps it could be done at the end of the day - a short note to say that the submission of the Crown will be - it doesn't bind the Crown at all - the A.N.C. policy was to oppose Bantu Education - A.50 or whatever it was - a very short note. It appears to me that it could be very short. That will have to be towards the end - the submission of the Crown, all of these documents. Now, it would be highly useful - very convenient, if say, tomorrow morning - or in the course of tomorrow - we could get this little slip as in regard to today's evidence. I don't want you to do it beforehand - but at the end of the day. Now, you know exactly what documents you dealt with - you know what the object was - what the contents were. I'm excluding - again I say so - violence, but on the other issues. Then, if that can be done each day, it will explain the case very conveniently.

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

It will be attempted my Lord, I can't say it will be done.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

We'll certainly very much appreciate it - I know it's extra work at the end of the day, but perhaps it could be done.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Maybe I'm going to increase your work a little, Mr. van Niekerk. You see now, you know what documents you are going to hand in tomorrow. Looking

at the Further Particulars, you've got a whole lot of documents on which the Crown will rely for violence. Now, would it be possible for you, before we start tomorrow morning - you may have to deal with 20 documents - if they're lengthy documents, it may be only 10 - would it be possible - in relation to the documents which you are going to put in tomorrow, to say - "Conspiracy" - "capacity of Accused" - whatever you're going to use the documents for, and as the document goes in, you can just say : "this document relates to the capacity of the Accused" - "this document relates to boycotts" - "this document - conspiracy".

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

That we intend to do, My Lord, from tomorrow morning.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Except that I would suggest that a broad suggestion of conspiracy might be insufficient, insofar as a conspiracy is an agreement - we have excluded violence - there is an agreement on a certain policy or to convene a certain meeting, or to come together - you might call it an agreement to hold a conference, instead of a conspiracy.

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

Yes, My Lord, we'll do it that way.

EXAMINATION BY THE PROSECUTOR (CONTINUED) :

A.64 - do you hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next document is A.65. Where did you find this document, Mr. Moeller? --- This document was also found in the offices of the African National Congress,

My Lord; It is headed : "African National Congress
Youth League, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, on the
24th May, 1955. Re: Members' Meeting, 26th
May, 1955. Dear Sons and Daughters of Africa,
We are living during a time of hardship when the 5
Nationalist Government of this Country is doing
everything in its power to see to it that the
African is oppressed in his land of birth. Such
evil laws as the Passes, Removal Scheme, Group
Areas Act, Bantu Education, which is the most evil 10
of them all, because it will make youth content
and submit to oppression - and many other laws are
meant to keep you, fellow Africans, in permanent
subjection. The survival of the African people
depends entirely on the stand you will take in the 15
fight against oppression. We are glad about one
thing - that you have fully realised that you and
all the African people here in South Africa, are
oppressed, but that is not enough. You, like every
living human being in the world, want freedom. His-20
tory has, however, taught us that freedom was never
got or presented to any nation in a silver dish.
The road to freedom is a thorny and difficult one.
It needs courage, determination, discipline,
patience and consistency; above all we must be a 25
mighty united force in order to crush down these
forces of oppression. The Executive of the African
National Congress Youth League, Sophiatown, is
therefore, inviting you to a meeting of the Youth
on Thursday, the 26th May, 1955, at 7.30 p.m. at 30
the hall, corner Meyer and Victoria Roads. It is

extremely important that you should be present at this meeting, because as a united force, we must stand together, decide together and fight together. Afrika. Chairman and Secretary." - Not signed.

Do you hand in this document? --- I do, My 5
Lord.

The next is A.68. This document consists of minutes. The reason why this is presented, is to show the position of Accused, and that is all - their positions in the organisation. Where did you find this 10 document? --- Also at the offices of the African National Congress, on the 27th September, 1955. "Minutes of the Provincial Executive, African National Congress. Held on Thursday, 16th June, 1955. Present: Mr. E.P. Moretsele, B. Ngwendu, acting treasurer, G. 15 Matseke, H. Makhothi, O motsabi, P.G. Keetse and G. Nkadimeng."

Now, will you go on to page 4? --- Page 4 - "Minutes of the meeting of the Transvaal Executive Committee of the African National Congress held on 20 the 30th June, 1955. Present: Messrs. B. Ngwendu, J. Nkadimeng, O. Motsabi, G. Matseke and R. Resha. Owing to the absence of the chairman, Mr. Ngwendu was appointed to take the chair. Apologies: Both Messrs. E.P. Moretsele and P. Keetse sent 25 apologies for their inability to attend the meeting. Absent: The following members were absent and no apologies were received - H.G. Makgothi and G. Sabandi. Minutes: Minutes of the last meeting were adopted." 30

The following page? --- "Minutes of the Meeting of the Transvaal Executive Committee of

the African National Congress held on the 7th July, 1955. Present: Messrs. E.P. Moretsele (Chairman), B. Ngwendu, O. Motsabi, G. Matseke, J. Nkadimeng, P. Keetse, H.G. Makgothi and R. Resha."

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Now, do you know G. Sibande? --- Yes, My Lord, I identified him already.

Do you hand in this document - A.68? --- I do, My Lord.

A.69. Where did you find this document? 10

--- My Lord, this is also a document seized from the offices of the African National Congress, on the day in question.

"Resolutions adopted at National Conference of S.A. Congress of Democrats held 24th June, 1955." 15

Will you just read the first paragraph? My Lord, this document will be fully dealt with when the Congress of Democrats papers are handed in. Just read the first paragraph? --- "Political - Restrictions on Civil Liberties. Conference is opposed to all 20 forms of inequality and racial discrimination; all laws and practices which are undemocratic and discriminate against the majority of the people of South Africa; laws which debar people because of their colour from participating on an equal basis 25 in the life of our country. This conference is opposed to all these laws and pledges itself to work unceasingly for the defeat of such fascist laws and ideologies and those quarters responsible for their perpetration." 30

That is all. Do you hand in this document? --- I do, My Lord.

A.70? --- A.70 was also found in the offices of the A.N.C. on that date, and they are written minutes of a meeting of the National Executive Committee, dated the 25th June, 1955. "1. Present: Dr. A. Letele; Dr. W. Conco, R. Resha, P.Q. Vundla, L. Masina, T.E. 5 Tshunungwa, and E.P. Moretsele. ". Mr. Mayekise from the Cape introduced as an observer to the meeting of the National Executive Committee. Committee agreed that Mr. C. Mayekiso should be allowed to remain in the meeting. Mr. E.P. Moretsele 10 moved and seconded by Dr. W. Conco that minutes are correct and be adopted. Agreed. Arising out of the Minutes : Mr. T.E.TShunungwa gave a report about the boycott of Bantu Education in the Eastern Cape Province. He told the committee that the boy- 15 cott was a success, in that some schools have closed down, about 2000 African children are out of schools. The parents in the Eastern Cape are now waiting for an alternative education to be proposed by the African National Congress - A.N.C." 20

Will you read that again please? --- "The parents in the Eastern Cape are now waiting for an alternative education to be provided by the A.N.C. Report of the Secretariat on Bantu Education : Mr. Tshunungwa read a draft report of the secretariat 25 on Bantu Education. Dr. W. Conco moved and seconded by Mr. R. Resha that this meeting of the National Executive should not discuss this report, but each member should be supplied with a copy of this draft report of the Secretariat on Bantu 30 Education, to study it. Congress of the People:

Mr. P.Q. Vundla moved and seconded by Mr. T. Tshunungwa that this campaign, C.O.P. today has come to an end and that we must go back home and work harder for the achievement of the demands as contained in the Freedom Charter in your various organisations. Resolution on C.O.P.: Mr. Resha read the resolution on C.O.P. The N.E.C. amends the last paragraph as follows - delete "mandate these bodies", and further delete "together and campaign", and thus the whole paragraph reads - 'We pledge ourselves to continue to work for the achievement of the demands of the Charter and to get the Freedom Charter endorsed and accepted by all Democratic Organisations and People.' Meeting closed at 12.5 p.m."

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You hand in that document? --- I do My Lord.

The next is A.71? --- This document was also found in the office of the A.N.C. on that day, My Lord. It is a copy of a type-written document: "Minutes of the Joint-Executives of the African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats, and the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation, held on the 31st July, 1955, in Stanger, Natal. Present: A.N.C. ... (10). S.A.I.C....(9). S.A.C.O.D. ...(7). S.A.C.P.O. ...(1). CHAIRMAN: Chief Albert J. Lutuli. Chief declared meeting open and welcome delegates, stating that the Congress of the People was a great success and that we should congratulate ourselves. He called upon Mr. Pieter Byleveld to deliver the Report of the National Action Council for the Congress of the People. REPORT: Mr. Byleveld, in delivering the report emphasised the importance of the four organisations

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working jointly on campaigns such as the Congress of the People and other local campaigns. (Copy of report is attached to minutes). The Chief thanked Mr. Byleveld for the delivery and congratulated the N.A.C. for the comprehensive report. He asked for the adoption of the report. ADOPTION : Mr. A. Patel moved and was seconded by Mr. anny Pillay that the report be accepted as it stood. DISCUSSION : The report was thrown open for discussion. Mrs. Hellen Joseph (S.A.C.O.P.) asked as to the number of people represented at the Congress of the People. Mr. Norman Levy (S.A.C.O.D), who was on the Credentials Committee, replied that approximately 350,000 people from all walks of life were represented. Dr. R. Press (S.A.C.O.D.) stated that due to police interference hundreds of delegates could not attend. e.g. Fifty-two (52) delegates from the Eastern Transvaal representing the farm labourers and some Reserves were not allowed to attend because of the police. Professor Z.K. Matthews (A.N.C.) assessing from the above stated that it was possible that half-a-million people would have been represented if there was no police interference. Mr. Manny Pillay (S.A.I.C.) asked what happened to the call made by Chief Lutuli for 50,000 volunteers to organise the Congress of the People. Mr. Byleveld replied that approximately 5,000 volunteers were recruited but due to the wave bannings work was hampered and that efforts were concentrated upon the more immediate work by active personnel. Professor Matthews stated

that due to the unfortunate association of the term 'Volunteer' with that of the Defiance Campaign many volunteers were not prepared to come to the fore. (Would-be volunteers). He congratulated the N.A.C. for the excellent report and stated that it confirms his views and those of others about the great Kliptown Conference. A monument should be erected in Kliptown when freedom is achieved as the "mountain-top of freedom". He stressed the importance of a follow-up campaign and accepts the idea set-up a committee for the co-ordination of future work. Not satisfied with standing or co-ordinating committee as suggested in the report but proposes that it be a consultative committee. After some discussion the principle of setting-up a joint committee was unanimously accepted. Such a committee would only be an advisory one and not a policy making one. NAME: Mr. R. Resha (A.N.C.) proposes that the committee be known as the National Consultative Committee, and was seconded by Mrs. H. Joseph. Chief puts motion forward that the National Consultative Committee which will have provincial secretariats be adopted. This was unanimously accepted. Mr. Resha moved that the N.C.C. to consist of eight members, two from each organisation --Accepted.

HEADQUARTERS : Chief moved Johannesburg as headquarters of N.C.C. and was seconded by Mr. A. Patel.... Accepted. CONVENOR : Mr. Byleveld moved that the A.N.C. be the convenor of the committee, which was accepted. Mr. N.T.Naicker

(S.A.I.C.) moved that the committee be convened within two weeks time ... Accepted. FINANCE :
 The national organisations to finance the committee - the committee not to finance itself - and the N.A.C. to submit a detailed financial statement to the committee. CAMPAIGN : Mr. Byleveld moved that the campaign for the popularisation of the charter be an educational one as suggested in the report. The principle to be accepted and details to be left to the N.C.C. - Accepted. Chief moved that the report should include that all national organisations were invited asco-sponsors of the C.O.P. and that very few responded... Accepted. He asked to be clarified on the nature of the signature campaign, and posed the question as to what the position of endorsing the Charter by the sponsoring organisations would be? Mr. G. Hurbans explained that the S.A.I.C. had endorsed the Charter and that the other organisations should do likewise. Mrs. H. Joseph explained that the charter cannot be amended as it would be un-constitutional and was seconded by Mr. Patel - Supported. Mr. H. Maal (S.A.I.C.) suggested that being a meeting of the joint-Executives a resolution should be passed endorsing the Freedom Charter. This was accepted and Mr. Maal was asked to draft the resolution. Chief Lutuli suggested that the Charter be popularised by the sponsors of the C.O.P. and that it be put to the conferences of these organisations for endorsements. This was seconded by Mr. Byleveld and accepted by the house.

RESOLUTION: Mr. H. Maal moved the following resolution and was seconded by Mrs. Y. Barrenblatt (S.A.C.O.D.) 'This meeting of the joint-executives of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured People's Organisation, wholeheartedly endorses the Freedom Charter which was passed at the great assembly of the Congress of the People, held at Kliptown on the 25/26th June, 1955, and calls upon the people of South Africa, of all races and creeds to strive for the realisation of the principles embodied in the Charter' -- Unanimously carried. Before the close of the meeting Professor Matthews said, 'Being the chief person responsible for the idea of the Congress of the People, I am happy that it has gone through successfully.' Mr. H. Maal moved a vote of thanks to the Chair. Chief Lutuli closed the meeting and thanked delegates for attending."

Do you know Mrs. H. Joseph? --- Yes, I do. 20

Can you identify her? --- Yes. Accused No.2.

You hand in that document? --- I do My Lord.

Next Document A.72? --- A.72 was also found in the Offices on that day, My Lord. "Minutes of the First Meeting of the National Consultative Committee held on 16th August, 1955. PRESENT: A.N.C. 2 representatives. S.A.I.C. 1 representative. S.A.C.P.O. 1 representative. S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives. ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS: Chairman: P. Byleveld. Joint Secretaries: A. Patel and R. Resha. MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE joint EXECUTIVES - DURBAN 31.7.55. Minutes were read. 25 30

MATTERS ARISING FROM MINUTES: Nil. IV. RECOMMEN-
DATIONS ADOPTED BY JOINT EXECUTIVE MEETING ARISING
FROM N.A.C. REPORT: The Chairman classified these

recommendations - Educational Organisational.

(1) Educational (a) Publication of booklet on the 5

Congress of the People: AGREED: (i) Secretary to
consult two people specified to write this booklet.

(ii) Quotes for printing to be obtained. (iii) Four
organisations to be approached for quantity re-

quired, and orders to be placed accordingly, with 10

due allowance for overseas mailing and sales. (iv)

To appoint one representative of each organisation

to be responsible for distribution. (b) Pamphlets

on Sections of the Freedom Charter Agreed to re-

quest individuals to write sections, which should 15

provide the basic historical background leading to

the particular demands for each section, should

have a high propaganda value and should give a lead

towards the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

Each section to be 4000 - 5000 words. 1. The 20

People shall govern. 2. All National Groups shall

have equal rights. 3. The People shall share in

the country's wealth. 4. The land shall be shared

amongst those who work it 5. All shall be equal

before the law. 6. All shall enjoy equal human 25

rights. 7. There shall be work and security. 8.

the Doors of learning and culture shall be opened.

9. There shall be houses, security and comfort.

10. There shall be peace and friendship.

(2) Organisational: (a) Endorsement of Freedom 30

Charter by organisations other than the sponsoring

bodies of the C.O.P. Discussion on this item was referred to the following meeting. (b) Provincial and Regional Consultative Committees: AGREED

(i) to request A.N.C. to set up such committees of the 4 Congresses. NOTED that the Transvaal Provincial Committee had already been set up. (ii) N.C.C. to issue directive to the committees for signature campaign. (c) Signature campaign (1) AGREED to consult 2 individuals to draft preamble to Signature Forms. (ii) Signature Forms to be roneoed and issued in all languages. (iii) Organisational machinery to be used for obtaining of signatures. (iv) Mass meetings to be called jointly by four organisations in all big centres for endorsement of the Freedom Charter and collection of signatures. (v) Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durband and other centres to be requested to proceed immediately with mass meetings. (vi) Sunday 18th September to be suggested as date for simultaneous mass meetings in big centres. (d) Publication of Freedom Charter: AGREED (i) to obtain quotes through C.O.D. office for printing of Freedom Charter in Zulu, Xhosa and Sesutu; orders to be placed according to specified requirements of A.N.C. (ii) to re-order copies of Freedom Charter already printed in English according to specified requirements of organisations. (iii) to obtain quotes through C.O.D. office for special edition of Freedom Charter to be sold for fund raising. Date of next meeting:" The minutes terminate there.

You hand in this document? --- I do My Lord.

369. (T.E.E. MOELLER)
(A.73)

A.73? --- This document was also found in the offices on that day, My Lord. "Minutes of the Second Meeting of the National Consultative Committee held on the 24th August, 1955. PRESENT: A.N.C. 2 representatives; S.A.I.C. nil. Apology 5 received; S.A.C.P.O. 2 representatives; S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives. 1. MINUTES of the previous meeting were read and confirmed. 2. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES. It was reported that the two people called upon to write the booklet have been 10 informed. The A.N.C. reported that a circular letter has been sent to the provincial branches directing them to convene joint executive meetings of the four organisations as soon as possible to set up provincial consultative Committees. AGREED (1) 15 to request the individuals who are to write on the various chapters of the Charter to start immediately and all to be informed during this week. (II) to print the English, Zulu, Sotho and Xosa versions of the Charter as soon as possible. Quotes to be 20 obtained for the next meeting, Organisations to submit their orders for the printed Charter at the next meeting. (III) to print the Charter for sale. 3. ENDORSEMENT OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER by organisations other than the sponsoring bodies. It was 25 agreed that a circular letter be written to other organisations, to inform them of the C.O.P. and the Charter it produced. And also to inform them of what the four organisations are doing about it and ask these bodies to do likewise. 4. WESTERN 30 CAPE. A letter was received from the Western Cape Joint Congress Committee asking for directives

for the signature campaign. AGREED (1) to write and inform Western Cape that a letter of directives has been sent to the A.N.C. (Cape). (11) Western Cape to form a provisional Consultative Committee in terms of the decision of the Joint National Executives, until such time as the Cape machinery will be set in motion. To organise for the 18th September. (111) To write to all regions to set up provisional Consultative Committees and organise for the 18th September. To inform provinces of this step. 5. GENERAL (1) It was agreed to meet weekly. (11) the two secretaries and chairman to form a secretariat. (111) S.A.C.P.O. to give a comprehensive report on the Coloureds issue, on what is being done and what are the future plans." 5 10 15

Do you hand in that document? --- I do My Lord.

A.74? --- A.74 My Lord, was also found in the offices on that day. "Minutes of the Third Meeting of the National Consultative Committee held on the 30th August, 1955. PRESENT : A.N.C. 2 representatives. S.A.I.C. 1 (or 2) representatives. S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives. S.A.C.P.O. 1 representative. 1. MINUTES the previous meeting were read and confirmed. 2. MATTERS ARISING FROM THE MINUTES: (a) It was reported that all the people requested to write on the various chapters of the Charter have been informed except three. The individuals responsible for seeing these persons promised to do so soon. (b) It was decided to print the Charter as soon as possible. Three different quotes were submitted for approval. The meeting

371.

(T.E.E. MOELLER)
(A.74; A.75)

decided to take the cheapest which was £15.000,
for 5000 copies provided the four languages will
be done by the same printer. C.O.D. ordered
5000 copies in English, A.N.C. 5000 English, 5000
Zulu, 5000 Sotho, 5000 Xosa. S.A.I.C. 5000 Eng- 5
lish. S.A.C.P.O. to inform the secretariat the
following day about their order. (c) Secretariat
to find out whether the printer is going to keep
the type for us. How long it is going to take the
Printer to produce the Freedom Charter? How much 10
is the deposit and terms of payment? LETTERS:

It was decided to write a letter to all the Regions
asking them to organise for the mass meetings of
the 18th September, and to form provisional Consul-
tative Committees. Copies of these letters to be 15
sent to the provincial branches. SECRETARIAT: The
Secretariat was given powers to co-opt. COLOURED
ISSUE: The Coloured representative gave a compre-
hensive report on the Coloureds issue. He stated
that £200.0.0. was required for the appeal cases 20
and that a conference was being organised for the
10th September, 1955, at 139 Anderson Street.

The Committee advised S.A.C.P.O. to form a Fund
Raising Committee for the appeals. GENERAL: It
was decided to meet at 8 p.m. instead of 6 p.m." 25

Do you hand in that document? --- I do My
Lord.

A.75? --- A.75, My Lord, was also found in
the offices on the day of my search. "Minutes of the
Fourth Meeting of the National Consultative Com- 30
mittee held on the 22nd September, 1955. PRESENT:
A.N.C. 2 representatives. S.A.I.C. 2 represen-

tatives. S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives. S.A.C.P.O.
 2 representatives. 1. It was reported that the
 meeting of last Thursday was not held owing to bad
 attendance and that the minutes of a previous mee-
 ting were not available. 2. A letter was read 5
 from the Joint Congress Committee, Cape Western,
 stating that it was not practicable to have a pro-
 vincial Consultative Committee in the Cape because
 of the geographical structure of the Cape. The
 letter therefore recommended that there should at 10
 least be two regions in the Cape. Each region to
 work directly under the supervision of the N.C.C.
 A reply to this letter by the secretariat was
 asking the Joint Committee to carry on temporarily
 until suitable arrangements are made. 3. The 15
 Secretariat reported that versions of the Freedom
 Charter were sent to the various regions for the
 meeting."

Do you hand in that document? --- Yes, I do
 My Lord. 20

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Now, Mr. van Nieker, now this serves as an
 example of my difficulties. Could you tell us what you
 are going to do with this letter in good time?

BY THE PROSECUTOR : 25

This is to show the inter-relation of the
 Organisations.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

It is the workings of the organisations?

BY THE PROSECUTOR : 30

The workings together of the Organisations.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Mr. van Nieker, how you see this is the sort of thing where the inter-relationship as a fact may very well be admitted, and instead then of listening to dozens of this type of document from each organisation showing - 5 it may be admitted - as a fact there is the inter-relationship. I'm looking now also even at your Summary in regard - containing the allegations regarding violence, and how things could be done - I'm merely pointing this out to you now - I'm looking at Part A and the first 10 paragraph, which says this : "As a fact....." - this is now an allegation of fact - " .. the A.N.C. denounced the present form of State, describing it, inter alia, as a capitalist state, or a fascist state, or an imperialist state, or an undemocratic state. There is at least one 15 phrase that I'm coming back to - I'm quoting now - "demanded its destruction and propagated as an immediate object the substitution therefor of a form of state, differing radically and fundamentally from the present state. The form of state propagated by the A.N.C. was 20 commonly referred to as a People's Democracy, or People's republic or democratic state, or a true democracy, and was either a Communist state or a state having the attributes of a form of state envisaged by the Freedom Charter or a state based on the Freedom Charter." Now, 25 subject to a few phrases here - or let me put it this way first - in support of this, there are numbers of speeches and even greater numbers of documents. Now, it may very well be that a statement like this will be admitted - I say it may very well be - "The A.N.C. de- 30 nounced the present form of state, describing it, inter alia, as a capitalist state, a fascist state, imperialist

state - it may be. The form of state propagated by the A.N.C. was commonly referred to as the People's democracy, the People's republic or a democratic state or a true democracy, and - I'm leaving out the phrase 'was either a Communist State' - or a state having the attributes of a form of state envisaged by the Freedom Charter." Now, I take it that a few of these speeches and documents, in fact, will relate to, in terms, if they do, to the word 'Communism' - or 'a Communist state' - if they do, I don't know, so that it may very well be that if this is put - "the form of state propagated by the A.N.C. was commonly referred to as a People's democracy or a people's republic or a democratic state" - that this may be admitted. In this one paragraph, there are - as I envisage only two or three allegations that may be disputed and in fact of case, if you look at this section and say, now, well, I perhaps need not go through all these documents, I'll put to the Defence this - what are they prepared to admit if I put the suggestion to them, and then I'll say, well, if they don't admit that this is a communist state, I'm going to read a few documents from which I'm going to submit in due course that. I'm particularly drawing your attention to this clause - I've looked at it now and I've noticed the large number of speeches and documents which will have to be read in order to support these facts.

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

That is so, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

You see? Now, if a document is there and it purports to emanate from the A.N.C., and it calls

the present state a capitalist state - what is the object of reading a lot about a document, or great parts of a document, if that is going to be admitted? That is the type of thing that one has in mind. There are things that the Defence as far as the conduct of this case is concerned, cannot admit and will never admit. It seems to me that there are a lot of things - facts, which if put up properly, without the facts which they don't admit, they would admit. And you can see for yourself how much time will be saved.

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

It will, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

I'm not now dealing with the question of the relevancy of facts, I'm dealing with the question of putting in documents - put them in, and only read those parts of the documents which are not being admitted.

THE COURT ADJOURNS UNTIL the 7TH AUGUST, 1959.

COURT RESUMES ON THE 7TH AUGUST, 1959.APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.BY MR. VAN NIEKERK :

My Lord, yesterday Your Lordships put a suggestion to me that I draw up a list or some notes on each document to show what the Crown would submit to be its relevancy. My Lord, at the same time I was asked to prepare a list of those documents that we hand in this 5 morning. I am afraid, My Lord, that I have been trying to do too much, and the result is that not one of the two documents are completed, and I suggest with respect, My Lord, that over the weekend I will deal with every document up to the adjournment this afternoon. In the 10 meantime, My Lord, I will just indicate each document, shortly, what the Crown's submission is.

THEODORE EMIL EDUARD MOELLER, under former oath;EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR (MR. VAN NIEKERK) : 15

The next document is A.76. This will refer shortly, My Lord, to "antu Education volunteers, Colonialism in Africa and the Congress of the People. Mr. Moeller, A.76, is that a manuscript document? --- It is, My Lord. 20

Where did you find that? --- Also in the offices of the African National Congress on the 27th September, 1955.

What is it? --- It appears to be notes on a Conference held at Sophiatown. 25

Will you read the part of the document which has not been crossed out? --- "A public meeting "was first held in the morning at Sophiatown at

Congress Square. Prominent speakers spoke in protest of many oppressive laws imposed on the African people, particularly on the Bantu Education Act.

The Presidential Address : The report of the Credential Committee was in fact not much criticized 5
through to its near thoroughness and accuracy. The outgoing President of the Transvaal, Mr. Moretsele, then asked Conference to allow him that the Presidential Address be read by Mr. Motsoaledi. The speech was in fact one of the most brilliant of 10
its kind - of its time. Its contents analysed in detail the present situation in South Africa - the implications of the latest legislation passed and methods of counter-attacking such. The international position and colonialism in Africa and elsewhere. 15
The positions on farms and the correct approach towards influencing chiefs against so-called Native Commissioners. Copies of the Address were sold to members for 3d. each. Executive Report : by Mr. Motsoaledi: This also embraced in general the struc20
ture of the organisation in the Transvaal and most important the 1949 Boycott Resolution. Further members were informed of the bannings imposed on some of the Executive Committee. Eleven members served in the Executive. The report embraced 25
items as (1) The Bantu Education Act; (2) The Luthuli Volunteers; (3) Meetings (4) The expulsion of members from the organisation by the Transvaal Province. Rents: Delegates were advised to tell all members to have keen interest 30
in fighting the increased rentals and as such the A.N.C. to play a leading role. It was further

reported that a serious decline in the Transvaal membership was quite noticeable. This was to be increased at all costs. A long discussion followed after the Executive Report that the 1953 Economic Boycott Resolution dominated the discussions. 5

Various suggestions were put forward, such as the boycotting of the U.T.C. and the Rediffusion Scheme. After this the Treasurer appealed for funds from branches. Almost all the branches responded, starting from £1 to £5 each branch. Amount collected 10
£15.1.0. The speaker then ruled that further discussion will be made tomorrow (Monday) on the Executive Report. MONDAY. Conference re-assembled and started deliberations at 9.50 a.m. The speaker, Mr. Vundla then invited further discussions.15

No discussions came forward and the next item was dealt with." Then it follows on the next page, page 4 : "Congress of the People: By Mr. R. Resha. The speaker dealt at length with this subject and then announced that Chief A. Luthuli, our President-20 General has been elected South African Volunteer-in-Chief and further stressed to delegates to report back this important issue , in particular tactful means to be employed. He further, as the Transvaal Volunteer-in-Chief appealed for the immediate 25 enrolment of volunteers. (Volunteer came forward). After this all those branches who hadn't payed in their donations as previously announced, did so accordingly. CONFERENCE ADJOURNED FOR LUNCH.

2 p.m. The 1949 Boycott Resolution, Mr. H. G. 30
Makgothi lead discussion on this matter. The clarity of his mind in explaining this issue was - beyond all doubt left the delegates' minds clear

and free to decide what step to be followed next. As members will remember the stand taken by the branch and similar others to rescind the decision a long and heated discussion followed, some for and others against, the decision. Eventually there was 5 no other means of going ahead with this and in order to justify conference the speaker called for motions. Two motions came forward: 1. Tshika: That the status quo be maintained. 2. Nkosi: That the 1949 decision be rescinded. Votes: 10

The first motion 54 for Tshika, the second motion 25 for Nkosi." Then it deals with "Resolutions". "Ten resolutions were adopted, drawn by the Resolutions Committee and read by Mr. H.G. Makgothi.

1. The 1949 boycott to stand - the 1949 boycott 15 decision to stand. 2. Rejection of higher rents, cop-operation of co-ordinating body. The £1 per day. 3. The implementation of the 1953 boycott regarding the (a) U.T.Company, (b) Rediffusion Scheme (c) Bantu World. 4. Organising of 20 Parents and teachers Association against the Bantu Education Act. Conference be called for such."

You hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next is A.78. It is to advocate a change in Government, My Lord. It refers to Bantu Education, 25 Western Areas, the Congress of the People and the liberatory movement. My Lord, To assist the witness, if Your Lordship pleases, I will continue with the reading.

What kind of document is this? --- A.78 30 appears to be a survey of the activities of the African National Congress from 1912. The document is a copy of

a typewritten document. It bears no heading. It was found in the offices on the day in question.

There is no heading to the document? ---

There is no heading.

From page 1 I am reading, My Lord.

5

"The coming into being of the African National Congress in 1912 was an event of historic landmark the South African history. It was an important milestone and marked a great political development among the African people. This organisation was 10 destined to play a significant role in changing the political and economic life of the country, some of these changes have already taken place, although they might not have been easily noticed. They are indeed insignificant when one take into account the 15 changes that are expected, which must definitely take place. Since the coming into existence of the African National Congress, many organisations have come and gone, but this mighty organisations remains. It has had some of the stormiest days and 20 it has stood the test of time. We can look to the future through it, with confidence. The African National Congress has become a political force in the life of South Africa, even nations of the world look forward to the day when the government of 25 this country will pass from the hands of the reactionary oppressors into the hands of the people - the African National Congress. The importance and prestige it enjoys is due to its correct policies, the sincere and consistent lead it has 30 given the broad masses of people, the policy of goodwill and friendship with other sections of the

South African population, whilst struggling ceaselessly against the oppressors; it has followed an honest policy of wanting for others what it wants for itself. In other words, it has no design to replace white domination by black domination. The African National Congress has distinguished itself in recent years in the manner in which it carried all its struggles together with its allies, especially during the Defiance Campaign of 1952, when it forced the white rulers to recognise not only its existence, but also the powerful influence over millions of non-European people. The purpose of this article, however, is to bring to the notice of Congressites the serious organisational weaknesses, which hamper the progress necessary for the development and inkeeping its status of the African National Congress. We would be failing in our duties if we did not take the first opportunity to tell the rank and file of the Congress membership, how serious these problems are, and how best to correct them. The last forty years of the Congress existence have been almost devoted to agitational and propaganda work, to the complete negligence of the organisational aspect, although we must concede to the fact that this agitational and propaganda aspect was absolute essential in restoring the confidence of people has lost in the face of the powerful forces they were faced with. It served an important function of raising the political consciousness of the masses of the people and has also dispel any illusions about the false hope, for the change of heart of the rulers. As a result they

they became convinced that freedom does not come as a gift to a people but they shall pay a high price for it. This propaganda made it possible for the African to despise tribalism and any form of racialism, and know that the salvation lies in their unity 5 in their struggle against their enemies. The Organisational Problems. Times have changed, therefore our methods must also change. The enemy has perfected its machinery, well equipped with modern technique. It behoves us, therefore, to keep in advance with 10 these changes in order to succeed in difficult times. It is quite clear that Congress cannot survive unless it changes its present organisational structure. If it is not yet clear, it should be made abundantly clear to all concerned that the Nationalists are de- 15 termined and mean to deprive us of any deny us the elementary human rights of freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of organisation and freedom of movement. Their aim is to divide the Africans further and to prevent us even from uniting. Their aim is 20 to scatter the whole African population and keep and treat. More than ever the Defiance Campaign, Congress of the People, Bantu Education, the Removal of Western Areas have all shown that the organisational standard of the African National Congress was 25 far below its great political task. These campaigns have shown that to disregard the organisational problems with the hope that they will solve themselves is like sailing like troubled waters, and that can create the most dangerous situation, not 30 only to the African National Congress but to the entire liberatory movement in South Africa. It was

for this reason that the National Executive Report to the last Annual Conference of the African National Congress classed the organisational problem as item No. 1. The following suggestions were made. "That to meet these stringent and hostile conditions, 5 therefore, the Congress must be on an entirely new organisational footing. Congress leaders and activist must recognise and accept this basic fact. The organisation should be highly centralised on the National and Provincial planes, but high decen- 10 tralised on the branch and membership levels. It must be re-organised along the lines laid down in the "M Plan". The following scheme was, therefore envisaged: (a) It should be based on small manageable units. (b) Several of these units should be 15 united under and controlled by a sub-committee consisting of leaders of each unit. (c) Units, sub-committees to be responsible to branch committees. (d) All units and unit sub-committees to be equipped with the knowledge necessary to enable them to 20 carry out their duties and functions. (e) Branch committees to be responsible for seeing to it that all units and sub-committees are activated and efficient. (f) Greater use to be made of the printed word, but where and when this becomes im- 25 possible to make use of, the word of the mouth. (g) Provincial committees to be more alive and to exercise their supervisory and administrative control strictly and conscientiously. (h) Each member of a provincial committee to be personally 30 responsible to the provincial committee for the proper and efficient functioning of a given branch

and units and units sub-committee under the control of such branch. (i) Each member of the National Executive to take an active and leading part of the provincial committee in his province." "The above extracts are contained in the last Annual National Executive report given in December to the Annual Conference of the African National Congress. This report was a departure to all other reports which can only be appreciated if studied in full, first because it instructed the lowest organs of the African National Congress to discuss the organisational problems at the branch level before coming to the conference, and further by giving a clear analysis of the situation in the country, and then place the organisational question as the main issue before the National Conference. The low political level again reveals itself on this important political task of the day at conference among the delegates and even among the leaders. The conference merely regarded the report as the very interesting document, but failed to give it the attention it deserved or to appreciate its significance. There was no paper - no paper discussion on it nor were there any suggestions from the branches not even at conference, hence, no specific resolution on organisation was passed accepting the report. That is why up to this ninth month after the conference, not even the least effort seems to be taken in the implementation of the report. It is doubtful whether any study of the report even in some provincial levels has been made. Now we must put a stop to the question of regarding these reports and even

directives as mere formalities displaying good English. We must realise that we have the entire nation upon our shoulders. To ignore these warning will amount to deliberate sabotage wrecking the ship of freedom in the mist of sea waters. 5
 Otherwise how can anyone given reason for this type of attitude to so fundamental a question except by justifying it on the grounds of complete lack of understanding of what the freedom struggle entails or could it be due to the leadership which is not 10 honest and sincere and therefore tends to be irresponsible or a psychological sickness born by the conditions of the country. This is probably due more to low political level and also to the self-seeking adventurous leaders who are more concerned 15 with their positions than the people they are supposed to lead. Whatever the causes are, we must say this far and no further".

Do you hand in this document? --- I do, My Lord. 20

The next document is A.79. What is that? --- It is headed "Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, 4 Kort Street, Johannesburg, 18th of January, 1954", and it appears to be a roneod circular letter.

This refers, inter alia, My Lord, to the 25 Colonial Youth Day. It reads :

"Dear Friends, This being the first Newsletter of the New Year we wish to take this opportunity of extending to you the greetings and best wishes of the Executive Committee of the Young Congress 30 for a very successful, bright and peaceful New Year. May we achieve new successes in the period

before us and may we all be fortified with greater determination and courage to carry on the great tasks that still remain. Much has happened since we last had a general meeting that requires the guidance of and decisions by the membership. The Executive has therefore decided to hold a General Meeting of Members and Supporters on Thursday, 28th January, 1954, at 7.30 p.m. at Congress Hall, No. 4 Kort Street, Johannesburg. We make this special appeal to each and everyone of you to make it your duty to attend and to bring your friends along to this meeting. There are many important things coming up for discussion. Paul Joseph. Firstly, it will be our pleasant task of welcoming back in our midst one of the leading members of our organisation, Paul Joseph, who was sent over by us to the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students in Bucarest, in August of last year. After Bucarest Mr. Joseph made an extensive tour of Europe, visiting Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. He is going to relate his experiences to us at the meeting. Transvaal Youth Festival. Most of you were either present or have heard of the great success of the First Transvaal Youth Festival which was held in September of last year. Inspired by the tremendous achievements of that great event the organisers have planned another - bigger, longer and better - festival over the four days of the Easter holidays. A very elaborate programme has already been embarked upon and we are sure you will be interested in hearing the details. Colonial Youth Day. As you are probably aware, the

21st February of each year is set aside by the World Federation of Democratic Youth as Colonial Youth Day. It is a day on which young people of all countries gather together at rallies, meetings etc. to pledge their solidarity with the struggles of the young peoples in colonial and oppressed countries. This year, as in 1953, we are planning a series of activities to celebrate this day. More details of this will be given at the meeting. In addition to these there are many interesting activities, social, cultural, sporting and political, contemplated by the Executive for 1954. We want you all to come and listen to the reports on these and above all we want you all to come along and make your own suggestions, to improve the activities and organisation of the Youth Congress. You must remember that the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, though mainly a political youth organisation, does not restrict its activities to politics. We have a cultural and sporting programme which we are very keen on putting into practice. But for this we need your co-operation, interest, encouragement and support. We are looking forward to seeing you all the - at the meeting. Nevermind if you're just a sportsman, a teacher or a socialite. We have a place for you. Greetings and best wishes dear friends, from the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. Yours for freedom," - it apparently appears to be signed "A.M. Kathrada", for "M. Moolla, A.M. Kathrada, Joint Honourary Secretaries."

Now Mr. Moeller, do you know M. Moolla? --
I do, My Lord.

Do you know A.M.Kathrada? --- I do, My Lord.

Will you please identify them? --- My Lord,
A.M. Kathrada is Accused No. 3, and M. Moolla is Accused
No. 11.

You hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord. 5

The next document is A.80. Is that a typed
or a roneod document? --- It is a typed document.

Where did you find that document? --- Also
in the offices in question.

Does it read as follows?

10

"The African National Congress Youth League
salutes and commends the Transvaal Indian Youth
Congress on the occasion of its tenth Annual Con-
ference. The history of the Youth Congress through-
out the decade of its existence, claims and deser- 15
ves the utmost support of all the oppressed people
in South Africa and indeed the democratic people
throughout the world. The Youth League wishes to
express its full confidence in the Youth Congress,
and once more pledges without any fear of contradic-20
tion, discredit or betrayal of the masses of the
oppressed people, its full undivided and unlimited
support to the Youth Congress. The Youth League
enjoys this confidence because of the unshakable
stand against - unshakable stand the Youth 25
Congress has demonstrated in the past in an
effort to crush the fascists of our day. The
Youth League together with the oppressed masses
of the people have witnesses the Youth Congress
outgrow the banning of its leaders and the intimi- 30
dation levelled at its members by the Nationalist
Government in an effort to divert its intentions

so as to destroy it. Finally we call upon the oppressed people to stand firm. We call upon them to strive with greater determination to ensure peace."

Is that correct? --- Yes. 5

You hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

It is not signed? --- It is unsigned.

The next document is A.81? -- Yes, My Lord.

This document was also found in the offices of the African National Congress on that day. It is a roneod 10
document of the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress.

Yes, Held at Johannesburg on the 15th May, 1955 at the Duncan Hall. 1945-1955. Opening Address by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President Natal Indian Congress. 15
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress? --- That is so.

On the first page is there an Agenda? ---
No. This is a Report of Activities and Organisation to the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress Held at Duncan Hall, Johannesburg, on 20
Sunday, 15th May, 1955.

Does it read as follows :

"Mr. Chairman, Dr. Padyachee and Friends, Another year has come to an end. Today we are ten years old. We meet once again at our Annual General 85
Meeting to review the activities of the past year, to discuss our achievements, to criticise our shortcomings and on the lessons of our findings to build for the future. Much has happened in the period since our last meeting. We meet here 30
today without a few more of our leaders and pioneer members. They, are, the Chairman has

already pointed out, have been prevented from
being with us as a result of the fanatical whims
of a madma, whom we have come to know in South
Africa as the Minister of Justice. It is precisely
because of our banned - because our banned leaders 5
are not here today that makes this meeting even
more important for us who have gathered here, and
for the Indian youth of our country as a whole.
Have the bannings affected our organisation? Have
our members been deterred? Have we improved orga- 10
nisationally? Have we been enthused with a new
determination to replace our banned leaders with
hundreds of new activists in the movement? These
are questions that are posed before us today. These
are questions over which we have to seriously 15
ponder. Before proceeding with the report, I wish
to make an earnest appeal to you. The past year
has been one of many ups and downs. It has been a
year for the regrouping of our forces, for the
consolidation of our organisation. In the forward 20
march of any movement anywhere in the world there
are bound to be shortcomings, mistakes that warrant
sincere attention. Today we want you, that members
and potential members of the Youth Congress to
speak your minds. We do not want our discussions 25
to degerate into petty quibbles. We want you to
stand up, criticise where it is necessary to
make constructive suggestions from which our
organisation and all of us can benefit." I am
omitting the heading "Durban Tour, "The Lenasia 30
School", I am omitting that. And then I come to :
"South African Indian Youth Congress. The period

under review has been the birth of the South African Indian Youth Congress. Some of our leading officials, Dr. H. Moosa, Messrs. A.M.Kathrada and M. Mitha were elected President, Secretary and Treasurer respectively of the new national body. 5

Transvaal Youth Festival. Another landmark in our youth work was the organisation of the First Transvaal Youth Festival for Peace, Friendship and Racial Harmony at Mia's Farm towards the end of 1953. Here again we wish to stress the lessons we 10 have to learn from such an activity. It will be remembered that the Festival, with its sports, social and cultural programme, was organised to cater for 500 young people. But so great and unexpected was the response of the youth of all 15 races that well over 1,500 young people turned up and participated in the two-day event. As it is only correct, the foremost desire of young people everywhere is to live happy and carefree lives - to sing, to dance, to play, to make friendships etc. 20

The Festival represented to us the South African - the South Africa of tomorrow. It is pointed out more strongly than anything else can to the blind racialists of South Africa that it is possible for peoples to live and work happily 25 together, in respect and understanding and equality. Let us place very high on our programme of future activities the organisation of more youth festivals." Then the next paragraph :

"Dr. Dadoc's Birthday! Once again as a fitting 30 tribute and expression of appreciation to one of the...", no, I am omitting that. I omit

"The Tour to Standerton"; "Easter Camp" is omitted;
"Short-hand and Gamping Classes" is omitted; "Art
Classes" is omitted; "Shakuntala Demonstration" is
omitted; and then on the bottom of page 3, a
heading, "New Youth". "Due to the initiative of 5
several of our members the New Youth magazine was
published last year. Although it has not come
out as frequently and regularly as it should have,
New Youth has been extremely popular with young
people. An important feature of this magazine is 10
its wide variety of subject matter, other than
politics. The founders of the magazine are to be
congratulated for this very fine effort and we who
are gathered here should make it a point of taking
a greater interest in its publication." The next 15
heading : "The Twenty-First South African Indian
Congress Conference. What made the last SAIC Con-
ference in Durban very significant for us was the
large number of our members who were elected onto
the Transvaal Delegation. At the conference it- 20
self everyone of our members made contributions to
the discussion. These elicited high praise for us
from leading officials of the SAIC." The next
heading : "Contant with the World Federation of
Democratic Youth. Having been the first organisa- 25
tion from South Africa to affiliate with the World
Federation of Democratic Youth, we have in the
past year continued to keep close contact with
its headquarters in Budapest. We have participa-
ted in various international gatherings and festi- 30
vals organised by the World Federation of Democra-
tic Youth and kept them well supplied with infor-

mation material on South Africa. It remains with our great pride that the Third World Youth Congress of the WFDY held at Bucarest, for the first time South Africa won a seat on the 45 member executive committee, when Mr. A.M. Kathrada of our Youth 5 Congress was elected. Conclusion. Mr. Chairman, I have dwelt rather lengthily on some aspects of our work during the last year. This is by no means all that we have done. We have merely attempted to pinpoint some of the more important happenings. Before 10 concluding we might mention the hard work put in by our members in campaigns such as against the Group Areas Act, the removal of the Western Areas, The Colonial Youth Day, the exposing of racialist teachers at the school. etc. But we have not the 15 time to go into these today. We must think of the future. We must not be satisfied with what we have done, for when considering it objectively, it is but a minute fraction of what we could have done. We have not for instance dealt fully with the 20 reasons for the collapse of our branches. Why is it that most of our branches collapse soon after they are established? After all are not the branches the best methods of keeping contact with the masses of young people? Perhaps there was 25 something wrong with the planning of branch activities, or perhaps there was a lack of sufficient co-operation on the part of the executive committee. These are questions we must seriously (sic) - seriously discuss today. Let us then, Mr. Chair- 30 man go into the report critically and analytically. Let us bear in mind that history has thrust

heavy responsibilities on us as young people, responsibilities that we have to fulfil with seriousness, with objectivity, with sincerity, courage and determination. Let us go from this meeting a strong organisation, let us strive to build ourselves up 5 into a mass youth organisation of our people. When we have achieved this we can be certain that freedom will be just round the corner. Afrika! Afrika! Afrika!"

How does the next page read? --- "The Sec- 10
retarial Report on the International and Local
Situation, to be Submitted to the Tenth Annual
General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Con-
gress, Held at the Duncan Hall, Johannesburg, on
the 15th of May, 1955." 15

I will continue reading :

"Mr. Chairman and fellow members. This, the Tenth
Annual General Meeting of our organisation is taking
place at a critical time for the young people of
South Africa. Internationally, the preparations of 20
certain groups for a H-Bomb war threaten to destroy
the great victories won by those working for peace
and to plunge the world into a war which will lead
to the extermination of all mankind. In our own
country, the Nationalist Government continues to 25
deprive our people of all human rights, to use
force and police intimidation in order to implement
its policies and to destroy all possibility of a
happy and creative future for our youth. But all
over the world with growing strength and determina- 30
tion the people are working and struggling for
peace, national independence and democracy. In this

work the young people are taking a full and leading
role. In South Africa too the struggle for peace
and democracy, notwithstanding all the actions of
the Government, continues to grow and spread among
the people. The International Situation. Since the 5
Third World Youth Congress and Fourth World Youth and
Student Festival for Peace and Friendship which were
held in Bucharest in August, 1953, and which contri-
buted to understanding among the youth of different
countries, the forces of peace have won great vic- 10
tories. Following on the Berlin Four Power Conference
the Geneva Conference brought about peace in Indo-
China, bringing to an end the nine year war which
had been fought by the gallant people of that coun-
try. The mass opposition of the people led to the 15
defeat of E.D.C. and now the USSR has laid the basis
for a peace treaty with Austria. Throughout the
world the campaigns of the World Peace Council have
drawn millions of people into the struggle for
peace. Cultural, sporting and trade exchange be- 20
tween East and West have greatly increased, leading
to better understanding and friendship. World youth
have played an important part in this regard
through the organisation of international sports
events, meetings of students, holiday camps, the 25
International Conference of Rural Youth and now in
the preparation for the Fifth World Festival.
Unfortunately, however, the danger of war has not
been eliminated. Certain forces, led by the Govern-
ment of the U.S.A. in the face of the desire of the 30
peoples for peace have increased their efforts to
sharpen the cold war, deepen the arbitrary division

of the world into two hostile camps and so gravely increase the danger of war. In Europe, the re-
armament of Germany has been forced through against the opposition of the people, including the German
people. In Asia, the U.S.A. has attempted to 5
destroy the results of the Geneva Conference by forming the aggressive SEATO, interfering in the Formosa question and presenting - preventing the return of that island (which is a huge American war base) to its rightful owners, the Peoples Republic 10
of China. American opposition too prevents the Government of China from taking its place in the United Nations Organisation. All these measures increase international tension and bring nearer the danger of war. The formation of military alliances 15
and the establishment of war basis in many countries is closely linked with the policy of colonialism. Determined to maintain their war bases and their supplies of strategic materials as well as their economic interests the colonial powers resort to 20
force to crush the movement for national independence and peace in the colonial countries. Under the guise of "police" actions against "terrorists" huge British armies are engaged in brutal wars against the people of Kenya and Malaya. In order to main- 25
tain its military base in Cyprus, the British Government is busy attempting to destroy the liberation movement on that island. In Morrocco and Tunisia, where there are gigantic United States military bases, French troops are used to combat 30
the movement for independence. Similarly, throughout the Middle East, and elsewhere, foreign powers

are interfering in the affairs of other countries.
The greatest threat to the future of mankind lies
in the determination of the United States and Britain
to prepare for a Hydrogen Bomb War. Already it has
decided to arm the NATO forces with atomic weapons 5
so that weapons of mass destruction will now be the
ordinary weapons of the NATO armies. The U.S.A.
continues to experiment with and stockpile atomic
and Hydrogen weapons and Britain has now decided to
build H-bombs for use in major war. A nuclear war 10
can only result in the extermination of all mankind
and millions of people have raised their voices
against the H-bomb and have demanded the destruction
of all existing bombs and a total ban on the use of
such weapons. The World Peace Council have launched 15
a signature campaign in favour of a ban on nuclear
weapons and young people in all countries are taking
part in the collection of signatures. World public
opinion prevented the use of atomic weapons in Korea
and can force the governments to ban H-bombs if it 20
is strong enough. Through the World Federation of
Democratic Youth, the young people of the world are
participating in the campaign to collect signatures
against the H-bomb and in other struggles for Peace,
National independence and democracy. On February, 25
21st, each year, all over the world great youth
demonstrations are held to express solidarity with
the struggles of the youth and students of colonial
countries for a better life. On the 14th of April,
each year, support is expressed for the suffering 30
- the youth suffering under fascism in Spain.
During World Youth Week, from the 21st to 28th March
year - each year, at international congresses and

festivals young people affirm their unity in the struggle for friendship and a better life. South Africa. Led by the most ruthless of its leaders, Mr. Strijdom, the Nationalist Government is rapidly eliminating the last vestiges of democracy in South 5 Africa and is turning our country into a police state. Determined to achieve this aim, the Government not only passes numerous undemocratic laws but also implements these laws with force, police terror and intimidation. Thus the Government sends its police 10 armed with sten-guns to break into peaceful meetings and take the names of all those present; it sends thousands of heavily armed police to force the removal of the people from the Western Areas; it sends police to the homes of people to question them, and 15 it bans the - its opponents from belonging to democratic organisations and from attending meetings. But although the so-called opposition and newspapers like "The Star" are cowed and intimidated and speak now with the voice of the Government, the people 20 and particularly the youth, are carrying on the struggle for liberation with greater courage and determination than ever before. In an attempt to destroy the democratic forces of our country, the Government has banned the elected representatives 25 of the people - Sam Kahn, Brian Bunting and Ray Alexander. The leaders of any organisations have been forced to resign, including our own Chairman, Mr. R.H. Desai, our vice-chairman, Messrs. A. Kathrada and Paul Joseph. Such actions cannot deter 30 us. We, together with other democratic organisations, will carry on the struggle with confidence

because every leader who is forced to resign will be replaced by other courageous young leaders. The true nature of the Government was shown by its ruthless removal of the people from the Western Areas in the face of nation-wide protests from all 5 sections of the people. Literally, thousands of policemen, armed with revolvers, machine guns and batons descended on Sophiatown to carry out the evil scheme of the Government. Every section of the community is affected by the undemocratic actions 10 of the Government. By means of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act and the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, the right of workers to organise and strike for better working and living conditions is being attacked. The Departure 15 from the Union Regulation Bill deprives all citizens of the right to freely travel to other countries. The Group Areas Act is aimed at destroying the economic competition from the Indian people, also deprives people of the right of living 20 and trading in areas of their choosing. These and many other laws are the means by which the Government hopes to destroy all opposition and make the country safe in the interests of a small section of the population. In order to secure its 25 future, the Government realises that it must enslave the youth of this country mentally and economically. The Nationalists realise that courage, imagination and determination of the youth to enjoy a happy future presents a constant threat 30 to the existence of their Government. The fighting spirit of the youth was shown in the almost

unanimous refusal of Indian youth to attend the Group Areas school at Lenasia after the Government has closed down the Booysens School. These young people, in co-operation with the Indian people, not only effectively boycotted the Lenasia School but 5 also provided an alternative school where for the first time young African, Indian and European teachers teach together in complete harmony, an example of the future democratic South Africa. The Bantu Education Act is a direct step by the Govern- 10 ment to enslave our youth, and to carry out its policy which has been stated as follows : 'All Bantu Education must have the sole object of stamping the conviction into the child that his own people and his own race are inferior to all others'. But the 15 youth have not taken this lying down, because young people desire most earnestly to receive education which will enable them to develop their talents and which will prepare them for the future when they can creatively participate in all spheres of the 20 life of the community. Our youth will not meekly accept slavery and misery. The boycott of Bantu Schools by African youth have shown that the youth are prepared to sacrifice and struggle for their future. The whole might of the Government, all its 25 laws and its police and intimidation cannot stem the rising tide of the struggle for liberation. First the Defiance Campaign, in which thousands of young people participated, then the other struggles since that campaign have forged an 30 unbreakable unity among the democratic forces of all races. The Congress of the People will further

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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