Town.

Now, living in Kliptown, did that in any way affect the cost of living?— That increased the cost of living very much, my lords, because the bus fares to Town were increased and the people had to pay a higher fare, and the effect of a large number of people moving to Kliptown was that rates were immediately increased; people in fact were paying higher rents there than they had been paying in Town.

Now would you say that since about 1947 the town-ship of Kliptown had grown into a large area with a settled Coloured population?— That is so.

Was there any growth of social amenities in that period, sanitation etc?—— To a certain extent, yes; prior to this there was no laid on water, there was no proper sanitation, and no social facilities; the school was very small, it was in a Church building, but the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board took over and laid on water and sanitary arrangements were made, and a few years later a school was built there.

Now, has the security of the people in Kliptown in any way been disturbed in recent years?—— Yes, my lords, it has seriously been affected by the Group Areas Act. The people had bought properties and put up homes and although Kliptown has only recently been declared a European area,

When was that?-- That was in 1956 or 1957.

RUMPFF J: Is that the whole of Kliptown?-Yes, the whole of Kliptown, but, my lords, before a
place is declared to any group it takes a number of

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years while the investigations are going on, and I would say since round about 1951 people were not prepared to improve their buildings; there was no building, new building, going on, even though there was over-crowding, for fear of the declaration of group areas.

MR. KATHRADA: What would you say were the general conditions of people in Kliptown as compared to the conditions of the Coloured people living in Town?--- Well, my lords, it was generally the very poor people who were first forced out of the buildings because even in Town they lived in the older buildings, and the conditions of the people in Kliptown were those of poverty.

Did you become concerned about the conditions of the people? — My lords, as I grew older, even before we moved to Kliptown, I had become concerned about the poverty amongst the Coloured people, and it seemed to me more so in Kliptown.

Were you concerned in any way about the condition of the young people?— Yes, my lords, in Kliptown especially the parents left very early in the morning, and only arrived home late at night, which meant that most of the time the children were on their own and as at that time there was very limited school accommodation — and those children who had completed their Std.V, I think the school went to at that time, they had nothing to do be—cause their parents could not send them to school in Town — they couldn't afford the train fares to Town.

Did you then try to do something to alleviate the position, to remedy the position?-- Yes, my lords, I established a Youth Centre, or a Youth Club I should say, 1

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and I hoped that we could get the support of the Coloured people who could afford it, to run this Club for the youth who had nothing to do.

What sort of activities did you have at this club?—— We had various activities which were designed to foster a spirit of self reliance on the youth, and to try and keep them away from standing on street corners and gambling, and to sort of try and bring these people to live a more useful life.

That was round about • .?-- That was round about 1950 - 1951.

Now, would you say that you succeeded in the mission that you had set yourself?—— Well, I couldn't say so, because I don't think that I gave it sufficient —— rather, the club did not run for a sufficiently long period.

Now while you were running this club, did you approach any association or body with a view to setting up a Community Centre in Kliptown?—— Yes, my lords, together with the Priest of our church we approached the National Health Foundation who told us that as sympathetic as they may be Kliptown was out of the Municipal area and they already had too many commitments, and they could not see their way clear to assisting us.

By the way, what church do you belong to?-- To the Anglican Church.

At about this time was a grant offered to you to study Social Welfare?—— At the same time I made an application for a grant to enable me to study Social Welfare at the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work.

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Did you take up this work? -- No, my lords.

Why not?—— I began to wonder if it was the correct thing to do because first of all it would have meant that I would not be earning for a period of about three years, and that would mean that my family would not get my assistance, and secondly, I began to doubt whether that would really in any way improve the conditions of our people, because I came to realise more and more that social work could only be a palliative.

KENNEDY J: The grant was made to you, was it?-The grant was made to me, my lord.

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MR. KATHRADA: Now while you were running your Youth Club in Kliptown did you have any contact with the Transvaal Association of Boys Club, Boys and Girls Club?—Yes, my lords, we were in contact with this Association, because it was doing the same work in other centres of Johannesburg.

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Pid you attend any of its meetings and functions

?-- I attended quite a number of their meetings, lectures,
and functions.

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What sort of lectures and discussions did you have at the Boys Club?—— We used to get various people to come and discuss various subjects; sometimes they discussed social welfare and drama, and all sorts of subjects — and various people used to come, or asked to be allowed to address the group.

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At this time did you belong to any political organisation? -- No, my lords.

Would you say that you had any fixed political ideas? -- I had no political ideas at this time.

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Did you have any association with any leaders of political organisations? At that time?—— I had met various people, my lords. I met former leaders of the African Peoples Organisations, a group of people who were then leaders of the Kleurlingsvolksbond, and during the time that I was with the Transvaal Association Youth Club we had been addressed by members of the moral Rearmament Group.

Now what is the Kleurlingsvolksbond?-- My lords, that was and still is a Coloured Organisation based on the lines of the Nationalist Party which tries to persuade the Coloured people to accept Apartheid, and also to accept Afrikaans as the only language for Coloured people; in fact, a leader who was still Principal of a school in Johannesburg insisted that no English be used by any of its pupils, even though the school he was in was in a predominantly English speaking area. The leaders frequently came to Pretoria to see members of the Cabinet - - as they said they saw members of the Cabinet - - and leading members of the Nationalist Party, and they accepted group areas and claimed that it was only in that way that the Coloured people could improve themselves, and only in accepted group areas where they would have no competition with any other races could they establish their own businesses, and generally run their own affairs.

You said you came into contact with members of the Moral Re-armament Movement, at the Association of the Boys Club?— Yes.

Now you also mentioned that you came into touch with leaders of the African peoples organisation? -- That is so.

What is that?-- At that time the African Peoples Organisation was not functioning but I learnt a lot of the history of the A.P.O from these people, that it had been a Coloured Peoples Organisation.

Did you at this time begin to read literature published by this organisation, or relating to the activities of this organisation?—— That is so.

What sort of literature? — Well, I read all sorts of literature — anything I could get hold of that gave me some information about these organisations, and generally I took more interest in politics.

Now I want to hand to you Exhibit S.L.ll, which was found in your possession on the 27th September, 1955.

It is a 'Liberation' of August, 1953. Is this one of the publications you bought at that time?—— That is so, my lords.

Was there any particular reason, Mr. Lollan, why you bought this copy of 'Liberation'?-- Yes, my lords, in the first place there was a book review on the "Return to Goli" (?) which was written by a coloured author,, Peter Abrahams; there was an article on Moral Rearmament and a small article at the back on Peter Abrahams . . no, that is the book review, my lords.

I want to refer to page 6 of S.L.ll where there is an article M.R.A. Weapon of the Cold War by Dan Thlume (?). Have you got it?-- I've got it, my lords.

Would you read that article Mr. Lollan.

MR. HOEXTER: My lords, I don't think this particular 'Liberation' was read in.

RUMPFF J: This was not read in?

MR. HOEXTER: No, my lord.

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RUMPFF J: What is that article about? MR. KATHRADA: It is headed M.R.A. Weapon of the Cold War, my lord. RUMPFF J: With reference to moral rearmament? MR. KATHRADA: That's right, my lord. RUMPFF J: Why do you want the whole article in? MR. KATHRADA: My lord, I want him to refer to this publication and similar publications because I believe that the state of mind of the accused is at issue in this case; I wanted to ask him further questions on 10 this moral rearmament movement, my lord. That is the reason why I want this in . .. RUMPFF J: Yes, but is it necessary to have the whole article in? MR. KATHRADA: I submit it is, my lord. 15 RUMPFF J: But why? MR. KATHRADA: To assist the witness, my lords, to answer my questions, and also for the benefit of the rest of the accused. RUMPFF J: Are they interested in the moral re-20 armament? MR. KATHRADA: They are, my lord. RUMPFF J: Well, they can read it for themselves. Because if there is one article you can have all possible literature about moral rearmament. 25 MR. KATHRADA: Well, my lord, this is the only article I want the witness to read on moral rearmament RUMPFF J: How long is it? MR. KATHRADA: About two pages, my lord?-- It is three pages, my lord. 30

RUMPFF J: Well, cannot we hear the gist of it?

1 MR. KATHRADA: Well, my lord - - is it possible for you, Mr. Lollan, to summarise that article? -- No, I could not summarise this document, my lords. RUMPFF J: By whom is the article written? MR. KATHRADA: By a co-conspirator, my lord. An alle ged co-conspirator, Dan Thlume. RUMPFF J: How is this relevant, what he writes about the moral rearmament? MR. KATHRADA: My lords . . . . RUMPFF J: Or what anybody writes about the 10 moral rearmament, for that matter. The witness can tell us hiw own views about moral rearmament, but whatever anybody writes about the moral rearmament is completely irrelevant. MR. KATHRADA: My lords, we are dealing with a 15 period in the witness' life when he was not interested in politics; when he was exposed to various influences, one of which was moral rearmament . . RUMPFF J: Yes; well, he can tell us what his views are on moral rearmament, but what anybody writes 20 about moral rearmoment is really irrelevant. BEKKER J: Is the purpose of wanting to read this document to find out from the witness whether he subscribed to those views or not? MR. KATHRADA: Yes, my lord. I wanted to ask 25 him how he was influenced by that particular article,

BEKKEI J: Yes, well, that you can put to him.

RUMPFF J: You want to ask him whether he was

influencedin any way by having read that article on

M.R.A. Weapon of the Cold War.

my lord.

MR. KATHRADA: As your lordship pleases.

RUMPFF J: That you can do; you may do that.
But why is it necessary for us to listen to the whole article? We are not interested in what anybody says about the moral rearmament. It's not an issue in this case. Assume that he had become converted to Christianity; assume for argument's sake that he was not a Christian before and he had become converted because he read the Bible, then on the same basis you could ask him to read the Bible to us,

MR. KATHRADA: My lord, but the Moral Rearmament Movement does claim to offer some solution ...

RUMIFF J: That may be; you can ask him what affect that had on him; how he saw it, and he may refresh his memory by looking at the article, but on the analogy that I quoted to you we are really not interested, because where will it stop? He may have a whole book, he may have had a book on Rearmament, Moral Rearmament in his possession, and the whole book might have influenced him — why should we listen to the book?

MR. KATHRADA: My lords, this is a document before Court found in his possession.

RUMPFF J: Yes.

MR. KATHRATA: And laid against him, my lord.

RUMPFF J: Well, I'm not certain whether this has been read in . .

MR. KATHRADA: No, my lord.

RUN PFF J: The case against him on this issue is that he was in possession only of 'Liberation'; now you are perfectly entitled to lead your witness, or to lead him to show why he bought it. The Crown does not

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rely on the contents of this particular issue against Lollan in any way; only the fact that he had possession.

MR. KATHRADA: I appreciate that, my lord.

RUMPFFJ: Now as I say, you are perfectly at liberty to ask him to explain why he had this copy in his possession; now he says there is an article in it on Moral Rearmament, on Abrahams, a review, and so on.

Now you can ask him whether article on Moral Rearmament had any influence on him and why? He can look at the article, but once we allow an article like that to go in in its entirety then there will be no limit to any article which may have influenced him on any aspect of his life going in and being read?—— (MR. LOLLAN): My lords, I don't know —— as I'm also giving evidence on my own behalf; this 'Liberation' is, I think, quoted in the Violent Schedule ægainst me.

RUMFFF J: Against you?-- I'm not quite sure, but I think that is so, my lord.

MR. KATHRADA: I don't think it is, my lord.

RUMIFF : Mr. Hoexter says the contents have not been read in.

MR. HOEXTER: So far as I have been able to ascertain, my lords; I'll have a further search made. I looked and I came across this document as being in accused's possession.

RUMIFF J: Is there anything else in that,

Lollan, that could perhaps be linked with any suggestion of violence?-- My lords, there is an article on

"The War that Failed" - it seems to be on Korea . . .

Well, you may wish to deal with some of the

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other things later that may be linked with violence?--Yes, my lords.

But at the moment I think you ought to confine the witness, Mr. Kathrada, to refreshing his memory on the article.

MR. HOEXTER: My lords, if I may assist the witness. There is a brief portion of this article, the one which is proposed to be read - - it deals with the relationship between classes in society - - it may be that that is the one to which the witness referred; that does not deal with the Moral Rearmament Movement as a Movement; it may be that that has some bearing on what the witness is . . .

RUMPFF J: Is this in the M.R.A?

MR. HOEXTER: Yes, my lord; it isn't an article which deals simply and solely with the M.R.A as a Religious Movement. It sees it in the context of society, and the relationship between classes.

RUNPFF J: Well, then, you'd better read it, if that is so. Yes?

MR. KATHRADA: Will you read that article,
Mr. Gollan? — "Recently we have become aware of a new
movement which aims to attract Africans. It invites them
for free visits to conferences in Rhodesia..." in
brackets (Passports fixed without question; all expenses
paid). "... even to Switzerland, (again all expenses
paid including luxury accommodation in a first class
hotel). Some African leaders accept these invitations
without thinking very much about it. The movement seems
harmless, of a vaguely religious character; it calls

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itself "Moral Rearmament". It claims to be based on the principles of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love. Smooth spoken ..... come to see these African leaders. They flatter them with a show of respect and consideration. It sounds also attractive and harmless. The rewards are tempting. Fortunately most of our non-European leaders have developed a sharp sense of suspicion against innocent seeming advances of this type. They want to know what it is all about. One or two, however, are not so vigilant; they accept invitations too to Lusaka in Rhodesia, and Caux in Switzerland. They send full birthday greetings to the M.R.A Feuhrer, Dr. Frank Buchman; they fail to ask the the key question: 'What is the M.R.A?' What is its background, how is it organised and financed, what are its real aims? The Background: In the 1930's there emerged in Britain a movement known as The Oxford Group led by an American Dr. Frank Buchman. While it claimed to be religious in character it showed a marked political bias. known political feature at that time was its sympathy for German Nazism. In 1936 Dr. Buchman paid a visit to Germany and met Himmler who was, of course, the head of the Gestapo responsible during his career for the slaughter and torture of millions of innocent people in concentration camps. According to the German steel millionaire Fritz Tyson (?) - I quote from his book "I played Hitler' Himmler was actually a member of the Oxford Group. A gew weeks later after his return from Nazi Germany he made the following declaration: "I thank Heaven for a man like Adolf Hittler. He built a frontline of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism. 'New York Telegram

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August 22nd, 1936.' When War broke out against Germany leading members of Buchman'sorganisation went to America to carry out a campaign for American neutrality. They said that the role of the U.S.A. should be limited to 'Moral Rearmament'. This was made the main slogan of the Movement, and from then on the Oxford Group changed its name to that of Moral Rearmament. By April 1941 Hitler had already overrun Europe and the pro-Nazi line had become impossible, for Buchman to put across outside Germany. M.R.A. publication, however, continued to be published in German under the Nazi regime. Sir Alan Herbert, Conservative M.P. said about the Moral Rearmament Group: 'I know what I am up against with this vast wealthy and ruthless organisation; the language and technique of the Oxford Group Co. Ltd., is strikingly and sadly similar to that of the Nazis'. In January, 1943, the American Drafts Appeal Board, a body set up to consider applications for exemption from military service, rejected appeals from the M.R.A. members, saying such declarations by Dr. Buchman seem to us to be expressing the aims and philosophy of the Axis Powers. M.R.A. leaders from foreign countries act as agencies of the American Intellegence Service; delegates attending international M.R.A. conferences in America hold \*International Security Conferences with representatives of the U.S. Congress and State Department. General L.D. Clay, the American Military Commander in Germany, helped to pick 150 German leaders to attend the M.R.A. meeting in Choux in 1947, and in 1950 the Japanese M.R.A. delegation came to Europe and America 'with the support and approval of General McArthur'. Quotation from Congressional Record

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1 Humble gratitude. The leaders of this July 24th, 1950. Japanese Delegation were received by the U.S. Congress and their spokesman said 'We realise that the precious blood of the sons of America is now being shed to protect the freedom of the world and the Far East, and if we might be permitted as Jaranese to bow our heads in deepest and humble gratitude and appreciation for this great sacrifice the United States is making, it will indeed be an honour and privilege for us'. If such servile lipspittling is required of non-white M.R.A. members African leaders may 10 well think twice if it is not too high a price to pay for a free holiday abroad. Both in the United States and in Britain M.R.A. is supported by the most reactionary and Fascist sections of the ruling class. Henry Ford and Harry Truman have backed this out fit for many years; 15 in Britain Lord Nuffield - the Morris motor car King -Lord...(?).. President of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Association, and former President of the Landowners Association, and many other Tory leaders and top capitalists are among the M.R.A. backers. A 20 list of the movement's chief supporters in other countries sounds like a register of the worst enemies of the working class throughout the world. Chiang-Kai-Shek and his Formosa clique back the M.R.A. It's Japanese supporters include Hishito Ichimado, the director of the Bank of Japan, and 25 other leaders of Japanese industry who gave their full support to Japanese aggression in Asia. Other Japanese supporters include America's puppet premier of Japan, Yoshida, and the chiefs of the Police in Tokyo and Osako. The biggest monopoly in India, the Tartar Industries,

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Its chairman, Shri J.R.D. Tata M.R.A. Sigman-Rhee is an R.R.A. man. Karl Ademann, West Germany Chancellor -he quotes 'The Butcher of Bonn' -- is an M.R.A. man. Robert Schumann, former French Prime Minister, who was picked out by the French Parliament because they could not stomach his plan for a new Nazi Army in Germany, and German control of French Coal and Steel resources is an M.R.A. man. What sort of company is this for Africans who claim to be interested in the emancipation of their people. It is only recently that M.R.A. has been trying 10 to penetrate among non-European leaders in this country. but it has for some time been seeking support among the Europeans. Where did it get this support? Aswe should expect from the sort of International connections described above, the Bachmanite source, and it found a ready response 15 among big business circles in the Union, and in the first place from the historic enemy of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa, the big mining interests who dominate our country. The Chamber of Mines which undertook the cost of sending a delegation of its own representatives 20 to Choux reports that there is a hundred percent change in relationship between itself and the men. He quotes 'The White Miners Union', - As a result of M.R.A. influence. Personalities such as Mr. Paul Visser, President of the Union and Mr. R.P. Erasmus declare that they have found 25 a new way whereby disputes can be settled amicably in the light of the M.R.A. ideology. 'The Star, 23rd April 1951'. Nationalist Members of Parliament and the leaders of the Nationalist dominated South African Mineworkers Union availed themselves of the invitation to holidays 30 in Switzerland. Mr. D.F. Ellis, former Secretary of the

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Mineworkers Union was also connected with the Movement for Moral Rearmament, although his devotion to the principles of absolute honesty, purity etc., would appear to be somewhat questionable. To sum up, Moral Rearmament is not as it pretends to be, a quasi-religious body restricted to preaching the highsounding moral platitudes; it is an enormously wealthy international conspiracy devoted to undermining movements of the workers and oppressed people for emancipation in all country. It's message of collaboration between workers and employers - between oppressors and the oppressed - turns out to be a formulae for getting the oppressed to submit to their fate without struggle. By allowing a few leaders to sit down socially with their masters they hope to emasculate the Trade Unions and National Liberation Movements. They will not succeed in these objectives. The great majority of Trade Unionists and democratic leaders will refuse to be sidetracked by the soft soap of the Buchmanites. They will ask why M.R.A members are not allowed to elect officials of the Movement and why its finances are such a closely guarded secret from the members themselves. They will ask why M.R.A. has no answers to any of the problems of poverty, misery and unemployment and war, but restricts itself to acting as a weapon in American capitalism ...cold war against so called Communism. They will reject the M.R.A. with contempt, just as they rejected the Bantu National Congress of Mr. Bhengy, the so-called Non-European Unity Movement and all other agencies of the ruling class.

RUMPFF J: Is that the end of the article? - Yes, my lords.

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MR. KATHRADA: Were you in any way influenced by this article, Mr. Gollan? -- Well, to the extent that I started to examine the Moral Rearmament more critically.

Did you join the Moral Rearmament Group? -- No.

What was your view then on the possibility of a spontaneous change of heart by those who oppress us?—
With the information I had at my disposal about the Moral Rearmament and having read what many prominent people in South Africa said at meetings of the Moral Rearmament and what they say when they come back to South Africa.

I came to seriously doubt — and in fact I rejected the idea of a spontaneous change of heart amongst people.

Did you. Mr. Gollan, join the Kleurlingevolksbond ?-- No. my lords.

Why not?-- I rejected the idea because I felt one could not solve the problems of the Coloured people by discussing them with the Government on their own terms. I knew that the Coloured people are opposed to apartheid and that it would not assist them to first ask them to accept Apartheid and only then to discuss their problems with the Government.

Had you at this time heard of a Defiance Campaign?-- I had heard about the Defiance Campaign.

Were you in any way influenced by this campaign?-- I was, my lords, because it was the first time
that I saw in practice non-Europeans working together;
I had attended a few of the meetings and I had heard
speakers of various racial groups -- in fact I had
heard Hatty du Preez, a prominent Coloured Trade Unionist
and James Phillips, also addressing these meetings, and

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I thought that that would be the only way, if the peoples of South Africa could work together, to solve these problems.

Did you have any ideas about the necessity for an organisation of Coloured people?—— It was shortly after the Defiance Campaign, my lords, and there was no real organisation — a National organisation, to which the Coloured people could belong.

Were you among the . . .

KENNEDY J: That what? What follows on there?—
My ideas were that the Coloured people should join an organisation that would work together with the other non-white races in South Africa, my lord, and with the Europeans, as I saw during the Defiance campaign, and there was no organisation that really could fulfil this function.

MR. KATHRADA: Did the African people's organisation not exist at this time?— It did not exist at that time, no.

Were you among the founders of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation in the Transvaal?-- I was, my lords.

When was that? -- In March, 1954.

Was that the first time that you joined a political organisation? -- That is so, my lords.

Now, before this had the South Afican Coloured Peoples Organisation been formed in Cape Town already?—
The South African Coloured Peoples Organisation was formed in Cape Town in September, 1953.

Mr. Lollan, prior to the formation of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation in the Cape, was 5

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there a National Convention called as a result of the declaration signed by certain Coloured leaders?-- That is so, my lords.

I want to refer you to G.1122 which is a copy
of "Advance" of 13th August, 1953. On the front page
- is there an article which purports to be the Declaration
signed by the Coloured leaders?

MR. HOEXTER: My lords, this was read into the record at page 3567, or rather the relevant "Advance" was there dealt with; I'm not sure whether this particular Declaration was read in - - but that is the issue concerned.

MR. KATHRADA: My lords, to the best of my know-ledge this particular article was not read in.

RUMPFF J: Well, there's something called "The Clarion Call"?-- That is the Editorial, my lord.

Is that the Editorial?-- Yes, my lord.

It's not the Declaration?-- No, my lord.

Then there's a historical speech by Mr. Malinckoff
?-- That is an article that appears here, my lord.

KENNEDY J: You want the Declaration read in?

MR. KATHRADA: Just the Declaration, my lord.

RUMPFF J: Yes, very well.

MR. KATHRADA: Will you please read the Declaration, Mr. Lollan? — "This Declaration is contained in an appeal addressed to the Secretary, Officials and Members of all Coloured Organisation to attend a Peoples Convention to be held at the Batswood College Hall, Gosper Road, Wynberg, at 3 p.m. on Saturday August 15th. You will also note that arrangements have been made by certain persons to interview the Prime Minister on this matter" — continues the invitation — "It is clear that

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this move holds grave dangers for the Coloured people, as those persons who will interview the Prime Minister have by no means got the backing of the Coloured people; have not consulted them and cannot therefore claim to speak for them. At the same time there does not seem to be any other body which is competent to speak for the Colouredpeople and prepared to take the lead in these critical times. This being so a group of Coloured men connected with established organisations has decided that we cannot allow the present Bill to come before the Joint Session of Parliament on August 19th without the voice of the Coloured people having been heard. We regret that this notice is so late, but this is an emergency, and we ask your Organisation to meet as soon as possible so as to make the necessary arrangements and send one or two delegates at least to this Peoples Convention; also as we do not have a complete register of Coloured Organisations will you please take this message to any other group of which you may know. No official invitation is needed. This is a Peoples Convention and we hope that the people will come forward and let their true feelings be heard. If it is quite impossible to send a delegate please send a letter or telegram in support. The appeal is signed by Dr. R.E. van der Ross (?), the Editor of the Teachers Educational and Professional Association Journal, and amongst the sponsors are Mr.E.F.Bauman, E.A. Dean, Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Cape Furniture Workers Union, and Mr. H. Agross (?) and Mr.Albertus, Chairman and Secretary of the Moslem Progressive Society."

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In the same article, Mr. Lollan, is there a comment by Dr. v.d. Ross? -- Commenting on the fact that no lead had been given by existing Coloured Political Organisation on the question of the vote, Dr. v.d. Ross said: 'There is a deeply felt need amongst the Coloured people for something constructive to appear on the political scene. The people are looking hungrily for an organisation where their voice can be heard. They feel strongly about the issue of the vote, but the existing political groups are dominated by a few highly educative individuals who are so far above the ordinary person that they have lost touch with their people. The Convention offers a chance for laying the basis of an honest and sincere attempt to make the Coloured person realise the part he plays. We want response from the ordinary working people such as those who took part in the recent campaign organised by Trade Unions and the Housewives League .... "

RUMPFF J: How long is that going to continue?-That is the end of it, my lord.

MR. KATHRADA: Mr. Lollan, do you know Dr.v.d. Ross?-- I do, my lords.

Who is he?-- Dr.v.d. Ross is Principal of the Batswood Training College.

Where is that? -- It is in Wynberg, Cape, and he is an eminent educationalist amongst the Coloured people.

Is he a Communist? -- No.

I want to refer you to G.1122 which is another copy of "Advance" of 20th August, 1953. Now, on page 1 there is an article headed "Firm stand by the Coloured

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People" which purports to be a report of that Convention?—
That is so, my lords.

My lords, other aspects from this copy of "Advance" were read in at page 3571; this particular article was not read in, my lords.

RUMPFFJ: Yes; by whom was it written?

 $\underline{\text{MR. KATHRADA}}$ : It's an article appearing in "Advance" which purports to be a report of the Convention my lord. .

RUMPFF J: Yes.

 $\underline{\mathtt{MR.\ KATHRADA}}\colon$  Would you read that report, Mr. Lollan . . .

RUMPFF J: Why must we have thewhole report?

Is there not a conclusion arrived at, or something that is material for your purpose, or for Mr. Lollan's purpose?

 $\underline{\mathtt{MR.\ KATHRADA}}\colon$  Well, my lord, I wanted the representation at the Convention itself . . .

RUMPFFJ: Why?

MR. KATHRADA: My lords, I'm trying to show the background of the formation of the organisation.

RUMPFF J: Yes, we have evidence of the Convention; were resolutions taken?

MR. KATHRADA: Resolutions were taken at the Convention, my lord.

RUMPFF J: Do they appear there?

MR. KATHRADA: The first paragraph will clarify that I think, my lord; then I wanted the portion under "Franchise".

RUMPFF J: May I have a look at that? This is the background of the Coloured Peoples Association, is it?

MR. KATHRADA: Yes, my lord.

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RUMPFF J: Yes, you had better read this in, Mr. Lollan.

(COURT ADJOURNED FOR 15 MINUTES)

## ON THE COURT RESUMING:

MR. KATHRADA: I think you were about to read from page 1 of the "Advance" of 20th August, 1953, Mr. Lollan?-- Yes, my lords. "Delegates from 33 organisations present....."

KENNEDY J: What is the heading? -- "Firm Stand by Coloured People", my lords; sub-heading 'Golding booed at Peoples Convention'. "Delegates from 33 organisations present at the Peoples Convention last Sunday decided unanimously to form a National Organisation to act as the mouthpiece of the Coloured People in all matters affecting them. Speakers supporting the move stressed the fact that once established the organisation would co-operate with the African and Indian Organisations already striving for equality in South Africa. A committee of ten was appointed to draft a constitution and report back before the joint sitting of Parliament on 16th September. In the course of the deliberations which lasted nearly six hours, the extreme right wing element in the Coloured community as represented by Mr. George Golding, the C.P.N.U, suffered a decisive defeat. " C.P. N.U. my lords, stands for Coloured Peoples National Union. "Early on in the proceedings Mr.Golding made an unsuccessful attempt to discredit

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the Convention by announcing that the whole idea had been initiated by the Chairman of the Coon Carnival and financed by Malays. This was greeted with loud booing, the Chairman Mr.E.A. Dean, refuted Mr. Golding's allegations adding that he and his associates who organised the Convention had not felt it necessary to go 'cap in hand to the Prime Minister'. Walked out: Later on, Mr. Golding tried to persuade the meeting that there was no need to form another organisation - that they should rather put their own house in order first. The trouble was, he said, that whenever anyone tried to lead the Coloured people he was 'torn down by others'. Mr. Golding was unable to continue his speech because of loud and derisive jeering and in desperation he and the other representatives of the C.P.N.U. walked out of the Convention. Franchise for all: Introducing discussion on the value of the vote, Dr.R.E. van der Rass said that there were three categories to which the opinion of the Convention could conform.

ENNEDY J: You are now reading from page 4?

-- Page 4, my lord, yes. "The retention of the status quo

- the extension of the franchise to women, and finally,
the extension of the full franchise to adults of all races.

His brother, Mr. G.A. v.d. Rass, spoke in favour of the
extension of the franchise to Coloured women and co-operating
with the Africans in the struggle to obtain full citizenship rights for all South Africans. Mr. Dean - I'm
sorry, my lords - "The Chairman, Mr. Dean, emphasised
that the Convention had not been merely to plead with the
Government, but was a determined attempt to get the vote
extended. Fundamental Human Rights: The vote is a

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fundamental human right, declared the resolution adopted by the Convention. The Coloured vote at present is an unworthy symbol of citizenship insofar as it is not a full vote. The Convention insists that the Coloured person is worthy of exercising the full franchise and that all adult men and women, irreespective of colour, should have the right to vote and be voted for in all the Councils of the Nation. At the same time, the Convention insists that the present vote on the common role should not be sacrificed as its loss would mean a setback to the movement for full franchise. In proposing the formation of a National Coloured Organisation Dr. v.d. Rass said that in addition to taking a stand on the threat to the Coloured vote, there were vital issues affecting the Coloured people. All those eligible must be registered as voters. A strong voice should be added to that of the teachers in educational matters and opposition to the Group Areas Act must be organised. Such legislation as this, said Dr. v.d. Rass, puts us in a position in society from which we will not be able to rise in the next hundred years. As long as we accept the idea that we are superior to the Africans we have no legitimate claim to the rights now enjoyed by the Europeans. Said Mr. G.A. v.d. Rass: We must work alongside the African but first we must form an organisation which will speak with one voice for the Coloured people. In reply to the contention of Mr. Golding Mr. F.P.Joshua C.P.N. U. said there already existed sufficient organisations among the Coloured people without another being formed. Mr. A. Simon said: There do exist a

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number of organisations but have they a consistent and militant leadership? The Africans are already organised while the Coloured people are still dormant. This is because in the past the teachers divorced themselves from the struggle of the people; they were not prepared to sacrifice their cheques. The anti-train apartheid campaign was an instance of that. Committee elected: Certain persons who claimed to be leaders of the Coloured people used their organisations for their own personal aggrandisement, said a delegate. One duty of a new Coloured Organisation would be to expose those who respond to the Government's search for stooges. Several speakers including Mr. R. September and Mr. G.A. v.d. Rass stressed the importance of the new organisation being formed on a basis of individual membership. A Federal Organisation they maintained, could never succeed in rallying the mass of the people behind it, which was what the new organisation must aim at doing. The committee which was elected to draw up a Constitution, and present it to another Convention in a month's time consisted of: Mr.G. A. v.d. Rass, Mr.E. Doman, Mr.E.A. Dean, Mr. R. September, Dr.R.E. v.d. Rass, Mr.F.B. Hardin (?), Mr. J. Gomas, Mr.F.M. Seal, Mr. S.B. Lottig and Mr.F. Brayhim (?).

MR. KATHRADA: Is that the end of it?-- Yes.

KENNEDY J: Were you present at the Peoples

Convention?-- No, my lord.

MR. KATHRADA: I now want to refer you, Mr. Lollan, to "Advance" of the 17th September, 1953. On page 7 there is an article headed "New Coloured Organisation Formed"?-- That is so, my lords.

Does this article refer to the formation of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation? -- That is so, my lords.

Is there any indication as to when this second Convention was held?-- What was the question again?

Is there any indication -- there is a reference there to the fact that this organisation was formed at the Convention . . .

KENNEDY J: Do you know when it was formed, when this meeting was formed, was held, at which the S.A.C.P.O. came into being?-- It was in September,1953.

Were you present at that meeting?-- No, my lord.

RUMPFF J: I don't know if it names the S.A.C.P.O
?-- This gives the decision of the Convention, my lord,
to form the organisation.

KENNEDY J: Was it called the South African
Coloured Peoples Organisation, or just the Coloured
Peoples Organisation?—— I think the first paragraph
clarifies that, my lord. "The South African Coloured
Peoples Organisation", "which aims at the attainment
of full democratic rights for all people....."

MR. KATHRADA: Mr. Lollan, at the end of that article there is a list of committee members of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation; would you read out that list please?--

Yes.

RUMPFF J: Well, are you going to ask him whether he knows that that is so?

MR. KATHRADA: Yes, I'm going to ask him about certain people on the list as well, my lord.

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RUMPFF J: Because as it stands that is not evidence unless it's an official communication by the S.A.C.P.O, that those members were committee members.

MR. KATHRADA: I'm going to ask him whether to his knowledge those were the first members of the committee, my lord.

RUMPFF J: Yes. Look at the names then.

MR. KATHRADA: Mr. Lollan, who of your own knowledge do you know became members of the committee?—
Mr. Dean was elected Chairman of the Organisation, and the following people were elected to the committee:

RUMPFF J: Yes, well, give us the names of those who of your own knowledge became members of the committee?—— Mr. Dean, Dr. v.d. Rass, Mr. G. v.d. Rass, Mr. E.F. Doman, Mr. R. September, Mr. D. v.d. Rass, Mr. Rodar, Mr. Wentworth, Mrs. Peal, Mr. Carlsa, Mr. Rahim, Mrs. Smith and Mr. J. Mussel.

Now in this list of names you've read are there any Communists to your own knowledge?-- I did not know what the people's political affiliations were, but only subsequently I learnt of some people who were members of the Communist Party before it was put an end to.

MR. KATHRADA: Could you tell us who they were?-I learnt from evidence in this Court that Mr.R.September
was one.

RUMPFF J: That is not a good basis for your 25 own knowledge.

MR. KATHRADA: Have you any knowledge, apart from evidence given in this Court, of any other members who were members of the Communist Party?-- Mrs.F.Thaele.

Any others? -- That is all, my lords.

Do you know Mrs. Thaele?-- I've met her on a few occasions; at present I know she's working for the Department of Coloured Affairs., and has recently toured the Union to gain the support of the Coloured people for this department.

Is she still a member of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation? — I think she ceased to be a member in 1954, my lords.

You have told the Court earlier that you were among the founders of the South African Peoples Organisation in the Transvaal?-- That is correct.

Why did you form this organisation?—— Because after I had had communication with the South African Peoples Organisation in Cape Town, and I had seen their statements, and had come to know that their policy was to work with all non-European organisations, and with all people in South Africa for the aims stated in the articles I had read. And, my lords, from a study of documents and a history of the African Peoples Organisation, I felt that this was the only Coloured Organisation which seemed to carry on the policy of the former African Peoples Organisation.

The "Advance" of the 11th March, 1954, has an article . . .

KENNEDY J: Is that Exhibit Number G.1122 also?

MR. KATHRADA: As your lordship pleases?-Reading from this issue . . .

MR. HOEXTER: Yes, my lord, and is referred to at page 3617. I don't know whether the article proposed

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to be read was read in, my lords.

 $\underline{\mathtt{MR.\ KATHRADA}}\colon$  My lords, this article was read in.

RUMPFF J: Do you want to ask the witness whether that sets out correctly the facts?

MR. KATHRADA: My lord, may the witness be seated?

RUMPFF J: Yes, certainly?-- That is correct, my lords.

MR. KATHRADA: You have said that you regard the South African Peoples Organisation as a continuation — the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, as a continuation of the African Peoples Organisation?—— That is correct, my lords.

My lords, I intend to ask the witness a few questions on the history of the African Peoples Organisation.

RUMPFF J: Yes, insofar as I take it it is relevant to the new S.A.C.P.O.

MR. KATHRADA: As your lordship pleases; insofar as the witness proclaims the S.A.C.P.O. is a continuation of the African Peoples Organisation.

RUMPFF J: Yes.

MR. KATHRADA: When was the African Peoples Organisation formed, Mr. Lollan?-- It was formed in 1902 by Dr. Abduriman.

Is there any particular reason why it was formed in 1902?-- It was soon after the South African War and the people felt that that would be the best time to agitate for the extension of the franchise to the Northern Provinces.

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BEKKER J: Mr. Kathrada, I am a bit puzzled.

To what extent is it relevant for purposes of your case to go into the historical details, or even the accused Lollan to go into the historical detail and development of this organisation? Have you considered that or not?

MR. KATHRADA: My lord, I do not intend to take 5 the witness into very great detail insofar as the history of the organisation is concerned; I proposeto show that insofar as the methods adopted by the South African Peoples Organisation are concerned, insofar as the basic policy of the organisation is concerned, 10 the policy carried out by the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation is no different - - it's not a new policy that came into being during the period of the Indictment . .

BEKKER J: That I can understand, but even that, what does it matter? What does it matter whether it is the same policy; we are really concerned with the policy of the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, whether its different from, or the same as the old African Peoples Organisation . . .

MR. KATHRADA: According to my understanding, my lords, there is an allegation that the South
African Coloured Peoples Organisation, among others,
entered into a conspiracy that came into being at a
certain period. I want to show, my lords, that no
new conspiracy came into being during the period of
the Indictment, that the co-operation between the
organisations existed long before 1952. . .

BEKKER J: Does that matter in view of the admission made on behalf of the accused at the outset.

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that whether you call it conspiracy it's really an 1 agreement; agreement is conspiracy, or vice versa, but there was an admission of an agreement amongst the various organisations that they were working together against certain laws, and that they wished to form a Does it matter whether there was an new government? 5 agreement prior to that; the relevant period is the period of the Indictment and that is already covered by an admission made on behalf of the Defence that these bodies did work together. Except that you could put it simply on this basis and wait to see if there is any 10 cross examination about it. Ask the witness what he knows, whether he knows from reading or from his own experience the policy of the African Peoples Organisation. Does he know that from his own experience, or from reading. 15

MR. KATHRADA: As accepted by his organisation, my lord.

RUMPFF J: In what manner, accepted? By reading or by personal knowledge? Either the members must have been members of the other organisation, the African Peoples Organisation, or they must know it from reading.

MR. KATHRADA: My lords, he has. . .

RUMPFF J: You can put it this way, did the S.A.C.P.O. from its inception onwards regard its method of struggle the same as that of the A.P.O? Its struggle in regard to the non-Europeans of this country?—— As far as that is concerned, my lord, yes.

Yes; the old A.P.O. struggle was to join in with the non-Europeans, the other non-Eruropeans?--That 30 is so, my lord.

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In what other respect was there identity?

MR. KATHRADA: My lord, the Crown's allegation as far as I remember it, in their Opening Address, was that S.A.C.P.O. was formed to provide other segments of the population into this conspiracy . . and there are allegations about infiltration, some new infiltration that has taken place by Communists . . .

RUMPFF J: Yes, but we're on the A.P.O. now; you want to deal with the history of the A.P.O which seems to me irrelevant; if you ask him shortly what were the methods of struggle and the objects of the A.P.O. and if they were continued in the S.A.CP.O. what difference is there?

MR. KATHRADA: I intended to put those questions to him by way of examples, my lord.

RUMPFF J: Yes, well, we don't need examples if he can give a straightforward answer.

MR. KATHRADA: Mr. Lollan what was the attitude of the African Peoples Organisation to the franchise?— My lords, the African Peoples Organisation had felt that you cannot secure the franchise for one section of the people if another section has not got the franchise.

RUMPFF J: Well, did it want universal franchise?-- It wanted universal franchise, yes, my lord.

Right...?-- Because in 1910, when the Act of Union came . . .

Well, it doesn't matter why; that was its policy; we don't want to know what the A.P.O. decided it wanted in 1910; but its policy throughout, was that one of universal franchise? — Yes, my lord.

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And equal rights? -- Yes, and equal rights for all sections, my lord.

You say that the S.A.C.P.O in fact introduced no new element as far as that is concerned; it wanted universal franchise and equal rights?—— And used the same methods of struggle for those rights.

What method did the A.P.O. use?-- The A.P.O. send deputations and organised protest meetings; they organised several protest meetings to the Houses of Parliament, and they sent several deputations to the British Houses of Parliament; in fact they were trying to persuade the British Parliament not pass the South Africa Act, and they also, my lords - - an allegation has been made that the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation condemned the South Africa Act; well, the African Peoples Organisation condemned this Act even before it was passed, my lord.

Yes,

MR. KATHRADA: I don't know if you've already mentioned this - - did the A.P.O. regard demonstration as a method of protest?--- That is correct, my lord.

RUMPFF J: He's said so, yes.

MR. KATHRADA: Now, Mr. Lollan, is it believed among the Coloured people that members of the Government, General Hertzog, Dr. Malan - had firm views on the question of the Coloured vote, especially during the years 1920 to 1930?-- That is correct, my lords.

My lords, with your lordships' permission I would like to read what was said - - an extract of a speech made by General Hertzog in Smithfield in 1925. . .

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RUMPFF J: For what purpose? -- My lords, we want to show why the Coloured people feel that they have been let down in this way; because people who originally . . . .

Do you know what he said? We don't need to have the whole speech; what did he say?-- I won't read the whole speech, my lord.

Well, what did he say?— General Hertzog felt that the Coloured people should not be treated separate—ly; there should be no segregation, and that the franchise rights should be extended to the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and together with Dr. Malan they felt that the franchise rights should be given to Coloured women at at the time that they were given to Coloured women. This, my lord, will show that Dr Malan, who was then Prime Minister, when the Coloured people were removed from the common voters role in 1951, had gone back on promises which he had made to the Coloured people before.

Yes...? — And that is why, my lord, the Coloured people feel that one cannot depend on a spontaneous change of heart amongst individual members of the Government and so forth, because promises made by responsible people are afterwards, by those very people, changed, whereas if everybody had the franchise rights at that time, and there was universal franchise, Parliament would not be in a position to pass these Acts. .

Well, I suggest if the Crown disputes this then you can cross examine and produce that speech. It's not necessary to hear the speech now. This is what the witness says.

MR. KATHRADA: As your lordship pleases. Mr. Lollan, you have spoken of the rights of the Coloured people?-- That is so.

In the years, in the past twenty, thirty years, what would you say - - have you any comment rather to make on the rights of the Coloured people generally? Have they increased in any way, decreased?-- My lords, I think it is common knowledge that in the past - - - especially in the past ten years, instead of any rights or privileges being extended to the Coloured people, there has been a continuous deprivation of these rights. As far as the vote is concerned, my lords, in 1910 when the Act of Union was passed the Coloured people were then prevented for the first time - or the right to be elected to the Parliament was taken away from them . . .

RUMPFF J: Was this not put to Prof. Murray in cross examination, the Constitutional position?

MR. KATHRADA: My lords, if I memember correctly the questions put to Prof. Murray related mainly to the Africans' rights.

## RUMPFF J: Yes.

MR. KATHRADA: You're dealing with the franchise rights of the Coloured people?—— Yes; The Coloured people could then only be represented by their own people in the Provincial Councils of the Cape. In 1930 when the franchise rights were extended to European women only, the Coloured people felt that that was also interfering with their rights because it lessened the effect of the Coloured vote in the Cape, and in 1931 when the Adult suffrage was granted to European males, which then took away the

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qualification clause, that all European males over the age of 21 could vote - - they changed the qualification clause as far as the non-whites were concerned.

Yes...?— And later on, my lords, there was compulsory registration for European voters, whereas this did not apply to the Coloured voters. By this system the Coloured vote was being undermined in Parliament because it did not have the same effect it had before.

Well, since 1951 efforts have continuously been made until they were successful — after the period of the Indictment, to totally remove the Coloured people from the common vote, and their rights to be elected on to Provincial Councils was taken away.

Are you aware of any steps that were taken in 1951 by the Coloured People to protect their franchise rights? Particularly in the Cape?—— Yes, my lords, a Convention was called in the Cape and representatives and there of the Coloured Peoples National Union, of the African Peoples Orgabisation, the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress were invited to the Convention. Protests were arranged and in fact on the 7th May, 1951, a one-day strike was called for by the Coloured people in the Cape.

What organisation did you say called the strike
?-- It was called by the Franchise Action Council which
was formed because of the threat that was then being made
on the Coloured vote.

Do you know whether the Franchise Action Council took any decision rrlating to the Defiance Campaign?—

The Franchise Action Council was party to the decision

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to launch this Defiance Campaign.

Apart from the franchise, have other rights of the Coloured people diminished throughout the years?—
Yes, my lords . . .

Take land for instance; what have you to say about their land rights?—— My lords, the Coloured land rights were very free —— in the Cape they could buy land wherever they chose. I think that was the position in Natal, too —— I'm not sure of the position in the Free State. But the position in the Transvaal was hampered by the various Gold laws and Mineral laws that were passed, but even then Coloured people could purchase land, and especially in the Cape, my lords, the Coloured people have land almost in every City and every part of the Cities, and this has been taken away now by the Group Areas Act.

Could you give an instance or two of the effect of the Group Areas Act in Johannesburg, particularly insofar as Coloured areas are concerned? -- My lords, Coloured people had the right to purchase land in Johannesburg 20 for instance; some of them owned land in Sophiatown, and a Coloured township which was built up, Albertsville, Newclare, Kliptown and Protea - - the position as far as Albertzville especially is concerned is felt bythe Coloured people because when there was no place for 25 them in Town they were offered this place which was virtually a refuse dump; at great expense they levelled off this place and after years of struggling to have electricity and water laid on, they built lovely homes there and now this place, too, has been declared a European 30 area. As the position is at the moment, my lords,

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whereas there were several Coloured areas where they could buy they are only left with Newclare. My lords, it is important to note that when these people were given places it was a bit out of Town and it was undeveloped, and the general effect on non-European property is that the moment it becomes developed and because land is scarce for them, the prices increase, as a result of which it costs the non-European to buy a stand of say 100 x 50 ft. in a place like Newclare more than it costs the European to buy property of the same size in a place like Houghton. And these places are built up by artisans who earn from £10 to £15 a week and compensation is never on the basis of the market value, and with jobs threatened as they are . . .

BEKKER J: On what basis is compensation paid ?-- My lords, something very much less than market value. Normally market value of properties in non-European areas is about four or five times the Municipal valuation.

Yes? -- And many of these people who bought property were in the artisan group - they were builders, and so forth, and job reservation has been declared in these occupations and the people have no hope of ever earning the salaries that they did earn before, my lords. And in Cape Town . . .

MR. KATHRADA: Are you continuing to deal with the Group Areas Act, or are you getting on to a new topic?-- Well, the Group Areas Act.

Did you want to say any more on the Group
Areas Act?-- Well, I say the effect in Cape Town would
be far worse than in Johannesburg, because there was
complete unrestricted property rights there, and it does

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seem, my lords, that the tendency is not so much to grant non-Europeans new areas in which to buy property but where the Municipality will be able to put up the houses; and that restricts the land rights of the Coloured people.

You mentioned something about the job reservations? -- That is so.

Now, taking the position of employment generally, of coloured people, how has this been affected in recent years? -- My lords, in the field of employment, too, it's a long history of deprivation for the Coloured people, because what was called the civilised labour policy was introduced in the 20's, which had a very grave effect on the employment of Coloured people; the Act of Union also took away the right of Coloured people to be employed in the Civil Service, and when the Government introduced the Civilized Labour Policy it was feared that that was the deathknell of the artisan group in the Cape, and now with the introduction of job reservation that has further diminished the possibility of Coloured 20 people being employed in skilled occupations. Му lords, I'd like to say that I do not think that there is a single building in Cape Town especially that has been put up without the handicap of a coloured man having gone in there,

A coloured man doing what? -- Having put up that building; they were the bricklayers, the plasterers, the plumbers . . and today under job reservation they will not be permitted to put up buildings in what are considered European areas. And this at the time

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