

Accused could meet the female Accused in the course of every evening of the week.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Oh yes, we know that.

BY MR. DE VOS :

So that arrangement still stands. Also the arrangements for the joint consultations of all the male Accused...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

The main difficulty appears to be the inspection of the Exhibits, but we will see how it goes. It seems clear that they have time from eight or quarter past eight in the morning until we start, and they have time, if they wish to, between one and two, and perhaps a short time in the afternoon.

BY MR. DE VOS :

As Your Lordship pleases. We leave that to the Court.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Is it possible for some of the Accused if they want to, to look at Exhibits between one and two?

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lords, we do all in our power to assist them in doing so. They give us a list of the Exhibits, and they are supplied.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Well, we will see how it goes.

BY MR. DE VOS :

As Your Lordship pleases. As far as the further matter is concerned, I personally have not heard of that particular complaint before, although I understand it has been mentioned to the Crown, the question of the

newspapers, as far as I could gather, the position would be as Your Lordship suggested, that the Court could not make any order on that score, but also as Your Lordship has pointed out, there are the attorney and their Counsel outside Court, who is in a position to advise the Accused on any point relating to the case.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Our attention has been drawn to a letter or an article or a publication by a certain Martin Louw in a newspaper. We haven't seen the newspaper, we haven't read it, but according to Mandela the contents may be such that it may have to be investigated.

BY MR. DE VOS :

Yes, My Lord, that is the first time the attention of the Crown has been drawn to that too, we have not heard of that before.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Will you get a copy of that paper please, and will you supply it to the Court.

BY MR. DE VOS :

I will do so, My Lord.

ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI, under former oath;

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR. NOKWE CONTINUED :

Chief Luthuli, at the adjournment yesterday I had drawn your attention to a statement O.R.T. 66, which was purported to be issued by the Acting Secretary General of the African National Congress, Mr. O. R. Tambo on the 8th February, 1955. Now I would like, following upon His Lordship's question yesterday, to have you look at the fourth paragraph of this statement, the first sentence. Could you tell Their Lordships whether that

statement implies that the people of the Western Areas would be entitled to use violence if they were provoked? --- "This struggle like all others will be conducted in a disciplined and peaceful manner and the people are called upon to remain calm in the face of all provocation. 5 Any disturbance of violence which may occur will have been initiated by the Government and its agents." My Lords, I would say that insofar as this statement is concerned, it would not give licence to the people of the Western Areas to act violently, in that situation, My Lord. 10

Now you recall that you were questioned at length by the Crown on the point of the A.N.C.'s desire to prevent a concentration of government forces in the Western Areas? --- I do, My Lord.

Did such a concentration in fact take place 15 on the day of the first removals? --- It did take place.

Do you think that the numbers of the police present had any influence on the minds of the people in deciding whether they should go or stay? --- My Lords, my personal view is this that I don't think that the 20 number of the police had much to do with the people who did leave. I think from what one gathers that most of the people who left in any case were of the tenant group who possibly were influenced by other considerations. I would personally be of that view, My Lord. One can't 25 make a sharp division in these things, but I think that it wasn't predominantly that factor, in my view.

Now about the A.N.C.'s plan for industrial action on the day of removal, and your inability to give details of that plan, would it be practical for the 30 National Executive to work out exactly who was to go on strike in every part of the Union? And how this was to

be organised? --- My Lords, it wouldn't be practical in a short period, unless the plans would have been co-ordinated a little earlier, despite the fact that people would know that there was the idea of carrying on this sympathetic action of the day of removal, but to set that in motion my view is that you would require some little time to co-ordinate the areas to act. 5

Now insofar as the actual organisation of any campaign is concerned, are the details of such campaigns worked out by the National Executive? --- No, My Lord, the National Executive firstly carrying out conference resolution, and I must here stress My Lords, that the campaigns that we have so far carried have first had the sanction of the National Conference insofar as I remember. There may be an exception, but generally all have been sanctioned, and then the National Executive of course then sets out to implement and generally give authority to the Working Committee to carry on. And then after that, My Lords, it becomes the duty of the organisation at Provincial levels to see that in their own provinces a particular resolution is carried out. Of course the Working Committee in general are supposed to have a general oversight over the running of things, but the day to day running of any campaign of course would fall on the hands of the local Executive in the Province, working with this other organs, namely the regions and branches. 15 20 25

Now I want to put another document to you, O.R.T. 66, pages 1, 2 and 3, It purports to be a statement by the African National Congress Working Committee in reply to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart. It states : "The following is an extract from the statement 30

which the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart is reported to have made in Parliament on Wednesday, the 10th 1955. 'The police had information that Volunteers of the African National Congress would use the following methods to prevent the removal: Attacks with firearms, 5 explosives in old motorcars which would be rolled towards the police, old cars loaded with explosives which would be crashed into the police cars or lorries to be used for the removal, the holding of demonstrations in adjacent areas to divert the attention of the police, The police 10 had reliable information that the Natives of Sophiatown were in possession of a few machine guns and revolvers, pistols, hand grenades and home made bombs. It was also established that it was the intention to set fire to certain Indian shops and other buildings.'" That is the 15 quotation of what the statement alleges was a statement made by the Minister of Justice. And then it comments, : "It was on the basis of this 'reliable information' that two thousand police, heavily armed, were called from various parts of the Transvaal and concentrated in the 20 Western Areas on the 9th February, 1955, for the purpose presumably of engaging the Volunteers of the African National Congress in open warfare, instead of arresting persons who on 'reliable information' were known to be in unlawful possession of firearms and explosions." 25

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Mr. Nokwe, does this arise out of cross-examination?

BY MR. NOKWE :

It does, Your Lordship. It arises, in my 30 submission out of cross-examination because the statement has been made by the Crown that the African National

Congress had planned or would be made...

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

I don't recall, I may be wrong, that the Crown led any evidence that there was going to be an armed uprising on this day?

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BY MR. NOKWE :

No, My Lord, but as I understand it the Crown case is that the African National Congress had planned to use violence in resisting the removal.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

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But the Crown didn't cross-examine Mr. Luthuli on this point.

BY MR. NOKWE :

I think they did, Your Lordship. I can't refer to the record, but I think the Crown could assist in this matter. The Crown case is not that the A.N.C. contemplated resistance, but that they resisted violently, - if that is the Crown case, then the whole ~~purpose~~ intention of my re-examination on the Western Areas would fall away.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

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Well, I may be wrong.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFER :

What is the question that you want to ask?

BY MR. NOKWE :

I want to ask the witness firstly whether the African National Congress accepted as true the statement that they had planned to engage the police violently? --- My Lords, I never got to know of any such plans at all. I would add, My Lords, I would have been extremely surprised if there would have been such plans, even taken into account that at this period one was incapacitated, because it would be so contrary to A.N.C. policy. But I

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never heard of the plans, then or afterwards, and I cannot see the African National Congress making such plans, really.

As far as you know, did the African National Congress at any time have for its Volunteers or for any 5 of its members any firearms, explosives, machine guns, hand grenades? --- My Lords, to my knowledge the African National Congress insofar as my knowledge goes, has never made any attempt whatsoever to arm people or for that matter to prepare them for violence in any form, My Lord. 10

Now let us go on to the question of the Volunteer Corps. In this connection you said in cross-examination that you did not recall whether the Volunteer Board ever met as a Board? --- That is correct, My Lord.

Now in the African National Congress, was 15 there a view that the Volunteer Corps was not properly organised?

BY MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lords....

BY MR. NOKWE :

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I beg your pardon, I appreciate that that is leading, My Lord. What was the view about the general state of organisation of the Volunteer Corps in the African National Congress? --- The position My Lords, is that starting from the time the call was made, in fact 25 up to now, we have not really succeeded to organise our Volunteer Corps to anything that one would call an efficient standard. We try in different provinces, there may be different levels of efficiency in different provinces, but the reports that we get from time to time 30 cause us concern and dissatisfaction, and you will find that in our reports we constantly complain about this lack

of proper organisation of the Volunteer Corps and the general working of our members.

Before I continue with the question of the Volunteer Board, could we go back a little to the question of the Western Areas. Do you know if any of the Congress 5 officials or members were arrested in Sophiatown or the Western Areas in connection with any violent plans to resist removal? --- No such information ever came to me, My Lord.

Now then, I would like to refer you to a 10
- your statement, A. 55, which is the Pre-Conference Presidential Call from which I read yesterday, under the heading, "The significance of the Freedom Volunteers", you explained the purposes of the Defiance Campaign and the extent to which those objects were achieved, and then 15 you continue to say "Some time this year I made a Presidential Call asking for 50,000 volunteers who were to be known as Freedom Volunteers. There is some confusion among people as to the task of these volunteers. Some think that these volunteers are called upon to defy 20 the laws as in the Defiance Campaign. This is not the case. It must be remembered that shortly after the Defiance Campaign ..."

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

That has been read in, Mr. Nokwe. You might 25 just show the witness the document. You might put the question, and then he would be able to answer.

BY MR. NOKWE :

In making the statement you were making clarifying the task of the Volunteers, was it as a result 30 of confusion which had arisen? --- Yes, My Lord, it appeared that there was some confusion and not understanding

the Call, and confusion as if we were still calling the Volunteers to perform the task of defying the - as in the Defiance Campaign, and it became necessary to clarify the position.

Now in the statement you referred to what 5
you considered to be the tasks of the Freedom Volunteers, namely their organisational tasks, house to house campaign and factory to factory campaign? --- That is correct.

Under which organ of the A.N.C. would the Volunteers carry out these organisational tasks? --- They 10
would carry out the task My Lord under the control of the Provincial authorities and then coming down to the local level, the control of the region in that particular area, and lastly the branch officials of the area. They would not work as an independent group at all. In fact 15
there was never any such intention that they work as an independent group, because they are not an independent group, they are part of the organising machinery.

Now insofar as those tasks are concerned, would you tell the Court if there would be any special 20
functions to be performed by the National Volunteer Board? --- My Lords, the general function of the Volunteer Board, I cannot give the details, would be of course to act as advisers to the Executive as to methods of increasing interest within the membership of the A.N.C. to become 25
Volunteers. In other words, they would be charged with the task of taking care of this particular department by way of advising how it could be brought to greater efficiency. That would be its main task. But when it now comes to working, then the Volunteers would work 30
within the ordinary machinery of Congress.

Now in practice, during these years, was the

National Volunteer Board a very active or important body?
--- My Lords, I am afraid I wouldn't be much in a position
because of the fact that I was for most of the time,
apart from illness, unable to move about, and as I say
I do not know how often the Volunteer Board met, and how 5
often it advised the Executive, but to my knowledge to
the Executive Meetings ~~that~~ certainly I attended, there
wasn't really much of reporting that came. Of course one
must say that we deal with a lot of business, and sometimes
they don't cover it up, but I would have the general 10
impression that it too didn't function actively as none
would have desired. But as I said My Lords, I cannot say
how often they met, I am not in a position to give the
Court any information insofar as that is concerned.

Would the fact that the Volunteer Board 15
did not meet regularly or carry out its duties effectively
mean that the Volunteers are an uncontrolled body? ---
No, My Lords, as I say that insofar as the machine was
concerned, the Volunteers were not expected to work as
an independent group, they would be part of the machinery 20
of Congress organs at every level. They were never
supposed to work independently, so the question of
control really would rest on the Provinces and the
organs that fall under the Provinces.

BY MR. TRENGOVE :

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My Lords, the questioner must really
put facts to this witness, and not question - the ques-
tion is suggesting that the Volunteer Board didn't meet
regularly and that they weren't properly organised. This
witness had just previously said that he didn't know what 30
the position was.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Yes, I know, but that , I take it, is on the assumption.

BY MR. NOKWE :

Now in connection with the functions of 5
the Volunteers, I would like to refer you to a speech
which is alleged to have been made by Mr. Kathrada
which is recorded at page 7462 of the record, on the 28th
July, 1954. This you will recall was the first Conference
of the Congress of the People in the Transvaal. I beg 10
Your Lordship's pardon, I understand it is on the 25th
July. Now Mr. Kathrada was apparently called to speak on
the Volunteers. At page 7463 he says : "If I want to
describe in one word what the task of the Freedom Volun-
teers are, I would say that our Freedom Volunteers are 15
going to be the top brigade of the 50,000 strong in the
army of national liberation in this country. Every army
in the world has got its hard core of men to rely upon
under all circumstances to perform a task that has great
difficulty, that has greater hardships and tasks, that 20
demand greater vigilance and sacrifices than the rest of
the . Our Freedom Volunteers are going to provide
that hard core of men in our army of liberation." Then he
goes on to describe that our army of liberation will not
be like the imperialist army, nor will they be like the 25
armies of so-called Western civilisation, who he says
perpetrated monstrous and hideous crimes in Korea and
Kenya, nor he says will our army be like the armies
of so-called enlightened nations. He says, "Our is
going to be a new kind of army with a new kind of 30
religion." And he says, 'Our is going to be the so-
called torch burners of civilisation...' - I presume

it should be "torch bearers" of civilisation, in the record it is "torch burners of civilisation" . "Ours is going to carry light and truth to areas and to people who have been deliberately been kept in darkness for years and years and years. Ours is going to be the four 5 corners of South Africa..." - there is a mistake there too I think, My Lord, it should be "going to the four corners of South Africa, not with guns, not with bombs and other weapons, our is going to organise the people, not for rape, not for destruction, our Volunteers are going into 10 the field with a purpose far stronger than everything we have seen before." Then he concludes by saying, "ours is a non-violent army. We consider ourselves too civilised to resort to barbarism and our mission is to organise the greatest assembly in the history of South 15 Africa, on our march to freedom." Insofar as Mr. Kathrada has described the Volunteer Corps, would you say that that represents what the African National Congress had in mind? --- That would be so, My Lord.

Now could we go on to some aspects of the 20 Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. Reference has been made during cross-examination to the composition of National Action Council for the Congress of the People and to your membership of it. Did the affiliated organisations elect permanent representatives to serve 25 on the National Action Council throughout its existence or did they elect representatives for each meeting? --- My Lords, I wouldn't be in a position to give precise information on this point, because - again because of the ban imposed on one, or rather bans imposed on one, 30 and one couldn't be at headquarters. But, merely judging from the situation as I know it generally, even now,

people are elected - representatives are appointed as it is convenient for representatives to go. You find that it doesn't become convenient for certain people to be in attendance regularly, so that whilst there would be a person who would be designated as a person who should, 5 but in the circumstances that obtain you find that he can't attend and then others go to attend as proxy to him. That is the general - so that you don't have the regular attendance of one person. Of course My Lord, I must say that I cannot say much about the situation then, as I 10 could not get to headquarters as I would have desired to.

Let me go on to some aspects of the Freedom Charter. You were asked during cross-examination to state if there was no similarity between the demands embodied in the Freedom Charter and the changes which 15 were advocated for in the lectures. Do you recall that? --- I do, My Lord.

Now insofar as the demands of the Charter are concerned, what in your opinion is the relationship between those demands and the document "African Claims"? 20 --- My view My Lords, is this and I think that it would be the view that anyone would gather when he reads the two documents carefully and compares them - I don't claim that I have exhaustively read them, but I think there is greater affinity between the Freedom Charter 25 and African Claims than between the Freedom Charter and the three lectures. I'll come to that. They both bear the marks very distinctly of arising out of the needs of the people. You will find My Lord references land, the police, the Courts, education, and so on, matters 30 that effect the people in their daily lives. And so that without any question there is that greater affinity.

Of course as I think as I pointed out during my evidence there are differences in that the Freedom Charter breathes the spirit of multi-racialism whereas African Claims, as in fact it says itself in the introduction, it is concerning itself with Africans particularly. And even 5 in the demands that it makes and the categorical claim that it makes for abolishing discrimination, you will find that the language - certainly the spirit is the same, the difference can be in the language. Sometimes even the language is the same. I don't know whether now I 10 should go on to the question of that aspect of the three lectures that you mentioned. All I was going to say that insofar as that is concerned, My Lord, is this that there are elements there that of course are found in the Freedom Charter scattered here and there, But My Lords, I will 15 stress that as I think I did say, such elements as you have are elements that you will find in almost any Bill of Rights. The one or two specific points raised in the third lecture which one would say possibly would not be found generally in a Bill of Rights, such as for instance 20 the reference to nationalisation, and to some extent My Lord, if my memory serves me well, some reference to the police for instance as being a kind of a guard, you will find that when it came to the drafting of the Charter, the assembly as well as the A.N.C. in rectifying it, 25 did not take the idea wholly, in fact just a small portion of nationalisation, and left free trade running, of course controlled free trade which I believe in, and even the question of the armed guard insofar as the police are concerned, whatever that may have meant, we will find 30 that the Freedom Charter just deals with the police as they are but urging that they must be protectors of the

people rather than a body that tends to be harsh on people. So that even in those two or three respects you will find that the Freedom Charter doesn't take much from the three lectures insofar as my reading and judgment has gone, My Lord. 5

You have not referred to the question of free trade. Do you recall that you admitted that you believed in free trade? --- I did.

You also stated that after land had been re-distributed you would not allow a re-purchase of the land. Can you explain more fully what you mean by that? --- My Lords, I think that I will just say briefly that when one said that he believes in free trade, and I believe in it, one must take into account that really the modern tendency in any case is to have controlled free trade. 15
I don't think that you will find many states that allow free trade in that sense, even in our own country. I am not an economist, I don't - I am not informed in these matters, but generally you will find that there are laws even in our own country which tend to control and guide 20
even free trade. After all you will find that I think even the present government has made pronouncements against monopolies and things like that, so that the general trend really is for control, and I must say, My Lord, that - I must take the opportunity to say that 25
whilst I did say I believe in free trade, and I believe in free trade, ^{as} against what one might call state control, I mean state run rather, I do believe that it must be controlled, so that when it comes to land distribution, the government would - the government of 30
the day would have to exercise some control, otherwise My Lord it is totally meaningless to say to people in

- who have to live on the land, you have freedom, if they would again be repurchased. The extent, naturally, would depend on the government of the day. And as I said in my evidence, My Lord, one expected of course the government of the day would be a government already inspired by the progressive views expressed by the A.N.C. 5

Now, a few matters about the Programme of Action and the amendment to the constitution. Now you were referred to a document in which it was stated that there was a need for some change in the Programme of Action. Now in regard to what aspect of the Programme of Action was there controversy within the African National Congress? --- My Lords, there are two points in the Programme of Action where there was controversy in the African National Congress. The first one that I mention is in connection with the extent to which Congress members could participate or not in government organs which are of an advisory nature which do not in any way confer any power whatsoever on the African people serving in those bodies. Opinion was quite sharply divided there. Some felt that there shouldn't be a hard and fast rule, because a situation might arise where it might be convenient for example in the Advisory Board to have A.N.C. members serving, so that it should be allowed - the situation should be determined rather by conditions as obtaining, rather than a hard and fast view. On the other hand, there are others who felt very strongly that the rule should be maintained - vefy strongly. Finally of course My Lords, the position really was a compromise position, namely this that no individual member on his own should become a member of these bodies, but that it should rest with the authorities of the Province, whether 10 15 20 25 30

they felt that in the circumstances they should, so that of course it was really for the Provinces to determine from time to time. The other point was the question of African nationalism. I have indicated I think in my evidence in chief and in cross-examination, that here 5 Congress has shown progressiveness, starting from the time of Dr. Xuma, and progressively we have gone on until we have fully embraced the idea of one group. Of course there are others who like to stick rather strictly to the question of African nationalism as implying the 10 African people only as group, while recognising the existence of others, giving them some attention, but a secondary attention. As one might say according to them second-class citizenship as it were. Those were the two points if my memory serves me well, and I think I am 15 correct here, in the Programme of Action which have come up for quite some discussions in Congress circles.

Was there any dispute in the Congress about the methods tabulated, the methods of struggle and ..? --- No, there never were, not to my knowledge at all, 20 insofar as methods of struggle are concerned, there has never been any question insofar as that is concerned.

Now in connection with the document entitled "Memo on Draft Constitution", was there any disagreement and controversy within the African National 25 Congress about the form which a new constitution should take? --- My Lords, I wouldn't be able to assist the Court very much as to the question whether there was controversy and the degree of that controversy, but insofar as of course the Executive did canvass opinion 30 in connection with the revision of the Constitution, as will be seen from some drafts, different points of

view were expressed. The only point My Lords, I think I mentioned there which came to my attention somehow, which gave me concern - whether it was controversy, again I am not in a position really to judge how far it was controversy, because one was not fully in the Councils 5 as they met, was the question of having greater centralisation than we have at present by doing away with the Provincial setup, Now as I say, to what extent even that was a controversy, I cannot say, but it did come to my own attention and I was a bit disturbed by that, because 10 I do believe in diffused authority to a certain extent.

Now do you know if the Memorandum, the Memo on the Draft Constitution represented an agreed A.N.C. view or whether it was a view of someone putting forward a suggestion? --- Those are mere suggestions, My Lord, 15 because when it came to the drafting of the Constitution maybe the Constitution doesn't fall within this period, the new Constitution doesn't differ at all very much from the old constitution, except that it gives a few more details and clarifies certain points. Oh no, those were 20 just views of individuals, which insofar as I am concerned, fortunately didn't come into the Constitution.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

ALBERT JOHN LUTHULI, under former oath;

RE-EXAMINATION BY MR. NOKWE CONTINUED :

My Lords, the Memo on the Draft Constitution to which I have been referring, the Exhibit number is W.C. 20, it is also referred to as G. S. 18, L.I.N.30. Now Chief, I just want to go over to the question of the international policy of the African National Congress.

Unfortunately - firstly I would like to deal with the aspect of peace. Could you look at S.D.N. 98, which is a Presidential Address by Albert J. Luthuli, Provincial President, African National Congress, Natal? It was to the Provincial Conference of the African National Congress 5 held in 1956. Now at page 5, under the heading "Our Task in the World Situation" do you say that the African - you say that the African National Congress is pledged to stand for peace and friendship in personal relationships and in international relationships. It accepts and 10 endeavours to uphold such noble principles as the brotherhood of man, respect of human dignity and the supreme worth of an individual. We strive in our work in Congress to practice - to respect in practice these noble concepts. That is why the African National Congress wages a relent- 15 less war against racialism, rabid nationalism, dictatorship, discrimination and the like. And then you continue : , "It stands for the outlawing of war and violence as an instrument of settling disputes. That is why in our situation in the Union whilst regretting and condemning 20 in the strongest terms possible the mass police raids and the arrogance of some police, all of which combine to provoke our people to anger and confusion, we strongly urge our people not to resort to violence, even in the face of extreme provocation." Now Chief, do you regard 25 the policy of the African National Congress in regard to violence in the country to be related to its attitude towards peace? --- That is correct.

Now I would also like you to look on this aspect of peace, at Exhibit A. 37. It is also Z.K.M.36. 30 At page 35, the fourth paragraph from the top, you say : "The expulsion of colonial powers in the great land of Asia

is a source of inspiration to the African people, The emergence of two great powers in this continent, China and India, both enemies of war and imperialism, have shattered the hopes of the imperialist powers and made their rule impossible, even under the military might of the United States of America, Great Britain and France." That is a quotation from the Secretarial Report to the 1954 Conference. Now does the African National Congress regard India as a supporter or champion of peace? --- That is correct, My Lord.

Do you regard Mr. Nehru as a champion of world peace? --- I do, My Lord.

Do you think that Mr. Nehru champions world peace because he has been fed on Communist propaganda? --- No, My Lords, I think that in my view that goes just right to the time of the struggle when his country - he was a leading figure in the country - decided to experiment - I must say experiment because there had not been very many experiments insofar as I know, My Lords, of carrying on a struggle on non-violent lines, and certainly in modern times, insofar as my meagre information goes, India was the first to experiment with that, and I think that thereafter when he - when he became part of the government, the whole government of India has tried to pursue that policy, that outlook, My Lord. It can not be connected in any way with Communist influence. In fact I think that insofar as that is concerned, if I am not mistaken, I think Nehru pronounced that he stands against Communism, although he stands for co-existence of course.

Now, could you look at page 34, of the same report, just before the page I read from, at the bottom of

the page, Part II, International Situation, the third paragraph right at the bottom : "The cardinal points of our foreign policy are opposition to war and an uncompromising stand for world peace, and opposition to colonialism and White domination." Then the report goes on to 5 describe how Africa is the second largest continent, and its importance in the international situation. The first paragraph, five lines from the bottom of that paragraph reads : "However we look at it the freedom of Africa is an international question. It is true the 10 struggle will only be fought by the Africans themselves under their own independent leadership, but they will have to keep a very clear eye open for international developments detrimental or advantageous to us. We must look for allies, and without going any further, we must 15 ask ourselves the following regarding any prospective allies : 1. Is this country or group in the imperialist camp or the anti-imperialist camp. 2. Is this country or group for equality or for racial discrimination. 3. Is this country or group pro-African or anti-African 20 freedom. 4. Is this country or group anti-colonialist. On the answer to all these questions we will base our attitude to any country." Now Chief, does it concern the African National Congress whether the country professes to be socialist or capitalist? --- My Lords, 25 it does not concern the African National Congress very much whether a country is socialist or capitalist, but of course its attitude towards our own problems in the light of what has been read here becomes important.

Now the Crown drew attention to the dif- 30 ference between your attitude towards the Hungarian incident as expressed in a manuscript draft of yours,

A.J.L.58, and the attitude expressed in the Executive Report for 1956. Do you recall that? --- I do, My Lords.

Perhaps to refresh your memory - A.J.L. 58 which is a Croxley exercise book in your handwriting, at page 5 you have : "Armed Intervention. We condemn the 5 ruthless intervention of Soviet Russia in the affairs of some of the so-called People's Democracies in Eastern Europe, especially their recent action in Hungary". That is what appeared in your manuscript. In the Report, however, it is stated : "We believe that every nation 10 is entitled to settle its own affairs, including the people of Hungary. The African National Congress feels a sense of disappointment and regret at the bloodshed in Hungary, and sincerely hopes that peace will be restored without delay in this country". Then you recall the 15 Report continues and discusses the question of Egypt. It ended off by saying that under the circumstances we reserve final judgment on the situation in Hungary until the air is cleared of obvious partisan charges and counter-charges. Can you remember whether the text as it appears 20 in the Report which I just read, arose out of any discussion? --- Yes, My Lord, I recall quite clearly, although I don't remember the details of the date, but it occasioned quite some debate, and then as a result of that debate the resolution - the text was formulated in the form 25 which you have in the Report.

Was the text in the Report the triumph of any one view, or was it - did it represent a compromise? --- My Lord, it was not a triumph for any one group. I think that it was a compromise.

X BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

You say you can recall this discussion? ---

Yes, I remember a discussion.

X A discussion at what level? --- Executive level. It was a discussion at Executive level.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

The final report represented official policy? --- Yes, that is correct, My Lord. I must say, My Lords, that ... 5

X BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Were you present at that discussion? --- I was present at that discussion, yes. I must say, My Lords, that different points of view were expressed and I must say that although the memo in the draft exercise book of mine may not have reached the executive, I don't know its fate. But I think that my immediate reaction as a result of what had taken place, from reading newspapers, one felt that well why should Russia go in armed there and interfere. But after a good deal of discussion of the situation, which I need not go into, one felt that well, it probably was wise to reserve judgment. So that that does represent the view of the Executive which was concurred upon without any division. 10 15 20

X BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Can you recall what members of the Executive were present at that meeting? --- No, My Lords. The only one - yes, I remember three, Tambo was there, Conco was there, I think Nokwe was there if I am not mistaken. I distinctly remember those, there may have been others - there were others, but of course I cannot recall. 25

X BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Did you read your manuscript report or your statement to the meeting? --- No, My Lords, I don't, but I expressed my views along that line. As I said, My Lords, 30

I don't know what the fate of that draft memorandum was, whether in fact I did write more fully or send it to the head office, I am not so sure about that, but I know in the discussion I took the point of view that was expressed in that memo. 5

Did anybody support your point of view? ---

Yes, there was.

Who supported your point of view? --- My Lords, it is so difficult to mention all, but again these two stick in my mind, Conco and Tambo. 10

Did they support your point of view? ---

They did.

There may have been others, but I distinctly remember these two.

Were the majority against your point of view? --- It is very difficult to say, My Lord, what the situation was now when it comes to majority, I don't even remember how many were present, but I think the points of view were quite fairly balanced, although I don't remember exact details, My Lord. 15 20

BY MR. NOKWE :

Now you were also asked about certain members who had visited Russia, China and other Communist countries. You mentioned in your evidence in chief that you had visited India and the United States. Are you the only prominent member of the A.N.C. who has visited non-communist countries? --- No, My Lords, I don't think I am the only one. I recall Dr. Xuma has visited America two or three times, and Professor Matthews has, and there may be others that I do not know of. 25 30

Do you recall roughly when Professor Matthews visited America? --- The last time Professor Matthews was

in America was just about the time of the Defiance Campaign, about 1952, I don't know whether he left in 1951 or 1952, but round about there, and during the period of the Defiance Campaign he was in America for a year or so.

And these members who are said to have gone 5
to the Soviet Union and China, do you know if any of them
went to any Western country at all, either on the same
trip or before? --- My Lords, I wouldn't know about the
full itinerary of these members, because as I said in my
evidence in chief and I think in cross-examination, these 10
visits really were not organised by the A.N.C. and also
the visits I have mentioned to the Western countries, but
I think that most of them, definitely Sisulu and I think
Nokwe passed through England. Quite definitely Sisulu
did passthrough England, and I think Nokwe also, I am not 15
so sure about the others.

Now in regard to the affiliation of the....?
--- My Lords, I don 't know whether it would be competent
for me to here express a view which I think is quite
relevant, to say this that insofar as visiting countries 20
from the point of view of the A.N.C. - the A.N.C. has no
giew, and I personally have no objection to people
visiting any part of the world. As a matter of fact, if
one had an opportunity he would visit more parts of the
world to know what is taking place and have first hand 25
information, and so that insofar as visiting the world
Congress cannot limit its members from visiting any part
of the world.

Now in regard to the alleged affiliation
of the African National Congress Youth League to the 30
World Federation of Democratic Youth, did the Youth
League require the permission of its parent body to

affiliate to any international youth organisation? ---
My Lords, I would say that at that time there was no
question of requirement, if I recall the old constitution,
there was no requirement for them to do so, no constitu-
tional requirement for them to do so. Of course I think 5
in the present constitution they would have to, because
more or less the Youth League came into being and the
constitution was in existence and control was of a
general nature over the activities of the Youth League,
and left at Provincial Level more or less, and certainly 10
at that time quite definitely I would say that there was
no requirement, but I would say now it would be necessary
I think for the Youth League to get the opinion of its
mother body now in terms of our present policy and
relationship. 15

Since when has this new constitution been
in force? --- 1957.

Now did the African National Congress at
National Congress ever discuss the affiliation of the
Youth League to the World Federation of Youth? --- Not 20
to my knowledge, I don't recall at all. I can only say
that if it was discussed I wasn't present or I don't just
recall at all, it may have been, I cannot say.

Now, with - would that apply to the Women's
League and the Women's National Democratic Federation? 25
--- That would be so, My Lord.

Now Chief, one aspect, you were cross-
examined on the influence of the South African Congress
of Democrats on the policy of the African National
Congress. Is the African National Congress influenced in 30
any way by the South African Congress of Democrats? ---
My Lords, I think the situation quite correctly is this

that the co-operating Congresses abide by the spirit of the alliance, namely to co-operate on those issues on which we agree, and we agree on most if not all the issues pertaining to the liberation struggle in South Africa. But My Lords, I must say and emphasise this that to the 5 best of my knowledge the campaigns that we have initiated have in the first instance come from the African National Congress. You take the Defiance Campaign, My Lords, and you take the Pass Campaign, which of course has been a long drawn out affair, but from time to time we have had 10 to highlight it, and if you read our records you will find that the initiative quite rightly has come from the African National Congress. Of course even in the Western Areas, My Lords, the agitation against started first of all with the people of the Western Areas, and it was the 15 Executive of the African National Congress that decided that it should be brought up to a national level, and then invited the other groups to come in. So that to the best of my knowledge, My Lords, all our major undertakings have been initiated by Congress, and respecting our policy 20 of alliance. Of course we naturally introduced them to the others through the Co-ordinating Committee, now the National Consultative for co-ordination. I did say somewhere in my evidence in chief that we do regard ourselves within Congress circles that we are in the leadership, 25 because after all we are the main sufferers and we are the majority, without - with all humility we always say that, and I think our colleagues understand that.

With reference to the general cross-examination in regard to the policy of non-violence 30 of the African National Congress, I would like to put a statement to you and thereafter put a few questions.=

This statement is in P.J. 92, it is not paginated, it is under Annexure D of P.J. 92, and it is D.4. It is a statement issued jointly by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured 5 People's Organisation on the Unionwide police raids on the 27th and 28th September, 1955. The statement reads : "The Unionwide police raids on September 27th and 28th, which invaded the privacy of hundreds of citizens of all races in their homes, offices and schools, are a most 10 serious manifestation of the growth of the police state in our midst. It cannot be allowed to pass without the strongest protest by the people. Like the whole series of police raids which have continued since the beginning of 1955 and which culminated in the encirclement of that 15 gathering, the Congress of the People, by masses of armed police, these raids purport to be an investigation of alleged treason and sedition and the like. In fact the raids are intended as acts of intimidation and to restrict the legal right of the people to carry on legitimate 20 opposition to the Nationalist Party Government. Any legal prosecution following these raids can only, we are convinced be a deliberate frame up designed to frighten the public and to prolong the rule of the Nationalist on the pretext of some fanciful plot for an uprising by the 25 Congress movement. There is no such plot. Indeed, the talk of sedition and treason, of Black uprising, and Communist bogeys are in fact a propaganda trap designed to cover up the real danger to the country, the sinister conspiracy of the Nationalist and the Broederbond to set 30 up a fascist republic. We warned the country not to be deceived by this trap. The democratic people of South

Africa will not be intimidated by such means. We reaffirm our determination to continue with redoubled energy, our struggle to implement the noble demands embodied in the Freedom Charter, which has become the rallying point and the inspiration for all who work for a free and democratic South Africa, in which all will be secure from arbitrary raids and infringements of their rights." 5

Now Chief, has the African National Congress at any time decided to adopt any violent means to overthrow the state? --- No, My Lord, it has never done so, and I think 10 as I said in the course of cross-examination, that on the question of violence it would have to come up at Conference level, not even at Executive level, for any change in attitude, by the A.N.C.

Has the implementation of the African National Congress of its policy of non-violence, ever been questioned within the ranks of the A.N.C.? --- Certainly 15 not at Executive meetings where I have been present and at Conferences where I have been present, I have never in fact quite honestly even heard a whisper about that. 20 I just want to add one or two things in the re-examination, I think that first it is in connection with the question of our policy with the right of members to express their views. I must make the point very clear, My Lords, that in the African National Congress people are quite free to 25 express their views, anywhere where they may have a platform to express their views. We have, as I said yesterday, we don't try to put people into one form. But there is an important limitation which I think I should make, My Lords. I know that I may have touched upon it somewhere 30 in my evidence, namely where Congress has legislated, then it becomes a matter of honour, it is expected that members

shall discuss quite freely, bring up any matter within Congress forums, which of course would include Conferences, and meetings at all levels from branch right upwards, and any Congress publication. But of course it would not My Lords view with favour any member of the African 5 National Congress on matters already being - already been legislated upon, as it were standing on the outside, using another platform to shoot (?) at Congress, and not carrying on the education(?) in Congress. I thought that I should make that point quite clear. It is a matter 10 of honour, and we expect our members to expect that. And of course also My Lords, I think that we expected the leadership which is a responsible leadership, and I think it is, if a leader were to have a mind different, I think it would be expected from that leader to raise that 15 matter within Congress forums, even if he was free to write about it in the press, so as not really to surprise some of its own colleagues, he would raise it and then it becomes a matter of free discussion. I thought I should mention that. And then lastly, My Lords, there 20 is in regard to the question of my own personal point of view with regard to the three lectures. I want to make it quite clear again, I think I did state, that insofar as Lecture I is concerned, my own personal view is this that it requires I think a good deal of - it may have been discussed by the Executive of course, I mean I wasn't in a position to be there, but it probably just requires to be dealt with a little more - so as not to confuse, not because one objects to the question of that document being discussed by the public, but to avoid confusion as to our policy in a way, it could easily get that bias, misleading some people, and I

want to emphasise that I hold that view regarding Lecture I quite strongly, and of course it may be a purely personal point of view. With that, My Lords, I conclude.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS BY MR. NOKWE.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

BY F. ADAMS :

May it please Your Lordships. I am Accused No. 1 in this case, and I now call my first witness, Mrs. Helen Joseph, Accused No. 2.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Before you are sworn, Mrs. Joseph, it is my duty to inform you that as an Accused person you need not give evidence under oath, if you so wish. You are entitled to choose either to give evidence under oath and be cross-examined, or if you so wish, to make a statement from the dock where you are, in which case you will not be cross-examined.

BY MRS. JOSEPH :

My Lord, I choose to give evidence under oath.

HELEN BEATRICE MAY JOSEPH, duly sworn;

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, is the position then that Mrs. Joseph is giving evidence on her own behalf too, or only on behalf of Accused No. 1?

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

At the moment she is being called as a witness on behalf of Accused No. 1. That is what the Court has been informed.

EXAMINED BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, you are Accused No. 2 in this case? --- I am.

Are you aware that in terms of Section 2 of the Public Safety Act of 1953, the Minister of Justice Mr. Erasmus, has declared a state of emergency, within certain specified areas in the Union? --- I am aware of that.

You are also aware that in terms of Section 4 of the Regulations promulgated in the Government Gazette Extraordinary No. 6405 of the 1st April, 1960, the Minister of Justice, Magistrate or Commissioned Officer may arrest, detain - or detain any person in the interests of public order and safety? --- I am aware of that.

Are you further aware that the Minister, Magistrate or Commissioned Officer may be entitled to interrogate any detained person? --- I am aware of that.

Are you a detainee in terms of the Public Safety Act? --- I am.

The Emergency Regulations have now been amended and a new Regulation No. 27 has been inserted, and reads as follows : "Notwithstanding the provisions of these regulations, no evidence given by any person after the coming into operation of this Regulation in a criminal trial commenced in any Court of Law prior to the 29th day of March, 1960, (a) shall be used in evidence against him in any criminal prosecution, or on a charge of contravening any provision of these regulations; (b) shall be taken into account by the Minister, Magistrate or Commissioned Officer for any of the purposes of the Regulations." In terms of Their Lordships' Judgment delivered on the 26th of last month, and appearing on

page 13010 of the Record, "The position of a witness today is as it was before the Regulations were passed". Are you now prepared to give evidence in this trial? --- My Lord, I am aware of the amendment to the Regulations, and I am also aware of the Judgment of Your Lordships in this Court, which held that the position of a witness in terms of the amendment is now the same as before the Emergency Regulations were promulgated. I am also aware of the assurance that was given by the Crown that the Minister would neither detain nor arrest any person on account of having given evidence in this trial, and I am aware also that the Attorney-General has given a similar assurance. I have however, My Lord, listened carefully to the argument put forward by Counsel for the Defence on the effect of this amendment. I was struck particularly with the examples given by Mr. Maisels, which showed how this amendment and its protection could be rendered nugatory. In view of the dangers therefore which have been put forward by Counsel, I must say that I am reluctant in the circumstances to give evidence. I have no confidence whatsoever in the bona fides of the Minister of Justice, and I do not accept his assurances. There are two alternatives before me. Either I must close my case at this stage, or I must give evidence in peril of being further detained. My Lords, I am compelled to the latter choice.

Mrs. Joseph, where and when were you born?

--- I was born in England in 1905.

Where were you educated and what are your qualifications? --- I was educated in England, and I took my English Honours Degree at the University of London.

After obtaining your Honours Degree, did you

obtain a teaching post? --- I obtained a teaching post when I had finished at the University. That was in India, in the State of Hyderabad, in the year 1927.

What was your status at this school? --- My status at that school was first of all as a teacher of English, and before I left the School I was then appointed as assistant principle. 5

Did you leave this school? --- I left the school in 1930.

Where did you go to? --- Then I came to South Africa. 10

Did you obtain a teaching post? --- I obtained a teaching post in Durban at the Clifton Preparatory School for Boys.

For how long did you teach at the Clifton Preparatory School? --- I taught at that school for about twelve months. 15

In 1938, did you visit any country? --- In 1938 I returned to India for a visit.

And when did you come back? --- I returned again to South Africa in 1939. 20

What work did you do thereafter? --- Then I took up a parttime and an honorary appointment as the Organiser of an Indian Women's Club which had been started in Durban. 25

Did you serve in the Defence Force? --- I served in the Women's Auxilliary Air Force from 1942 to 1946 as a Welfare and Information Officer.

Did you visit any country whilst serving in the Union Defence Force? --- Whilst I was in the Women's Auxilliary Air Force as an Information Officer, I was posted to Cairo to attend a Royal Air Force 30

13915.

(H. JOSEPH)

Resettlement course at the beginning of 1945. I remained there for about four weeks on this course and then having completed that training, I returned to South Africa.

When were you demobilised? --- I was demobilised in May 1946.

5

After you were demobilised, did you do further study? --- When I was demobilised, I took up a position as supervisor of a Community Centre in Fordsburg amongst low income groups, Europeans, and as part of that post I had to deliver a course of lectures at the University of the Witwatersrand in Community Organisation, and I also studied and obtained a post-graduate diploma in Social Studies from the Witwatersrand University in 1946 and 1947.

At this time, were you a member of any * 15 political organisation? --- I was not a member of any political organisation, because as a social worker I was precluded from being identified with any particular political party.

When did you become interested in politics? 20 --- I first became interested in politics as such when I was an Information Officer in the Air Force, because it was part of my duties to give lectures in political education. I gave these lectures both to women in the Women's Auxilliary Air Force and also to men, both in 25 the Royal Air Force and in the South African Air Force. I think that I may say that it was as part of the preparation which I myself had to undertake before giving those lectures that I really became conscious of the importance of the political aspect. However my interest at that 30 time, I would say, was mainly academic, but when I became a Social Worker, both amongst the Europeans in

Johannesburg and particularly amongst the Coloured people when I took up another position as a supervisor of a Community Centre in Cape Town, it became clear to me then that social work in itself is nothing more than a palliative for the ills that beset so many people. 5

It was then that I began to turn my attention to the causes of these ills, and that I became convinced that I could no longer be satisfied merely with social work, but that I must play an active part in the political life of South Africa. 10

In 1951, were you appointed as Secretary of the Transvaal Clothing Industries Medical Aid Society? --- Yes, I took up that position in 1951 and I did so because I wished to be free to take part actively in politics. As a social worker employed by the National War Memorial Health Foundation I was not free to play any part politically. 15 X

Did you join any political party? --- I joined the Labour Party, - I think it was in 1951.

In January 1953 did you join any other political organisation? --- In January, 1953, it wouldn't be correct to say that I joined a political organisation, as such, but I was invited to join a Committee which was engaged in forming what afterwards became the Congress of Democrats. 20 25

Were you a member of the National Executive of the South African Congress of Democrats? --- As soon as the South African Congress of Democrats was formed, that was at the end of 1953, I was then elected to the National Executive. 30

Were you a member of the South African Peace Council? --- I was also a member of the South

African Peace Council as a representative of the Transvaal Peace Council.

Are you an official of the Federation of South African Women? --- I have been the Transvaal Regional Secretary of the Federation of South African Women since 5 the Transvaal Region was formed in July, 1954, and I was elected as National Secretary in August, 1956, and I have held both these positions ever since.

Are you banned, Mrs. Joseph? --- I was banned - I received two banning orders on the 23rd of 10 April, 1957.

What is the nature of your ban? --- The first banning order was served on me in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act and prohibited me from attending gatherings of any sort for a period of five 15 years as from that date. The second ban was in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act, and prohibited me from being anywhere else in the Union or South West Africa other than the Magisterial Area of Johannesburg for a period of five years. 20

Now I would like to hand you a copy of the Crown's Opening Address, which appears on page 453 of the Record, and I would like to put to you certain passages from this record, and I would like your comment on these passages. I would like you to turn 25 to page 464, where the Crown refers to the launching of the Defiance Campaign by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress on the 26th of June, 1952. Have you seen this section? --- Yes, I have it in front of me. 30

Were you in any way influenced by this Campaign? --- My Lords, I was very deeply influenced by

the Defiance Campaign. At that time I was already a member of the Labour Party, but I cannot say that I was really playing a very active part. I had however, for some years been deeply moved by the hardships and the sufferings of the millions of non-White people in South Africa. When the Defiance Campaign was launched, I followed it with deep interest, although I must say to my sorrow, at a distance. I observed the thousands of people who were prepared to suffer the hardships of imprisonment in order to prove the hardness of their life, in order to show the injustices under which they were suffering. As the Campaign went on, I became more deeply impressed with the courage and determination and what appeared then and still appears to me as the justice of this cause. I was particularly struck by the Defiance Campaign, because of the years that I had myself spent in India, where I had become very deeply conscious of the passive resistance campaign in that country. Towards the end of the Defiance Campaign, I felt that I could no longer stand aside from the struggle of the non-White people, and that I must align myself with them. It was therefore, My Lords, in this mood, that I so willingly accepted the invitation to join that provisional committee to establish the Congress of Democrats, for in the Congress of Democrats I found an organisation that stood uncompromisingly for equality and for justice for all people.

Now Mrs. Joseph, will you turn to page 454 of the Record. There appears the following passage :
"In our system of law as in the legal system of most communities, it is not criminal to seek political reforms. Constitutional changes, however radical and far

reaching, may be lawfully sought, but they must be sought by legitimate and constitutional means only." What is your comment on that? --- My Lords, I find this dictum if I may use, the word extremely difficult to accept. I find it difficult to accept, because it does seem to me that 5 if this must be accepted in the words in which it is couched, then the position will be that millions of people in this country will be excluded from legitimate and constitutional struggling for the rights which they are denied. Because, My Lord, in the history of political 10 struggle there have been many examples in many countries, where constitutional changes have been sought and won by unconstitutional means.

Let me put some further questions to you on this more specifically. Would you say that certain 15 recognised forms of struggle that fall into the category of illegitimate terms in terms of the Crown Address? --- Please repeat the question?

Would you say that certain recognised forms of struggle would fall into the category of illegitimate 20 in terms of the Crown's dictum? --- Yes, that is one of the points that I want to make, that there are to me certain recognised forms of struggle which would fall into this category. I have in mind civil disobedience, a form of struggle in which a person as in the case of 25 the Defiance Campaign, as in the case of civil disobedience in India, in which people deliberately set out to break a law and to accept the penalty, not because they have a criminal intention, but because this is in their minds the only means of focussing public attention on the 30 rights which they seek to obtain. That is part of my difficulty. I have in mind such campaigns as I said like

the Passive Resistance Campaign in India itself, a campaign of civil disobedience, which went on I think for nearly fifteen years before Independence was granted to India. I have in mind also a campaign in South Africa, I think it was in 1907, 1908, when the late Mahatma Gandhi launched in South Africa what was then a unique form of political struggle of passive resistance. I have in mind also in 1946 another passive resistance campaign, which was waged by the Indian Community. I have in mind also, to go back a long way, MY Lords, the Chartist movement in English history, when in 1830 when the Reforms Bills were passed, it still left millions of people in England who were still not enfranchised. These people embarked on a form of struggle that was both legitimate and illegitimate. They suffered arrest, they were imprisoned, and it was not until 1900 that eventually when - that eventually every man was granted the franchise, but it took another what I might call a passive resistance campaign of the suffragettes before the vote was granted to women. And those were forms of struggle used by the suffragettes that were, I would imagine in terms of the Crown dictum neither legitimate nor constitutional. Suffragettes, as I am sure Your Lordships know, handcuffed themselves to railings at the House of Parliament. One of the suffragettes - I won't go into details. Eventually the struggle won its objects and they obtained the vote. This is why I say that I find it doesn't to me fit in with the pattern of history and political struggle. And particularly in South Africa, leaving aside for the moment the question of legitimate, to take the adjective "constitutional", I imagine that constitutional means a limitation to the vote. But here in South Africa

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