

PREPARATORY EXAMINATION.

IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF JOHANNESBURG
HELD IN JOHANNESBURG.

IN DIE MAGISTRAATSHOF VIR DIE AFDELING VAN JOHANNESBURG GE-
HOU TE JOHANNESBURG.

BEFORE MR.: F.C.A. WESSELS.
VOOR MNR.:

REGINA VERSUS: FARRID ADAMS AND OTHERS.
KONINGIN TEEN:

CHARGE: HIGH TREASON.
AANKLAG:

FOR THE CROWN: MR. J.C. VAN NIEKERK.
VIR DIE KROON: MR. LIEBENBERG.

FOR THE DEFENCE: MR. V.C. BERRANGE
VIR DIE VERDEDIGING: MR. COAKER.
MR. WEINBERG.
MR. ROSENBERG Q.C.
MR. MAISELS Q.C.
MR. ZWARENSTEIN.

INTERPRETER:

TOLK:

VOLUME 22

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enemies and talk among ourselves. Let me say something to the
ouths. Let me say on behalf of the African National Congress,
let you stop imitating the Europeans and take off your ties, and
there is an old English phrase, it is the story of the toad and
the butterfly. The butterflies do not know which is fine clothes
and the butterfly above the road preaches peace. That is the
situation between Dr. Malan and Luthuli who is a toad. My
friends, an announcement has been made about prohibition. The
..... has gone mad in South Africa forgetting that this mad-
ness will be death. Roll up shirt and fight for freedom in
yourfather's country. There is coming a time when we are not
going to see at such meetings. There is a coming time when you
shall not see Sisulu, Ngongwe and Luthuli coming to you and
it is then that you should replace them. If you can't do that
you are not entitled to say that you are oppressed or starving.
The defiance campaign of unjust laws is now over. We are look-
ing upon the youth to come forward and serve at other places.
We appeal to volunteers to come forward and serve for the free-
dom and fights against the Government of Fascism. The only people
left to lead South Africa are the Africans in the African
National Congress. Some people say that we are not entitled..."
Some words are missing out of that sentence. "We don't stand
here to speak for a section of people, but the Government knows
that we speak for all the citizens in South Africa. It is not
safe for Europeans to see five Africans standing together and
think there is a revolt. We say equal rights should prevail
in South Africa for blacks and whites whilst you remain loyal
to the African National Congress, you must remain humble. You
must join the African National Congress and become volunteers
and carry out the struggle."

Who was the next speaker?-- S. Makhaliipi.

Is he one of the Accused?-- Yes. (116)

Read what he said: "Mr. Chairman, Sons and Daughters of

Africa. A lot has been said. Briefly, the Secretary General of African National Congress touched all the points, and I am unable to add anything to his speech and it should remain as a history to our children. During his journey to overseas he left behind the Iron Curtain without a passport and that is very important. It indicates to us that we are marching towards freedom. There is no more Communist Party in this country, but the law termed Suppression of Communism Act is still existing. During the time of Israel's things were the same as these days. It happened that Israel achieved their freedom. It so happened that Sisulu went overseas to explain matters and Sisulu has acted as Moses in the Bible. There are special C.I.D.'s" I couldn't make that out. "Now we have to the time of Moses. During Moses time God was speaking verbally to a human being but today God speaks through spirit. Sisulu never dreamt of a pass whilst he was in overseas. It has been interesting in Sisulu's speech when he remarked about Dr. Verwoerd's attitude of removing Africans from Western Locations in the Transvaal and he said those people are determined to fight against this until the last drop of their blood. There are Africans in New Brighton who have also decided to return permits to those in authority. If we boycott in Korsten we don't do only for Korsten people but for all Africans to have equal rights." This speaker at this stage endorsed R. Matje's speech.

Who was the next speaker?-- J. Jack, the chairman, "Group leaders want to see volunteers after this meeting. Reception will be held at Eupepelo Church. 8.5 p.m." Meeting closed.

(Notes handed in G.508.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P. (MR. VAN DER WALT):

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 28/3/54?--

Yes.

You have your notes before you?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?--

Yes.

Where was it held ?-- Veeplaas, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 1.50 p.m.

Until when ?-- I didn't note down the time when it was closed.

And about how many persons attended the meeting ?-- I haven't got the number of the attendance in my notes.

Who was the chairman, do you know ?-- At the beginning I haven't got the man who was the chairman.

Who opened the meeting ?-- My notes read thus: "An unknown native male before meeting opened said: 'I would like to congratulate you for your good attendance.'"

Omit the rest of what he said. Who was the next speaker according to your notes ?-- An unknown native speaker, then Dr. Njongwe said: "Let us now open the meeting." The meeting was opened by singing the humn Lizalis' Indinga Lakho. An unknown native minister led the prayers. In his prayers he said: "Africans are under oppression and we must always pray to God as Israelites did in Egypt. We pray for the leaders of the nation to guide us in a right way. God should unite the African people and bless them." Dr. Njongwe acted as chairman.

Is that the same person who spoke previously ?-- Dr. Njongwe was the chairman: "Fellow Africans before I call upon Sisulu I want to say that today we did not make preparations for the speakers. Everybody is permitted to address this meeting before Sisulu addresses you." An unknown native believed to be from Korsten said: "Fellow Africans I am not going to shout Africa. If it was possible for us we would keep quiet. South Africa is sinking down for no reason. The Europeans are" ~~That~~ sentence is not complete. "We are not from England or America. We are born in this country. The white people were very clever to bluff the former chiefs. Now the Africans are of no fixed abode, because they now buy lands from Euro-

peans. As from Natal, Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth, Africans have no places to live in the location. In the reserves these are trust farms as from the Transkei to the Ciskei. Before we were under the English Government, but after General Smuts the Dutch Government took over and we are suffering. There are two raw nations in this country such as Dutch Colours who are insulted. If we were all united in this country as from Natal to Cape....."

Omit the rest of his speech. Who was the next speaker ?-- S. Simpe.

He is not one of the Accused ?-- No.

Read what he said?-- Heshouted 'Afrika' three times. "Conditions under which we live has caused us to take this step. Moses went to Faro and spoke to him. Faro was a man of wicked heart. The Faro we have got is Malan. We have asked him to live in peace with us, but he could not agree with us. We are living to a certain place and we are going to free detectives from slavery. Detectives wouldn't be here if they were not oppressed. Faro, meaning Malan, has sent them to come and take notes of what we say and report to him. Sons and daughters of Africa, I am trying to make a little analysis of political speech. Today a parliament in South Africa has two million people are being represented. Two million people are the white people in South Africa. It is composed that these people who are minority in this country. Unity is strength. The African National Congress was formed by God and you must follow the African National Congress." An unknown native female said: "Owing to the wind the speaker couldn't be heard." Another unknown native female addressed the meeting and she quoted from the Bible and inter alia said "Sir George Grey brought the Bible and acted as a snake in the Garden of Eden. Adam and Eva were the Africans of Sout Africa who were misled. The ministers are against the African Nat-

ional Congress because they will lose their slavery under which they live. I am here in Africa where I was born and I shall be here where are....."Incomplete sentence. "You must burn the passes. Malan and his wife must carry passes. The apartheid started in the church. We are black. Each and every church prays for the uplift of its nation. I don't play with Africa. What are you afraid of in your birth country?" Comment by Njongwe, the chairman: "Before I call upon Sisulu I want to say this. By next year Sisulu will be making laws in the Parliament. I want to tell you what happened some few weeks back when we started the boycott. Major General Brink came here and made this statement that he will protect all the business people in Port Elizabeth. When we boycott a shop we are aiming at proving that the apartheid is false because Malan does not allow the Africans to serve their own people. Apartheid is merely used to bluff the workers. Europeans are going to live with us whether they like or not." Then an unknown native minister led the poem.

Who was the next speaker?-- W.M. Sisulu.

Is he one of the Accused?-- Yes. (70).

Read what he said: "It must come back. I am going to express myself in a foreign language because....." An incomplete sentence. "Four years ago I was privileged during 1950. I had to address a meeting informing the people to observe the 26th June protest. On that day Port Elizabeth was leading in its action on the general. On the 31st May, 1952, the African National Congress and Indian Congress who met in Port Elizabeth took a decision to go to action and the date was announced to defy unjust laws. Moses Kotane was appointed to be the first to defy the unjust laws. The people of Eastern Cape lead the people to this campaign on the third occasion I come to announce another decision. The African National Congress resolution adopted in December last year. This is

the resolution: Executive Committee empowers the African National Congress to make preparation for all people's conference. To this the conference decided that the African National Congress executive calls upon the African National Congress, Indian Congress and Democratic. Decided to hold the general election of the representatives to attend this conference. The decision is that all people from 18 years will be able to attend this conference. The aim is to have people to decide how they show governed in the new democratic country. We want the people to take part in this. The volunteers are expected to take an extensive action. In all previous campaign the Eastern Cape has taken the lead in the whole country and I hope you will again do the same. The Defiance Campaign has raised the struggle. This campaign will raise....." Sentence incomplete. "There is wisdom in changing of tactics in the politics. It is important in this struggle. Ours is to defeat when the Minister of Justice Mr. Swart sponsored that he had destroyed the campaign of unjust laws. He forgot that our wisdom was going further. It does not matter. The campaign changed political affairs in South Africa." There is a sentence missing there. Whilst we have gained strength the rulers are divided. The Defiance campaign created and raised a number of volunteers and numbers of the African National Congress during 1952. This year we require everybody to become a member. The leaders of the Cape want 10,000 members before the 26th May. I hope that towards the end of April all Africans will be members of the African National Congress. Through all these 40 years of existence the African National Congress has repeated said that all members should carry out their duties of unity. The policy of the African National Congress is to work with other organisations of any section which agrees with it. On the other side there is a camp of Dutch people led by Malan, Strijdom and others, and on the other side there is a camp of demo-

cratic progress led by A.J. Luthuli. The resolutions taken by the African National Congress are of importance. One of these resolutions is boycott. I also wish to say that the boycott policy has no distinctions. I also wish to say that the economic boycott is to have skilled work for our African people and good treatment. Branches have been instructed to receive approval from the national executive from time to time. Overseas capitalists are aware of this fact and they are not at ease. They will not allow themselves to be misled by the propaganda of newspapers. There will be no stability whilst the Government is still stubborn. I have already referred to the second resolution taken by the African National Conference. Another resolution is that the minimum of the African wages should be £1 per day. Another resolution is that the people in the reserve should be allotted more land. There is no need. Our womenfolk are being made to carry passes in Port Elizabeth under the guise of protection we are given an inferior education and now that education is taken away. The Minister of Finance speaks of African contributions towards the revenue. Now we are paying taxes and there is no land, for us. The public meetings are no more permitted. We must now appeal to all Africans who are working at factories, mines and farms. If we could all follow the African National Congress and canvass people we would succeed in our campaign. The volunteers men and women who are members of the African National Congress have a big task to do; they must preach to people and tell them what the African National Congress and what it stands for; your leaders are determined to listen to you when you tell them what to do. When you have elected the leaders you must follow them. The certain disturbances in the African National Congress which recently occurred here in Port Elizabeth were caused by irresponsible people. As from now you must go and preach to all corners about the African

National Congress."Dr. Njongwe appealed to branches to bring their contributions to the table.

(Notes handed in G.509.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(27/5/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 27/5/54 ?--Yes.

What meeting was it ?-- African National Congress Youth League meeting.

Where was it held ?-- It was held at Victory Hall, Korsten, Port Elizabeth.

About what time did the meeting commence ?-- 3.40 p.m.

Until when ?-- 6 p.m.

Who was the chairman ?-- B. Zondani.

Read what he said ?-- This meeting is held under the auspices of the African National Congress Youth League, and it is a celebration to the organisation since it was formed during the last two years."

Who was the next speaker ?-- T. Tshume.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (123)

Read what he said ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, I am pleased to have this opportunity to address you this afternoon. It is most important to remind you about the African National Congress Youth League, because it has taken a step of interest into political affairs. The African National Congress Youth League is fighting against the Government oppressing the Africans. The present Government is trying all means to do down the youths. There is a recent attack from the Government directed to the youths. During the last five years of existence of the African National Congress the oppresses the African children. Through this it is compulsory for youths to join the African National Congress Youth League. The background of the nation lies on the youths. The African National Congress Youth League fights against the teaching of slavery. The Government has proved that it is fighting against the African youth. There is no struggle that could be

carried out without the youth. The youth are required to join the African National Congress Youth League so as to achieve freedom as other nations."

Who was the next speaker ?-- F. Ntsangani.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (121)

Read what he said: ?-- Today is the celebration of Kosten African National Congress Youth League and it is there to support the mother body. In the history we learn that there are nations freed in overseas and that was achieved through the youths. In Kenya the people active are the African youths. The African National Congress don't expect arms to be carried but it informs us to expect bloodshed from those in authority. The Government of this country is prepared to have bloodshed because it doesn't want to give out the piece of bread. If a man beats you one is there to retaliate. The Europeans are going to force to form up Mau Mau in this country and we have already heard about Cheesa Cheesa Army. We are going to oblige to stand as men. The African National Congress Youth League was not formed to wok againt the African "ational Congress, but to support it. The African National Congress Youth League is there to canvass members for the African National Congress. An African child is going to be deprived of his education in these days and that won't help him. This education is going to teach Africah children to know that a white man is a boss. On account of the white colour the Africans are forced to believe that the Europeans are oppressors through oppression. "

Who was the next speaker ?-- R. Matji.

Read what he said ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa. I feel that I should be part to raise the African National Congress Youth League. This would not be a tribute to Korsten Branch but to the whole African National Congress Youth League in South Africa. We now remember Lembata, deceased. The Youth

League at any world is not there as a hanger, but the leader of the country. Its duty is to preach politics. My theme. this afternoon will be freedom of people in this country. Objective conditions is forced by those in authority. When our people discover that they live under certain objective conditions they act because it is not sufficient for you to believe in oppression and you must proceed towards some other steps against exploitation. Revolution activity depends upon the conditions. In other words, political phases lies on brave people. The Africans in South Africa are the only oppressed people. Therefore our duty is to fight the system of subjective until we achieve freedom. Let us deal with the books of history. You know the number of wars called the kaffir wars. When referring to these wars we as Africans are informed that the glorious sons of Africans were hostile. Whom did they murder? No man could become a murderer or a criminal unless there is reason. Why did Hintza, Ndlambe and others murder the Europeans. Where did they murder them, and if they murdered them in South Africa, what did the European want in this country? If I were Hintza I would have acted the same. If a snake forces his way to enter your house there is no discrimination to murder him. Had our Africans succeeded to have many warriors there would be no reason to stand here and talk about this exploitation. We understand that criminals are fighting against Europeans. We understand that a chief in Uganda has been exiled by the foreign chief, because he could not subdue to those commandments. We understand that in Indo-China there is trouble against the French. Let us ask ourselves if people like Mati are murderers in this country. We understand from blue-books published by white rulers that the Africans have been deprived of their rights. The Kenya National Organisation when it complained against the ruling of whites and Joma Kenyatta was sent to gaol, for 7 years. In South Africa Dr. Malan is the ruler but on the side of Africans everybody is the ruler. In Kenya

the white rulers made a blunder by putting Kenyatta in gaol because they believe that he was the leader. The European papers which we are forced to read and these papers tell us that everybody who want to be free is a murderer. The papers tell us that the conditions in China, Rumania and Russia are such that Africans should shut their mouths. There is not a single communist who came to South Africa to oppress Africans in this country. The oppressor wants us to believe that those people are bad. We can't compare the present conditions with those countries, but there is no man from there who has bought colonial places. The conditions in Russia are not our concern but we are only concerned with our conditions in Africa. If Malan who has nothing to say in this country when he praises an African who is not in the struggle should know that he is against the organisation. We should fear those who have a good word about Malan and those praised by him. Here in South Africa there was an organisation called Moral Armament Movement. We have recently heard that in Johannesburg certain people were invited. Amongst the Africans who attended was the man who claimed that he was the founder of the African National Congress Youth League. Rev. Molefe, Tshiwula, Selopa Thema was there and Chief Luthuli was invited to attend this conference but he was not keen to attend. All those people connected with this movement should be looked upon suspiciously. The youth are the leaders of this country. Some of our leaders have been known to associate with the United Party and Liberals. We are so proud of the Youth League leaders. I know some people try to create a certain idea from the act. In our movement of African National Congress Youth League and African National Congress we have no time for your ideology unless you show how far you fight for freedom. Are you prepared to fight against Malan and British Government to achieve freedom for the Africans. If you are prepared to fight the struggle irrespective of your ideology you are

acceptable in the struggle. When you are free you will be able to know what kind of houses should Africans live in. We have reached a stage in South Africa as a people that we should make our minds to be free at a certain time. Our physically liberation is not an easy as subjective one. You must realise that people in the reserves want more land and they don't get it by means of begging, but you must fight for it. People in urban areas are getting less wages and high rent and they should fight for it and these things won't be obtained by means of talk. If I was in Kenya I would suggest the instrument, but I have got to know that I am in South Africa. I am fighting as an individual as Matshe but when looking upon the conditions Matshe can't get freedom alone but with others. Our aim is to see that equal rights are obtained by everybody in South Africa. I'm not racialist but I see all non-Europeans oppressed. The Africans are exceeding the Europeans. If I have to think of democratic country 9 millions of Africans are there to rule in this country. If you think of the Parliament the Africans would be rulers of this country if they were allowed to vote. During 1952 there were by-laws preventing Africans to hold public meetings, but were not operative. Why during 1954 the City Council refused Africans to hold such meetings? Why there were no passes during 1954. ^(1952?) It was because they never thought that Africans would do such. In East London passes were in operation. In 1952 the Government decided that it could not succeed with passes because the defiance campaign was strong. The power of the Africans is the organisation because we have not got the weapons as the Kenya people have. There's a movement called the African National Congress and they can't use the weapon of boycott. When we decided in the African National Congress about the economic boycott they said that this weapon was dangerous. There are 9 millions in this country and there

are 9 million politicians in this country and could all of them come to the organisation we could achieve freedom. If we have such members Malan's aeroplanes and machine guns could not work. Your duty is to go out and preach if you are sincerest in the struggle. The African National Congress when making this call to the people don't refer only to Africans but to Europeans as well. We call workers and industries, shops, diamond mines, gold mines, farmers and teachers from the reserves. Let us speak of the oppression. Everybody must lead a free life in this country. Let us speak of laws and freedom. Let us speak of freedom and happiness in this country. Let us speak of freedom and how we could do so. We call of all good men and women to come and discuss about freedom. Malan and other imperials in this country are working 20 hours to oppress people. Let us hope that Korsten African National Congress Youth League Branch will get more youths to support the freedom charter. We must not practice the arrogant of Europeans. When approaching the Africans the African National Congress and the African National Congress Youth League should co-operate with the leaders. Our movement has inspired that it won't be long before Africans become rulers of this country. Africa must come back."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Ntuntwana.

One of the Accused ?-- No.

Read what he said ?-- He shouted Afrika three times. "Some of you will be surprised why I haven't got beard today. I am delighted to be here today on a very important day celebrating the African National Congress Youth League Branch in Korsten. When the African National Congress Youth League was formed Ntsangani gave us the constitution of the African National Congress Youth League. There many painful and good things I experienced in the Transvaal. In Port Elizabeth who have not seen a beerhall and what are the results of it. In Johannesburg the

results of the beerhall are abominable. We must never allow the beer in Port Elizabeth. The Europeans brought this because they benefit something out of beerhalls. The African National Congress in the Transvaal is progressive. In Sophiatown nobody fails to attend the African National Congress meeting. The African National Congress is taking a leading part in the removal of the Africans from their houses. Here in Korsten we are going to be removed. Our leaders such as W. Sisulu is busy fighting against this removal of Africans in Johannesburg. In Pimville there is no movement at all. The downfall in Johannesburg is racialism. The Mandela Plan is being carried out in Johannesburg because they preach in the trains. In Port Elizabeth we must preach about the African National Congress in the buses at lunch time. In Johannesburg there are no guards in the trains through the Europeans who have made Africans to be rude. The Transvaal people praise the boycott in Port Elizabeth. Let us be patient and listen to our leaders."

Is that the end of the meeting ?-- Yes.

(Notes handed in G.510)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (29/5/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 29/5/54 ?-- Yes.

And you have your notes before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- T.C. White Hall, New Brighton.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 3.15 p.m.

Until when ?-- 5.45 p.m.

And how many persons attended the meeting ?-- Approximately 169.

Who was the chairman ?-- C. Mayekiso.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (113)

Did he address the meeting ?-- Yes.

Omit his speech. Who was the next speaker ?-- H. Mtwala led the prayers.

Who was the next speaker ?-- R. Matshe.

Omit what he said. Who was the next speaker ?-- F.Ntsangani.

One of the Accused ?-- Yes. (121)

Go back to Matshe's speech. Didn't another speaker speak just after him, according to your notes ?-- No.

Read what Matshe said ?-- R. Matshe said about the membership cards. The chairman said "Whilst the Secretary is checking up the cards, there is a member of the African National Congress who passed away during the past rains, Milton Kombi. There is a funeral for that volunteer but a meeting could not be stopped. It is not constitutional to attend the funeral."

Who spoke then ?-- R. Matshe. He read a resolution which reads thus, "That South Africa is a police state and the presence of the police in meetings is an obstacle. It must be understood that the presence of the police is undesirable in the meeting. Our Chairman of this branch has been in court several times because of the presence of the police in our meetings. I shall appeal to these members to take notes of this resolution." The chairman called upon the members to support the resolution. The chairman granted the permission for the C.I.D.'s to take notes.

What happened then, just carry on with your notes from there ?-- Minutes of the previous meetings. On the 22nd a meeting was held and Mr. Fuyani read the minutes. There was a discussion about the New Brighton Tenants Association. There is only 1,000 members in New Brighton. The economic boycott is successful, and members should preach about this boycott. Each male member must pay £1 and females, 10/-. A letter from T. Tshume was read.

Is Tshume one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (123)

Read on ?-- Mr. Tshume was begged to be informed that he has interfered with the African National Congress Constitution. Minutes passes as correct.

Just to get it clear, were the minutes of the previous meeting read, is that what you have just read now ?-- Yes.

Read on ?-- Arising from minutes raised by W.S.Mkwayi.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (117)

Was he at the meeting ?-- Yes.

Who was the next speaker ?-- F. Ntsangani.

Read what he said ?-- "Did T. Tshume answer the letter which warned him to cope up with the constitution. The letter to T. Tshume was sent on 27/4/54....." This was a general meeting of the African National Congress at New Brighton, and they were only discussing about their affairs.

And that is about a letter ?-- Yes.

Omit the rest, and just mention the names of other persons who are accused persons who attended the meeting ?-- .
Mrs. F. Baard (99); F. Matomela (111).

Did she address the meeting ?-- That was just in general discussion.

Omit what was said. Who was the next speaker ?-- None of the Accused persons took further part in these discussions.

Just mention the next speaker after F. Matomela ?-- After F. Matomela was Fofi Matomela.

After her , was there another speaker after her ?-- Maqoma.
(Notes handed in G.511)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(13/6/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 13/6/54 ?-- Yes.

You have your notes before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- At Korsten Hall, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 3 p.m.

Until when ?-- 5.45 p.m.

How many persons attended ?-- Approximately 200.

Who was the chairman ?-- J. Jack.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (104)

Who was the first speaker ?-- I. Matsibela.

Read what he said ?-- "We should now prepare ourselves to carry out the struggle. We have our leaders in the African National Congress, Chief Luthuli. From time to time we had people in the struggle who were leaders but at a later stage they retreated. The police should do their work to earn their living. A policeman arrests his own child even for the passes. It is strange to see a man arresting his own child. There is apartheid all over the world; when we book for halls we are not permitted and we are prohibited to hold public meetings, whereas before we used to do so. People from other countries are making noise for us using loud-speakers and preaching about the bible. If one knows that he has gone against God's Commandments should repent without being told to do so by somebody else. As from 1652 to this year, it is now 302 years 2 months since Europeans arrived in this country have failed to civilise us Africans and yet they claim to have been sent by God to educate us about civilisation. After all these years they still say that we are heathens. Education was brought to us and we accepted it, but we don't get equal treatment, and we have now got our African doctors. The African doctors are refused privilege to attend patients in hospital because they are European nurses. There are African members of the police force who have served for a long term but they are under European constables. We have got African ministers are denied privileges which are offered to European ministers. He then referred to Mandela's case who was charged for taking part in the defiance campaign. At this stage he appealed to the audience to join the African National Congress. We have now reached the stage of proving who are the real leaders of the African National Congress. The present Government is producing riot vans specially prepared to shoot the Africans by the police from inside."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman. "In the African National Congress we want all people to come forward and

help us to carry out the struggle. The Executive Committee of this branch has a hard task to organise people because we want more 3,000 members before the 26th June. The volunteers and ordinary members should do the job and each member should bring 20 members per week. All people who want to have application forms should see the Secretary."

Who was the next speaker ?-- S. Mkhaliipi.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (126)

Read what he said ?-- "Mr. Chairman, Sons and Daughters of Africa. All the speakers are passing remarks towards the C.I.D.s present. When we get freedom we shall employ the services of the the C.I.D.'s. The African National Congress is now 42 years since it was formed. The black people all over the world are under the dark cloud, because they are all oppressed. As we are suffering under Dr. Malan's Government, we must not only look after ourselves but for all other Africans in other places. Our fathers and mothers were oppressed by the Europeans through religion, as it happens to us today. The Bible has been a weapon for Europeans to enslave us. During 1652 the Dutch people came to this country and the English people came after. The Dutch and English fought over supremacy of South Africa and the English people were too clever for Dutch people. The English people preached to people that bloodshed is a sin before God and as a result of that the heroes of this country surrendered. The African people handed over this country to the Europeans because they had been threatened about Stan and Hell. There is no ~~Stan~~ and Hell other than the Europeans. He then quoted from the Bible. Mr. Swart is acting like Nebuchadnezzar in the Bible. Now, the time has come for the Africans to be freed from the yoke of slavery. Our forefathers never went to England as the Europeans did to live overseas and come to South Africa. The Europeans are untrustworthy. The Europeans are having two things in their minds. They preach to us about God and on the other hand use Satan. On this world we have God of Europe and South Africa. In China and

Japan they worship God in a different way from English and Dutch people. Jesus Christ did not come on earth for Europeans only but for everybody. When Swart was elected to be the Minister of Justice, empowered the police to shoot the Africans first and then talk to them afterwards. In Uganda the Africans are carrying out the economic boycott as we do in South Africa. The Africans in Uganda are demanding their freedom from the British Government. The boycott in Uganda has only started during the month of May."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comments by chairman. "Women are now carrying passes and I want them to come to the platform and give their views about the passes. The time has passed for us to keep on preaching to people and people themselves should come to the platform. I shall now appeal for financial support."

Who was the next speaker ?-- E. Mgwanga.

Omit his speech. Who was the next speaker ?-- An unknown person.

Read what he said ?-- "I am standing on Malan as I am standing on this platform. I can't move about as I like on account of pass. If Malan wants peace in this country should allow the African crews to drive buses we shall not stop what we are doing. I want bloodshed. If Malan wants freedom he must stop bottle-stores and allow the Africans to drive buses."

Who was the next speaker ?-- B. Ndimba.

One of the Accused ?-- Yes. (119)

Read what he said ?-- "Mr. Chairman and members, there is a tent at Malatsky Square preaching about the Bible. The people here in Korsten has told those people to talk about freedom. Before the Bible was brought to this country there was freedom. I can't get a job unless I have the permit. If one wants to go to the mine it is not necessary to have a permit. The church held in the Tent is using a loudspeaker, has been permitted by the City Council and its working together with the Government. Churches have misled our people. If we could have freedom first

then we could accept churches. We must all live under the same conditions. Jerusalem and Jordan River is on the world, not in Heaven. There is a lot of churches in the locations trying to take us back to the darkness. Let us cry for freedom in this country. Our unity will carry us to irds freedom. In Uganda and Kenya Africans are united. In Kenya Europeans understand that they are from Europe, and if we could unite in South Africa Malan could know that he is from overseas. We are 9 million and Europeans are 2 million and we could pass a vote of no-confidence against this Government."

Who was the next speaker ?-- A native female from the audience, unknown.

Omit the speech, who was the next speaker ?-- An unknown native female, again.

Omit that speech as well ?-- Also another one, unknown.

Omit, and the next ?-- Also another native female, unknown.

Omit the speech. And the next ?-- Comments by the chairman.

Read ?-- "If we are now forming up a plan, what will you do? Now, apartheid is in progress. Sogoni and his friend come near but they are not near."

Who was the next speaker ?-- F. Ntsangani.

Was he one of the Accused ?-- Yes (121).

Read what he said ?-- "During the week I had an interview with the President of the African National Congress Youth League at Korsten. We discovered that the children have not been enlisted in the African National Congress Youth League. These children are now thieves and drunkards. The conditions under which we live has caused them to be like that. The mothers of these children don't take of their children because they are working. I want to appeal to the mothers and the present Government is responsible. During 1952 the Government sent the police to go and shoot 2 men who stole a tin of paint at New Brighton Railway Station. These two men stole this paint on account of

starvation. Instead of the Government giving Africans sufficient money there it shoot the Africans. I am entitled to buy a bottle of brandy but the regulations prohibit me to take it into New Brighton. The present Government of this country has caused Africans to be wild. That is happening in Kenya has been caused by the British Government. What Malan is doing in South Africa will drive us to be the same as Kenya people. The Kenya Union Organisation was destroyed by the British and there formed Mau Mau. Here in South Africa we have that the Government is trying to form Cheesa Cheesa Army to destroy the African National Congress. The movement in Kenya is marching forward. The blood of the Kenya Africans is flowing down and the days are getting short. In Kenya, men don't assemble as we do. When we look upon these children we always like to know why God placed us under such conditions. Let us remember the dead bodies of Africans in Kenya."

(Notes handed in G.512)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (20/6/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 20/6/54 ?-- Yes.

You have your notes before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- It was held at Korsten, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 3 p.m.

Until when ?-- 6 p.m.

How many persons attended ?-- Approximately 200.

Who was the chairman ?-- J. Jack.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (104.)

Read what he said ?-- "You have heard that the Government and the police are against the African National Congress. During the defiance campaign there was a question put to us, which was, why did we not bring forward the struggle during General Smuts Government. During 1910 the Union of South Africa was formed and the English people ignored the Africans who supported

them during the Boer War. After this incident the Africans formed the African National Congress. During the defiance campaign the soldiers defied the unjust laws. Attempts have been made to all the previous Governments to stop these unjust laws, and many men have gone to England to report the situation in South Africa, but all proved a failure. Representations were made to General Botha and Smuts; nothing was done for the Africans, and after all this had been done, the Africans decided to take action of defiance campaign. The defiance campaign was so important in as much that it was advertised all over the world and even in overseas. This campaign placed the Government in a very restless state of affairs, and the Government and his dogs could not sleep, more especially the members of the special staff had turned pale in their colours, look after the Africans. The white Government is there only to represent the whites when this campaign started that the kaffirs would not go further but in due course they discovered that the defiance campaign was bringing division between the whites and a special parliamentary session was called to stop the struggle. The African National Congress had announced from the beginning that the struggle would take a long time. The Defiance Campaign has ceased and the next phase has been brought forward, (boycott) and this phase has been very much successful. Next week we shall be having a big conference where the first speaker will be Chief Luthuli and in this conference a new pledge will be taken. The conference will be opened at 9 a.m. on the 26/6/54, and at this conference decisions to carry out the struggle will be taken. The volunteers and members of the African National Congress are expected to wear national dresses as from today up to the 26th June, we must have more 2,000 members additional members on the roll. I would now like to deal with the law which segregates the African people into different tribes, when Basutos, Zulus, Xosa, etc., won't have a right to have inter-marriage. Verwoerd is now going to indulge himself in our nat-

ive customs and the aims of this law is to cause hatred among the Africans."

Who was the next speaker ?-- S. Sifali.

Read what he said ?-- "Mr. Chairman, Sons and Daughters of Afrika, who live under oppression. As we gather here today we have good knowledge about politics. Dr. Verwoerd is bringing the law in the Transvaal segregating Africans from others where they will live on different locations. This law was introduced during 1927 but it has been brought up now. Schools are going to be built and named after the location. We shall not accept that law in Port Elizabeth because we co-operate with the Transvaal Africans. The time will come when Africans shall march into new Africa and have the walls of Cape Town Parliament House will be broken down. Now, Dr. Verwoerd has introduced the law under Bantu Education Bill which will only allow an African child to go as far as Std. II. On behalf of the African National Congress I say that this type of Education is not good. We shall fight against this law. If this law is good, Dr. Malan must provide a law to stop Marietjie to go beyond Std. IV. When I refer to Dutch people I combine Jews and English. When we educate our children to study politics and the respects they are being denied good education. We shall not be prevented by the police to carry out our struggles. The white people who claim to be peaceful people are day and night busy making atomic bombs, etc., to destroy other people. We must first build our organisation before we look for other things. We must have the required numbers of members before the 26th June to show Luthuli that our movement is still on the move."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman. "Although South Africa is a rich country it is still behind other countries as civilisation is concerned. Now, the education has been divided into 2 groups, e.g. one for Europeans and the other for Africans. Dr. Verwoerd wants our children not to realise

that Europeans are oppressors. The history books are not going to be given to the African children. Our children are going to be taught how to use a spade, axe and milking only. We appeal to the Africans, especially women, to enrol their children into the African National Congress Youth League. The African children should be taught not to believe that there is a master race. The Nationalist Party were spies for Germans during world war II. The Europeans are foreigners in this country."

Who was the next speaker ?-- E. Matikinca.

Read what he said ?-- "Fellow Africans, I would like to talk about the white oppressors who are wasting their time. Dr. Verwoerd is wasting his time when trying to introduce the Bantu Education. The Education which was brought before made us to be blind, but today we know that a European is a two-legged human being the same as us. Dr. Verwoerd has been appointed to take charge of the African education whereas he is a foreigner. When the Europeans from overseas came to this country, they murdered all the Africans. Hintza, chief of Xosas, was accused by the Europeans for theft of cattle and later killed. The mistake among the Africans is that they are too much afraid of God in as much as they worship him in a wrong way. We are now told to remove from Korsten and the same applies at Western Areas, Johannesburg." He then appealed to the audience to join the African National Congress.

Who was the next speaker ?-- W. Ngwekazi.

Omit the speech. The next speaker ?-- Skweyiya.

Read what he said ?-- "In the former we used to live peaceful, but today there is no such. This man based his speech on the Bible. The Dutch people were warned not to have intercourse with the African women but today the sergeants are raping the African women. The Africans are the law-abiding people. David killed Goliath. We shall not carry rifles for Dr. Malan but we shall defeat him. The Old Testament is the good one for the

Africans. Jesus Christ did not come on earth for us but came for the Israelites only. Religion is no good for us and members of the African National Congress should worship their own god. During the last we were instructed to worship God and those who could not do it were to be arrested. Dr. Malan has deprived us of our country. On the 26th June we shall see our Chief Luthuli at Uitenhage. On the 26th June we shall save Africa from being destroyed by the Dutch people. It is preferable to offer our lives. A bold man is a man who does not care whether he dies and he goes straight to the enemy. I have organised 20 members in order. There is nobody who knows beyond the sky." Chairman, before I appeal to you for finance I want to tell you.....

Did the chairm then speak ?-- Yes.

Omit what he said. Who was the next speaker ?-- J. Kota.

Read what he said ?-- "Dr. Malan says the coloureds should go together with him and that is why coloureds are not here. We are going to show the Dutch people that we are not afraid of them. We have tried our best to talk to them but they don't listen. Today we carry permits and passes by Malan and Verwoerd don't carry passes. The Africans who are not present here just be expected to join us when the fire is set alight."

Who was the next speaker ?-- An unknown native male.

Omit his speech. The next speaker ?-- E. Mgwanga.

Omit his speech. And the next speaker ?-- S. Mkhaliipi.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (116)

Read what he said ?-- "I want all the people present to become members so that we should be united. All the black people should join their organisation. It seems to me the previous speakers are going astray because they pass remarks on Sogoni. The African National Congress is teaching us for the future of our children." He then quoted from the Bibl. "You must all join the African National Congress so as to achieve freedom."

And then, who spoke ?-- Comments by chairman. "A certain speaker made a statement to the effect that Sogoni could also join, but in the African National Congress we don't want C.I.D. There is a volunteer who passed away....."

Omit the rest of his speech. Who was the last speaker ?-- S. Ntuntwana.

Omit his speech. (Notes handed in G.513.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (24/10/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 24th October, 1954 ?-- Yes.

And you have your notes before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- No. 9 Clare Street, Korsten, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 3.20 p.m.

Until when ?-- 6.30 p.m.

How many persons attended the meeting ?-- Approximately 150.

Who was the chairman ?-- S. Ntuntwana.

Read what he said ?-- "I want you to address this meeting and tell people about boycott and oppression."

Who was the next speaker ?-- J. Nkampani.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (120)

Read what he said ?-- "It must come back. Chairman and members. There is no nation which was ever oppressed as our nation. We were counting 301 years in 1952. When Jan Van Riebeeck came to this country from Holland he oppressed us. The whites are not Boers but Hollanders, because they came from Holland. As from 1912 to 1920, Boers were speaking Holland language. Why are these people hating us. "Love thy neighbour as thy self." I now come to the boycott question. A beast does not know the strength it uses. The Hollanders work at factories are paid nearly £51 per month, and yet that is the African strength.

A Hollander's wife has £5 pocket money and the Africans got £1 per month for the pocket money. You must do this. Boycott them one by one until the shop owners surrender. The cigarette has no profit. I would suggest that the Africans wear rags in order to do down the Europeans. Mr. Thomas one at Highfield Road is still selling oranges and he should be boycotted. The Malans reporters, Sogoni and Minie do not convey our news. I saw Sogoni last week with Minnie at Mosenthal Wholesale to fetch P. Solomon. We must carry out our boycott and if we do so we shall be successful. We must do this boycott steadily. There is a false influence spread amongst the other non-Europeans. The coloureds have been bluffed by the Hollanders telling them that they were better than the Africans and that is false. In this country. Why shall a soul suffer so far. A coloured is better than an Africa. Do you as you expect to be done to you. All the coloured women are working at the factories only to show that they are better than the Africans. You must carry out the boycott. When Schauder Township was built coloureds were expected to stay separately but that failed. The Europeans policy" That sentence isn't complete. This morning the coloureds had a procession which the African could not do. If you are unable to build nobody will do it for you."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comments by chairman. "We must understand what the African National Congress stands for. Whether the Boers do not like us we want them to come to us, even coloureds/^{we} must enjoy peace, all of us in South Africa. Naidoo who has been boycotted has written a letter to the Executive Committee of the African National Congress and is now being forgiven. Naidoo has been selling oranges and he has stated his reason of doing so. Whether he was telling a lie, we don't know."

Who was the next speaker ?-- S. Mkhaliipi.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (116)

Read what he said ?-- "Chairman and members. During last week we were told about the boycott of Naidoo's shop at Highfield Road when the African National Congress and S.A.Indian Congress decided to take an action against the Government, and the first attack was the defiance campaign. And Mr. Swart stopped the defiance campaign. Dr. Malan has introduced laws pleases him, but we are suffering through the laws. The pass laws were in operation in Cape Town and Johannesburg, but today have affected Port Elizabeth. These passes are increasing a number of convicts in jail. The defiance campaign has been stopped and now we are carrying our economic boycott which is decided upon by the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress and the S.A. Congress of Democrats. An African has to be employed at any place where he is capable to do so. The African doctors are denied privileges to work amongst Europeans whereas they are qualified. The African National Congress stands to fight against oppression and not against Europeans. When the whites were accepted in this country, they behaved like snakes. You must now re-enter and buy from Naidoo's shop because he has surrendered himself. You must not buy anything like oranges. As from last month certain people have approached the managers of United Tobacco Company in connection with the increase of wages. Mr. Swart, Donges, Verwoerd, and Havenga are the dangerous people against the Africans. Mr. Schoeman stands for this business and not consider the African labourers. Dr. Verwoerd has introduced the Native Settlement Disputes where an African has to go to the Native Affairs Department. The Native Affairs Department has got the apartheid. When the employees at the United Tobacco Company went on strike the native labour settlement of Disputes took part and now the African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress and Congress of Democrats decided to boycott all tobacco manufactured by the United Tobacco Company. Fellow Africans, we must not buy from Naidoo's shop and you must

buy from Naidoo's shop and you must be prepared for another step."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman. "All Youth Leaders should attend Saturday's meeting in the afternoon."

And the next speaker ?-- I. Mnono. "If one is hungry can't do anything. It is not necessary for boycott to be preached to Africans. We live under oppression through Europeans. Why can't women support the boycott in order that our husbands should be firm. A woman is the one who knows the hardship. Dr. Njongwe our leader told us that the aim of sending people to gaol was to encourage them and not to fear the Europeans. We have been told that Gwentshe and Lingisi has been deported from East London. If I was was vested with magic powers I would pull down the gaol."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman: "The conditions under which we live through the Government has forced us to do wrong things. If we could get freedom in this country some people would change their behaviour. During some years ago people were living happily in Port Elizabeth, but today circumstances have forced them to go wrong."

Who was the next speaker ?-- F. Ntsangani

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (121)

Read what he said ?-- "The last speaker has touched most important point. The way how Africans behave is not appreciated but there is a reason for that. In this country all the parents train their children to behave in a good manner, and not become hostile. The capitalist Government teaches children who had been brought up in a good way and put them under different ideas. An African who has a right to purchase liquor is denied rights to convey it to the location. The shebeen queens are not there to blame but the Government is responsible for such because these women are widows and can't make ends meet. The African National Congress is daily preaching to the Africans to understand the

the situation. The white rulers are denying the Africans right to own their properties and that is why there is trouble in the Transvaal. Some people at Korsten forget that one day they shall suffer as New Brighton residents do. The Government has built the hospital at Korsten and now it puts up a complaint of dirtiness in Korsten. In order to avoid such the Government must pay Africans good wages. In this country Africans are dying from T.B. because they can't afford buying milk on account of low wages. All the people in this country are oppressed by the capitalists, even the Europeans. Although we preach peace to people but the Government will not stop destroying us. At our meetings we see Africans and Europeans attending our meetings. Who belong to the police and we must not worry about them, because they are the same as Judas Iscariot and we say join the African National Congress. We don't want Africans to take any actions against spies, but the struggle will have an effect on them. You will remember that G. Smuts and General Botha have died who were our oppressors, and today Dr. Malan is resigning from the Parliament and Swarts also wants to run away. I advise Mr. Swart to cease introducing Suppression of Communism Act and other laws. Havenga and Strijdom are still determined to face the African National Congress. Let us be united and the Youth League is required to take a lead in the struggle. The African National Congress Youth League advises Africans not to carry passes and permits only but also to carry the membership cards, because there will be a time when membership cards will be demanded from every individual. All the members of the African National Congress Youth League should go from door to door checking up membership cards."

Who was the next speaker ?-- B. Jonas.

Read what he said ?-- "Since the speakers have said a lot I don't feel like saying a lot. Dr. Malan has banned himself because he realises the fact that the African National Congress

wheel is going to run over him. I want to appeal to you to preach about the African National Congress as you did during 1952. We are daily dying from T.B. and the majority is Africans compared with Europeans. In the history Japan has got the biggest population but since the spread of atomic bomb it decreased. In every 100 of Africans many are dying of T.B. because they live in shanties. I appeal to everybody to join the African National Congress, even the detectives."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman.

Omit. Who was the next speaker ?-- An Unknown male.

Omit what he said, the next ?-- Comment by chairman.

Omit what he said. Was that the end of the meeting ?-- That was the end of the meeting.

(Notes handed in G.514.)

You also handed in a pamphlet, advertising the meeting
?-- Advertising the meeting of the 30/10/54. (G.515.)

Where, at Korsten ?-- Yes.

That is in native language, is that correct ?-- Yes.

By whom was it issued ?-- By the African National Congress, Korsten Branch.

Where did you receive it ?-- It was distributed in the street in Port Elizabeth.

Did you make a translation of Exh. G.515 ?-- Yes.

You hand it in, Exh. G.516 ?-- Yes.

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(7/11/54)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 7/11/54 ?-- Yes.

You have your notes now before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- It was a Congress of the People meeting.

Where was it held ?-- It was held at Rendezvous Hall, Korsten, Port Elizabeth.

About what time did the meeting commence ?-- 12.35 p.m.

Until when ?-- 3.30 p.m.

About how many persons attended the meeting ?-- Approximately 125.

Who was the chairman at the meeting ?-- J. Jack.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (104.)

Did he address the meeting ?-- Yes.

Read what he said ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa, as you know that this is the second Congress of the People Conference held at Korsten. We have two reasons to be here today. (1) This has been the request of the people to have this conference. (2) It is necessary in this struggle to have all times indoors meetings so as to train ourselves. Although we hold meetings at open spaces we don't get chances to train people. Now, I want to know from delegates here to give me the names of the organisations they represent. If Mr. Swart comes here he is there to produce proof that he represents a certain organisation when we give reports to the press and the headquarters we want to know that this conference was properly represented, and all the delegates should give their names to the Secretary."

Who was the next speaker ?-- B. Ndimbe.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (119)

What was his position in the African National Congress, or Congress of the People ?-- He was the secretary.

Of ?-- Of the Congress of the People.

Who spoke then, the next speaker ?-- Ndimba.

The same person ?-- B. Ndimba took the names from the audience of the delegates. Then it was announced that refreshments were obtainable. At 1.15 p.m. the chairman told the audience to have tea first before they could continue with the conference. Then the chairman said: "In this conference we are not going to listen to speakers but we are going to discuss matters affecting us and make decisions. We are preparing for the Congress of the

People's Conference. The time has come when we have to prove who is going to lead the people between Chief Luthuli and Dr. Malan. Today we are all going to talk and I think this conference is going to be an interesting one. We are also going to have a chance for people to give their views. This is the programme. (1) High prices of all requirements and conditions under which Africans live. (2) Question of workers who have register themselves before they could be employed. (3) The Government oppression over workers. (4) The banning of public meetings and leaders. (5) Poll tax, dog tax and rehabilitation scheme. (6) High prices of bread, increase of train and bus fares. (7) To enroll members of the African National Congress. This is the beginning of the Congress of the People's Conference. We shall now deal with the second item on the programme."

Who spoke then?-- An Unknown native male.

Read what he said?-- "The registration of the Africans at the Labour Bureau is a problem because you have to be asked a lot of questions." He then proposed that this matter should have the attention of the Congress of the People. This proposal was seconded. J. Niere also stood up and associated himself to the previous speaker.

Who was the next speaker?-- It was an unknown native male.

Omit what he said. The next speaker?-- J. Jack, the chairman. "The Government when introducing these laws it bluffs us stating it is protecting the urban areas Africans from being outnumbered at work by the Africans from the reserves."

The next speaker?-- B. Ndimba;

Is that the secretary to whom you referred?-- Yes. (119)

What happened?-- B. Ndimba also supported the proposal and further said that the Government is being supported by the mine-workers since the people are now awake there are few who go to the mines and as a result of that the Government has introduced passes so as to enforce Africans to go to the mines. We must

preach to the people at the farms and reserves, and if we don't do that we would be supporting the Government, whereas we want to defeat it.

What happened then ?-- At this stage an unknown native proposed that the resolution should be recorded opposing the existence of Labour Bureau and protest against the carrying of permits and this resolution should be sent to press and also brought before the Congress of the People.

Who was the next speaker ?-- The chairman.

Omit what he said. Who spoke then after him ?-- Again B. Ndimba.

Isn't there another speaker before him ?-- Yes, J. Nieri.

Read what he said ?-- Also supported the previous speakers on this issue. He further said that the Government by making dipping tanks it aims is to destroy the cattle of the African people, because that is their wealth. Now the Government has introduced taxes for cattle and in spite of the Europeans demanding those taxes they go further and shoot us. At this stage I feel annoyed and feel like saying something else, because I don't care for anything. Some people say that they are free, but how could one be free with a chain in his neck. All the aims of the Government is to kill us."

Who spoke next ?-- An unknown person. "I am representing the African National Congress Youth League, and it is the desires of the Youth League that in the Freedom Charter it should not be forgotten that they youths have no playgrounds at this stage. This person was ruled by chairman saying that he was not dealing with the subject concerned.

The next speaker ?-- B. Ndimba. The secretary. "I think it is high time that we tell the Government that it is enough for the taxes, because since it started we have not benefited anything out of it. We pay teachers through this poll-tax. We have few lawyers and doctors. Now the standard of education has been

lowered but the Government does not reduce the poll-tax."

Who spoke next ?-- Another unknown native male.

Who was the next speaker -- was there then an adjournment ?--
Yes.

What time did the meeting commence again ?-- 3.50 p.m.

Was the chairman still the same person ?-- Yes.

Just read your notes as they are ?-- Announcement. An Eastern Cape Region will be held at Veeplaats on 20/11/54 on Saturday. We used to have such conferences under the chairmanship of Dr. Njongwe and since he has been banned Qiko is acting. Ten delegates will be expected from each branch. The conference will start at 2 p.m. and in the evening there will be a concert for the reception of delegates. On Sunday 21/11/54, it will be a public meeting and at that meeting tribal dresses and khaki uniforms will be used. The Executive Committee meeting of Korsten Branch will be held at the African National Congress office at 7 p.m. on the 8/11/54. We are telling people about the Congress of the People conference which will be called by the African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, S.A.C.P.O. and Congress of Democrats. This conference will be held some time next year perhaps on the farm of Dr. Moroka at Thaba 'Nchu. All people will be allowed, even Dr. Malan. Let us talk of freedom and ask rights for workers. Let us talk of treatment to our wives and children. Let us talk of passes. Let us talk of trade unions, let us talk of freedom, let us talk of disease, let us talk of high prices. We must unite teachers and other intellectuals. Let us talk of laws and Government. Let us talk together with our voices. We must be united in freedom. Our complaint should be put in the Freedom Charter. We call upon all those who like freedom. We call upon all people of South Africa to prepare themselves for the Congress of the People's Conference. Let us march together towards freedom. Everybody has a right to give his views, because the people from the reserves are suffering most."

The next speaker ?-- Unknown person.

Omit the speech. The next ?-- J. Nieri.

Omit the speech. The next ?-- S. Ntuntwana.

Read what he said ?-- "The African National Congress works together with the trade union, but the leaders of the trade union don't work together with the leaders of the African National Congress."

Then the next speaker ?-- Unknown.

Omit what he said. The next speaker ?-- J. Mali.

Omit what he said. And the next ?-- Nkampini.

Is that one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (120)

Just read what you noted down ?-- Nothing was said. He only associated himself with the other speakers.

The next speaker ?-- Unknown.

Omit what was said. The next ?-- J. Nieri, the same person.

Omit that too; and the next ?-- S. Sifali.

Omit that as well, and the next ?-- Same person, Nieri.

Omit that. The next ?-- Koyo.

Omit that as well ?-- Next was J. Nkampeni.

Omit that as well ?-- Next the chairman.

Was that the end of the meeting ?-- Yes.

Did you make a list of names of persons who attended the meeting, at the back of your notes ?-- No, I haven't got it here.
(Notes handed in G.517.)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(28/11/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 28/11/54 ?-- Yes.

You have your notes now before you ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- Veeplaas, Port Elizabeth. Magxaki's Yard.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 2 p.m.

Until when ?-- 5.5 p.m.

About how many persons attended the meeting ?-- Approximately 400.

Who was the chairman ?-- S. Qiko.

Read what he said ?-- "You will remember that yesterday we had a regional conference. The most important subject is an appeal to people to strongly support the boycott."

Who was the next speaker ?-- J. Nkampani.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (120)

Read what he said ?-- "I thank you for your attendance at this meeting. There is nothing much to be said today. All branches must support the economic which is our present weapon. We had been here at Veeplaats since 2 p.m. yesterday until this morning and that is a sign of a march towards freedom. You must take no notice of those attempting to close a tap of water from flowing. The capitalist cannot think, because they first close people Africans from owning their own lands, because they can't expect people to live on small wages. We ask the capitalists for peace living in this country and have equal rights."

Who was the next speaker ?-- H. Mtwá.

Read what he said ?-- "Fellow Africans, you have heard from previous speaker that we have been here at Veeplaats as from yesterday. We must strengthen the economic boycott because we have seen what the African National Congress has done for us through the boycott. Whether we don't believe to the African National Congress but we have seen its good work. If the African National Congress instructs you to boycott a certain place you should do accordingly. I appeal to womenfolk to carry out the boycott. We have seen how active women were when we boycotted two African general dealers in New Brighton. You must obey your leaders. They are not misleading you and you should carry out this instruction."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman.

Read ?-- "The capitalist have no other means with the

exception of creating disturbance among people, but if people were united they have no chance and that is why when they came into this country they applied to divide and rule. We have conquered Hennen in New Brighton until he surrendered. The boycott is going to go further until we boycott business places in town."

Who was the next speaker ?-- F. Matomela.

Is she one of the Accused ?-- I cannot exactly say in this case because there are two initials, F., that is Florence, the Accused, and there is also F. Matomela, the husband, Fofi. I simply have here 'F. Matomela,' and I don't know whether it is the Accused or not.

Read what was said ?-- "It must come back. Fellow Africans, I have been asked to address you. I am determined to stand for the organisation and die for it. I always like to quote from the Bible before I start addressing you. She then quoted from the Bible and spoke about David....." 'She' ;... then that should be Florence Matomela speaking. (Accused 111) "From a joke you can dig out the truth. We must not be frightened about fighting for Africa. This is the first Eastern Cape regional conference. I have attended since I had become a member of the Region African National Congress. Blessed are those who are hungry and thirsty for peace. We are not concerned with people who are not members of the African National Congress and they will see for themselves what they will do. We preached to people about the Bible when we boycotted Mathanbekapama and Hennen. Who on earth can give his servant a stone if he asks for bread or snake for a fish and asking for wages, but we get bullets. Luthuli told you that there is no nation that will get freedom unless there are hardships and bloodshed. On their journey Israelites also suffered when they were led by Moses. We shall reach freedom whether we are two or three. There are people amongst you who will enjoy this freedom. We are fighting. I want to remind you about boycott. The boycott is the only

atomic bomb we have got and if we could fail in supporting the boycott we shall be inspanned to draw weapons. We had been 7 months trying to boycott Henen but on Saturday last week he surrendered to the African National Congress. As from today Henen has employed Africans. He has an African driver now. Mr. Henen has repented from his ill-doings. We are not fighting but we demand freedom and friendship in between all races. We work for Europeans daily, but they don't recognise us as human beings. It is long that I have told you that women are the people responsible for the failure of boycott."

The next speaker ?-- The chairman then said: "During the time when we boycotted Henen some people did not seem to be interested."

The next speaker ?-- F. Ntsangani.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (121)

Read what he said ?-- "Mr. Chairman, I am going to address you on the Bantu Education Act. Chief Luthuli before he was banned, he said that he wanted 50,000 Freedom Volunteers. We should know that next year 1955 we are going to have the conference of the Congress of the People. We must not apply to Mr. Swart to withdraw the ban on Luthuli but we shall lift it up ourselves, in 1955 in the Parliament when Luthuli will be the Prime Minister of this country. The Bantu Education Act depends on christians who should fight against it. I want the youths to know that the youths have taken certain decisions against the Bantu Education Act. The parents should approach the church ministers and ask them why they have handed over mission schools to the Government. The youths have taken an oath that Dr. Verwoerd will enforce his education on our dead bodies. Anything may happen to us. Last week our mothers have been assaulted by the police. The Africans have been religious for the last 300 years. It is long that you have handed over your children to churches, but now you must hand them over^{to}/the African National

Congress Youth League where they will be injected with the spirit of the African National Congress Youth League and have them fight for freedom. The African police assaulted our mothers because they took an oath saying that they arrest their mothers and fathers. The time of facing is awkward. It is not the time to laugh. I shall speak next year in the Parliament. I shall not be done nor be shot by a Dutchman before freedom is achieved."

Who was the next speaker ?-- At 2.55 p.m. the chairman appealed to the branches to hand in their collections and then called upon the Uitenhage Branch. An unknown native male, believed to be from Uitenhage announced on the platform that the Uitenhage volunteers were to hand in their collection.

And then ?-- J. Nkampani collected collections. 3.20 p.m. H. Mtwā acted as the chairman and called upon the Veeplaats Branch. F. Ntsangani and D. Fuyani had a table enlisting volunteers whilst the meeting was in progress. An unknown native male then address the meeting.

Read what he said ?-- "I would like to call upon you Africans to march forward towards freedom. You must be determined in your struggle. Freedom is not too far off and it lies on our hands. We must fight for our country. I appeal to the womenfolk to support the struggle. We must not turn back. There ought to be hardships when people are in the struggle." M. Mtwā appealed to the volunteers to get away from the police cars.

Who spoke then ?-- I cannot say who it is. It is still the same line as Mtwā. "Fellow Africans we are going to go further and boycott English and Afrikaans language. When an African goes to any shop and found the salesman speaking any of these languages, that shop should be boycotted. The Europeans look upon the Africans as baboons and they shoot saying that they thought it was a baboon. Africans, let us be united. The Dutch people have no other plans to do but now they left with guns.

We shall" I can't make out the next word: "... the battle without arms, but through unity. God is on the Africans' side."

The next speaker ?-- T. Solomon.

Was that a European ?-- No, an African.

Read what was said ?-- "Sons and Daughters of Africa. I felt touched when I saw such a crowd of Africans gathered. The circumstances under which we live is like a rock rabbits life, between the herd boys. We are gathered here as a result of persecution, oppression and starvation. We have no homes, no lands and no food and the foreigners are enjoying the wealth of our country. When the Dutch people arrived in this country, our fore-fathers received them and all the time they received the snakes. I promise you that all that dead bodies in this country has been noted. Instead of white people forcing friendship with black people, they are going further with their evil spirits and all the time they are building hell for themselves. Some of the Europeans brought Bible to us. I appeal to members of the African National Congress to bring their relatives to the organisation. It is the aim of the Europeans to divide and rule the Africans, so as to get the willing tools. We daily hear screams in the location when people are being kicked and shot dead. The Europeans should bear in mind that what they do to us will turn to them one day. The white people decided that to give the black people a chance in the Government, they will find themselves out of the country. A Dutch man's child is taught from babyhood that an African is a kaffir. The word kaffir is an insult and oppression to Africans. To prove that Europeans are determined to fight against Africans, even at the industries, they don't feel happy. During 1955 we must talk of freedom as we can't stay another 300 years under oppression. Dr. Malan is no more on his feet, but is standing on his head. If we are not free, we shall keep on talking of freedom."

The next speaker ?-- The chairman.

Omit what he said. Who spoke after him ?-- Mrs. Gqirana.

Omit the speech. Who was the next speaker ?-- G.Petersen.

"It must come back. Before I address you, this question, has it ever happened that when boys are in the battle, come back without injuries. We gathered as a result of pains and sufferings of the African people in their country of birth. It has been the decision of the Africans to go into the struggle." The last speaker has told you about unjust laws and freedom. I would advise you to be ready, if you are told to boycott, do so. You should do likewise. Nobody would welcome a stranger in a house and allow him to shift the owners out of his house. The time has come to change things, e.g. removing a table from the door to the back of the room or a cupboard. Europeans are not sure now of what will happen to them when God changes things." He then quoted from the Bible. John Chapter 3, vers. 13 or 16. The African National Congress says there must be leaders of this country to free the nation. Dr. Njongwe, Chief Luthuli, Lengisa and the leaders have been banned through their truthfulness. The Africans in Africa must demand freedom in their lifetime. The Europeans are thirsty for their blood. In olden days our fathers were doing their customs but today through jealousy they have been deprived of such rights. Satan was expelled from heaven through jealousy."

What happened then ?-- The chairman called upon New Brighton branch to hand in its collection.

Was there another speaker ?-- Mancoko read a resolution.

Omit the rest of the resolution. Was that the end of the meeting ?-- Yes.

(Notes handed in G.518)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.:

(5/12/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on 5/12/54 ?-- Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- Veeplaats, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 2.45 p.m.

Until when ?-- 5 p.m.

How many persons attended the meeting ?-- In my notes I didn't record the number of the attendance.

And who was the chairman ?-- C. Mayekiso.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (133)

Now read what he said ?-- "During last Sunday New Brighton and Veeplaats Branches could not use its speakers because it was a regional meeting. Now 1954 has come to an end and we are now facing the annual conference where all branches will give the reports of the work done. All members should pay the levies up to date. There are few weeks left before we attend the conference in Durban. It is important to know that many things have happened. When we are on the road towards freedom, we must expect death. Mr. Swart has been given powers and he directs the police to rule this country. We in the African National Congress and other democratic organisations have taken a pledge to march forward in spite of some people standing in our way. In the struggle for freedom we are undergoing hardships. Our people are being killed by the police. The organisation is on the road towards freedom and is expected for any men to protect himself. It is painful to see our people killed and some people want to know why the African National Congress is not taking action against the police. The African National Congress does not instruct the people to fight back whilst being assaulted by the police. All members should know that they are in the struggle. This morning we had attended the Congress of the People. The police are determined to carry out Mr. Swarts instruction, shoot first and talk afterwards. We are going to make reports of such nature to the Congress of the People conference next year, and those reports will be put in the Freedom Charter. The Government is prepared to fight against the people who are fighting for freedom. All Africans should become members and possess membership cards. All

those who have not joined as Freedom volunteers must enlist to the Secretary and it is a pity that Port Elizabeth is still behind the other centres. The commander in chief of these volunteers is Chief Luthuli. Now Strijdom is the Prime Minister and some people think that something new is going to happen and the African National Congress says that through Strijdom we shall achieve freedom. During last week the Eastern Cape Region had a conference and in this conference some decisions were taken, e.g. the boycott of oranges has been withdrawn. The Eastern Province Herald boycott is being suspended until such time that the African National Congress will make other decisions. Those who want to buy Eastern Province Herald should do so and those who don't want it may not buy it. On the Thursday, Eastern Province Herald, an article appeared that the Eastern Province Herald and oranges boycott has been withdrawn, but that has been authorised by the executive." And?-- F. Ntsangani was the next speaker.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (121)

Read what was said ?-- "You must know that we are at the meetings and...." here the word has been cut through with a pin, I can't read it. "The condition in this country is very awkward. Some few days back Strijdom has taken Dr. Malan's place as a prime minister. Some people think that Strijdom is going to drive us to freedom; we must bear this in our minds that white people only differ in their ways of oppression, but the fact remains that all capitalists are oppressors. There is no difference between Strijdom, Verwoerd or Strauss. We must try to preach to people that we must march towards freedom and stop Strijdom from introducing more unjust laws. There is also another bad condition over the Africans and that is the Bantu Education Act and it needs parents and children at schools to solve this problem. Under this present education our leaders as from 1912 did not get the correct education, but they got the better one than the one being introduced. Why we are at this standard today, it is through this edu-

cation. When the capitalists gave us their education it did not know that we shall again find out some faults out of this education. This education has caused so-called intellectuals to persecute the nation. In the African National Congress we have got about two doctors and five ministers whereas there is quite a number of educated people who don't support the African National Congress. The work lies on the parents of children to fight against this Act. The African National Congress appeals to you to prepare the future of your next generation. Let us form the African government in this country. The Government that will give equal education for all races. The education depends much on the churches, and the churches are divided into two different groups. Some have given mission schools to Dr. Verwoerd and some have decided to close down the schools. The schools get the support from the Africans and they have not been approached by the ministers of religion before they handed over schools. Your duty is now to ask from the ministers of religion that if education of the children has been reduced and what is the use of paying to God. This question lies on Christians to fight it. There is no church that could stand without Africans supporting it. The rentals have been increased in this country, and it would be wise to send reports to the annual general conference, African National Congress about it. When this conference seats all our leaders won't be present because they are banned. Some people have a wrong idea to think that since our leaders are banned we must elect new" I can't see that word. "... like our banned leaders better than those we are going to elect. We are going to elect even those banned if we deem it fit to do so."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comment by chairman.

Omit that ?-- Bennie was the next speaker.

Omit his speech. The next speaker ?-- W.Mkwayi.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (117)

Read what was said ?-- "Fellow Africans, today I was pre-

pared to make a long speech, but the circumstances have made me to change my mind. Here in Port Elizabeth we have got workers from the Reserves who work for cattle tax, dog tax, etc., and some pay £2.10.- taxes in the Trust Farms. Some people don't seem to be prepared to support the African National Congress and they are very much hesitating to support the organisation. One can help the Government, but when he dies the Government demands 12/6. The men at the Reserves pay £1.10.- and additional to that the dog tax stock rate. The councillors from the general council are inducing people to accept the stock rate and it is our duty to preach to people that the introduction of stock rate is no good. The judges have ruled out that increased rentals out of order in New Brighton. There are people using hotplates and other electircal and you must not assist in the increase of electrical rent. Rather you should stay without electric. During next week the delegates are going to go and members assist with donations. Conference of the Congress of the People is very important, and it will be held next year, after the National Conference. In that conference delegates will make up a report of the work they did and all reports will be put in the Freedom Charter. Detectives will have the right to be represented at the Conference of the Congress of the People. In connection with the rent, you should make your report to the annual conference of the African National Congress. During 1st July the Government intended to remove Africans from Western Areas in the Transvaal, butas a result of the pledge taken by the African National Congress Youth League and the African National Congress, the Government has not been successful to enforce this law. I am sure that in New Brighton no African will be removed alive, but only ashes could be removed. We are not prepared to keep on shifting from place to place. Volunteers are going to forget their work during Xmas and they must do their duty. Now we want Luthuli's volunteers is

not volunteers for defiance. Very soon there are going to be forms to be filled by Luthuli's volunteers. During the month of December all volunteers must preach to the people. Strijdom is called the Northern Lion and when Strijdom address his Cabinet he said that the task facing him is more heavier than the one General Hertzog or Dr. Malan ever did. The Government denies the African Trade Union. Some people, although members of the African National Congress, don't join the trade unions. The trade unions does not work against the African National Congress. If a worker is being expelled from work he does not report to the African National Congress. The African National Congress fights for oppressed people. In Natal the workers boycotted the United Tobacco Company and the African National Congress supported the Union. If all workers decided to wear khaki clothes together with their children, there could no support for the general dealers. The suits today cost £24 were £4 before. People must not ask me anything about the Government because I don't want to know anything about it. I expected Chief Luthuli to be Prime Minister instead of Strijdom. You should watch if Strijdom, Jansen and Swart will still be in Parliament by next year, because they are running away from the wheel of the Congress of the People. You must preach to people about the African National Congress and explain to them what it is. You must look for European's cleverness. Next year your children are going to be given slavery education. Strijdom has said that the white people should also be taught Xosa at school and the Africans Afrikaans. As we know that some mission schools has been given to the Government. We must fight against it. Some people have suggested to boycott churches but that would be useless. You must be determined to support boycott and from next year we shall" I can't read that word, the last one.

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comments by chairman.

Omit his comments. And the next speaker ?-- Sello.

Read what he said ?-- "Fellow Africans, I want to appeal to

the Africans to be united. I want the struggle to be driven forward and it is a waste of time to discuss about the Dutch people. The boycott is not a simple thing and I believe the country could be freed through boycott. This is my first chance to address a meeting. I want to stress the point of the Congress of the People. The Congress of the People is more important than the defiance campaign. It is going to be compulsory for the volunteers to go to the farms and preach about the Congress of the People. The volunteer in chief wants the freedom volunteers on Sunday morning. In New Brighton there were few people who attended the concert. On 12/12/54 at 2 p.m. there will be a reception at Bantu Methodist Church, Mendi Road."

The next speaker ?-- Ngqandu.

Omit the speech. And the next ?-- B. Stuurman.

Omit that. ?-- That was the end of the meeting.

(Notes handed in G.519)

FURTHER EXAMINATION BY P.P.: (19/12/54.)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on the 19/12/54 ?--Yes.

Was it a meeting of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

Where was it held ?-- At Veeplaats, Port Elizabeth.

What time did the meeting commence ?-- 2.45 p.m.

Until when ?-- 5.30 p.m.

How many persons attended ?-- Approximately 90.

Who was the chairman ?-- S. Saki.

He is not one of the Accused ?-- No.

Read what he said ?-- "Fellow Africans, we all know the reason why we gather here. Every Sunday we have come to teach each other about unity. The speakers will base their speech on the economic boycott. Unfortunately our chairman is absent through certain reasons."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Moyi.

He is not one of the Accused ?-- No.

Read what he said ?-- "Fellow Africans, I am not going to

say much about the economic. On Friday I was in town and I visited C.T.C. shop and I found 400 African customers and 150 European customers, and I have proved that the Africans are supporting this business. On the counter only Europeans serving and this shop deserves the boycott. The time has come for Africans to use their brains. As you see these Dutch people here they claim to be using their brains. There is only one reason for these cars here, it is because the truth is now brought out to the public. If one could leave here and go to the Transkei you can be caught by these Dutch people and fined £1 and ordered to return to Port Elizabeth. It is long that the Dutch people have been bluffing us. Here in this country we shall never ask in the lavatories. A Dutchman shall never be an African's friend forever unless apartheid is abolished. A friend of mine who is employed in the convoy and fell sick in Rhodesia and he has been neglected by the Dutch people. There is no difference between Dutch and Englishmen. In this country we are going to shake hands with the Dutch people. There shall be no peace between the Dutchman and the African. The Dutch people present here are sent to come and chase after us. Whether we are dead our children shall shake hands in this country with the Dutch children. As I am standing here I am an atomic bomb. The Dutch people can't go to war without African assistance. During 1914 World War I the Africans took part, but that will never happen again. The Dutch people are half minded. I grew amongst the Dutch people and I know their ways. The Dutch people are chasing after the black people in this country."

Who was the next speaker ?-- Comments by chairman."If we want freedom we should individually fight for it. A child who does not attend school is no good."

Who was the next speaker ?-- W. Mati.

Is he one of the Accused ?-- Yes. (110)

Read what he said ?--"Fellow Africans the economic boycott

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