

went to Parliament, and told Parliament what he dreamt. He said : Look here, my friends, I can now see many black spots in the Western Areas. Then he told Parliament, : Look, I have got enough police, I have got enough troops. I have got sten gungs, I have got machine guns. Give me the power to remove them from the Western Areas. All I want from you, all you Members of Parliament say, Dr. Verwoerd, go ahead. Ou maat, gaan voort. Now, friends, in this year, February, 1955, it was on the 8th, unexpectedly during the early hours when the Nazi's invaded Tobruk, most of you know, you have read it in the papers, armed police and troops went to Sophiatown and when they got there, they knocked on the doors, and when the voice was heard from within, they said : Vula, otherwise we will blow you to pieces right now. Now. Now. Like what has happened in Tobruk during the invasion of the Nazis. In this house where the police stepped in a woman was just giving birth. In these houses were women pregnant, expecting at any time. At any moment, and they were chased out at the point of a machine gun. Comrades, I am just telling you of what has happened in our own country. Our motherland. Must we be quiet and must we just look at such things? Or must we say, let us do something about it. Or must we just follow the Government propaganda and not see what is happening in Communist China. But who is a witness, who has seen that, it is the Communists or the workers in China or is it the workers in South Africa. Now, during the removal, the Government, Dr. Verwoerd instructed the police, that if they - if any agitators should come to you, shoot right through their hearts and when he is dead, or she is dead, Swart will tell the dead body, look you agitator I killed you because you threatened the way of my life. Now, when they saw what was happening, those that had been removed from Sophiatown to a wonderful paradise, when they got there they found, they found that the Government was doing the same as on the mines.

The Msutu's that side, the Zuluz that side. So that the spies of the Government must say to them. Look here, you must fight Zulus like hell. There must be bloodshed. At no time must you come together and fight me and criticize the policy of the Government in this country. It was only last year when the Government forced the City Council to increase the rents. But the people fought the rents. But the Government brought a plan now to influence the people of the Western Areas to go to Meadowlands, and pay a high economical rent. The Government told the people of Meadowlands that when they get there, there will be trains for them. But I ask anybody to come and watch the train to Meadowlands after five o'clock and see how full it is. The Government should tell the people, that when you get to Meadowlands, you will find a University for your children. Now another point is, what benefit does the European residents, the ordinary Europeans, the ordinary workers, benefit from removing the people of the Western Areas. These are the poorest sections of the Europeans. Are they going to get a big University where their children will be taught. Is the poorest section of the Europeans going to get big jobs in big factories in the Western Areas whereby they will get wealthy. Is that what the Government is going to do? The very fact that if you look at the police force today, you will find it is composed of youths, of criminals, 21-25. That just shows that the Government under no means is prepared to attend to the interests of its electorates. That is the poorer section of the Whites. Not at all. But the Government is prepared to use the poorest Whites to enslave the African people while he, on the other hand, is ten times more enslaved, because his future is so dark, so dark that when the forces of South Africa will take up their place, he will be with them because he is a worker. He has got a hope. He is with the working people, irrespective of colour. Now we are assembled to build, to bring back the country to happiness, irrespective

of colour or creed. I just want to say, Mr. Chairman, before I close, there will come a time when every human being is asked the question. What are you doing for the benefit of the country. When Hitler took power, he told the whole world, he said : Look, give me the right in law. I want to get rid of Communists, the greatest enemy of mankind. Unfortunately some people were so misled that they told Hitler, you are daft. This happened again for the second time, in 1948, when they had to vote for a leader in Parliament. They told Dr. Malan, you are daft. Now we want a Parliament of the people, by the people, whereby the people of South Africa are going to elect a leader of their own. Audience - Maye Buye. Chairman : Ladies and gentlemen. I need not comment on what has been said, and I think I shall call upon my next speaker who will address you on Bantu Education in relation to the Congress of the People. I hope you will listen very attentively. Speaker, D. Motsabi."

Does the name appear in your shorthand notes? --- No, I can't see anything here.

Did you get it from Sergeant Dirker? --- Detective Sergeant Dirker.

Will you read? --- "Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa. Mr. Chairman, in addressing this gathering on Bantu Education, I want to start off by saying that the power of the Nationalist Government in this country cannot be over-emphasised. In many aspects of their administration, the Nationalist have attempted to do one and several things to ban the African people. For many years now the non-European people of South Africa, have been faced with tremendous difficulties out of which they were required to do only one thing, namely, to build up a strong courage and goodwill to be existing up to this day. Mr. Chairman, in Bantu Education the Nationalist Government is making the last bid, and if they succeed in Bantu Education, they shall have succeeded in one

thing in which no Nationalist or Nazi or Fascist Government has ever succeeded in. In framing up Bantu Education, Dr. Verwoerd, the psychiatrist, is trying to perform an operation on the minds of the nation. The object is to carry out this operation in such a way that it must change completely the outlook, the way of life, the ideas and the freedoms of the human beings. There is no power in this world, there is no government anywhere, where such a thing has ever happened in the past. In all the skills of oppression which other nations have employed, we have not known of that skill where in fact the mind of the human being has got to be changed from nature. It must be changed and be made to accept slavery. I want to say that Dr. Verwoerd and his group of Nationalists have made the highest aim, the highest effort. They have fixed their aim to high that they are bound to come down like a ton of bricks and crush right where they are. One danger is this : That if they succeed, if they succeed in this, which no nation has ever carried out, or attempted for that matter, if they succeed, then you can rest assured that they will lead the world, because all they will have to do is to go to the English people, change their minds from so that they did not want freedom, go to the Indian people, change their minds, then they do not want freedom, in fact they will overthrow the whole world if they succeed. As I said, the importance of this scheme cannot be over-emphasised. But Dr. Verwoerd made it very clear in Parliament, outlining the objects of this education. Dr. Verwoerd like a student who knows his work, he said this education is intended to place the Bantu in his place. He made a point of it that the African people today, have raised their standard, and in raising their standard, education has played a very important part. Now the next thing to do is to bring down this education so that this education must be at par with the economical and social position. In other words, the education which we received was higher than our economical

and social position. Therefore, instead of raising the social and economical position, the best thing is to reduce education so that it must come into the part in which our economics move. But what was the reply of the African National Congress in Natal? The African National Congress, together with its allies gathered their forces. They stamped their feet on the ground and said : Here in this issue, Dr. Verwoerd must learn for the first time that we are going to take our stand and that we are going to oppose this. We wisely decided to protect our children. To protect our beloved children from going to be poisoned. The whole country roared when Bantu Education was brought to the African people. People in every walk of life, churches, organisations, opposition members, some of them, all people were shocked at this sort of thing. Here was a blatant outrage. A blatant outrage upon the African people. As the people took their stand, what happened? What stand did the Christian church in South Africa take. What stand did the ordinary Christian White people in South Africa take? The churches were lost in the face of Dr. Verwoerd. Those holy buildings in which man preach their relation with God every day collapsed in the face of Dr. Verwoerd the Nationalist Government. When the African Nationalist Congress made their stand very clear, when the African people said, our children will be protected from this poisonous education, some of the churches said : Well, this is very bad and this bad education and the system is very bad. But like some of the voters in South Africa, after all, it is the law and we must obey it. Incidentally, those are the churches who claim Jesus Christ as their leader. Those are the churches who follow a man whom, when what he believes in, was in danger, then decided that he will hang on the Cross for him. Some of them invited the children and said, you must come to school. What can you do, it is the law of the day. Well, I

will leave it to you to determine whether these churches are truly Christian churches and whether they in fact are serving the God which they are supposed to do. Speaking to you this afternoon, I want you to rebuild yourselves. To call upon you in the name of the African National Congress to go and re-emphasise the school boycott in every area. It is your sacred duty to go back to your homes and to organise as you have never done before. To make it very difficult for this Nationalist Government to carry out this evil scheme, this fascist scheme of destroying our children. It is necessary for all those branches which have not started the boycott, to start - to make the start. It is necessary for all those branches who have been lagging behind, to mobilise their forces to prevent their children from going to be poisoned in their own hands. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I believe all the African people who are here, and those who are going to get the message will carry out this boycott to its very bitterest end."

CASE REMANDED TO 28th JUNE, 1957.

COURT RESUMES 28th JUNE. 1957.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE :

MR. COAKER ADDRESSES COURT :

Accused Absent : Position same as on 27.6.57.
In addition : No. 138, Dr. Motala; No. 71,
G. Sibande; No. 118, T. Mgotha;
No. 104, J. Jack is back in Court.
No. 68, granted leave of absence
on 1.7.57.

MR. COAKER ADDRESSES COURT :

(Leave granted for cross-examination of Sgt. van Papendorp to stand over).

NICHOLAS JOHANNES VAN ZYL SCHOEMAN, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. (MR. VAN DER WALT) :

You were reading yesterday from the speeches made at a meeting held on the 21st May, 1955. Is that correct? --- Correct.

A meeting of the Congress of the People? --- Correct.

Will you continue to read from where you stopped? ---

"Chairman.: Comrades and friends. We have listened very carefully to our friend. Now, as you are fighting for liberation, you must not forget also to fight for peace. Now I have an announcement to make. On Sunday, the 29th May at 2 p.m. at this hall there will be a meeting of all women in South Africa, irrespective of colour. See that you also take this message to each and every woman that you come across. Now in my programme, I have the people's choir. You will open your ears and you will listen to the things they will listen to you".

Will you omit that and go to the next speaker on the bottom of page eight? --- Mrs. Msobi.

Read from there? --- "Mothers and fathers, ladies and gentlemen of Africa. I wonder what you think when you see this Africa that is now standing in front of you. How do you want your children to be. I am very sure there is nobody

who wants to see their children being educated under Bantu Education. That is why we must rally our forces so that this fascist and evil education must come to an end. But I am not going to talk very much. I am just going to make an appeal to you. Women, I am going to make this special appeal to White European women, and the non-White women. These women can prevent our children from dying. I want to remind you that in 1948, when the Nationalists were busy electing, one of the biggest tasks were done by the Nationalist women. The Nationalist women took part in that election to help their husbands to get into Parliament, Now is the time for all of us women who are here, especially you African women, please know that the time has long passed when we are just expected to be in the kitchen cooking. Please do remember that the Government of the day is the Government of the Nationalist Afrikaner and the very members of the people in this Government are Afrikaner farmers. Just a very few of their leaders live in town. If we are not prepared to stop this threat of the Government, we shall be compelled to go down to the farms. Please, you know that our leaders have been taken away from us. Our leaders are being exiled. Others have been banned from speaking at all. Now if you women are not prepared to standup and fight for your children, who is going to fight for them. I told you, please do remember, that there are many, many farms outside. There is no time to waste any more. What we need is action. You people must go out and organise the people against Bantu Education. You must collect money. If there is no money, then you can never hope to achieve anything. Please, you women come now and give your money, so that we can show other women what we are doing. I want to remind you, in 1907 the day when the Constitution of South Africa was being drawn up, we Africans were debarred from taking part. Now in this year, 1955, when we people draft

a Constitution, you people must be there. Now in order to do all these things, we must have money. In order that delegates can come to the Congress of the People, we must have money. If you do not give us money, where are we going to get money from? I know you women, you can make money if you like. Bring that money, we want money now. I want 2/- from everyone. At the moment I want to call upon everybody, please to donate 2/- at once. While you do so, please listen to what I am singing. Singing whilst collection is being held. Chairman: Friends, I hope that you have all shed your pockets, because money is very important to our cause. Now I think it is time for me to call upon a speaker who will address you on the Congress of the People. I will therefore call upon Mr. John Nkadineng."

Was he the next speaker? --- Yes.

Is he one of the Accused? --- I can't say.

Read what he said? --- "John Nkadineng: Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa, it is clear that the wheel of freedom has started rolling. It is clear that you have come all from your various places to attend this Conference in order to make the Congress of the People a very great success. I am not going to speak of the things that the people have told you already about. I think you have listened very carefully when the speakers analysed the sadness and the viciousness of the Bantu Education Act. I think you have listened also very carefully when the speakers analysed the sadness and the viciousness of the scheme called the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Now on the Congress of the People, I think whenever we speak about this campaign, we should try our very best not to consider this campaign as a separate campaign. We should regard the campaign against Bantu Education and we should regard the campaign against the Western Areas Removal Scheme as but just separate aspects of the struggle. Of our great struggle for freedom in South

Africa. Then some people say what will the Congress of the People bring to the people of South Africa, particularly the African people. Will it stop this Nationalist Government from implementing its laws? Will it stop the Nationalist Government from implementing and intensifying past laws now? Then the other side of this setup, and this is true, because it will raise the political consciousness of the people. As long as everybody in South Africa is politically conscious of what is happening in South Africa, then we have no doubt that through the united action of the people, we shall stop the Nationalist party from implementing these laws. Then there is for a moment, I think, everyone of you have been a paper and we are going to read now about the election of the Congress of the People. The Chairman has told you that when this Conference was opened, that this Conference is a businesslike Conference. This is a Conference where we are going to rededicate ourselves, where we are going to resolve to go together, shoulder to shoulder to this great will of freedom of the people of South Africa. Well, Mr. Chairman, Sir, sons and daughters of Africa, these are items which I will read as efficiently as I can. What is the Congress of the People? It is an assembly of delegates from all the people of South Africa, where they will speak of freedom and how to get it. There they will adopt a Freedom Charter drawn up from all the views of all the people everywhere. Of what they would do if they could make the laws. Now some people say, well, I belong to the African National Congress and the African National Congress should do the job for me. But that is not the way of sending your demands to the Freedom Charter. The individual members of every organisation must write down their demands and send it to the Freedom Charter and tell us what they want South Africa to be. Now we come to the next item. Who can send delegates to the Congress of the People. Any

group of men and women, no matter how many they are, they should live in the same street, block, village or town, or they should work together in the same factory, office shop or farm. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think it is clear how to elect the delegates to the Congress of the People. You are not going to expect Secretaries of your branches to go again and ask the people to elect delegates of the African National Congress to represent you. But the people, the people in their jobs, in their blocks, they must elect delegates to the Congress of the People. How are delegates to be chosen. By a vote of the people who come together in a meeting in a house, or in a hall, in a village, where they can talk over and agree what they want in the freedom Charter and what their spokesmen to the Congress of the People must say. You understand very clearly by reading this paper that what you are required to do is to gather with people in a house and agree upon the demands which they are going to send to this great assembly. And each delegate is not going to do his own work, but he is going to do what the people instructs him to do. What are delegates to do? They are to travel to Johannesburg so as to arrive not later than 10 a.m. Saturday morning, June 25th, 1955 in Johannesburg they are to report to the offices of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation, whose addresses we insert at the end of this leaflet. They are to bring their own blankets where they have no friends to accommodate them for the night. Accommodation will be provided. Then friends, I think when you go back to your various areas, you will be able to tell the people that when we come to this great assembly, we have to take our own blankets and take it with to the Congress of the People. Who is to pay for the food and travelling? Those who elect the delegates must pay

for this travelling and give him 5/- for his food. If they are willing to speak of freedom, they must be willing to collect money to help win it. Those who can, should collect food, mealies, potatoes, rice for the delegates to take to the Congress of the People Delegates' Kitchen at the Congress. It is very clear, Mr. Chairman and members, that the Congress of the People will be a very great assembly indeed and therefore everyone of us will be required to do a certain amount of work. What if money cannot be raised? If every effort to raise the money fails, or if no one at your meeting can leave work to travel to Johannesburg, appoint a friend to any acquaintance who lives in the Witwatersrand to represent you. Write and tell him he is to attend and speak for you and tell him what you want him to say. Tell him to take your letter to one of the Congress offices and ask for a delegate's card. This is a very important item. It is clear that many of us have got friends in the country side. Many of the people are not working like we are doing in the factories. Many of them have got their domestic difficulties. They are required to contribute to this Congress, great Charter of Freedom. They must send their demands, they must send delegates if possible, but this is what the Congress of the People's Committee ask you to do. You must advise them, you must write a letter to your personal friend or brothers in the country side and tell them whether they know and understand that this great assembly is taking place somewhere in June. And if they understand they must elect their delegates. If they feel they must elect somebody here in Johannesburg, they must instruct him and send their demands to him and he must go forward to the Congress of the People. What if you know no people on the Rand? Then write to the Congress of the People's Committee, P. O. Box 11045, Johannesburg. Tell them what kind of people you are, where you live and where you work.

They will find a suitable person to represent you at the Congress of the People. So friends, I would like to go into these things, but I cannot waste any time. Now, how do delegates get Credential Cards? As soon as delegates have been elected, write to the Congress of the People's Committee at the above address for a Delegate's Card, or ask your local Congress Branch secretary for one. Fill it in carefully before giving it to the delegate. What is to be done with demands for the Freedom Charter. They should be written out in any language and be sent in now to the Congress of the People's Committee, saying how many people were present when they were discussed and which town or place of work they come from, or if time is too short, there is space for it to be written on the back of your delegate's card. Who is to organise for all this? You are, because you want freedom as much as anyone. Start by yourself. Talk to your neighbour and your work mates. Organise a little meeting for them. Then get them to do the same in other places. Write about it to your relations and friends, especially in the country side and the reserves, but you do it. When is this to be done? Now. Right away today. There is no time to lose. Delegates have to be elected, money for the fare to be collected, so do it now. The Congress of the People is on the 25th and 26th June, 1955. Now it is time for you to act. I do not want to go in the other side, but I want to tell you as I said in the beginning, that the wheel of freedom has started rolling. That Mr. Strijdom and the Nationalist Party, and all their henchmen are running away and as you raise your funds and call the word 'Afrika' the whole world shakes. Make it a point to shake South Africa by collecting your friends, bring them to the Congress of the People, tell them what to do, make sure that this wheel is on the roll and it rolls freedom, which is realisable in the eyes of everybody. I can assure you, you can do it.

You can do it. You must unite. You must speak. You must write now to the Freedom Charter and tell them what you want.

Chairman : Comrades and friends, I can see how you look like. This is the call of what you wanted and what you wanted is what you did not know. Now that you know what is the Congress of the People in leaflet form, and you are now required to take up your work. But before you do so, you are now going to tell me how you are going to do the job. As you will realise, this is a Congress of the Transvaal, and those of you who come from afar, you will know the programme in the Congress from now on. You also know and realise the difficulties and I am now going to open this Conference for discussion. Thank you. Speaker:.."

Will you omit what he said? The next speaker? ---
The Chairman.

Yes? --- Well, comrades, we will now discuss what we have spoken of. Speaker : Mr. Chairman, today we are gathered here in this momentous Conference to come and discuss the programme of the Congress of the People, and I think Mr. Chairman, the gist of the Congress here today is to go now and put a stop light to the Nationalist Government. We quite realise that for quite a long time there was a green light or a sort of yellow light, and now we have assembled here to come and change the situation and to come and change the very way of life. We have gathered here to come and put a red light. To come and now stop the onslaught of the Nationalist Government on our people. We are gathered here to come and now see and take stock of what we can do to achieve the Freedom Charter. I think as we are gathered here today, Mr. Chairman, our tasks are plain on the forthcoming Congress. First of all, we should see that the Congress that is to be held, should be a success. It means that the whole of South Africa will be in a position to see that a democratic government in our country should be governing. Now we are confronted again with another difficulty whereby we see that

the Nationalist Government is trying to retard the work of the country as a whole. We are confronted with the workers, who are crying for better conditions. It is clear here, Mr. Chairman, that the whole work of the Congress is based on the Transvaal, and my appeal here this afternoon is that all the Transvaal delegates, irrespective of whether they are delegates or not, should see that the Transvaal is not failing on such a momentous occasion. We are now told that we should subscribe to things like finance, and other things, which I think most of our leaders outside is trying their very best to do. But I feel it is most unfortunate that the Transvaal Province has not pulled its weight to see that the Congress of the People is a success. Speaker : Mr. Chairman, I suggest that the Conference adopt a time limit for every speaker, and we ask every speaker to keep to the point and to be as brief as possible. Time limit of three minutes adopted. Speaker : Friends, when we come to discuss with the people what we want you to do, I think it is right on behalf of the organiser to tell you what we have done up to now and how this campaign is progressing. I am sorry that the speaker did not mention a few important matters in his speech. I also want to announce that the collection here today raised £12. 10. 4. Now if every person here would have given the 2/- that we asked for, we would have had £70, but unfortunately some of our people here today did not find out the necessity of the Congress of the People, and did not realise how much we need the money. But I shall explain to you what we have done. I also want to say that when the collection started, Mrs. Msoabi told you that we want the 2/- from you, especially from the women. I know that tomorrow morning some of the children will go without the bread that they eat on a Sunday morning, but I also knew that there are quite a lot of people that will not think of the 15/- that they spent on a tie last week. On the £6 that

they spent on a watch, the £3 that they spent on an extra pair of shoes and they let the Congress of the People down. If every person in South Africa would have given a penny towards this campaign, we should have had thousands and thousands of pounds. We have got ten million people in this country and not two million people, and some of them, Europeans, are assisting us in our work. The work that we have done in the organisation consists of propaganda which we have sent out persons to far off and remote places, to places where the people have never heard of the Congress of the People, and have never heard of the African National Congress. We told the people of the Congress of the people, we told them of the African National Congress. We told them that the Congress of the People is not a tale, but is very alive. The Government did not think that when they banned our leaders, that we can still carry on. They invaded our meetings here a year ago, and they took the names and addresses of the people and they thought they would frighten the people, but did they frighten the people? Shout from the audience - No! Previous speaker continuing : They definitely did not. The fact is you are here again. They wanted to put down this organisation before it grew into anything big, but they have no managed yet. We have issued thousands of leaflets, not just hundreds, but thousands. Every night and every day there have been a meeting in some house, in some organisation, in some trade union, in some factory, in some township. What we intend to do also, is to get the names of the people coming from places like Rustenburg, from places like Delmas, from places like Bethal and so forth, to go out to these people and to elect delegates. What we intended to do, if we had enough money from this meeting here today, was to hire a few lorries and to ask those people here who have got mothers and fathers in the various places,

to be ready to go out next Sunday and visit their people and to explain to them what is happening about the Congress of the People in Johannesburg. And if they cannot persuade their people to come in as delegates, then to elect a person on behalf of these people. Now, I want to ask you one question. Do you feel that it is important that the voice of the people in Bethal be heard? --- Shouts of 'Yes'. Do you feel that the voice of the people in Rustenburg should be heard what is taking place? Shouts of 'Yes'. In that case I feel that £12. 10. 4. is definitely not enough. I do not want to ask for more money. The Chairman has done his duty, but I appeal to you, come to our concerts which will also be supporting the Congress of the People. Come to our bazaar which we are organising, and buy the goods that will be offered there for sale. That will be for the Congress of the People. Come to all our functions and come to the Congress itself and make it a success. Khumalo : Mr. Chairman, I move that the discussion be closed. It is no use to discuss all these things, we know what to do. Further discussions inaudible. Chairman : Now I think the motion of Mr. Khumalo is not carried, because there are people from Middleburg and other places from afar and they want to exactly know."

Do you know this person Kumalo? --- No.

Yes? --- "Chairman : Now I think the motion of Mr. Kumalo is not carried because there are people from Middelburg and other places from afar and they want to exactly know. Speaker : Mr. Chairman, this is very important. There is a meeting place for the people in the various areas in the country side and suburbs, to collect the money and submit your demands before the falling of the Congress of the People, and those demands must be forwarded to the National Action Council where summaries will be drawn up on these demands, which will be incorporated in the Freedom Charter, which will

be incorporated in the

be adopted at this Conference on the 25th and 26th. Speaker :

Mr. Chairman, I just want to tell the delegates from Bethal and Middelburg to see Mr. Matlou after the Conference.

Speaker : Mr Chairman, the point is, and I want to tell this to other areas, we have divided Sophiatown into several zones. The zones are under the leadership of a Zone Leader. The several streets falling under a zone are under street leaders who are responsible to the Zone Leaders and that Zone Leader, together with others, are responsible to a Volunteer Corps.

Now we have completed our work as far as the sub-divisions are concerned, and probably tonight we are embarking on a big scale election of delegates, and we are hoping, of course, by next week, to tender to the Committee of the Congress of the People, a complete list of delegates. That is how we have carried out the work in our area, and of course they are working as the volunteers go out, they do not only do Congress of the People work, but they have to handle Bantu Education as well, and they have to handle also the question of the removal. We are carrying our work in this way. Thank you Mr. Chairman. Speaker :

Mr. Chairman, we have to leave the Hall at 6 o'clock. Now I want to make one final appeal to you. When you leave this meeting, you have a great responsibility before you. Mr. Nkadimeng outlines to you what your duties are and what your tasks are. And we hope as the responsible Committee in the Transvaal for the Congress of the People, you will not fail us. Dr. Press here has asked you several questions and none of the areas have answered those questions. Before we leave, you have been shown a plan divided by Sophiatown. Now we hope in the shortest possible time, similar plans will be devised along the Reef, and you will report to us within a week that you have adopted a similar plan, and that the election of delegates are on the way. Now, everybody, you must go back if the

officials of your branches are not here, you must report back to them what the Conference has called upon. You must contact every church, every sports organisation, every women's organisation, explain to them the Congress of the People, and get them interested in the Congress of the People. That is your task and I know you did not fail us in the great Defiance Campaign, that was the beginning in South Africa. And when we talk of struggle, we cannot go back, but we go forward. Now let us go forward in the liberation and the freedom of our people. Now I know, and I am confident that we can have all our faith and confidence in you that on the 25th and 26th Transvaal will give a maximum number of delegates to this great assembly. Now that is your task, and that is my last appeal to you. If you are a worker, speak to your fellow-workers. Get them interested. Get delegates from farms, from homes, from everywhere. From today the topic must be the Congress of the People, and if we do so, then we can be sure that on the 25th and 26th we will be represented in full force. Now that is my appeal to you, and I hope it will not fall on deaf ears. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Singing of N'kosi, sikeleli i Afrika."

You hand in your shorthand notes, EXHIBIT G. 757? ---
Yes.

And your transcript EXHIBIT G. 758? --- I do.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. COAKER :

On this occasion, were you inside the Trades Hall, or were you again in a cupboard? --- Behind the cupboard.

So that your presence was not known to the gathering?
--- No.

BY THE COURT :

May we know where this cupboard is?

BY MR. COAKER :

Is it the same cupboard about which we have already

had evidence? --- Yes.

I think it is the kitchen or pantry adjoining the hall?
--- The door interleading from the kitchen into the hall,
number three I think it is.

What time did you take up your position in the cupboard?
--- Before the meeting started.

What time was that? --- I can't remember exactly. It
was a while before the meeting started.

You can't remember what time it was? --- No.

Morning or afternoon? --- The meeting was held in the
afternoon, so I don't know, it may have been an hour or an
hour and a half before the meeting started. It was quite a
while before the meeting started that I took up my position.

Who escorted you to the cupboard and put you in this
position there? --- Nobody escorted me.

Who let you in? --- The door was open, I went in by
myself.

BY THE COURT :

That is the entrance door to the hall? --- It goes
through a hall, and then into the kitchen.

BY MR. COAKER :

Was the building standing open when you arrived there?
--- Yes.

Did you come up the main stairs or the fire escape?
--- The front stairs.

Have you had occasion to occupy this cupboard on quite
a number of occasions? --- Yes.

When were you last there? --- I can't remember.

Recently? --- No, not recently.

You always found the door standing open which enabled
you to walk straight into the cupboard? --- On the occasions
that I went there, yes.

You were never escorted or taken there by anybody? ---
No.

You did this on the instructions, I suppose, of one of your seniors? --- That is correct.

Which one? --- I don't know exactly which one.

What do you mean you can't say which one? --- Just my senior officer.

Which senior officer? --- Major Spengler was my senior officer at the time.

Why did you have difficulty in telling me who you were talking about? --- I can't remember exactly whether I got direct instructions from Major Spengler, or whether he gave me instructions through somebody else.

Are there any portions of this meeting that you have read us today where you had any difficulty in hearing, are there any gaps or incomplete...? --- Yes, I don't know about any gaps, but there were - I had difficulty in hearing sometimes.

BY THE COURT :

Did you indicate that in your..? --- No, I didn't indicate that.

BY MR. COAKER :

It is not indicated? --- No.

There were some words or sentences or discussions that you couldn't follow? --- I couldn't quite follow.

And since you were unable to see, what was happening inside the hall, you could not of course of your own knowledge know who was speaking at any stage? --- No.

I ask leave for the cross-examination by Mr. Berrange to stand over.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. SLOVO :

Was - I am given to understand that on the occasions when you hid in the cupboard, the kitchen was not in use? --- No.

I am also given to understand that when the kitchen

is not in use, it is usually locked? --- I don't know about that.

Did you on each occasion arrive before anyone arrived at the meeting? --- Quite a while, yes. Before the meeting there was nobody at the meeting.

Did you see anyone in the Trades Hall for the purpose of gaining access? --- Sometimes there was a boy there cleaning the stairs.

Did he see you enter the kitchen? --- Enter the hall.

Did he make no enquiries? --- No, he made no enquiries.

I understand that there is a caretaker there? --- I don't know.

Did you never see the caretaker there? --- No, I never saw him, not on the occasions I was there.

Are you aware of whether any of your superiors had any consultations with the caretaker? --- I am not aware of it if it did happen.

You say that on each occasion when you arrived, the hall was already open? --- Yes, I went through the hall...

And the kitchen door was open? --- That is correct.

When you entered the kitchen, while you were there, did the kitchen door remain open or was it closed? --- The kitchen door from the hall that I went through, remained open.

That is the...? --- Not open, unlocked I should say. The door was closed, but it wasn't locked.

On each occasion when you entered it, I want to get this clear, it was through the hall? --- Through the hall, into the kitchen.

On each occasion it was ready open for you? --- It was open, yes.

NO RE-EXAMINATION.

RACHEL CATHERINE WADE, duly sworn; (22.6.56)

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. :

Where do you live, your full address, please? ---

272 Clark Road, Durban.

What is your profession? --- Stenographer.

Did you make shorthand notes at a meeting held on the 22nd June, 1956? --- I did.

Where was the meeting held, did you make a note? ---

In the Gandhi Hall, Durban.

Were you accompanied by members of the police Security Branch? --- Yes, I was.

Who accompanied you? --- Detectives Swanepoel and Truter, I think. Yes, Swanepoel and Truter.

You have your shorthand notes before you? --- I have.

Did you make a transcript of your shorthand notes?

--- Yes.

You have that before you as well? --- Yes.

Will you read from the transcript. Just start from the beginning? --- "Meeting opened by V. Lawrence. Dr. Letele, fellow delegates. ."

V. Lawrence, did he address the meeting, is that correct? --- Yes.

Where did you get the name of the person? --- As far as I can remember the names were announced. When they weren't, or when I couldn't catch them, Detective Swanepoel or Truter usually told me, they always told me.

Will you start reading what he said? --- "Dr. Letele, fellow delegates. As Chairman of the Committee and as Vice President of the Natal Indian Congress, I have great pleasure once more in extending a very cordial and sincere welcome to its Ninth Annual Conference, more particularly to Dr. Letele, the Treasurer of the A.N.C. who has so kindly consented to open this Conference and to the delegates who are representing our organisation. We have met here in Mahatma Gandhi's

Hall, every appropriate indeed, because Mahatma Gandhi has the views of our Congress. You have been brought together here for the purpose of discussing the sad and serious position we are in, in regard to the many oppressive laws which have been passed by the Government that detrimentally affect our every existence in this country of our birth. We are South African Nationals and we are an integral part of the South African population. It is not our function to speak to you about the various laws; that will be done by other members of the Congress. Since our last Conference, many things have happened, amongst them the holding of the Congress of the People. Then there is the Conference of all sections of this Province, and social, cultural and political organisations which are formed to fight against the iniquitous administration. It is deplorable that our Government's attitude towards and its treatment of us is so much against the world opinion. For instance, the United Nations Organisation of which our Government is a member, which times without number have condemned racial discrimination. The United Kingdom itself is opposed to this un-Christian policy. Let us hope our Government will profit by the trend of things in Africa and elsewhere and will soon realise the falacy of their one-sided policy. Only recently there was a convention of the Capricorn African Society which has held its meeting on the shores of Lake Nyasa. 150 Men and women, Europeans, Africans, Asians, Coloureds as representatives of these territories within the province of Capricorn and their purpose was to eliminate racial discrimination. Their loyalty is summed up in nationalism, love of country and all the people who live in it, a way of life capable of binding together the African peoples in..." (Sergeant Kruger continues reading notes as 'Witness' voice is inaudible)..."... in a loyalty more than that of race. The Society has been working on these lines for the past six years.

The Convention has made wonderful progress, but the elimination of racial discrimination will take time, it is a bold concept and one that is diametrically opposed to the racial doctrine of the Union's Nationalist Party. I wish our Union Government would adopt the Policy that has been adopted in the Central African Federation. The Freedom Charter, so well thought out and unanimously adopted by the multi-racial people, its Magna Charta. In conclusion, fellow delegates, I once again wish to extend to all a very hearty welcome. Then songs by group from Maritzburg. Dr. Letele opens Conference. Then Lawrence : In the absence of Chief Luthuli, who we all know is the President of the African National Congress, and his absence is due to the fact that he has been banned from attending public meetings. Dr. Letele will, I am sure, very ably substitute his Chief. The speaker then Dr. Letele : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. It is my distinguished privilege to open this Ninth Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress. As the Chairman has already pointed out, this would be a duty performed in normal circumstances by the President General of the African National Congress. You all know the reason that forbids him to be here tonight with us. Anyway, I am happy to say that despite the fact that he is not here in person, I think he is very much with us in spirit. I have the honour to bring to you the greetings of my organisation, the African National Congress, and we sincerely hope that the Conference will aid not only you but all those who share in the struggle for National Liberation to unswerving loyalty to their organisation and leadership. We sincerely hope that from day to day more and more brilliant young leaders will come forward to replace the men and women, the leaders who are falling victim to the forces of oppression. Ladies and gentlemen, I wish to congratulate those men and women, those gallant men and women who are still putting their full weight into the

struggle for national liberation. I wish to point out that a few years ago, many people got a lot of fun and a lot of kick out of being members of these organisations. Even up to the time of the Defiance Campaign against unjust laws, many people associated themselves with the liberators' struggle, not fully realising what it means, and many just got in because it was fashionable at the time to be associated with the struggle. As I say, they did not fully realise what a national struggle actually means. At the time, positions of leadership in these movements very popular and at the time there was quite a little scramble for position. As we are all aware today, the position is slightly changed. Many of the people vanished into thin air, and others who tried to lead a little, also vanished when they came near the firing line. It is on this note that I offer my very sincere congratulations to those stalwarts who are still holding out and who are prepared to stick to their organisations to the bitter end. I am, however, certain that today any normal thinking person is beginning to realise what is meant by a liberatory struggle. Michael Scott, Father Huddleston and Harry Bloom have very adequately demonstrated what the true position is in South Africa. We all know that the truth very often hurts and there was quite a storm of criticism and reaction to the publication, for instance, of Father Huddleston's book, but there is one thing and I am quite sure you will agree with me, when I say that it is very difficult for criticise the sentiments expressed. He has dished out the truth. We often hear the expression of people besmirching the good name of South Africa overseas. The truth of the matter is that people won't besmirch the good name of South Africa but they reveal the truth and I think the people who are besmirching the name of South Africa overseas are the people are are in this very country. They are besmirching the name of our beloved country.

The Acts that are passed daily, I put it to you aren't they besmirching the name of South Africa overseas? I certainly think they are. One thing in Father Huddleston's book which has struck me, and I am sure struck many people, is the direct challenge to fence sitters. You cannot sit on the fence and you cannot stay there for very long. I think after the time of the Defiance Campaign it was very difficult to balance on the fence without falling over to the one side. I salute and welcome the very strong alliance between my organisation and the Indian Congress. I also wish to welcome into this very famous alliance a few other organisations that are prepared to fight for democracy and freedom for all in South Africa, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, etc. and a few that have perhaps not come out into the open. I wish to say, ladies and gentlemen, that in a struggle such as the one we are in, we must not be led away by emotion; we must be reasonable. There are some other - there are some other organisations that are also aiming at freedom for this country of ours, but who do not stand for exactly the same things that we stand for. We should not take up the attitude of just pushing them aside, but we are happy that at least some of the things we feel we stand for, they are also fighting for. However, one very important thing is that some people have thought, and very unwisely, that they are very safe by keeping out of these organisations but again I wish to stress very firmly that the harsh measures of the present Government are attacking with no quarter, whether you are in an organisation or outside of it. Therefore isn't it better rather to put up a struggle and fight for these ideals which we cherish and which we feel are worth trying for. Many organisations and many people have stood away and said 'No', that concerns the Indians, not me, or 'that concerns them and not me'. I have seen people falling down and being batted around by the police and I have seen a

number of people, many of whom are known to me, as far away from the National Organisation as East is from West. I have seen a man lying down, bleeding and shouting 'Afrika' and it had pained me to think that really the only thing that could have been his offence is the membership of an organisation that says 'Afrika'. We are heading for crises that are harder than even some of the riots that we have seen and I think there is still plenty of time to link yourself in some way with organisations that stand for national liberation. What then are the main obstacles of this road to Freedom? Is there no way of surmounting them, and if so, who is going to help us achieve that end? The obstacles are not easy and I think the only successful way to approach them is by organising ourselves and struggling for our liberation. During the last eight years of the Nationalist rule, every Act of Parliament concerning the non-European has on analysis been found to increase the burden that he is already experiencing. This is specially true of the legislation regarding the..." - something left out - "... I do not propose to discuss any of these Acts in detail. They aim at permanent subjugation of the non-Europeans and the provision of a labour force for their convenience, the convenience of the Master Race of South Africa, the Herrenvolk, or Master Race. Proof of this is the frequency with which one encounters such readily used expressions as 'White South Africa', White supremacy, baasskap, etc. The whole pattern strongly resembles that which gripped Europe, especially Germany, from 1933 well up to the end of Adolf Hitler. The Group Areas Act, which was aimed primarily at providing riches for the White in the urban and peri-urban areas to the complete exclusion of the non-Europeans and the disregard of their aspirations to establish permanent homes like all normal human beings, has resulted in a great deal of confusion. There is friction between the Government and the

legal authorities and friction between the legal authorities and the people. Every amendment has so far failed to make the Group Areas Act and it remains one of the most confused legislations on the Statute Book. This reminds me a little story I heard a little while ago. In the little town where I lived, Kimberley, is a place called De Beers. This place was declared an Indian area and the people living there are mainly pensioners and employees of the famous De Beers Diamond Mines. The people living there are Europeans. One gentleman said : It is the law of the land, we must do whatever the law of the land requires. He was notified to vacate, sold all his property and he moved out to another little place. The pensioners squealed and so there was a change and they were told they could stay there and now Transvaal Road was made a non-European area where this unfortunate friend of mine had moved to. He is a staunch Nationalist and now he says : I have moved from there and now this place is also non-European. So I mean it when I say this is a most confusing legislation. When the introduction of the Bantu Education Act took place, we were told that the aim was to give the African a greater share of the handling of educational matters concerning his own children. The present state of affairs does not bear that out. The truth of the matter is that any organisation or individual who dares to show dislike over this monster, the Bantu Education Act, is treated most severely. It is a crime even to teach your own child privately, no matter how well you are qualified to do so. Many of the members of the Bantu Education Schools have little or no education. They are merely puppets who carry out instructions from above. This piece of legislation has been forced upon us despite protests by practically every non-European organisation that I can think of, and also by a very large number of progressive European organisations. It is no exaggeration to say that of the African teachers themselves, 90% of them are opposed to this system of education. They were opposed

to it at the time of the report, before it became an Act of Parliament. If they dare breathe a word about it now, they are pushed out of the school and they will be without a job. Some of them have already been pushed out of jobs in any case. We hate Bantu Education and no amount of propaganda is going to persuade us to change our attitude towards it. Ladies and gentlemen, we have shouted ourselves hoarse in our protest against the Immigration passes for African men and the passes for African women. Some people are trying to give the wrong impression that it is a document. It is not. African women will not be able to sell their labour to the highest bidder and every movement will be restricted. The whole system is just part of a plan where someone just presses a button and labour pours in and if you don't want them, out they go. We do not want it. The documents that our women folk and girls, little teenagers, are going to carry, is 'to stop rows in public streets' is to be humiliated by the police whom as you all know, are usually very rough and disrespectful. These laws, like so many others, are 'to protect us'. It is amazing how often this 'protection' is inflicted upon us. One can go on all night about these things. I am just referring to one or two points. The recent Sessions of Parliament will go down in the history of South Africa as the blackest ever. Many observers have stated that we have gone back to the Middle Ages. Some say we have gone back to the days of Chaka. I beg to differ. History has not proved that Chaka dispensed with the necessity of trying his offenders before sentencing them. Throughout living memory in African law, I do not know much about law, but it is known that there is inkundhla. The accused stands there and the Chief and the Counsellors and he is cross-questioned at length, and certainly I have never known of a man being fined so many head of cattle without a trial, and so I strongly oppose those who say that we have gone back

to the days of Chaka. We have gone, I think, a few thousand years before that. In addition the power of the Minister of Native Affairs is now being increased. These medieval laws have made the South African Government the most un-progressive in the eyes of the world. In other words, the good name of South Africa has already been besmirched overseas. These days one often hears mention being made of the free world. I would honestly like to know the boundaries of the free world. Does it include South Africa? If so, perhaps with a gentle tinge of irony. In conclusion I now recall a famous speech made by Winston Churchill during the darker days of the war when the threat of the invasion of Britain was a very near thing. He urged his men to 'fight on, to fight bravely, to fight in the streets, on the beaches, ' etc. I now ask you to fight on, to fight bravely, to fight against the oppression, racial discrimination, wherever you may be. In industry, in education, the professions, in sports, in society, fighting everywhere. The Freedom Charter, which has become our declaration against all the inhuman injustices that have been levelled against us most form the basis of our struggle. Some people, some of our very strong critics, say the Freedom Charter is a little document that came by Air Mail from Moscow. Well, it didn't come from Moscow, it came from Cape Town where we had a meeting last year. In any case, we live in the days of the Bantu Education Act, and perhaps geography is not very well taught, and perhaps Moscow is a few miles away from Cape Town. Anyway, quite seriously, if there is any resemblance between it and the ideologies from Moscow, that is purely coincidental. In the Bible there are a few passages which resemble some of the ideologies from Moscow. If you look up the Declaration of Independence of America, after they had freed themselves from the oppression of the British Government, at the end of the War of Independence, you may see a number of

phrases there which very strongly resemble Moscow, and anybody who says our famous Freedom Charter is a document from Moscow, should go back to school, but not to a Bantu Education school. Wishing you every success, I declare this Conference open. The next speaker, N. T. Naicker (read messages). We have received the following messages. Some of them are fairly lengthy, and I do not propose to read them in full, but there is one particular message which has been given publicity and I would like to read it. It is a message by Chief Ntule - I think that is Luthuli - on behalf of the African National Congress. He says : 'In extending to you on behalf of the African National Congress our best wishes for yet another successful Conference, I would like to say that we in the African National Congress have come to value and cherish most dearly our co-operation with you in the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people in the Union of South Africa who constitute the majority of the country. I am proud to testify to the fact that our co-operation has become an effective and active force striking terror in the hearts of our oppressors, The white Government of the Union represents the Whites only. The hate with which the Nationalist Government is pursuing its policy is a measure of its recognition that we have become a political force in the country. In consequence of this fact we should be urged and inspired to redouble our efforts. We should not allow minor and temporary setbacks to deter us from our aim. Unfortunately there are some who, when our house is on fire, would like to see us divided instead of attacking the one responsible'. Now a message from the great Christian and democrat, whom the Nationalist Government feel has committed a sin by claiming equality of the back races with the white, Father Trevor Huddleston : 'I am glad to send to the Congress a message of goodwill on this historic occasion, the Ninth Anniversary

of the Congress of the People. The past year has been a momentous one in the struggle for freedom against racial oppression in South Africa. It is my own personal belief that there are already signs that this struggle is not in vain and I hope and pray that each year you may grow in strength until South Africa becomes a country where freedom and equality..!- some words left out -... Canon Collins : 'In these days the work of African and Indian congregation are vitally important. May they help to bring light into the darkness.' A. K. Gopalin : 'First of all I congratulate the Indians in South Africa for their united struggle for freedom and equality. Let your slogan be 'freedom'. We will fight until we have won. In our country we have always watched with interest your struggle for democratic rights'. The Transvaal Indian Congress wish us all the best and convey their greetings for a successful Conference. Freedom Charter. Your delegation heralds the dawn of the african...' - there are also some words left out - The South African Congress of Democrats : 'Freedom Charter, Klipfontein last year. We of the South African Congress of Democrats are deeply conscious of the problems confronting our task ... - some words left out there -... In this task we are strengthened by the South African Indian Congress with its long history of courageous struggle'. South African Coloured People's Organisation : 'The struggle is well known to the Coloured people and for that matter to the whole country. From the time of Mahatma Gandhi up to the present day the Indian people have contributed to the cause of freedom for the non-White people. Who can forget the heroic Passive Resistance Campaign'. The Natal Indian Youth Congress : the South African Congress of Trade Unions : ... - some words left out - ... to fight for the right for jobs and security. We feel that on the question of unemployment there can be no ... - some words left out - ... as far as progressive movement

is concerned. We sincerely hope that your delegation will be successful'. Then an announcement by the Chairman : Just as we regret the absence of Luthuli in our midst, we regret the absence of our President, Dr. Naicker, who is sharing the same fate as Nthuli who is being banned from attending public meetings. Their speeches will be ready to you by Dr. Padyachee. Address of Dr. Naicker, our banned President : As the banned President of your Congress, I have the greatest pleasure in expressing our sincere thanks to Dr. Letele for declaring open this Ninth Annual Conference. The presence of Dr. Letele symbolises the co-operation which exists between the African and the Indian... - there are some words left out - ... We do not talk of power, we speak of racial harmony and the brotherhood of man, for opportunities for all peoples regardless of race, colour or creed. It is this inspiring message which has come down to mankind from time immemorial which is the inspiration to us all in these dark days, the land which we so dearly hold to our hearts. We know that what we preached is based on truth and that eventually South Africa will emerge as a democratic nation in which all her children, White and Black, will be able to hold up their heads without racial discrimination. Freedom in our lifetime is no idle slogan. Asia has emerged from her dark days of Colonial oppression and subjugation. It is vitally necessary for us to remember constantly that we are a part of one world. From the experience of mankind the search of freedom the most significant feature is the continuous... - some words left out - ... The forces which have stood for world peace, supported by the common peoples of the world. We stand, the Natal Indian Congress, for the banning of nuclear weapons, for we believe that this should be harnessed for peaceful purposes and not for the destruction of mankind. One of the most outstanding events in the international field has been the successful holding of the B..... Conference held in

... - words left out - ... last year. At this Conference two South African leaders were present to guide on conditions in South Africa. The Conference must be regarded as an historic milestone for world peace. One day a democratic South Africa will also participate in such a historic conference. The B... Conference shows the determination of the colonial people to end ... - some words left out -.... While colonisation is rapidly coming to an end in Asia ..- some words left out - ... are trying to delve into the sacred earth of Africa. Let us remember that it is not only in Africa that the imperialist (,) is making his last stand against the rising tide of freedom. The people of Malaya, etc. are all struggling for freedom. The Conference knows my belief in non-violence. I am satisfied that violence cannot achieve the object of freedom that we hold so dear. A great deal of the violence that exists is the violence which has been .. - some words left out - .. on our oppressed people by the very ... - words left out - ... of their subjugation. Emerging against colonisation and give our wholehearted support for the fight for freedom throughout the world. We in South Africa must go on fighting the cause with the rest of our brothers. In the international field we declared our total objection to war and colonisation. We at the time emphasize that racial discrimination is a curse to mankind, the seeds of global war, for so long will mankind remain without lasting peace. South Africa .. - words left out -... a hotbed of racialism. Here in the twentieth century is a country in which a small White ruling group, dominated by the.. - some words left out - .. It is a country in which human dignity cannot exist as far as we are concerned. Last year Father Huddleston .. - some words left out - .. Today he is no more in our midst. He is abroad physically, but in spirit he will always remain a part of the freedom movement

in this country. They could not have sent a better messenger overseas. During the year under review the Nationalist Government has in its well calculated plan proceeded step by step in implementing the policy of oppression. The last Session of Parliament which has just ended was yet another .. - some words left out - .. Urban Areas ... - some words left out - .. The Law Courts are not .. - some words left out - ... to South African citizens for those citizens who happen to be black .. some words left out - ... After many years of labour a .. - some words left out - .. report is produced and yet the Government is not prepared even to .. - word left out - .. the Tomlinson project. We have a duty to our people and to the world to expose the real nature of apartheid. What is our answer to apartheid? Firstly, we must be clear upon our objection. Since the time that Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape over three hundred years ago, there have been many big and small struggles for freedom in this land of ours. Some of these struggles are fresh in our memory and there are others which democratic historians would record in due course. Our freedom struggle has .. - some words left out - .. history and one of the most important events in this history was the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter embodies the aspirations of all who believe in democracy and freedom. It is the duty of each and every Congressman throughout the length and breadth of the Union to become a .. - word left out - .. of the Freedom Charter .. - another word left out-.. in making the Charter a living reality. Our support of the Charter will come from the people. Your support of the Charter will only have a meaning if by your own action so that by being a Congressman you are truly a servant of the people.. - some words left out. The G.A.A. and the question of increasing unemployment are some of the issues... - some words left out here at the end. Then songs by the Maritzburg group. Another heading, Dr.

Hathorne, Congress of Democrats : The Durban branch of the Congress of Democrats wishes to convey .. - word left out - ... greetings .. - another word left out - .. Natal Indian Congress - another word left out .. wishes to congratulate.. - another word left out .. anniversary of the Congress of the People ... - words left out - .. the task of bringing the message of the Freedom Charter. We should see that all South Africans understand the Freedom Charter and work towards it .. - word left out - ... The movement in England which started in 1837 at the time when the working people were deprived of .. - word left out. P. H. Simelane, on behalf of the African National Congress, reads message from Dr. Conco : On behalf of the African National Congress I wish you a very successful Conference .. - word left out - .. the liberatory movement in South Africa.. - words left out. - Defiance Campaign in 1952 .. - words left out -... mark a new era because for the first time the oppressed realise what freedom is.. - words left out - .. At Klipfontein we also jointly drew the Freedom Charter which embodies the aspirations of the people in South Africa. Freedom Charter not document for any one racial group in South Africa. It also emphasises the undisputed fact that the Freedom Charter is indefencable. This is the role Natal has played in the cause of liberation. Natal has still to play a bigger role than she has done to bear the torch of freedom. To the most remote parts of our province .. - words left out - .. false prophets living in a fool's paradise of a South Africa divided. Some groups are patiently groping to see the light of freedom. They are first waiting to see the great aspirations of the Freedom Charter which should be their second Bible or Koran, a document which will undoubtedly lead them to freedom while the false prophets are pointing a finger at the Freedom Charter, our main object should be to popularise .. - words left out -

quislings.... - word left out - ... false promises to the African people .. - word left out - .. Definite signs of oppression in Bantu Education Act, women's passes... - word left out - ... We are all travelling along one road to freedom .. - word left out - ... A new era has begun ... - word left out - ... various organisations finding themselves having to go along one road. Let us bear the torch of freedom to the masses of South Africa. Professor Kuper, Liberal Party : I am here on behalf of the Liberal Party and I want to bring to you our very best wishes. One cannot go along passing apartheid laws all the time. There must be an end to it. They started seven or eight years ago. Group Areas Act, Bantu Education Act. There is only one act that the Government can still pass. This is the Government that has come to power on apartheid. It has been passing more and more laws all the time. It cannot stop. I think we can see in that last session what the Government will go on to do. Dr. Letele referred to the last session as the gloomiest April session we have just had. He told us that the volkswil was the law of the country, so that what we have seen then is the production of constitutional safeguards .. - word left out - What we are witnessing is the movement to Nationalist Party dictatorship. So at the present moment organisations like the Natal Indian Congress, we of the Liberal Party are prepared to help you in any way we can to advance democracy. Mr. Hurbangi, Vice President of the Congress : It struck me as the representative of the Congress of Democrats in speaking of the Charter .. - word left out - the movement that was started in England about 1830. It occurred to me to find out where in the history of mankind man has not faced - was not faced with problems of discrimination as we are faced with today and immediately I was struck by the period when slavery was in practice. That, too, was not so very long ago. In

1879 Mr. Wilberforce went into Parliament in England. It was very vigorously fought. With a very small band of people in 1887, in comparatively a very short time a law was passed abolishing slavery in the British Empire. The lesson we learn from that .. - left out - ... slavery is a crime, discrimination between man and man was wrong .. - word left out - ... Racial discrimination and slavery already forgotten in other parts of the world .. - word left out - ... in South Africa retrogression. I think we are placed in the position to think carefully and I have no doubt in my mind.. - word left out - ... total rejection of segregation. We stand for the one-ness of human society .. - word left out - ... People in Europe reading this philosophy of apartheid ... it is an experiment that is bound to fail . It is sad to know that sometimes men of great stature do us harm. It is not very pleasant to have to speak about it ... Dr. Malherbe's statement in the press, we very deeply deplore the statement abolish tyranny..... Afrikaner Nationalism The African people have not totally condemned all Afrikaners as being totalitarian ... I think it is a great pity that Dr. Malherbe has made this statement. It is time he retracted it, for it does not speak well of him as a member of a multi-racial university. If he holds those convictions then he cannot do the very best that is expected of him as the head of a university. If he believes what he says then he should go to the Stellenbosch University and not to the University of Natal. His statement is deeply deplored by the people of this country. Last year at this time from all parts of the country we were converging on to Klipfontein. All manner of attempts were made by the Government to obstruct the successful holding of that Conference, despite the fact that the delegates were held over in certain parts of the Union, despite the fact that travel documents were refused, yet the thousands of people assembled at

Kliptown and even after the assembly, despite the intimidation, despite the presence of the Mounted Police, that Conference the aspirations of the people. To my own mind it is a socialist pattern of things and it is the only one that is best in this country. I recommend the Freedom Charter is read by all of you who have not yet made a study of it, who have not tried to understand, I ask you to examine it, and to see that every person who does not know about it, it is the only hope that we have for the future. On behalf of the Congress I want to thank Dr. Letele for having accepted our invitation. It was physically impossible ... thank you for the interest that you have displayed in the cause of the people.' Then at the bottom, 'Adjourned - Hindu Institute, Cross Street, Durban'. That is the end.

Sergeant Kruger read from your transcript, is that correct? --- Yes.

Did he read correctly? --- No.

Did you follow him? --- Yes.

Was it correctly read by him? --- Yes.

You hand in your shorthand notes, EXHIBIT G. 759 and transcript EXHIBIT G. 760? --- Yes.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. COAKER :

Mrs. Wade, how many words per minute can you write in shorthand? --- That varies according to how much work I am doing at the time. Sometimes in Court, if you do shorthand for days and days on end, I could do quite a high speed. Probably about 160 or 170.

You say about 160 or 170? --- That is when I have been in constant practice for some time.

Can you recall when this Conference took place, whether you had been in daily practice or not? --- Yes, I had been doing quite a bit of Court work at that time. I am not quite

sure. It is long ago. I was doing casual Court work, then.

That means that sometimes you were employed in the Court and other times you were not? --- Yes.

So you may have been in tip-top practice or you may have not, you can't quite recall? --- I can't quite recall.

I notice that there are a great many points in the transcript where words are omitted? --- You know, when they started reading the messages from other people, I find it rather hard to keep up.

Is that because you were unable to keep up at the time or because you couldn't hear what the speakers said? --- I should think it was a combination of both.

Possibly in some instances was it because you couldn't subsequently read what you had written? --- No, it wouldn't be that. What I left out I left out because I couldn't hear or because it was going too fast.

↓ see, wherever you had made a shorthand symbol, you produced something in the transcript corresponding to it? --- Yes, I did.

Do you recall in your transcript that there is a reference to Cape Town, speaker Dr. Letele is alleged to have said, it is on page ten of your transcript. You have recorded: 'Some people, some of our very strong critics, say the Freedom Charter is a little document that came by Air Mail from Moscow. Well, it didn't come from Moscow, it came from Cape Town where we had a meeting last year'. Later on, in this same transcript, you had referred to Klipfontein and Kliptown. I suggest to you that it may have been Kliptown that he said, and not Cape Town. Is that possible? --- It could. It is possible, yes.

Will you also refer to page seven of your transcript. You will find in the first paragraph, near the top of the page, the speaker is dealing apparently with the Group Areas Act. He says: 'There is friction between the Government and

the legal authorities and friction between the legal authorities and the people'. Have you any idea what he was talking about when he spoke about the legal authorities? --- I have no idea. Could I possibly refer to my shorthand notes?

By all means, but I think I can suggest to you what the probable explanation is. Didn't he say 'local authorities'? There is friction between the Government and the local authorities and friction between the local authorities and the people? --- That could possibly be.

You think that that may have been the explanation? --- It might be.

In fact, in the light of the difficulty of understanding this sentence as it now reads, isn't it more probable what he said was : There is friction between the Government and the local authorities and the local authorities and the people.? --- I could only say it is possible. I am not sure.

You cannot be sure which it was? --- I cannot be sure.

Would it assist you in any way if you were to look at your notes, or will you be equally uncertain? Because you may have misheard what he said, I think? --- I could have possibly misheard. I am not sure.

Is the shorthand symbol for legal very different from that of local? --- No, it is not. It is very similar.

Can you recall whereabouts you were sitting in the Gandhi Hall, at Durban, when you made these notes? --- I should think we were more towards - no, I am not quite sure. In the centre, a little bit towards the back, as far as I can remember. I am not very sure.

You think it was more towards the back than towards the front? --- I should think around the middle.

Anyway, you were seated in the body of the hall, were you? --- Yes.

In the midst of a number of people? --- Yes.

Can you remember now whether you had any difficulty in hearing what some of the people said? --- Yes, I did.

Was there coughing occasionally and the usual sort of noises off that occur in a public meeting? --- Yes, I should imagine there were.

But the number of gaps in the transcript suggest, I put it to you, that there was more than just a certain difficulty in hearing. I suggest that it also means that there was a certain difficulty in keeping up with those who spoke rapidly? --- Yes, there was, because I was also writing in an awkward position.

You didn't have the usual table in front of you, I suppose? --- Yes.

Tell me, were you making these notes quite openly, or was there some attempt to conceal the fact? --- No, they were made quite openly.

Were you accompanied by members of the Security Branch? --- Yes.

Can you today remember who those people were, or are you uncertain about it? --- It was Detective Sergeant Swanepoel and Truter and there was with us, I think a non-European of some, kind, I am not sure.

Apart from this meeting of which you have just read us a transcript, did you attend any other meetings of this or a similar organisations in Durban at the request of the police? --- Yes, I did one other one.

Do you know what was the nature of this meeting which has just been read to us? --- I don't really.

I notice that you have got at the top of your transcript, on the very first page, a number of abbreviations followed by expansions of them. Now is that to clarify what these letters mean when they occur in your text? --- As far as I can remember, Detective Sergeant Swanepoel gave them to

me, told me what they were for in case these names occurred so that I could know what they were referring to.

You wrote them down then, for your own information?

--- Yes.

So that if they were mentioned during the speeches you could know what was being spoken about? --- Yes.

And the first notes you have of the proceedings then is 'Meeting opened by V. Lawrence'? --- Yes.

But you say you can't recall what was the nature of this Conference or meeting? --- No.

Or who had called it? --- No, I have no idea.

I take it that you received your normal fee for doing this work? --- Yes.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

NO RE-EXAMINATION.

(22.6.56)

PETRUS CORNELIUS SWANEPOEL, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. :

You have already given evidence? --- Yes.

Did you make notes in respect of a meeting held on the 22nd June, 1956? A Conference? --- Yes.

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

What Conference was it? --- It was a Conference of the Natal Indian Congress.

Where was it held? --- At the Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, Durban.

Who accompanied you to that Conference? --- The previous witness, a Mrs. Wade.

And any other members of the Force? --- Yes, there was Head Constable Truter with me and I think there was an Indian detective also.

Can you say about what time the Conference started?

--- At about 8 p.m.

Until when? --- 10.45 p.m.

Who was presiding at the Conference? --- Mr. V. Lawrence

Did he address the Conference? --- Yes.

Who was the first speaker after him? --- Dr. Letele.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes (154).

Who was the next speaker? --- Mr. Lawrence introduced Mr. N. T. Naicker.

Is he one of the Accused? --- Yes (141).

What did he do? --- Mr. Naicker read the messages from various people and organisations to the Conference.

Who was the next speaker? --- Mr. Lawrence spoke again after him, and then Dr. Padyachee read the speech of Dr. G. M. Naicker.

Is he one of the Accused? --- Dr. Naicker is one of the Accused, yes (139).

After that? --- Then Dr. Margaret Hathorne spoke on behalf of the Congress of Democrats.

After her? --- Mr. P. H. Similane, one of the Accused, spoke (150).

What did he read? --- He read a message from Dr. Conco.

Is he one of the Accused? --- Yes. (127).

Will you read to the Court your full note on that? --- P. H. Simelane spoke on behalf of the A.N.C. 'I will now read a message from Dr. Conco, the Deputy President of the Congress in Natal. Briefly stressed the role of the liberatory movement in South Africa.' Those are the only notes I have.

Then, thereafter? --- Professor Kuper spoke from the Liberal Party.

After him? --- Then Mr. Hurbans, Vice President of the Congress spoke.

Is he one of the Accused? --- Yes (131).

I notice the last witness has the note in her trans-

cript Mr. Hurbanji. Is that the same person? --- I would be the same person.

Did you also make a list of names of persons who attended the Conference? --- Yes.

Will you go through your list and mention the names of Accused persons? --- D. A. Seedat (146);

You can omit those you have already mentioned? --- Abednego Ngcobo (143); Billy Nair (142); Jackie Arenstein - Mrs. Arenstein (126); Dr. Mothale (138).

Then did you also make a note of the persons who were on the platform? --- Yes.

Have you mentioned them previously, all the names? --- Yes, I have already mentioned them.

You hand in your notes EXHIBIT G. 761? --- Yes.

Did you, at that Conference, buy certain booklets? --- Yes.

Which you now hand in? --- Yes. The one is Liberation No. 18, April, 1956. The other is..

That is EXHIBIT G. 762. The other one is? --- Fighting Talk, May, 1956.

EXHIBIT G. 763.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTINUED : (9.7.54)

Did you make notes of a meeting held on the 9th July, 1954? --- Yes.

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

What meeting was it? --- It was the Twenty-first National Conference of the South African Indian Congress.

Where was it held? --- At the Khajee Memorial Hall, Durban.

About what time did the meeting commence? --- I don't have a note here of the time it started.

How many persons were present? --- There were about three hundred people present.

Who was the Chairman? You will find it under the persons on the platform? --- I cannot recall who the Chairman was. I just have a note that the Chairman spoke, but I don't have his name here.

Did you make a note of the persons on the platform? --- Yes.

Isn't there a note as to the Chairman? --- There was Mr. J. N. Singh, Dr. Hendricks, Dr. Wollheim, Mr. V. Lawrence, Dr. Naicker, Mr. P. Beyleveld, A. J. Luthuli, Mrs. Lavoipierre, M. B. Yengwa, A. Patel, Bertha Mkize.

So you can't say who the Chairman was? --- I see now I have the one person as the Chairman, and then added afterwards the name V. Lawrence. I take it that Lawrence was the Chairman.

Did he address the meeting? --- Yes. He welcomed delegates to this Conference.

Will you omit what he said. Who was the next speaker? --- A. J. Luthuli.

One of the Accused? --- Yes (132).

Will you read what he said? --- His speech was translated into Zulu by D. Mqadi. He said : "Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen. I have committed .." I wonder if I could read from my transcript. It would be easier. I made a transcript of these notes. (No objection). "... I have committed unto writing what I have to say. I am glad to be here with you today to open your twenty-first Conference. Your invitation which I very much appreciate has given me the opportunity to do two important things. It has given me the opportunity to bring to you the greetings of thousands of Africans - not only members, but all Africans. We in the A.N.C. feel that we represent all Africans, whether members or not, for we believe that their inner feelings which they themselves may not sometimes utter. Being voteless and voiceless they sometimes hesitate to express them and it has become dangerous to express them-

selves. You remember the N.R.C. were told not to talk politics. The Advisory Boards also. The Churches are indirectly told to do so also. Whether it is by political machine that we are suffering. Chiefs are also recognised leaders but they cannot take part in politics. If they dare to, you know the result. I say this because we quite rightly represent them. I represent with you the thousands and thousands who believe with you to make South Africa a better democracy. Secondly, your invitation gave me an opportunity to speak of our common troubles, and not as at present where our fruits of civilisation are kept for Whites only - Europeans only - We believe South Africa is the possession of us all, that we invite our fellow White South Africans, I mean the two and a half million Whites, whether they help us or not we regard them as fellow South Africans. Our policies must be such as to regard them also. Some of us mean it. We mean it. I cannot give a further ?. This land is wide enough for all of us. There is absolutely no need to call for immigrants, there are enough of us here. We in the A.N.C. say let us create conditions where we can live happily. We work hard to obliterate these ideas of Europeans only. My main remark is our common task. It will help us to have brief aspects of our situation. Non-Europeans suffer from many disabilities imposed on them by Parliament on which there are only Whites. The result has been that Union Parliaments, since Union, have passed laws to the detriment of the Blacks. It is the entire White population dating back from Union which think in this way, because at Union we were left out. People are being deprived of what they already possess. All their rights they are being deprived of. By Union Acts, Provincial Councils and City Councils. You have lost all your rights of franchise, even here in Durban, even though they were not influenced by Nationalists. We are glad that from the White people more and more say that this cannot go on. I am not thinking of just

the Congress of Democrats, but of all liberal people. We appreciate their efforts in trying to break away from White public opinion. Through some of their latest legislation, many people will actually be deprived of their possessions. We are now reaching a climax of a process which started at Union. Yes, when that is being done, you are supposed to say 'Thank, you, Baas'. How can a man thank a thief for robbing him. Yes, I will not suggest that the Government are thieving. But they are engaged in legislative thieving, because the facts are the same. In the town you can see where the streets are bad. It is where the non-Europeans stay. Even the Mercury has shown that the needs of the African people are neglected, - and he quoted from the Mercury., Only 60% of the land promised to Africans has been given to them. Then they come to the non-Whites and say, don't talk politics. I shall give a few instances of how the people suffer. No share in public services and amenities. Urban natives cry under the burden of the high cost of living. They earn sub-economic wages. Rents in locations are supposed to be raised because Africans are earning £15 a month. In fact it is difficult to live on £15 a week. They suffer from sub-economic wages. Large numbers live in degrading conditions such as the slums. I once visited Jabavu as a friend. I was shocked to find chickens and dogs in a house. How could our City fathers in such places allow this. They were apparently not sufficient concerned, so it is that the children from these slums form the majority of the delinquent youth filling our prisons. These conditions are not conducive to the upliftment of the soul. This is all the outcome of political slavery. You must have political rights. You must have a way of bringing power to bear on the Government. If the women in England could not trust their husbands to safeguard their interests, how can we trust other people. That is our task. Fight, fight so that

eventually we will have our franchise rights. Now you say it is because the African has left his reserve. It is supposed to be his land, but actually it belongs to the Government. These areas are impoverished socially and economically because of the nature of the land set aside and because of the system of migratory labour. It is no wonder that poverty and sickness is rife. Take almost any Government report. It condemns the government policy in this regard. If you review the lives of Africans living in miserable huts. Who will build a better dwelling if he does not know how long he will stay in the huts. It is now even difficult to cut grass and timber to build houses. They must now buy materials and build their own huts. In place of the traditional huts, you now see shacks in the rural areas. African kraals in the reserves have become slums, because people have low wages. People on farms work for nine months without any pay just for the right to cultivate a garden and to keep a few head of cattle. In town at least you have a Rent Board, but on the farms the labour tenants are left solely in the hands of the farmer. Any protest he makes, he is told to leave the farm. Some pay, but nobody pays more than £1. 10. 0. per month. It is no exaggeration to say that Africans in these areas live in conditions of slave labour. They are even spiritually despondent. They have lost all hope in life. It is our duty to be prepared to bring hope to these people. Throughout history the task of liberating people has been a difficult one. When you are banned it is nothing. Worse is still coming. In the Nationalist Parliament we are faced with people who will stop at nothing to achieve their aims. Mr. Swart has said that if we want power one must keep it by force of legislation. Legislation by people who are not there. He has said on more than one occasion that the police must shoot and hit. If that is not incitement, I don't know what is. No one in our Congress has ever suggested violence. I shall fight

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

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

Location:- Johannesburg

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