

make laws? --- My Lords, that is most certainly true of England.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

* We have got that evidence by the Crown's own expert. He has already said that, many countries have 5 that who are not communist.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Is there any colour bar in these countries?

--- There is no colour-bar in either India or in England.

Do you consider it communistic that all 10
- to demand that all bodies of minority rule, Advisory Boards, Councils and Authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self government? --- I do not consider it necessarily communistic. I consider it a reasonable demand which flows in South Africa from the conditions. 15

Under the second portion, "All national groups shall have equal fights". What is the position in this country in regard to equality for all national groups or races in the bodies of state, in the Courts and in the schools? --- My Lords, there is at present not 20 equal status in the bodies of state, not in the Courts in the sense that the personnel of the Courts is restricted to one group and there is not equal status in the schools since the introduction of Bantu Education.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER : 25

Mr. Adams, do you recall the cross-examination by Mr. Maisels of the witness Murray? Don't you think that might suffice for your purposes? When he dealt with the Freedom Charter?

BY MR. ADAMS : 30

My Lords, I don't know what that really means. Would it be correct, My Lord, to say....

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Mr. Maisels went through the history of Union legislation before the commencement of this century.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Yes, My Lord, but would it now be correct 5
to assume that the Court accepts the remarks made by
Professor Murray in his cross-examination?

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Is there any evidence to the contrary?
This witness may give evidence to the contrary. 10

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMIFF :

+ You are entitled to ask the witness in
regard to the policy of the C.O.D. and the other organisa-
tions, on some of the sections of the Freedom Charter that
have been dealt with separately, not the general demands 15
which are included in African Claims, but those that were
specially brought in, as distinct - the rest has been
dealt with by the Crown's own witness, and he has made
a number of admissions which you now seek really to get
from this witness. But there are a few sections that you 20
may deal with, that you perhaps should deal with, the
nationalisation, mainly, working the land, those sections.

BY MR. ADAMS :

In the light of what their Lordships have
just said, would you consider the section beginning from 25
"The people shall share in the country's wealth", and tell
Their Lordships whether this section is in any way con-
trary to the policies of your organisation? --- My Lords
there is nothing in this section which would be contrary
to the policy of the South African Congress of Democrats. 30
We adopted the Freedom Charter.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFITT :

✓ I think in regard to this sort of document
you might perhaps ask the witness whether she regards
this as communism or whether it has any relationship
x to communism. 5

BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, would you say that this section
of the Freedom Charter in any way suggests any form of
communism, as far as you know? --- No, My Lords, it may
do so, but I would like if I may perhaps from a slightly 10
different angle. — To point out that in our Congress
organisations, the one to which I belong, we do believe
that the injustices in South Africa can be remedied
with specific relation to this section. We feel it
essential that these demands should be met and this 15
particular section, does My Lords make provision of a
fairly wide nature, because although it suggests
nationalisation, it is a demand which I think is a demand
very peculiar to South Africa relating directly to the
restrictions which apply to non-Europeans. I don't feel 20
that that could be really classed in any ideology. It
is a simple demand for rights, and as such obviously is
supported by the Congress of Democrats and the Federation
of South African Women.

And the last section, Mrs. Joseph, there 25
shall be peace and friendship, would you give Their
Lordships your comments on this section? Does this in
any way fall in line with communism? --- My Lords, I
don't see that there is anything here that falls in line
with communism. I think that it expresses very clearly 30
also the aims of the South African Peace Council of which
I was a member, as well as those of my own organisations.

I don't know if there is very much that I can add to that, My Lords. The clauses in this are clauses which are peculiarly related to the South African situation.

Mrs. Joseph, were you searched on the -
in October, 1954, the 27th of September, 1955 and the 4th 5
December, 1956? --- These dates are the dates when my
flat was raided by the police and a number of documents
were taken away.

Were all documents in your possession taken
away on these occasions, or only selected documents? --- 10
It was merely a selection of the documents that I had in
my flat. May I just clarify, My Lords, it wasn't as if
there was on all occasions an extensive search, many
documents were scrutinised, but only a relative small
selection was taken away. 15

Do you have a library? --- I have a large
number of books in my flat. When I was studying...

Could you perhaps give their Lordships an
indication as to the extent of your library? --- My Lords,
amongst my books there are a large number of textbooks 20
which I used when I was studying for the Diploma of
Social Studies. These are books which relate to
Social Work, psychology...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

x Do we want an auctioneer's list of the 25
library? Or do we only want to know that a large number
of the books concern subjects which are not directly
linked with politics, but with your own qualifications
which you hold.

BY MR. ADAMS : 30

With respect, My Lord, I think some sinister
significance is placed on it, for example I myself - a lot

of documents were taken from my possession, and many of those documents consisted on books on Marxism and so forth. Only these books had been ...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

* Well, I think that has ~~been~~ brought out 5
already. I think most of the policeman who gave evidence said that there were a number of other books, but we only took these. You can ask the witness whether there were a large number of other books which were not taken, dealing with a variety of subjects, and then we know. I don't want to listen to a long list of the various books that were there.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, were there other political books that were not taken from you? --- There were books, 15
political books, history books, political history books.

Amongst the documents taken away from you, Mrs. Joseph, is this document H.J. 27. It is, My Lords, the demands of the women of South Africa, presented by the Transvaal Region of the Federation of South African 20
Women. Do you know this document? --- I do.

To who were these demands directed? --- My Lords, this was the document which was presented to the government, at least presented to their offices on the 27th October, 1955 on the occasion of the first 25
demonstration of women of all races to the Union Buildings.

Before the 27th October, 1955 was there any other communication with the Ministers? --- Yes, My Lord, the Federation of South African Women who were organising this protest wrote to the Minister of Native Affairs, 30
the Minister of the Interior, the Minister of Justice and the Minister for Labour, informing the Ministers

that the women had decided to come to Pretoria, and requesting them to be present on that date to receive the spokesmen of the women, so that the women could discuss their grievances with these Cabinet Ministers.

As far as you know, was it consistent with the policies of your organisations to meet these Ministers? --- Yes, My Lords, it was. It has always been our policy, it was a form of struggle of meeting the Ministers, meeting officials to discuss our grievances, although we have felt compelled, as I have stated, by the lack of results to go also beyond that procedure.

Can you explain to the Court why the Federation of South African Women organised such large groups of women to present their demands? --- Yes, My Lords, the reason was that we wanted to make it clear that when we send deputations to meet people, that they do have a wide support by women of all races. We felt that that is extremely important that that should be so, so that it could be clear that we were not speaking for a small group, but there were the women themselves, each one with her demands in her hand, but nevertheless prepared and anxious for the elected spokeswomen to discuss the demands with the authorities.

Mrs. Joseph, what inspired this protest? --- My Lords, the form of this protest was inspired by the protest and demonstration that was made by European women to the Union Buildings in June, 1955, a protest against the Senate Act. I myself took part in that demonstration which I think the Court will remember lasted for two days and we slept outside the Union Buildings. The non-European women, felt My Lords, this was expressed at one of our conferences, that the European

women had not - My Lords, let me explain the European women had not invited the non-European women to accompany them on their demonstration although these were issued which effected the whole of the people of South Africa, and thus the women were inspired, the non-European women were inspired by this form of protest and decided that they would themselves go to the Union Buildings in an endeavour to see the Cabinet Ministers there. 5

Mrs. Joseph, did you yourself participate in any other demonstrations to the Union Buildings, organised by any organisation other than the Congresses? --- Yes, My Lord, in the one that I had just mentioned, I participated in the first demonstration of European women to the Union Buildings. 10

Would you look at the Exhibit H.J. 44. What is this document? --- My Lords, this document is a typescript of the closing speech which was made by an Indian Woman at the Federation Conference which was held on the 2nd of December, 1956. 15

In the document there is reference to half a million pledges by women who oppose passes. Would you explain to the Court what the purpose of this campaign was? --- Yes, My Lords. This flows from the National Conference of the Federation that was held immediately after the 1956 protest to the Union Buildings. The feeling of that Conference was that although so many thousands of women had been mobilised into this protest, it was nevertheless important that this opposition to passes should be made clear amongst women all over the Transvaal. We felt that our protest, large as it was, did yet not bring in a large number, the majority of the non-European women and the European women of the Transvaal. 25 30

May I correct that - I mean of South Africa. And the resolution was taken at the National Conference that our task should be to work amongst women on a far wider basis on this particular issue. The Transvaal Conference which was held in the following December, implemented this 5 resolution of the National Conference by themselves passing a resolution that they would endeavour to obtain half a million pledges from women of all races, that they would continue to oppose not only passes for women, but the pass system, until the pass system should be abolished.10

H.J. 87, is that the resolution that was taken by the women? I have marked near the middle of the page a portion. Please read that out? --- This part of the resolution reads : "We resolve that we shall obtain personal pledges from Transvaal women of all races that 15 they will oppose passes for women and all pass laws, and that we shall endeavour to obtain five hundred thousand pledges by Easter 1957; that we shall take these pledges to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Native Affairs.

H.J. 54, is an invitation to branches to 20 attend this Conference. This document appears in the Violent Schedule, My Lord, under B. 102, My Lord, page 25 of the violent schedule. In this letter, Mrs. Joseph, - My Lords, it is 129 - reference is made to a plan for effective action by women against oppressive measures. 25 What would you consider to be an effective measure? --- What we had in mind My Lords, by - to plan for effective action against these oppressive measures, which was specified earlier in the letter as the Group Areas Act and the Pass Laws, was that through our campaign, 30 firstly if we could obtain half a million pledges of opposition from African women, and our second campaign was

to obtain thousands of signatures to a protest against the Group Areas Act, we considered that effective action would be the successful carrying out of these campaigns, which would, we felt, demonstrate very clearly to the electorate and to the government, the opposition of women on a very large scale to these measures, and it was our hope that this action would be effective in that it might firstly deter the government from carrying on with the passes for African women, from implementing the Group Areas Act. These were the immediate goals. But we also had in mind the actual repeal of the Group Areas Act and of the pass laws. This My Lord, is what we meant by our plan for effective action by women.

H.J. 42 is a Resolution on the Group Areas Act also passed at this Conference. H.J. 68, is that the resolution was - that was passed at this Conference? --- Yes, My Lords.

H.J. 68 is a copy of a letter written by the Federation of South African Women to the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. This My Lords, again appears in the Violent Schedule - is that a similar invitation to the earlier one? --- Yes, My Lords, this is similar to the previous exhibit which was an invitation to the African National Congress Women's League Branches to send delegates to the Conference, and this is a similar invitation addressed to the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress asking for delegates from their organisation.

Bearing in mind that the Crown refers to the whole document in its violent schedule, suggesting the implementation of extra-parliamentary actions, would you give your comment on this document in the light of this allegation? --- My Lords, this is really a very simple

document which sets out why the Conference was convened, as to mobilise women of all races into the Anti-Race Campaign, and the Campaign against the Group Areas Act. It speaks of the election of office bearers for the Federation. It expresses the hope....

5

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

But this document has been read it.

What would you like her to comment on?

BY MR. ADAMS :

She wrote the letter, My Lord, and ...

10

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

* and that she had no violence in mind at all. Is that your view? --- Yes, My Lords. When I wrote this letter I had no violence in mind at all. My reference to what would be extra-parliamentary action was certainly not in terms of violence. It was in line with our policy in relation to the use of extra-parliamentary action.

15

BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, did that extra-parliamentary action involve a deputation to the Cabinet Ministers? --- the hope, as I think I have already expressed, - the idea was, the purpose was that when these pledges had been collected and when we had thousands of signatures against the Group Areas Act, it was our intention then to take them once again to the Ministers with the hope that this time they would agree to meet the women and to discuss their grievances with them. On the two previous occasions of the Iretoria demonstrations, My Lord, the Minister did not meet the women, but it was always our hope that eventually we would arrive at the position when the Ministers would agree to meet us and discuss our grievances.

20

25

30

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 89, another
 resolution, and I would ^{like} you to read it into the record,
 it is very short? --- The resolution reads, My Lords,
 "As women and mothers we who are assembled here at this
 Conference are profoundly shocked by the outbreaks of 5
 violence and the revival of the war spirit in many parts
 of the world, and we feel deeply the suffering of all
 families involved. To all these women wherever they are,
 whoever they may be, who endure today the agonies and
 hardships of violence and slaughter, we send a message 10
 of solidarity and sympathy. Conference calls upon the
 government of South Africa to do all in its power to
 bring about an end to hostilities and to urge the return
 to negotiation for peaceful settlement."

Was this resolution adopted? --- This 15
 resolution was adopted at that Conference which was held
 in December, 1956.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Is it correct that this stood in relation
 to the events in Hungary? --- Yes, My Lords, as I remember 20
 the discussion at the Conference, this resolution was
 moved specifically to express our sympathy with all
 people who had suffered.

BY MR. ADAMS :

H.J. 88, H.J. 89 and H.J. 90, were other 25
 resolutions also passed at this Conference?--- My Lords,
 may I just add something on this resolution. It was my
 resolution and I moved it, My Lords, and that is why I
 am in a position to state clearly what the reference of
 this resolution was. 30

Would you tell Their Lordships what the other
 resolutions were? --- The other resolutions taken at that

Conference My Lords, deals with the Nursing Act Amendment Bill, which proposed to introduce apartheid into the nursing profession. The second resolution records our opposition to Bantu Education and welcomed the introduction of cultural clubs and home education as the only possible present alternative to Bantu Education; and the third resolution expressed the concern of Conference at the renewal in Klerksdorp of the inhuman practice of re-classification amongst the Coloured people. This resolution condemned the Population Registration Act as unnecessary and its implementation as inhuman.

H.J. 55, it is also B. 96, and F. 5. Is that the invitation calling all women to this Conference? --- Yes, My Lords, this is the leaflet which invited women to this Conference. 15

H.J. 62, H.J. 68, H.J. 79, H.J. 66, H.J. 65, H.J. 67, H.J. 69, H.J. 70, H.J. 71, were these also invitations sent out with regard to this Conference to various organisations? Would you read out the names of the organisations to which these invitations were sent? --- 20
The General Secretary, the South African Labour Party; The Secretary, South African Liberal Party; The Secretary, the National Council of Women of South Africa, Johannesburg Branch; the Secretary, the Institute of Race Relations; the Secretary, Business and Professional Women's Club of Johannesburg; the Secretary, the Congress of Democrats; the Food and Canning Workers Union and the South African Coloured People's Organisation. 25

Would you compare this invitation with the Exhibit H.J. 68, which is the invitation sent to the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress? --- Yes, My Lords, these are similar invitations, My Lord. 30

You attended this Conference?--- Yes, My Lord, I was there.

And the Conference was held three days before you were arrested in this case? --- That is so.

Would you say that the women were in a 5
dangerously explosive mood at this Conference? --- No, My Lords, not at all. The women came therein considerable numbers, ready to discuss their difficulties and obviously determined to go on with their campaigns against passes and Group Areas. As I remember the Conference it was no 10
different from any other Conference. Discussions were conducted in a very calm atmosphere.

Of all these organisations that were invited, would you say - would you tell Their Lordships which organisations did attend this Conference? --- My Lords, I 15
am speaking from memory, because the fact that I was arrested two days later and many of my documents were taken away, prevented me from making a written report on the Conference, which would be my normal practice. But I remember that the Congress organisations were represen- 20
ted, the Food and Canning Workers Union was there, the Liberal Party sent women to this Conference, and there were women there from the Black Sash, and there was a representative as far as I can remember also from the South African Labour Party. 25

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 51, which is a report of the Transvaal Regional Committee of the Federation of South African Women. My Lords, this document was read in at page 2516 and 2536 of the record. It is also in the Violent Schedule. This report refers 30
to a campaign against increased rentals in the non-European townships? --- That is so.

Will you briefly explain to the Court how this campaign was conducted? --- My Lord, this was a report of the work of the Federation covering a period of twenty months. The campaign against increased rentals was the first - the second campaign of the Federation. It was in 5 November, 1954, and this Report gives an account of the holding of a Conference and refers to the memorandum that was sent to the Minister of Native Affairs and the Town Clerk, and also reports that the Non-European Affairs and Housing Committee of the City Council received our repre- 10 sentative, and that the Minister of Native Affairs refused to meet us, but sent us a lengthy explanation of the necessity to increase rentals. It also emphasises that should the proposal to increase rents be re-introduced, - it had in fact My Lords been dropped - it will be the 15 duty of the Federation to take up the campaign again.

Who drew up this report? --- I drew up this Report, My Lord, as the Regional Secretary.

Would you also comment on the report, bearing in mind that it is referred to in the violent 20 schedule, the Crown alleges that it denounced the present state and advocated a different form of state, implying thereby a communist state? --- My Lords, I can really see nothing in this document that supports that conten- 25 tion. It is a Report on our work and I can see nothing really indicating the denunciation of the present state or any suggestion of its destruction or its replacement by another form of state. It is a normal report of an organisation. It contains mainly factual matter, My Lord.

Would you indicate to Their Lordships what 30 other matters are dealt with in this report?

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Well, the Report is before us.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Then I won't put the question, My Lord.

Mrs. Joseph, did you attempt or intend to denounce the 5
present state form in this report? --- No, My Lords, I had
no such intention. This was my organisational report.

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 106. What
is this document? --- This document My Lords, is the
Minutes of the Special Meeting of the National Executive 10
Committee of the Federation of South African Women held on
the 7th November, 1956.

Would you read the portion under No. 3,
Secretarial Report No. 4?

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER : 15

That has been read in, I see, at page 2521.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, would you say this is correct,
under 4 : "Instructed the Secretary to circulate the article
on the Federation from Sechaba to the Regions and the 20
N.E.C. and to prepare a statement on the National Conference
for Counter Attack for circulation to C.O.D. members"? ---
Yes, that is in these minutes.

Who was the secretary at the time? --- I
was the Secretary. 25

What was this article which is stated here
to have appeared in Sechaba? --- My Lords, it was an
article on the Federation and its work and was written -
I do not know the author - it appeared in the bulletin
Sechaba, which was a bulletin of the Transvaal African 30
National Congress.

H.J. 112, is that the article? --- Yes, My

Lords, this is the article entitled "Don't Stifle the Work of the Women's Federation".

Bearing in mind that this document appears in the Violent Schedule, would you give Their Lordships your comment on this document and tell them if this document in any way supported the liberation movement? --- My Lords, this document really deals with some criticism that had been expressed in certain circles of the Women's Federation and it answers that criticism. I think the only reference to the liberation struggle lies where it is pointed out that the Women's Federation is part of the freedom fight, it must not be treated as a step-child, it is part of the Congress front. But My Lords, by that reference I do not understand that it implied that the Federation is part of the national liberation movement in the sense in which I have understood the Crown to use that phrase. It merely emphasises our role in the general struggle for liberation. It does not set us up as part of a specific national liberation movement, as an organisation. My Lords, I can't see any other reference in the document that could be related to this allegation. It is really a domestic document.

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 124, which is the Minutes of the Meeting of the Transvaal Regional Executive of the Federation of South African Women on the 17th September, 1956. Is that correct? --- Yes.

This document is also referred to in the Violent Schedule at page 129. The Pretoria Protest, which is referred to in paragraph 2, would you tell Their Lordships what this protest is? --- This is a reference to the protest to Pretoria in August, 1956.

Would you look at paragraph 3, were any of

the directions intended to involve any violence? --- No, My Lords, none whatsoever. It is a reference to a directive which would deal with the anti-pass campaign, conferences, the campaign for pledges, the formation of broad women's anti-pass committees, mobilising of Indian 5 and Coloured women on the Group Areas, these are the suggestions which were to be embodied in the directive, and there is no reference to, no implication and no intention of any form of violent action.

On page 2, paragraph 7, there is reference 10 to a letter from the Civil Vigilance Association. Do you know what organisation this was? --- My Lords, this was an association that was formed in Johannesburg shortly before this date by people, as I remember it, it was both individuals and people representing organisations, who 15 felt that inroads were being made on the civil liberties of people and that they should form this vigilance association which was a broad committee, which would, as I remember it, be on the lookout for any further inroads into civil liberties. In other words, My Lords, to be a 20 vigilance committee in this particular direction. As will be seen here this was in the early stages, because I see that I report that the role and function of this association had not yet been clarified, so My Lords, at that stage it was obviously still in the process of being formed. 25 But I remember that this was its purpose. I attended the formative meeting of this association.

Mrs. Joseph, looking at the document as a whole, would you say that it advocated, extra-parliamentary, unconstitutional or illegal action? --- My Lords, there is 30 no suggestion of any illegal action. I don't see any suggestion of unconstitutional action, unless it is in a

reference to frequent demonstrations, and that I think would also hold good for the suggestion of extra-parliamentary, the only reference here is the suggestion of demonstrations in the anti-pass Campaign.

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 125, which is a circular letter to all regions and members of the National Executive Committee. It is from the Federation of South African Women. This document also appears in the Violent Schedule, page 129. Would you give their Lordships a summary of this document? o 10

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

It is read out at page 2525 of the record in full.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Then I won't ask for a summary, My Lords. 15
Now on page 3, section 10, "The World Outside South Africa", the document refers to a circulation of a newsletter by the W.I.D.F. Would you comment further on the circulation of that circular from the W.I.D.F.? --- My Lords, this refers to a newsletter received from the Women's International Democratic Federation. I would like to explain, My Lords, that although the Federation of South African Women is not affiliated to the Women's International Democratic Federation, we do nevertheless maintain a sporadic contact with that organisation, and they do send 25 to us from time to time newsletters and news bulletins and we have occasionally circulated these to our other regions, because, My Lords, our National Executive feels that we do not want the women in South Africa, who are in our Federation, to be isolated from women in other parts 30 of the world. These newsletters contain valuable information, not only about women's struggles for their rights as

women in other parts of the world, but also valuable information on conditions relating to women, social conditions as well as political conditions. On this occasion we had just received a few copies, and that is why we sent them to our regions with the suggestion that they should copy these newsletters and circulate them in order to educate women about women outside South Africa. COURT ADJOURNS. 5

COURT RESUMES.

MR. MANDELA ADDRESSES COURT : 10

Your Lordships, before the witness resumes her evidence, there are two corrections which with the permission of Your Lordships I would make in regard to the proceedings yesterday. Your Lordship will remember that shortly before the lunch adjournment Mr. Faried raised the question of the use of the Courtroom between one and two, and he indicated that the Courtroom is not available to us between one and two. My Lords, there must have been some misunderstanding, because the Courtroom has always been available to us between one and two. What of course the Court Sergeant did when the Court adjourned, would be to lock the doors leading into the Courtroom, and when we wanted to use it, we would then look for him for the purpose of opening the Courtroom. At times it took some time to locate him, but we are convinced that there was no intention at all on the part of the Sergeant to deny us or in any way to interfere with our use of the Courtroom, and I think it is because of that misunderstanding that Mrs. Faried made the request to Your Lordships. The Court has always been available to us. Secondly My Lords, Mr. Resha, when addressing Your Lordships mentioned that only one 15 20 25 30

copy of the record was available to the Accused, but in actual fact there was also a misunderstanding here. Mr. Resha was only referring to the record in Court. We are in fact in possession of three Court records.

HELEN BEATRICE MAY JOSEPH, under former oath;

EXAMINATION BY MR. ADAMS CONTINUED :

Have you got the document H.J. 125 with you?

--- My Lords...

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Do you remember what this particular newsletter was that was the subject matter of circulation? --- My Lord, I could find out. I don't remember so clearly at the moment. I think there was one newsletter of the - on the conditions of women in the Argentines, and there was one...

Well, could you find out please? --- I will, My Lord.

BY MR. ADAMS :

I hand you Exhibit H.J. 120, H.J. 108, and H.J. 126. Are these the Information Bulletins of the W.I.D.F.? --- Yes, My Lords, these are copies.

Would you kindly give Their Lordships briefly what you thought what interested - what you thought the women of South Africa would be interested in? --- First My Lords, is related to the condition of women in Argentina, H.J. 126. It deals with the conditions in the Argentine, housing accommodation, sanitary conditions, education, irrigation, transport, poverty and working conditions. It also deals with the question of individual ownership of land, and also on sources of work. These are the headings of the sections. The next, My Lord, is

a very short one dealing on solidarity with Egyptian women, expressing sympathy with women, and communicating a request for assistance by an Egyptian woman for medical help to cope with the casualties incurred during the raids on Egyptian towns, and then there is, My Lords, a long - 5
 I am sorry, My Lords, the one on Egypt is H.J. 108, and now is H.J. 120, which deals with the following contents, an article on women's rights in India, women's activities and parliamentary bills, France (?), for better housing accommodation. I see there is also an article 10
 on practical courses for women, culture and art, an article on culture - there was some annual Exhibit in Mexico, an article on centres for the distribution of milk to children in India, and an article on the convenience of the second social congress of doctors and 15
 pedagogues in Argentina. My Lord, this represents a fairly wide coverage of matters which would be of interest to women and I therefore gladly availed myself of the opportunity as the National Secretary to circulate these bulletins to our regions. 20

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

I don't think the Crown was relying on the contents of these at all, it didn't read them in. I think the Crown probably put these documents in to prove or attempt to prove links between the F.S.A.W. and the 25
 W.I.D.F.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Mrs. Joseph, would you regard the contents in these documents as being communist propgganda? --- My Lord, I would really have to ask to re-read the documents 30
 before I could express that. If Your Lordships wish I could do so perhaps at the lunch hour or this evening.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

I want to tell you something, Mr. Adams. The Crown has not said that these are communistic documents. What are you going to do if the witness said yes, they do deal with communistic propaganda? 5

BY MR. ADAMS :

With respect, My Lord, as I understand it, these documents are alleged to have emanated from the Women's International Democratic Federation, which I think the Crown alleges as being a transmission for communistic 10 propaganda.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Can't a communistic organisation send out non-communistic propaganda?

BY MR. ADAMS : 15

It might, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Anyway, I think the point is that these particular documents were proved by the Crown to have been in the possession of the witness in order to show the link 20 between her organisation and the W.I.D.F. Just proceed.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Did you attend a Conference of the Women's International Democratic Federation? --- Yes, My Lords, in February, 1955. 25

What was the status of this Conference? --- My Lords, that Conference was held in Geneva. It actually had the status of a Council meeting of the Women's International Democratic Federation, and it was convened for two purposes, one was to discuss and prepare for the 30 holding of the World Congress of Mothers later in the year, which was to be on a very vast scale indeed, and the

other purpose was to obtain reports and gather information on the condition of women in the different countries who sent either delegates or observers to that Conference.

Could you tell Their Lordships what countries, if you still remember, were represented at this Conference? --- My Lords, as I remember now there were I think between fifty and sixty different countries represented there. I seem to remember that the total number of delegates was between 150 and 200. The countries included countries in Europe, such as the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and also Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Holland, France, Italy, England, countries from South America were represented, Japan, China - it was a very wide coverage. My Lords, India was very fully represented, Egypt, Israel, the Sudan, Algeria, Nigeria - in fact My Lords, I think there can have been very few countries that were not represented there, Australia, Canada, South Africa,

What was your status at this Conference? -- My Lords, my status at this Conference was as a delegate from the Federation of South African Women.

Did you address this Conference? --- Yes, My Lords, I was invited to give a report to the conference on the conditions in South Africa, and on the struggle of women for women's rights.

Is this document, H.J. 5, a copy of your address to this Conference? --- Yes, My Lords, this is a copy of my address.

The Crown alleges in this document that it advocated a violent overthrow of the state and the substitution therefor of a new state. It appears in the Violent Schedule. Before I ask you to comment on it, there are certain portions of this document which have

not been read into the record. I would like the witness to read those in. Certain portions were read in at page 2505 of the record, My Lords. Mrs. Joseph, would you read this document from page 1, the third paragraph to the first two lines of page 5 : "The social and economic structure of South Africa is built on the separation of White from Black in all spheres of life, and thus a multi-racial population is prevented from developing into an integrated multi-racial society. The population of South Africa numbers today some two and a half million people of whom only two and a half million are White, and ten million are non-White. Of these, over eight and a half million are Africans, the indigenous people of the country, nearly a million are Coloured, of mixed racial descent, and over a quarter of a million are Indian. It is this vast, teeming population of ten million non-White human beings over whom the White people seek to perpetuate their supremacy. The land in South Africa is mainly occupied by the White race while the African people comprising four fifths of the total population are crowded into less than one fifth of the country. The economic pressure of over-population drives the Africans out of the tribal areas to live and work on White owned farms, to seek employment in the towns, and in the mines, for wages which are through the race-dominated economic structure of the country, totally inadequate for the needs of the family. In the tribal areas the economy is agricultural, but the yield is poor and production remains at bare subsistence level. Medical services are sparsed and inadequate. Maternity services non-existence, and malnutrition widespread. The estimated infant mortality rate for all African

children is from 150-200 per thousand live births, while in some districts in the tribal areas it is known to be 500 per thousand. On White owned farms where African families live and work outside the tribal areas, conditions are little better. Cash wages are low, and often substituted by rations, frequently on a standard lower than that provided for livestock. With intensive farming, White farmers are becoming reluctant to provide these tenant labourers with arable and grazing land, and with the growth of virulent racialism, they do not wish the Africans to remain in their midst in any other capacity than that of fulltime labourer or servant. Women and children are required to work on the land, and in the farmer's house as domestic servants. These conditions compel many Africans to migrate to the towns for employment either as migratory labourers, leaving their families behind, or as part of the permanent urban population, bringing their families to the towns, as soon as accommodation can be obtained. The dominating factor of family life for the rural African is this prolonged absence of the husband and father. The African mother becomes the mainstay of the family circle, and must bear full responsibility for the upbringing of the children in addition to providing their food through her labours in the fields. Remittances from the absent husband are sporadic and often long delayed. In the towns the husbands are deprived of family life and exposed to the many temptations of urban life, herded together in municipal dormitories or near compounds. The wives and mothers, left in the rural areas, are themselves exposed to long periods without normal family life, and the marital relationship itself is jeopardised. But it is the children

who suffer most in these deplorable conditions, for although the elders of the tribe and the grandparents may impose a limited amount of tribal discipline, this cannot compensate adequately for the loss of the normal parent-child relationship. The family life of the African 5 peasant woman is further threatened by the recent legislation under which a million Africans are to be evicted from European owned farms unless they work for cash wages and are thus to be deprived of their cattle, and their dwellings which may represent a lifetime of work 10 and saving. Some of the evicted will be sent back to the already overcrowded reserves, others will be placed in other employment on the land, as the government sees fit, In plain language, a mass deportation to slave labour. In the towns there are a million African women, who with 15 their husbands and their children form the permanent urban population which the racist government is trying to head back to the reserves. These are the women who are employed as daily or resident domestic servants, who are deemed fit to tend the children of the White people, 20 but who may not sit beside them in the trains and trams, or use the same entrance at the Railway stations. These are the women who are employed in the factories, who contribute their labour to the wealth and prosperity which they may not share. These are the women who may not live 25 in the same districts as their White employers, but who must travel many miles a day backwards and forwards from the African townships or shantytowns, who must leave before dawn, return after dark to a street without lights, to a house or shack of one or two rooms, which - with 30 primitive, often communal sanitation, to water supplied from a communal tap shared by several families. Their

little children must be left without proper care, their
older children must have not more than three hours of
school a day, and must be taught Bantu Education, which
is not education at all, but nothing more than a training
for perpetual serfdom and service to the White race. 5
Their husbands must work for low wages, for their earnings
depend not upon their skill, but upon the Colour of their
skins. Urban housing for the African family presents many
problems, In Johannesburg there are already hundreds of
thousands of African people, those who have after years 10
of waiting obtained a municipal sub-economic house, are
subject to location regulations, limiting the freedom of
the family, controlling even daily visitors, imposing
a system of permits, and evicting the family if the
registered tenant dies. Rents are subject to arbitrary 15
increase, political activity is suppressed, permission
for public meetings withheld. And where Africans have
established themselves in independent townships, the
present government seeks to drive them out to herd them
into vast municipally controlled locations. In Sophia- 20
town there are sixty thousand people. It is a freehold
townships with schools, churches, creches, amenities and
a community life. This town is fifty years old, and now
because it has become encircled by White residential
development, it is condemned as a Black spot and must be 25
removed. This is the Western Areas Removal. Without
consultation of the people they are to be forcibly
removed from their homes, their freehold rights so rarely
granted to non-White people will be taken away. They
will receive totally inadequate compensation, and they 30
will not be allowed to own the land in the new areas
to which they will be removed. The very day after the

family has been moved away, the house will be bulldozed to the ground, so as to prevent any other family moving in. In the new areas the people will be fourteen miles outside the town. There are as yet no amenities, transport is already inadequate to meet the needs, of the neighbouring locations. But the African people must go and the removal is to be compulsory, forcible. It starts tomorrow, February the 12th, and the first four hundred and fifty families will be forced out of their homes. The African people have declared their opposition to this inhuman action and have organised a campaign of non-violent resistance to support the stand of the householders and tenants." 5 10

Would you look at paragraph 2 on the fifth page, and just read that in, please? --- "The Indian and the Coloured people too live in conditions of dire poverty and hardship. Human and civil rights are withheld from them, and their levels of health, housing, education, are but little higher than those of the Africans and for the same reasons. The White race must be preserved in South Africa in supremacy." 15 20

Now the last paragraph on page 6? --- "In the Transvaal a Conference was called to protest against the arbitrary and inhuman raising of rents, in municipal sub-economic housing schemes, and Conference sent protest memoranda to every municipality in the Transvaal, and requested that the Johannesburg municipality receive a deputation from the Women's Federation to speak of this memorandum. On every issue of importance the Federation issued press statements of protest, and individual members wrote to the local papers. The Federation played an active part in the Cape, in organising 25 30

the African women to resist unjust rent increases, campaigning amongst them to prevent acceptance of the increase. Conditions of maternity clinics are being surveyed, and protests made to the local authorities. Urgent requests have been made for traffic police to guard African children at dangerous level crossings. In all these ways the Federation of South African Women is making its influence felt, even in the initial year of formation. It breaks down racial barriers, despite the frustrating obstacles set up by apartheid, the difficulties of finding a meeting place, a hall for a multi-racial conference in a segregated city, the unbelievable complications of segregated transport, and the necessity for the escort of women after dark in a land of violence and danger." 5 10 15

Mrs. Joseph, was this speech drafted before you delivered it? --- Yes, it was drafted during the Conference in Geneva.

Did you draft it? --- I drafted it.

Would you say that this speech reflects the true conditions as you see them in this country? --- Yes, My Lords, I believe that it does reflect the true conditions as I saw it with particular reference to the non-White people. 20

The Crown alleges that this document propagated a violent overthrow of the state and the substitution of a new state. Will you comment on it in the light of this allegation? --- My Lords, both in the passages which I have read and those that have been read in by the Crown, there is no such suggestion, nor was there ever any intention in my mind when I made this speech of any destruction, violent destruction of the state. 25 30

I would like you to look at L.B. 1, which is an Exhibit, and tell Their Lordships what it is? --- My Lords, this is a typescript and has a heading in ink that it is a speech made to women in Rostock (?).

By whom was it made? --- There is a heading 5 at the top which says Lilian Ngoyi, and I believe this to be a copy of a speech made by her.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Were you present? --- No, My Lord.

When you say you believe that, is that on 10 hearsay information or not? --- It must be on hearsay, Mrs. Ngoyi told me.

Did Mrs. Ngoyi tell you that she made that speech? --- Yes, My Lord.

Then it is not hearsay. It is admissible 15 evidence. That is Mrs. Ngoyi, the Accused? --- Yes.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Would you look at the speech and tell Their Lordships if there is anything in that speech which is contrary to the policies of your organisations? --- No 20 My Lord, there is nothing. Mrs. Ngoyi refers to conditions in South Africa of the non-European people, which is very much in line with the survey I made myself in the speech which I have just read. She refers to the production of uranium and the wish that uranium should not be used for 25 a weapon of mass destruction, and then she refers to the legislation which affects the lives of the African people, and also mentions that women have come together to discuss what they would do to fight for their rights. My Lords, that is a summary of the speech, and I can see nothing in 30 it which would in any way conflict with the policy of my organisation.

I would like to return to the Conference of the Women's International Democratic Federation for one minute. This is the Conference that you addressed. Did you listen to other speeches made at this Conference? --- My Lord, I listened during that Conference to a considerable number of speeches and reports made by women from other countries of the life of women in those countries, and the difficulties which they were trying to overcome.

Did you also have any private discussions with the delegates who attended this conference or officials of the Federation? --- My Lord, I had a number of discussions with the women from other countries. It was a matter of great interest to me to make this personal contact with these women, and to obtain from them information in addition to that which was contained in their reports. I also had contacts, personal contact with the officials at that conference from the Women's International Democratic Federation.

From listening to speeches and discussions that you had, would you say that the Women's International Democratic Federation is used by communists as a transmission belt for communist propaganda? --- My Lords, I would not say so at all. When I went to that Conference I was particularly interested to ascertain for myself whether this Conference of women which had been sponsored by the Women's International Federation would show any signs of being used in any way for propaganda purposes. Listening to the speeches and observing the proceedings, my impression was a very clear one that this Council meeting felt the purpose of bringing women together from all parts of the world, where they could exchange their views. I saw absolutely no indication of that Conference

being used as a transmission belt. My Lords, I did not know of that expression at the time, but I was looking at the Conference from the point of view of the Federation of South African Women in order to assure myself that this International Federation was one with which we would want 5 to continue our contact, although that contact was never in the form of an affiliation. I felt it my duty to observe the Conference very closely, so that I could return to the Federation of South African Women and give a very full report. The representation of women from such coun- 10 tries as the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the other Eastern countries in Europe, was a full representation, but I saw no effort whatsoever to dominate the Conference by any expression of ideology and I returned from that Conference feeling that I had been given a valu- 15 able opportunity of exchanging views and obtaining information.

The Crown has handed in Exhibit S.L. 18, which is headed, "Calling All Women", and this is a call to women to celebrate International Women's Day at a 20 public meeting on the 20th March, 1953, is that correct? --- It should be 1955, not 1953.

I am sorry, that is my fault. Could you tell the Court what the purpose of celebrating International Women's Day is? --- My Lords, as I understand it, the 25 purpose of International Women's Day had its roots in the formation of the Women's International Democratic Federation. This organisation was formed in France at a big Conference shortly after the end of the war. A Conference which was called by women to organise women 30 from many countries to unite together, in order to prevent any repetition of the war which had just ended.

That first conference was held I think it was in 1946, and was held early in March, on March - I think it is the 8th, and the resolution was taken or the decision was taken at that Conference that thereafter women would be called upon to celebrate that date as International Women's Day in the various countries of the world. 5

Was this meeting held? --- This meeting was held not on International Women's Day itself, but on Sunday the 20th March. The reason for the delay was because I was returning from overseas, and the Federation wished me to give the Report of the Conference in Geneva, and so they postponed the date of the meeting. But it was held in commemoration of International Women's Day. 10

Will you look at this document entitled "International Women's Day in Johannesburg", March, 1955. It is not an Exhibit, My Lord. Is that a report of this meeting? --- Yes, My Lords, this is a report of that meeting which was held on the 20th March. 15

Who drew up this Report? --- I drew up this Report. 20

The Exhibit number will be Z. 12. Now refreshing your memory from this Report, could you tell Their Lordships what was discussed at this meeting? --- Yes, My Lords, there was a discussion on the conditions of African women in South Africa, and also on the importance of International Women's Day. There was a speaker, My Lords, on Olive Schreiner because this date was very close to the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Olive Schreiner, and as women we wished to take that opportunity of celebrating the anniversary of this famous woman. After the speech on Olive Schreiner, there was a reading of passages from the works of Olive Schreiner. 25 30

A Coloured woman speaker spoke on the difficulties of housing and transport amongst Coloured families, and an Indian speaker, an Indian woman speaker spoke of the part played by Indian women in the passive resistance campaign. I gave myself - I myself gave the meeting a 5 report of the Conference which I had attended in Geneva, and informed them of the proposal from that Conference to hold the World Congress of Mothers later in the year. And finally the declaration was adopted of the demand of South African women, and a resolution was taken to call a 10 Transvaal Congress of mothers later in the year.

Could you tell Their Lordships why the life of Olive Schreiner was made such an important issue at this meeting? --- My Lords, because as women we do regard Olive Schreiner as an outstanding figure, not only as a 15 great writer, not only as a woman who fought throughout her life for the rights of women, but also as a writer and a woman who had an understanding of the conditions in South Africa, and who as evidenced in her writings shared our view of the necessity for racial harmony in South 20 Africa and the granting of equal rights to all people.

Mrs. Joseph, do you know what the political views of Olive Schreiner were? --- My Lords, from my reading about Olive Schreiner, her political views were that she demanded freedom and justice for all people and 25 that she was opposed to inequalities of any kind, but particularly those which were based upon colour. She expressed frequently in her writings that a policy which denied rights to people would bring trouble to South Africa. 30

To your knowledge she never was any member of any communist party? --- I am sure that she was never

a member of any communist party from my reading of her own works, and of the various life and history of Olive Schreiner and from her letters which I have studied, I can see no indication that she could have been a member of the communist party. In fact I think it is true to say 5 that she did not align herself with any specific political party.

Would you look at this document, which is headed "Federation of South African Women". It is also not an Exhibit yet, so could it be Exhibit Z. 13. Is 10 that the pledge taken at this Conference? --- My Lords, it is not actually a pledge, it is the declaration to which I referred just now that was adopted by the women at this meeting held on the 20th March, 1955.

My Lords, could this document be read into 15 the record? --- It is headed "The Federation of South African Women". "We are women of South Africa, appealing to all women of our country and joining with the women of every country of the world. We are women who know the joy of having children, and the sorrow of losing them. 20 We know the happiness of rearing our children and the sadness of our struggle against poverty, illness, ignorance and racial oppression. We stand together with the women of all lands in our fight for happiness for all children, and peace for all peoples. We know how 25 mothers in other countries have suffered through the ravages of war, and today once again peace is endangered. The forces of war are placing the security of nations in jeopardy through an armaments race, and through the re-militarization of Germany, the ever present of the 30 - the ever present threat of the atom bomb imperils the world. We cannot permit such weapons to be used.

Together with people everywhere, who believe in and desire peace, we will not allow the use of these terrible weapons of mass destruction. We women are the creators of the human race, we will not stand by and watch its destruction. We do not accept the idea that war is inevitable, we know that our struggle for liberation, for ourselves, for freedom for all people of our country, for opportunities for our children, is closely bound up with the world wide struggle for peace. What is more, we understand that there are hundreds of millions of us women and mothers who want peace! We are the bastions in every country of the forces of life, of progress, of happiness. We women will make our voices heard. This is what we say : We do not want war. We want friendship between all peoples. We want disarmament. We want the resources now used for war preparations to be devoted to peaceful construction. We demand that atomic energy should be used to lighten men's toil, and serve the progress of mankind. We resolve to hold a Congress of Mothers, in the Transvaal, in support of the World Congress of Mothers, that will take place in July, 1955. Mothers of South Africa, you whose children are being exposed to the evils of the Bantu Education Act, you who are having your homes seized from you, and are being deported to special areas, you who have never known a proper home, but who have to bring up your families in shanties and in slums, you who struggle to feed and clothe your families on low wages, you whose babies die of illnesses that can be prevented, you whose sons and daughters are denied the chance to study, skilled trades and enter professions, organise for the Congress of Mothers, support and obtain signatures for

the Peace Appeal, build and strengthen our Women's Organisation, fight together for the future of our children and all children of the world."

Does this document express the sentiments of your organisation? --- My Lords, this document does 5
express the sentiments of the Federation of South African Women.

Does the International Women's Day arise out of any acts of violence in any country? --- My Lords, it does not arise out of any acts of violence, but of 10
course it owes its existence to the determination of women to prevent the violence of war.

Exhibit H.J. 145, which was taken from your possession, is a draft of the Freedom Charter. Do you know when, in relation to the date of the Congress 15
of the People did the National Action Council discuss the draft of the Freedom Charter? --- My Lords, the National Action Council for the Congress of the People met on the 23rd of June, 1955, and there we considered and approved the draft of the Freedom Charter, and that was the draft 20
which was presented to the Congress of the People on the 25th and 26th of June.

My Lords, this appears on page 2514 of the record. Mrs. Joseph, do you know if the draft Freedom Charter was distributed or circulated to any 25
organisations before it was adopted at the Congress of the People? --- Not as far as I know, My Lords. We considered it at the National Action Council at which the various sponsoring Congresses for the Congress of the People were represented. I have no knowledge that 30
this document was circulated beforehand, certainly my organisation did not have a copy of it.

Was it circulated to any organisation before it was presented to the National Action Council?
--- No, My Lords, not as far as I am aware, certainly not to the Congress of Democrats. We saw a draft for the first time which formulated these demands, we made some minor amendments to that draft, and the draft that was finally presented to the Congress of the People contained the amendments and alterations which we made at that National Council meeting which was held two days before the Congress of the People. The draft Freedom Charter as far as I was aware, came to that National Council meeting, and that was the first time that it was presented anywhere in that form.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Who drew it? --- My Lords, it would have been drawn by the Secretariat of the National Action Council. It was their task to see that the large number of demands which had come in from the various parts of the country, would be formulated into one comprehensive document, and that is the document which was presented to us.

BY MR. ADAMS :

Would you look at Exhibit H.J. 45, this document was read in as C. 997, portions of the document. Would you tell Their Lordships what this document is? --- My Lords, this document is a questionnaire which was drawn up by the National Executive of the South African Congress of Democrats. Our intention was that this questionnaire which is based on the pass system, should be presented to European people through calling at their residences, and that members of the Congress of Democrats should discuss the question of the pass system with

Europeans and try to obtain from them through their replies to the questions and indication of their attitude towards the pass system as such.

H.J. 46, which is speaker's notes on passes, do you know who published these notes? --- My Lords, I am not aware of which specific Congress produced these speaker's notes. I remember that they were in circulation towards the end of 1956, but I do not really know by which organisation they were produced, but they were used by the Congresses, certainly in Johannesburg at the end of 1956. At the same time as we were conducting this survey of opinion on the pass system. I remember the two documents being used together. It is a rounded document.

Do you know if these notes formed the basis of any discussion classes? --- I don't remember that aspect of them. I think they were intended, as I remember their being discussed, so that people who were going to speak at meetings or in committees on the passes, should be well-informed. It is largely a historical survey of the pass laws. They may have been used for purposes of discussion, but I myself haven't used them in that capacity. My Lords, it really is an historical survey, both of the pass laws and also of the struggle against the pass laws.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

HELEN BEATRICE MAY JOSEPH, under former oath;

EXAMINATION BY MR. ADAMS CONTINUED :

Mrs. Joseph, in these searched on your house, the police also took a document which was handed in here, H.J. 12, which is a signature form for one

million signatures for the Freedom Charter? --- Yes, My Lords, that was amongst the documents that were taken from me.

This document was read in at page 2506 of the record. Could you tell us what the purpose of collecting one million signatures for the Freedom Charter was? --- My Lords, the purpose of the campaign to collect a million signatures for the Freedom Charter was to obtain as far as possible a nationwide endorsement for the objects set out in the Freedom Charter, Although many thousands of delegates attended the Congress of the People, nevertheless we felt that it was essential that the Charter, as adopted at that Congress, should be taken back in its final form to the people of South Africa, for endorsement through their signature. 15

Would you look at the Exhibit W.S.N. 8, which is headed, "Conference to Promote Women's Rights, to be held in the Trades Hall, Kerk Street, on Saturday, 17th April, 1954." Do you recall this document? --- Yes, My Lords, I recall this document. 20

Can you explain what it is? --- Yes, My Lords, this was a letter which was sent out prior to the calling of the first Conference of Women, that was the National Conference to Promote Women's Rights, and this letter was first circulated to a number of prominent women in the various centres of the Union, who then attached their signatures, and then the letter was sent out on a wide distribution to individual women all over South Africa, that is to say in all the main centres in South Africa, urging them to take part in this Conference, and to elect delegates to the Conference, Any group of women would be eligible to elect a delegate 25 30

and it was My Lord, a very wide basis of representation. It was not organisational. And this letter set out the need for forming a women's organisation which would be a multi-racial organisation of women. The letter deals with some of the disabilities and urges that women should unite together in order to remove these women's disabilities.

Would you look at Exhibit E. 172. This Exhibit appears in the Violent Schedule under R.R. 5, and it was read in under R. R. 5 at page 1934. What is this Exhibit? --- My Lords, this is a Report of that first National Conference of Women. It is not in the form of minutes. It was a report compiled from the minutes, in order to circulate as widely as possible this report of the Conference which was held by the women to be of profound significance.

Would you turn to page 7 of this Report. There appears a speech by Miss Hilda Watts, entitled, "The Women Struggle for Peace". Would you read the fourth paragraph of that speech? --- The fourth paragraph reads: "When war was actually fought, as in Korea, the end of the fighting left the people in misery and suffering, but with the problems over which the war had been fought, still unsolved. The wars in Viet-nam and Kenya must be brought to an end. We must demand an end to the fighting and that differences should be solved around the conference tables, however difficult or long the negotiations were."

Does this express the policy of the Federation? --- My Lords, this passage does most certainly express the policy of the Federation in relation to peace and My Lord, I would like specially to refer

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