

"New Ages", just for the purpose of showing possession of New Age, My Lord, perhaps they can be put in one bundle - a bundle of New Age, exhibits Nos.A---, if they want to keep the same numbers.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

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I don't suppose there will be more coming in?

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

There will be several of the New Ages being handed in, My Lord. I couldn't tell Your Lordships how many, but there will be....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Are they going to be handed in separately?

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

My Lord, those found in possession of the Accused and organisations will be handed in separately, but then it is the intention of the Crown to prove the whole series of New Age, and that will then go in in one bundle.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

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I don't follow, Mr. van Niekerk. In connection with this witness, is he going to hand in further copies of New Age?

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

I don't think so My Lord.

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BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

Well anyway, in future, if this sort of thing happens again, Mr. van Niekerk, will you bundle them together?

BY THE PROSECUTOR :

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As Your Lordship pleases. The next document that you've got there, is that A.152? --- Yes My Lord.

789. (T.E.E. MOELLER)
(A.152 ; A.155; A.156)

It is a typewritten letter, My Lord, from the Joint Congress Committee, P.O. Box 4552, Cape Town, dated the 7/9/1955, addressed to the Secretary, Joint Congress Committee, (National Consultative Committee), P.O. Box 11045, Johannesburg. It is signed B. Turok, as Secretary. 5

Now, do you hand in that document? --- Yes My Lord.

A.153 and A.154 I am omitting, My Lord. A.155? --- A.155 was also found in those offices, My Lord, on the same date. It is a notification of a "Transvaal Indian Youth Congress invites you to a General Meeting on the 26th September, 1955, at 37 WestStreet, Johannesburg." 10

Who was the speaker? --- "Also hear Miss Lilian Ngoyi". 15

On what topic? --- "...speak on the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China."

Do you hand in that document? --- I do My Lord. 20

Have you identified the person Lilian Ngoyi? --- Not yet My Lord.

Will you do so please? --- Yes, she is Accused No. 14.

I next refer to A.156. Now A.156, is that a number of letters? --- Yes My Lord. 25

Now the first letter, where did that emanate from? --- The first one, from the Transvaal Action Council of the Congress of the People. 37, West Street, Johannesburg. 30

And what number is on top of that? --- A.156.

And the number in brackets? --- 23.

And who signed it - is that signed? --- It is signed My Lord, it is difficult to make the signature out.

And the next letter? --- The next one originates from the Eastern Cape R.A. Committee, P.O. Box 1294, Port Elizabeth, dated the 9th March, 1955, to the Secretariat, National Action Council, Johannesburg. 5

The date? --- 9th March, 1955.

Is that signed? --- Yes, C.J. Mayekiso. 10

And the next one? --- The next one is a letter emanating from The African National Congress, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg, dated the 17th February, 1955, to the Provincial Secretary, African National Congress, P.O. Box 9207, Johannesburg. 15

Is that signed? --- O.R. Tambo.

The next one? --- The next one is a similar document, My Lord - African National Congress, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg, dated the 4th March, 1955, again signed by O.R. Tambo, for National Secretariat, A.N.C. 20
The next one is also from the African National Congress, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg, dated the 1st April, 1955. Signed by A. Hutchinson, for O.R. Tambo, for Secretariat.

The next? --- The next one is from the 25
National Action Council of Congress of the People, 4a Kort Street, Johannesburg, South Africa, dated the 7th April, 1955, signed M. Moolla, for National Action Council.

The next? --- The next one, from the African National Congress, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg dated the 4th March, 1955. Signed by O.R. Tambo, for 30

National Secretariat, A.N.C.

Those documents, did you find them all in the same place? --- All in the offices of the African National Congress, My Lord.

And you hand in those documents? --- I do My Lord. 5

My Lord, I must say that exhibit No. A.156 at the Preparatory Examination consisted of a number of minutes of the Consultary Committees, which are being omitted. 10

No. A.157? --- A.157 was also found in the Offices of the African National Congress, My Lord, and it is a pamphlet "We shall not Move".

And on the inside of the document, is there a heading: WAR ON THE AFRICANS.? --- Yes My Lord. 15

"The Government has declared war on the African people. Africans in the Western Areas are in the front line of defence. The whole of South Africa is watching us and supporting us. The whole world has been shocked by the shocking scandal of the Eastern Areas Removal. Millions of people overseas have expressed their sympathy. We shall not surrender. The struggle of the Western Areas is the struggle of the African people and of all freedom-loving people. Anyone who moves willingly is helping the Government to enslave our people. He is acting as a traitor and bring shame to Africa. Don't fill in the Forms; Don't get in the lorry to go to meadowlands. Be ready to obey Congress call. Join the African National Congress - enrol as a volunteer. Resist Apartheid. We are not going to move." 20 25 30

Is that correct? --- That is so My Lord.

You hand in this document? --- I do My Lord.

A.158. Where did you find that document?---

In the Offices of the African National Congress, My Lord.

What is it? --- There are three documents here 5
My Lord. It is a letter emanating from the African Na-
tional Congress, 38, Market Street, Johannesburg, dated
the 6th January, 1955, addressed to the Secretary, Afri-
can National Congress Alexandra. Signed R.M. Resha, Trans-
vaal Volunteer-in-Chief - not signed, My Lord, typed in. 10

Does this letter say : "Dr. Verwoerd and
the Nationalist Government have taken further
steps to implement the removal of the people of
the Western Areas. A number of persons living in
Sophiatown have been served with notices calling 15
upon them to vacate their premises in February
this year. Congress rejects this legalised rob-
bery and will do all in its power to fight against
the forcible removal of our people from their homes.
Directives as to how this campaign is to be carried 20
out will be sent to you in due course. Your
volunteer chief and all the volunteers in your
area are hereby directed to report at cor. Meyer
St. and Victoria Rd., Sophiatown, on Saturday, 8th
January, 1955 at 2 p.m. sharp to do work for the 25
nation. Yours for Freedom, R.M. Resha, Trans-
vaal Volunteer-in-Chief."

and attached to this there are two roneoed forms issued
by the Native Resettlement Board? --- Yes My Lord.

You hand in that document? --- I do My Lord. 30

The next is A.159? --- Also found in the same

793. (T.E.E. MOELLER)
(A.159 ; A.161)

offices, My Lord.

What is it? --- It is a letter from the African National Congress, 38 Market Street, Johannesburg, dated the 6th January, 1955, addressed to the Secretary, South African Congress of Democrats, P.O. 5
Box 4088, Johannesburg.

Is that signed? --- Signed by O.R. Tambo, for National Secretariat.

Do you hand in that document? --- I do My Lord.

A.160 is omitted My Lord. A.161? --- A.161 10
was also found in the same offices, My Lord.

What is it? --- It is a page, entitled "Counter Attack" - bulletin of the S.A. Congress of Democrats."

"Western Areas Campaign. An Analysis." - 15
page 1 - it is a two page document, My Lords - reads as follows:

"Was the campaign worth while? This question is being asked by many people who took part in it. 20
It can perhaps best be answered if the campaign is considered in two parts - firstly the campaign up to the passing of the Resettlement Act, and secondly, the campaign thereafter. What was the aim of the first campaign? Obviously its aim 25
was to prevent the whole removal scheme. And equally obviously, in this the campaign failed. Does it then follow that the campaign was not worthwhile. It does not. The campaign was highly valuable, both to the people in the Western 30
Areas, and to the whole democratic cause. In the first place, it forced the Government to abandon its "site and service" plan, and to build

houses in Meadowlands, together with a school and some amenities. Without the campaign, none of this would have been done. Secondly, the campaign drew dozens of new, democratically minded people into political activity against the govern- 5 ment for the first time, and awakened the democratic opposition of thousands more. Thirdly, the campaign focussed world attention on the South African government, exposing the hollowness of its claim that apartheid is not open, terroristic 10 racialism. It is therefore clear that the campaign, even though it failed to attain its objective, was well worthwhile. It did not halt or reverse the policy of the Government. But it did force the Government to give way on some, perhaps 15 not vital, matters. What it did achieve was that it moved the whole people's opposition closer to the day when government policy can be fully reversed by the total defeat of the Government. What was the aim of the second phase of the campaign? 20 It was to encourage the people of the Western Areas themselves to resist forcible removal. Clearly, such resistance requires greater understanding, greater courage and greater solidarity than the simple opposition of the first phase. Can it be 25 said that in this the campaign failed? Clearly it cannot, until the removals have been completed without resistance by the people. At present, removals have only started; but it is still a long way from the end. The state of seige, 30 deemed necessary by the Government to effect the first removals, testifies to the government's

awareness that there was, and continues to be, a strong spirit of resistance to forcible deportation, which can still express itself in acts of resistance. Why, then the feeling of despondency about the whole campaign? Firstly, there is the misconception in many minds that a single act of resistance in the Western Areas could, by itself halt the removal scheme, and prevent its fulfilment. This would imply that a single act of resistance in a local area could, by itself, master all the power and authority of the Government. This is clearly not the case. The Government can only be halted in its course by a most strenuous, sustained and drawn out struggle on a wide scale. Such a struggle could, perhaps, be set in motion by a single act of resistance, but cannot be substituted for by such a single act. Secondly, there was the error of pinning faith on a single act - a strike call- as the means of defeating Government policy. There can be no single isolated act, which of itself, will defeat the Government, Such a strike as the one proposed for the Western Areas, is, at best, only a part, a small part, of a long, complicated and many sided struggle. It is appropriate, not on any day selected by the government, but when people have been prepared for such action through active political campaigning, through smaller and less dramatic, less open challenges to the Government. Regarded as a single, magic 'Open Sesame', rather than as a link in the whole chain of a struggle, strike calls can serve only to distract from reality and to draw

a red-herring across the course of the people's movement. Errors there have been, But what political campaign goes forward with error. Serious political workers must not turn to despondency and defeatism because of their own inexperience, but 5 must learn from yesterday's mistakes how to go forward victoriously today."? --- Yes My Lord.

And on page 2, at the bottom :

"New! Publications to read and sell. Report on the Conference of the African National Congress, 10 being produced by the A.N.C. New Life in China, by Ruth First, being published by the China Friendship Society. Educating for Ignorance - the popular C.O.D. pamphlet on the Bantu Education Act. March issue of 'Fighting Talk' is out - get your 15 copy from the office. "Fighting Talk" - Read it. Sell it. Counterattack: From this issue counter Attack will appear as a fortnightly journal. So branches should arrange for collection with the office accordingly." 20

This is a bulletin of the South African Congress of Democrats, My Lord. Do you hand in this document? --- I do My Lord.

My Lord, the next is A.162. Where did you find that document, Mr. Moeller? --- In the same offices, 25 My Lord.

What is it? --- It is Report of the Secretariat on the Western Areas, My Lord.

Is it typewritten or roneoed? --- It is a copy of a type-written document. 30

My Lord, this document refers, inter alia, to the Western Areas focal point for the major campaign

of resistance to apartheid, should be linked up with other areas with a more local issue. The whole history of the Western Areas Removal Scheme and the removal campaign must be under the supervision of the National Executive itself, working through its agencies, Freedom 5 Volunteers, giving the reasons for, and the call of Moses Kotane to make the Western Areas Campaign the Waterloo of apartheid. My Lord :

* "Report of the Secretariat of the Western Areas.

1. REVIEW. 10

After the Defiance Campaign, the National Action Council, examining the issues before the country, came to the conclusion that the proposed Western Areas Removal Scheme was the most ruthless and brutal of them and an important objective for the Government in its implementation of its apartheid 15 policies. The Council recommended to the National Organisations that the issue should be made the focal point for a major campaign of resistance to Apartheid; that it should be regarded as a spring- 20 board for such a campaign and that it should be linked up in other areas with the more local issues. It was the intention to carry out a nationwide propaganda-agitation campaign to arouse the people to a preparedness for wide-scale resistance 25 to Apartheid. The campaign commenced with a conference which took place on the 28th June 1953. The conference set up the machinery for the campaign against the removal scheme. At the beginning of 1954, following on the A.N.C. National 30 Conference resolution, further plans were considered by the N.E.C. of the A.N.C.: 'At the

meeting of the National Executive on the 17th-18th April, 1954, Cleremeont Township, Natal, the National Executive carefully considered after a full report by the Working Committee, the gravity of the situation created by the Nationalist Government to 5 forcibly remove the non-European people from the Western Areas of Johannesburg. It came to the conclusion that the matter had assumed dimensions of National importance and that the responsibilities of the Anti-Removal Campaign must be under the su- 10 pervision of the National Executive itself working through its agencies. It made an appeal to all sections of South Africa, Black and White, to unite and oppose by all means possible the cruel scheme of Dr. Verwoerd. On the 8th May, 1954, the Natio- 15 nal Executive of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.O.D., and the S.A.C.P.O. approved a plan of campaign now known as the "Resist Apartheid Campaign" in terms of which was fixed the 26th-27th June as the Western Areas DAY OFOR CAMPAIGN AND 20 SOLIDARITY throughout the country. On these days, meetings and conferences were called in Natal, Transvaal, and the Cape Province. The President-General, Chief A.J.Luthuli, made a clarion call for 50,000 "Freedom Volunteers" both for the 25 Western Areas as well as for the Congress of the People. The response of the people and their very high spirit shocked the Government and showed a clear demonstration of the People's solidarity. The significance of the Western Areas Day was marked 30 by the reaction of the entire ruling class press and comments of the people in the areas where meetings

were held. The Resist Apartheid Campaign embodies all Apartheid measures in particular:

1. Bantu Education; 2. Native Resettlement Act;
3. Pass Laws; 4. Group Areas Act; 5. Suppression of Communism Act; 6 Anti-Trade Union Measures. 5

(Report of the National Executive, 1954.)

The Removal Scheme is part of the Group Areas Act. Considering its serious nature, the President-General and Moses Kotane called upon the people to make the campaign a "Waterloo of Apartheid". The 10 intensification of the organisation in the Western Areas itself reached a climax on the 11th July 1954, when Chief Luthuli visited the area, and coinciding with the bans placed on him by the Minister. By that time the people in the area were so 15 incensed against the scheme that some of them were urging the defiance of the ban on the President-General, but the Working Committee advised against such an action. Various dates for the proposed removals were announced but in the face of the people's 20 preparedness, they were subsequently postponed. This had the effect of weakening the general preparedness of the people and resulted in a falling of activity among the people themselves. The majority of the volunteers however continued their 25 activities. The banning of the leaders which went on steadily throughout the period under review was perhaps the most important factor in the A.N.C.'s inability to deal effectively with the situation. In October the volunteers conducted 30 a survey which revealed that the majority of the people in the area did not want to move - not

because they did not want houses, but because they appreciated the explanations given by the A.N.C. of the principles involved and that the fight was not a mere defence of the property-owner's rights. But even then, there were a substantial number of 5 people who made it very clear that despite these explanations they felt the antagonism between the landlords and themselves to be more important, and who placed their need for more adequate and comfortable accommodation above any other consideration. 10

Constant intimidation and propaganda from the Government agents among the people increased still further the number of people who were prepared to be removed or who were undecided. The situation was further aggravated by a small section of the proper- 15 ty-owners who sold out to the Government and by exploitation of tenants by obtaining "goodwill" and by imposing other onerous conditions on their tenants. In the months of November and December the organisation and preparedness in the area was at 20 its lowest ebb. The Government, realising and waiting for this, served notices of removals on a selected group of people indicating that the first removal would take place on the 12th February, 1955. The Secretariat, after assessing the posi- 25 tion, attempted to strengthen the preparedness of the people to resist the removals. The activities of the volunteers in the area were increased and the spirit of the people again aroused. It was obvious during this period that the authorities 30 were seeking a clash. Numerous attempts at provocation were made. The display of how the people

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

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

Location:- Johannesburg

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