

PREPARATORY EXAMINATION.

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

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

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

REGINA VERSUS: FARRID ADAMS AND OTHERS.
KONINGIN TEEN:

CHARGE: HIGH TREASON.
AANKLAG:

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

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

INTERPRETER: -----
TOLK:

V O L U M E T

PAGLS: / ——— 200

-PREPARATORY EXAMINATION.

19th December, 1956.

BY MR. J.C. VAN NIEKERK:

May it please your Worship, I appear in this case together with my learned friend, Mr. Liebenberg. I call the case of Regina versus:

Farrid Adams, Mohamed Asmal, Yetta Barenblatt, H. Barsel, L. Bernstein, Pieter Boyleveld, Isaac Bokala Andries Chamile, Suliman Esakjee, B. Hlapane, A. Hutchinson, P.J. Hodgson, Helen Joseph, Paul Joseph, Fish Keitsing, Moses Kotane, Jerry Kumalo, A.M. Kathrada, Joseph M. Kumalo, Leon Levy.

Your Worship, in terms of Section 70 of the Criminal Code, which reads as follows: "A Magistrate holding a Preparatory Examination may adjourn the Examination to any place within or outside his jurisdiction if through the inability or illness or other cause of the"

(Mr. van Niekerk reads Section 70 of the Criminal Code).

In this instance, my submission is, your Worship, that it is desirable to transfer this case to the Drill Hall to be heard there as the space in the Magistrates' Court is inadequate to hold it in and the number of witnesses, and I apply for it.

BY THE COURT: Is there, on the part of the Defence, any objection against the application by the Crown?

BY THE DEFENCE: No objection.

BY THE COURT: In that case, the proceedings will be adjourned to the Drill Hall, Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: Norman Levy, Stanley Lollan, Frank Madiba, Aaron Mahlangu, V. Make, Piet Makgofe, T.X. Makiwana, J. Makwe, H.G. Makgothi, E. Malele, S. Malupi, N.R. Mandela, S. Mashimula, L. Masina, July Mashaba, Bertha Mashaba, Philemon Mathole, Jonas Matlou, J.S.A. Mavuso, T. Mmusi - I apply for a transfer of the hearing of this case to the Drill Hall on the same grounds.

BY THE COURT: The proceedings are now transferred to the Drill Hall, Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: J. Modise, Patrick Malaoa, J. Molefi, Moosa Moolla, E.P. Moretsele, O. Motsabi, Ida Mtwana, Suliman N. Nathie, Phineas Nene, Lillian Ngoyi, William A. Ngwendu, J. Nkadimeng, L. Nkosi, P.P.D. Nokwe, P.P. Ntithe, A.E. Patel, J. Poo, Dr. R.E. Press, J. Hadebe and Mary Rantha - I apply for the transfer of this case to the Drill Hall on the same grounds.

THE COURT: The proceedings are adjourned to the Drill Hall, Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: Robert Resha, Bennett Seitshiro, Nimrod Sejake, Peter Selepe, Sydney Shall, Marks W. Shope, Celeopas Sibande, W.M.U. Sisulu, Gert Sibande, J. Slovo, R. Slovo, O. Tambo, Simon Tyiki, R. Tunzi, H. Tshabalala, Douglas Chadwick Thompson, Sonia Bunting, J. Buza, Fred Caneson, Assa Dawood - I apply likewise for a transfer of the hearing of this matter to the Drill Hall.

BY THE COURT: The proceedings are adjourned to the Drill Hall in Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: Lionel Forman, I.O. Horwitz, A. La Guma, C. Makholisa, D. Mgugunyeka, J. Morolong, Lionel Morrison, J. Mpoza, J. Mtini, G. Ngotyana, G. Peake, A. Sibeko, R. September, A. Silinga, B. Turok, L.B. Lee Warden, F. Baard, Rev. J.A. Calata, S. Damons, D. Fuyani - I apply likewise for a transfer of the hearing of this matter to the Drill Hall.

BY THE COURT: These proceedings are adjourned to the Drill Hall in Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: Rev. W.S. Gawe, J. Jack, C. Jasson, L. Kepe, P. Mashibini, J.G. Mathews, Prof. Z.K. Mathews, W. Mati, F. Matomela, C. Mayekiso, V. Mini, E. Mfaza, W. Mkwai.

T. Mqota, B. Ndimba, J. Nkampani, F. Ntsangani, A. Nogaya,
T. Tshume, T.E. Tshunungwa - I apply likewise.

BY THE COURT: These proceedings will adjourn to the Drill Hall
in Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: S. Vanga, Mrs. J. Arenstein,
Dr. W.Z. Conco, S. Dhlamini, A. Gumede, J. Hoogendyk, G. Hur-
bans, A.J. Luthuli, P.J.S. Manana, I.C. Meer, P.G. Mei,
Bertha Mkize, K. Moonsamy, Dr. M.M. Motala, Dr. G.M. Naicker,
M.P. Naicker, N.T. Naicker, Billy Nair, Dorothy Nyembe,
V.S.M. Pillay - I apply for the transfer of the case to
the Drill Hall, Johannesburg.

BY THE COURT: These proceedings will adjourn to the Drill
Hall in Johannesburg.

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: D.A. Seedat, E. Shanley, Dorothy
Shanley, Debi Singh, P.H. Simelane, M.B. Yengwa, Gabriel
Dechaba, Dr. A.E. Letele, J. Mafura, Martha Moglakoane,
Leslie Monanyane, Abraham Sechoareng, Real Printing and
Publishing Co., Cape Town, as represented by I.O. Horwitz -
I apply likewise.

BY THE COURT: These proceedings shall adjourn to the Drill
Hall in Johannesburg.

THE COURT RESUMES IN THE DRILL HALL, JOHANNESBURG.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: Your Worship, before outlining the case for the Crown, I have an application to make. A summons was served on Mr. Horwitz against the Real Printing and Publishing Co. as an accused person. There is a small amendment that I apply for in the summons and that is the name is not correctly given. It should be The Real Printing and Publishing Company Pty. Ltd. of Cape Town, I ask for the amendment accordingly.

BY MR. BERRANGE: I appear in this matter, your Worship, on behalf of Mr. Horwitz in his representative capacity, there is no objection to the amendment.

BY THE COURT: The amendment is allowed.

BY MR. ROSENBERG: Your Worship, I appear with my learned friend Mr. Festenstein for some 40 odd of the Accused and I hand in a list of the Accused whom I represent.

MR. MAISELS APPLIES THE COURT TO ORDER THAT NON-EUROPEANS BE ALLOWED INTO THE COURT ROOM.

APPLICATION GRANTED.

BY MR. FRANKS: Your Worship, I am handing in a list of the Accused that I appear for and I would draw your Worship's attention to the fact that in all cases, I appear with my learned friend Mr. Coaker and your Worship will find on the list which I hand in, that in some of the cases of some of the Accused, I am instructed by one, Mr. Albert Livingstone, in others by Mrs. S. Muller and in the third group of cases by Mr. Z. Gamiet. Your Worship will find the particulars contained in the documents which I hand in.

BY MR. MAISELS: Sir, I am appearing with my learned friend Mr. Welsh on behalf of a number of the Accused, instructed by Messrs. Bell, Dunn and Hall and I shall also Sir, be handing in a list later on in the proceedings - we have only one copy available at the moment.

BY MR. BERRANGE: May it please your Worship, I am appearing on behalf of the Rev. D. Thompson, instructed by Mr. B.G. Bennett; on behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Slovo, instructed by A. Livingstone & Co.; and on behalf of a number of persons whose names appear on a list which I shall hand in to you, instructed by Messrs. H. Davidoff and Herman.

BY MR. LOWELL: Sir, I appear on behalf of Mr. Lee Warden.

NONE OF THE ACCUSED ARE UNREPRESENTED.

THE COURT ADJOURNS IN ORDER TO INSTALL A LOUD SPEAKER.

THE COURT RESUMES ON 20/12/56. APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

BY MR. FRANKS: Your Worship, speaking on behalf - not alone of the Accused whom I and my learned friend Mr. Coaker represent, but on behalf of the whole body of Counsel who appear for the Defence in these proceedings, I take the very earliest opportunity Sir, of drawing your Worship's attention to the change that has come over the scene since we adjourned yesterday afternoon. I invite your Worship's attention, Sir, to the scene which confronts you this morning. This, as your Worship is aware, is not a trial, it is a Preparatory Examination which is concerned with the question of whether or not evidence will ultimately be adduced which will justify the authorities, the Attorney General, in charging one or more of the Accused. It is under these circumstances, Sir, that your Worship confronts this unprecedented scene which we see before us today. The Accused, ~~caged~~ - as your Worship sees - ~~caged~~, one might almost say - I am most anxious not to allow my indignation to get the better of the language which I use - but I think I am justified in submitting to your Worship they appear before the Court caged like wild beasts and it is in these circumstances that in the South Africa of ours it is expected

that a Preparatory Examination shall take its course. I say, Sir, that it is a shame on anybody who is responsible for the position in which we find ourselves this morning, it is a shame that this degradation should have been imposed for however short a time, not alone upon the Accused, but upon all those who are associated in this matter, with the administration of justice.

Nor does the matter end there, Sir. I have it from some of my learned colleagues - it didn't happen to me because I happened to come late - but I have it from some of my learned colleagues that they made an attempt to communicate with the Accused, and knowing your Worship as one does, your Worship will be the first to agree, that that is a right to which they are entitled, but in that attempt to communicate with the Accused, they were refused access to them, except speaking with the bars between them and the clients whom they wanted to interview.

I conclude by informing your Worship, and I speak, Sir, on behalf of every member of the Bar and the Side Bar who is engaged upon the Defence in this case, that if these are the conditions upon which it is proposed to hold this Preparatory Examination, the whole body of us propose to leave this Court and to take no further part in these proceedings.

BY THE COURT: Do I understand, Mr. Franks, that unless the grill is removed, all Counsel will enmass withdraw from the proceedings?

MR. FRANKS: That is precisely, Sir, what we intend to do, and, of course, in addition Sir, unless Counsel is afforded all the access to which, in law, they are entitled.

BY THE COURT: I see that you qualify the suggestion of withdrawal then, you say unless Counsel is afforded opportunity of access to the prisoners?

BY MR. FRANKS: That in addition Sir.

BY THE COURT: I want no misunderstanding about this, if you...

you say if the grill is not removed, Counsel will withdraw en mass from these proceedings?

MR. FRANKS: That is so, Sir, and I ask in addition, apart altogether from the withdrawal of this grill, I ask in addition Sir, that your Worship instruct those who are in authority here to permit my learned friends and me that access to which we are in law entitled.

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: May it please your Worship. The position was yesterday, it was impossible to carry on as we were carrying yesterday. Members of the public were intermingling with the Accused to such an extent that it was impossible to control the position.

BY THE COURT: I think you want to be more specific, in what sense do you say was it impossible to control the proceedings?

MR. VAN NIEKERK: Sir, the spectators just walked in amongst the Accused, after all said and done, Sir, this is a Court of Law and that is an Accused dock and I have never yet in all my experience seen that people will go into an Accused dock to speak to Accused persons. That is outside this, persons not connected with the trial. That has been happening yesterday. There was such an overflow of spectators here that they just intermingled and pressed right on to the Accused benches. I appreciate that the front part of the grill should be lowered or removed, but as regards the sides and the back, that is just to keep them apart. There is no such an idea as to keep them caged in like wild beasts, the question was just one of control, that is all.

BY THE COURT: We are all reasonable people, perhaps a compromise could be reached between the Defence and the Crown on this aspect of the matter; I shall adjourn.

ON RESUMING: (APPEARANCES AS BEFORE).

MR. MAISELS: Your Worship, I am glad to say that the matter which caused difficulty this morning, has been satisfactorily resolved as far as the Defence are concerned - the position is the following. It has been agreed, subject to your Worship's approval, that the front portion of this structure will be substantially removed and that a railing will be left, the normal sort of railing which one finds in a Court of Law and that in so far as the sides are concerned, there will be a railing 4 feet high, but that the back will remain. We fully appreciate the point made by my learned friend. Subject to that Sir, the Defence are perfectly satisfied and furthermore, Sir, in view of the fact that we are as anxious as everybody that the proceedings should get under way and that there should be no further delay, we are prepared to accept the position on the understanding, which we fully appreciate and accept, that the alterations will be made at the earliest possible moment and that in the meanwhile, sometime today, I understand, and that in the meanwhile Sir, we are prepared to proceed with the matter, even under the present arrangements.

BY THE COURT: I wish to express my appreciation for the efforts taken by the Defence in making it possible to resolve this difficulty. I think everybody here does appreciate that it is necessary in the interests of Justice, that there should be co-operation between the Defence and the Crown. Unless there is that co-operation, the cost to the Bench is going to be extremely difficult. We shall issue the necessary instructions to have the front of the grill removed in accordance with the agreement reached and the alterations on the side.

MR. MAISELS: Sir, there is just point I have been reminded of, I don't think we need trouble your Worship about that, I also want to record the difficulties in regard to access, have also

been resolved.

BY MR. BERRANGE: The matter that I wish to address your Worship on, is the subject of certain reports features that have been made in these local press and my client's attention has been drawn to a speech allegedly made by Dr. Donges, a Cabinet Minister and reported in the Sunday Papers. This speech, in an editorial appearing in the "Rand Daily Mail" the day before yesterday, is suggested as possibly being a contempt of Court, in as much as Dr. Donges is alleged to have stated that it had been admitted by the British Communist Congress Party in 1954 that the organisations consisting of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats formed the warhead of communist attack on South Africa. Now, when this statement, Sir, was made by Dr. Donges, if indeed it was made, he knew or he should have known that included amongst the Accused are a number of officials of the bodies which were so named by him, and that being so, Sir, it is difficult, in my submission, to imagine a statement which could be more calculated to prejudice a Court - inflame public opinion, than this completely unwarranted outburst made by the Minister. We don't know Sir, whether this attack was made in ignorance of the true position, whether it was made recklessly without caring whether or not the Accused were prejudiced or whether it was made for the political purposes to frighten the people of South Africa, with a wellworn Communist bogey. As your Worship is aware, from the reading of the press, it is not the first time that this type of technique has been pursued - I need only mention, Sir, the sort of statements which were made some time ago, ludicrous as they may appear, about a plot existing to poison the reservoirs and blow up the fire station. But my purpose, Sir, in addressing you on this aspect is to complain to you and draw the attention of the Court, in order to request this Court to express its disapproval of such

conduct and in the interest of justice and in fairness to my client, to warn all persons irrespective of what public office they may hold, against the utterance and publication of a statement which can prejudice a Court and which might indeed be contempt of Court. That is the first question. Secondly, Sir, another statement which appears in the press, is one which was reputedly made by Brig. du Plooy, to the effect that after the first series of arrests which took place in these proceedings, when most of the Accused were arrested, evidence was obtained which led^{to} the second arrests, when 11 of the Accused were arrested. Now, this statement again, Sir, is one which touches on the facts which will be in issue.

BY THE COURT: I don't know whether I appreciate that position.

BY MR. BERRANGE: There were two arrests, Sir.

BY THE COURT: Did Brig. du Plooy make a statement?

MR. BERRANGE: So it was reported in the press, widely reported in the press that as a result of information received from the first arrests, the second arrests were later on made in which all persons who are now appearing before your Worship, were then made. Now, it will be the intention of the Defence to establish that such a statement was completely false and completely unfounded. As any such evidence is given in this Court, as one expects it will be given, then that is a matter which will be in issue before this Court and again, Sir, I can only say we don't know what motive prompted the utterance of this statement, which in our submission is entirely false and quite mandacious, but it is a matter which is in issue in these proceedings and in my submission had no right to be made out of Court and therefore, Sir, on behalf of my clients, I would like to ask this Court in the interest of Justice and in the interests of a fair trial at which the Accused all intend to prove that no foundation whatsoever exists for the charges

that have been made against them, that this Court come to our assistance. That it comes to our assistance in condemning the type of utterance which I have complained of and in doing what it can to see that there is no repetition thereof.

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: There is nothing I can say about this matter, your Worship.

BY THE COURT: The statement made by Mr. Berrange, if it is true, that statements should be said that may prejudice the Accused, but I have no assurance at this stage that there is any truth in that statement and I don't think I am really called to express any criticism on the actions of a Minister of State or for that matter a Brigadier of the Police. These statements were made ex facia cure, I don't think I am called upon as a presiding magistrate at these proceedings, to deal with the matter. If contempt is committed in the Court then I know how to proceed. If contempt has been committed and it may amount to prejudice to the Accused, then the Defence ought to lay a complaint in the proper quarters and action may be taken. I think that is all that I am prepared to say at this stage. I do think that I can assure Mr. Berrange that if such statements were made, that they will have no effect on me, deciding on these proceedings.

MR. BERRANGE: Sir, we weren't only concerned with this Court, we were concerned with the effect that it might have on other Courts, and particularly the effect that it might have on the public. It was for the public, Sir, that these statements were intended.

MR. VAN NIEKERK: Sir, I would like to call a name that was not remanded from the Magistrates' Court to this Court, and that is the one of Matsomai Mpo. He is now joined as an accused person.

BY MR. BERRANGE: I shall be appearing on his behalf Sir, in-

structed by Messrs. Davidoff and Herman. I would also like to announce Sir, that Mr. Pienaar will be appearing with me in all the matters in which I appear. Mr. T.H. Pienaar.

BY MR. ZWARRENSTEIN: Sir, I am appearing on behalf of the Accused Ronald Press, instructed by the firm of C. Greenfield and Co.

BY THE COURT: I want to make a further announcement, that the arrangement to amplify the sound here is not as perfect as it might be. A further attempt will be made to add further loud speakers so that the public at the back will also be able to follow the proceedings, but I think that can only be done after the adjournment tomorrow. I understand there is going to be an adjournment.

MR. VAN NIEKERK ADDRESSES THE COURT:

Sir, the case arises out of certain activities of certain associations which are commonly called the National Liberation Movement, and this Movement consists mainly of the organisations bodies, committies, councils, societies such as the African National Congress, the Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Democrats, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation and the S.A. Congress of Mothers with their respective Youth and Women Sections, generally referred to as the Congress Movement or Congresses. That other Organisations such as the S.A. Peace Council, the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, the Federation of S.A. Women and various committees such as the "Let the People Speak" Committee, Anti Permit Committe, Liberation Committee, New Youth Committee, Fighting Talk Committee and others.

The Accused, it will be alleged by the Crown, were all office bearers or active members or supporters of the various organisations and also active supporters of the so-called Liberatory Movement and the Campaign known as the Congress of

the People.

I propose to deal firstly with some of the organisations involved and then with the charge to be preferred.

On the 15th of August 1953, at the African National Congress (Cape) Cape Province, Prof. Z.K. Matthews, the president of the Cape African National Congress, in his presidential speech said this:

"Various groups in the country as you know are considering the idea of a national convention at which all groups might be represented to consider our national problem on an all inclusive basis. The sponsors of these conventions are hoping to invite various groups to send delegates to such meetings. I wonder whether the time has not come for the A.N.C. to consider the question of convening a national convention, a congress of the people representing all the people of this country irrespective of race or colour to draw up a freedom charter for the Democratic South Africa of the future. Once the principle of the establishment of such a congress of the People was accepted, but details of its implementation could be worked out better by the National Executive or by an ad hoc committee entrusted with that special duty."

The following resolution was adopted by this conference:

"That this conference notes with interest the remarks of the President on the need for the establishment at the instance of the A.N.C. and under its leadership of a "Congress of the People" in South Africa, to draw up, inter alia, a 'Freedom Charter' or constitution embodying a vision of the future South Africa, as we in Congress see it. Conference instructs the incoming Executive to make specific recommendations in this regard to the A.N.C. Headquarters. Such a Congress of the People would serve to unite all the democratic forces in South Africa among all races into a front against the dangers of Fascism, and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems

of this country".

On the 5th December 1953 the National Action Committee in its report to the Secretary General of the A.N.C. complained about the lull in Congress activities, and recommends -

- (1) To end the lull by leading the people into concrete mass activity against the Government offensive giving them new confidence and hope, and a central objective to work for;
- (2) Unite the leadership - by bringing about maximum agreement, understanding and unity of purpose on a common programme.

This report continues:

National Assembly for a Freedom Charter.

This question is sharply raised by Prof. Z.K. Matthews in his Presidential address to the annual conference of the A.N.C. (Cape) held recently. He says that the A.N.C. is of the opinion that this proposal holds out great and powerful potentialities in mobilising the people against the ever mounting offensives of the Government and thus raising the mass activities of the Congress to a higher level. Such an assembly can bring together the elected representatives of the people in the cities, towns and villages, and from all walks of life, to raise their united demand. From such an assembly the delegates could go back to the masses carrying with them the Freedom Charter and telling the people how to work for its implementation, the National Action Committee therefore strongly recommends the acceptance of Prof. Matthews' proposal in principle.

As a prelude to the actual launching of the campaign it is recommended: - That the A.N.C. at its forthcoming conference elect a "National Assembly Convening Committee" with instructions to add on to the Committee representatives of the S.A. Indian Congress, Coloured Peoples' Organisations, the S.A. Congress of Democrats and other progressive organisations representatives of

all the racial groups in order to prepare a comprehensive plan for the convening of such National Assembly on the following lines:-

- (A) The assembly to be representative of all the peoples of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or sex;
- (B) All persons of 18 years or over to be entitled to vote for and stand as delegates for the assembly;
- (C) Proper procedures of election ensuring a direct vote and full representation to all classes and groups;
- (D) Time and venue;
- (E) Plea for a campaign to popularise the objectives of the assembly as well as to explain to the people how they can participate in the campaign.

The National Executive of the African National Congress in its report to Conference on the 18th and the 20th December 1953, tabled the above report.

Now, on the 20th December 1953, the African National Conference held at Uitenhage adopted the following resolution:

"Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to make immediate preparations for the organisation of a Congress of the People of South Africa, whose task shall be to work out a Freedom Charter for all peoples and groups in the country. To this end conference urges the National Executive Committee to call a meeting of the National Executives of the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples Organisation and the S.A. Congress of Democrats, or any other democratic organisation (s) for the purpose of placing before them the plan of Congress and obtain their co-operation in creating a truly representative convention of the peoples of South Africa.

Conference confirms its solidarity with other colonial peoples in their struggles against imperialism, for self-determination and independence."

On the 9th of February, 1954, A.J. LUTHULI requests Prof. Matthews for an outline of the plan for the Congress of the People, setting out, i.a.

- (1) The Objectives.
- (2) The plan of organisation - National and local levels;
- (3) Any other relevant considerations.

In response to this request a memorandum on the Congress of the People was drawn up by Prof. Matthews, and incorporated in the Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to the 242nd Annual Conference of the A.N.C. held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, on the 16th to the 19th December, 1954.

This contains:

Political Advantages of organising C.O.P. in this manner;- according to a document found in possession of Prof. Matthews the "Mirror of Future Society" - creates mass popular front that can swing into mass action against fascism at any time.

It provides unique method of creating wide popular front consisting of democrats of all races, for coming battle with fascists;

It creates a duality of authority in the country and thereby reduces the prestige of white South Africa;

The Draft Plan for the Organisation of the C.O.P.:

- (1) The A.N.C. to issue an order that all persons over 18 will have the vote;
- (2) The National Executive Committee appoint delimitation committee to delimitate South Africa in 400 constituencies;
- (3) President of the African National Congress shall fix the date of the general election;
- (4) After General Election the A.N.C. shall call the newly elected Congress of the People to meet;
- (5) Election of President and Speaker;
- (6) To approve a cabinet nominated by President;
- (7) Drawing up of a constitution;
- (8) Pass acts amending, repealing reactionary legislation of

the white parliaments;

(9) To emphasise the duality of authority that exists in South Africa - the one based on sheer force, and the other on mass support and democratic principles.

Now, on the 1st of March, 1954, W.M. SISULU, at that time Secretary of the African National Congress wrote to the Secretary of the South African Indian Congress, inviting his Organisation to a joint meeting over the A.N.C., the S.A. Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation to be held on the 20th/21st March, 1954, in terms of a resolution passed by the African National Conference of December 1953.

See for this part (iii) of the Secretariat report and annexure B.1, South African Indian Congress, 21st Conference held on the 19th March, 1954. The joint secretaries for the South African Indian Congress accepted this invitation and that is included in the secretarial report.

The African National Congress submitted a memorandum on the C.O.P. to the conference of sponsoring organisations held on the 21st March, 1954. It states i.a.:

The main task of Congress will be to draw up a Freedom Charter. Such a Charter properly conceived of a mirror of the future South African society can galvanise the people of South Africa into action and make them go over to the offensive against the reactionary forces at work in this country, instead of being perpetually on the defensive fighting rear-guard actions all the time.

(This document, I may mention, does not include the reference to the Duality and authority that I have mentioned earlier).

The Congress of the People Preparatory Committee held its meeting on the 21st March, 1954, and resolved:

(1) That a joint planning committee be established consisting of not more than 5 members of each of the sponsoring Organie

sations appointed by each of the organisations here represented.

(2) That the African National Conference act as convenors of the planning committee;

(3) That the headquarters of the planning committee be Johannesburg and that the planning committee draw up

(a) A draft plan of campaign, based on the points raised in the discussion at this meeting;

(b) An outline of the Freedom Charter.

Both these documents to be submitted to the sponsoring bodies within 4 weeks from today and to be ratified at a further joint Executive of the sponsoring bodies.

(5) That the planning committee consider:-

(a) What other organisations might be invited to participate in the campaign and the basis on which they should participate;

(b) The fixing of the date and venue for the national congress not later than June, 1955.

(c) The establishment of similar joint committees on a provincial and local level to conduct the campaign.

(6) That this meeting adopt the name "Congress of the People".

(This document referred to was found in South African Indian Congress, 21st Conference, held at Durban July, 1954). The Planning council drew up a plan for convoking a convention viz. convening the Congress of the People - and presented it to another joint conference of the four organisations, which was held on the 9th of May, 1954. The conference adopted the plan submitted to it by the sub-committee and this plan consists of:

(A) A Memorandum on the C.O.P.:-

(a) What is the C.O.P.;

(b) How will it be organised?

(c) Can we succeed on such a scale?

(d) How to set about it;

(e) How to mobilise for the C.O.P.;

- (f) Who will vote?
- (g) How will people vote?
- (h) How will they get there?
- (i) Who will pay the bill?

and secondly: The call to freedom.

(That is a document which will be referred to).

These matters were dealt with eventually by the S. .
South African Indian Congress, Durban, on the 9th to the 11th
July, 1954 - a resume of the happenings follow: -
Per address Luthuli:

"We should never slacken or fail to carry out among our people a well planned programme of political education by means of the spoken and written word and by action technique. We should give constant attention to the building of a strong democratic front consisting of all true democrats in our land. I must here commend to you and invite your active interest in the "Congress of the People" project. It should be most invaluable in re-enforcing and consolidating our democratic front in the Union."

A WORLD DEMOCRATIC FRONT: "Our efforts to build a democratic front in our country should lead us to support the fight for freedom by oppressed people everywhere. The plea for the universal acceptance of the democratic way of life must be heard in all parts of the world."

The secretarial report by the Joint Secretaries, states i.a.:

"They (the leaders during the dark period) turned their backs on co-operation with progressive forces, representing the masses of Africans and coloured people and the democratic section among the Europeans. We thank him (Dr. Dadoo) for this section among the Europeans. We thank him for the ceaseless work he has done in uniting all the exploited sections, including the democratically minded Europeans, to oppose fascist tyranny. It is due to this that we find ourselves striking at

the root of exploitation in common goal for peace and democracy."

"When the self-styled defenders of democracy among them were crumbling before the fascist onslaught of the Nationalists, The A.N.C., S.A.I.C., C.O.D. and S.A.C.P.O. can defeat fascism and make progress in the direction of establishing a truly democratic South Africa."

"The Western Areas in Johannesburg is being turned into a battleground between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. Imperialist powers are referred to as the U.S.A., the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland and South Africa.

"Imperialist manoeuvres are directly responsible for frustrating the efforts of U.N.O. to halt the curse of race discrimination, because they fear the forces of democracy and peace, which are taking gigantic strides for creating a better world."

"The tottering palaces of imperialism are being removed one by one. The people of Africa are making determined efforts to overthrow the shackles of bondage. China is with us. India espouses our cause. People and organisations all over the world are with us. Strengthened with the stand of the democratic forces of the world we march forward to our goal for peace and democracy.

"We must mobilise our people to support the great international movement for peace.

"The aspirations of the people will be in conflict with the existing state of affairs in our country.

"We must establish a central propaganda machinery for the information and guidance of our active workers. Regular bulletins and directives must be issued to our organs and a check must be maintained on the activities of all fronts. We must support the newspapers Advance and Fighting Talk."

On the 1st of July, 1954, W.M. SISULU, acting on instructions of the National Action Committee, wrote to all national

organisations sending copies of the detailed explanations of the Congress of the People and also the "Call to Congress".

In a circular letter dated the 11th August, 1954, issued by Sisulu for the Secretariat of the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, all provincial committees of the Congress of the People are advised that T.E. TSHUNUNGWA has been appointed National Organiser, and that "SPEAKING TOGETHER" is the bulletin of the Congress of the people.

(This was found in possession of Tshunungwa at George). Other documents found in his possession will be referred to:

- (a) A circular explaining the Congress of the People.
- (b) The draft plan of campaign for the congress of the people;
- (c) Certain addresses;
- (d) And letters appointing Tshunungwa as National Organiser by the :
 - (1) S.A.I. Congress.
 - (2) The National Action Council of the Congress of the people.
 - (3) South African Congress of Democrats;
 - (4) And the African National Congress.

On the 15th August, 1954, a meeting of the National Action Council of the Congress of the People was held at Fraser Station, Natal. At this meeting, the following documents were found:

- (a) Congress of the People Bulletin No. 1, August. 1954.
- (b) The call of the Congress of the People.
- (c) The draft plan of campaign;
- (d) and a Report of the National Volunteer Board.

For a report of this meeting we will refer to "Speaking Together - C.O.P. Bulletin No. 2 " issued towards the end of August, 1954 at page 4.

A resolution taken at that meeting is that "the Police

in carrying out a systematic campaign of intimidating the people. It is ridiculous to suggest that our peaceful meeting whose purpose was to advance the cause of democracy in South Africa had any criminal motives."

At the end of the meeting Chief LUTHULI issued the following statement:

"The National Action Council is most grateful at the progress made. I appeal to all who believe in democracy to join us in making the Congress of the People the mightiest assembly ever held in this country."

On the 5th of September, 1954, the first Natal conference of the Congress of the People was held at Durban.

A joint executive meeting of the Cape sponsoring organisations for the Congress of the People was held at George on the 16th-18th October, 1954. At this meeting it was decided to establish a provincial action committee as recommended at an earlier meeting at Cradock, and working committee elected - predominantly African National Congress.

At the African National Congress (The National Conference) on the 16th of December, 1954, Dr. G.M. Naicker's address was read as also the Presidential Address of A.J. LUTHULI, in which the latter calls for 50,000 freedom volunteers to spread the message of the Congress of the People.

In the report to the 42nd Annual Conference of the A.N.C. there are: A. POLITICAL REVIEW

- (a) March to Fascism;
- (b) Two wrong views;
- (c) Widen the Anti-Fascist Front;
- (d) Congress and Rural Areas, etc.

B. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION - Africa and World peace;

C. CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

Here follows a resume of the proceedings as taken from the agenda:-

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE N.E.C. TO A.N.C. 16-19TH DEC. 1954:

DR. NAICKER'S MESSAGE:

"Today in every country in all the continents of the world the forces of peace and freedom are making great headway.

The days of imperialism and colonialism are coming to an end. We reject all forms of imperialism and colonialism. We reject exploitation of man by man. We make common cause with the world wide movement of peace. We are opposed to armament race. We stand for banning of atom and hydrogen bombs. African nationalism can under wrong leadership become an anti-democratic force . giving rise to the emergence of black fascism in South Africa. The convening of the C.O.P. is the most important task which faces all true democrats of all colours in the country - The Freedom Charter will be a document by which all South Africans will be judged - whether they stand for freedom and democracy or for oppression and segregation."

LUTHULI'S MESSAGE:

"Congress at both national and provincial levels should establish closer co-operation between itself and the trade union leaders and organisations. A.N.C. committed to policy of forming a multi-racial united democratic front to challenge the forces of reaction in this country. We watch with interest the developments towards full democracy in western African territories under British rule. You must develop a spirit of resisting anything that curbs or limits the development of your talents to the fullest capacity."

REPORT: POLITICAL REVIEW:

"After 6 years of Nationalist rule fascism has arrived in South Africa. The first 5 or 6 years were occupied with the building of a legal framework for a naked Police state. The Nationalist Government, following the Hitler pattern, prepared the legal machinery for crushing the most militant opponents of their rule - the working class and national liberatory

organisations. The groups represented by the U.P. in their shortsightedness acquiesced in the reactionary policies of the Nationalists. The Policy of official opposition has been one of surrender all along the line. The same may be said of the Liberals and reformed trade unions.

"All fighters for freedom are warned against the danger of underestimating and minimising the fascist beast. The C.O.P. will draw up a charter for a new South Africa. The organised power and united actions of the people will defeat the fascist demons in South Africa. We must organise, politicise and activate the people and lead them against the forces of fascism and reaction. All concerned can successfully resist and defeat the oppressors. They must be fought outside Parliament, in the towns, on the farms, in the economic, political and industrial spheres. They must be fought everywhere. The A.N.C. has a foreign policy opposed to that of the Government. The white rulers of South Africa support war aims, imperialism and white domination. The deliberation of colonial and semi-colonial peoples will bring an end to the huge profits imperialist countries are making, through the cruel exploitation of the suffering people.

"Imperialist powers - as I have mentioned before - referred to as the U.S.A., England, France, it refers to the imperialist wars in Indo-China, Malaya, Vietnam, Kenya, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and British Guana.

"We appeal to all democracies and peace loving peoples to call for an immediate peace in Kenya and other affected places - to save innocent and defenceless people from the horrors of war.

"To protect their markets and investments, to crush the national liberation movements and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, and to ensure an abundance of cheap labour, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent.

"The struggle for national liberation is inextricably

linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism. We welcome the participation of our leaders in the peace movement - we urge the widest sections of our people to take up the cause of peace and uphold it until the scourge of imperialism is vanquished from the face of the earth."

RECOMMENDED FOR 1954:

That anybody who deliberately distorts or undermines the policy and decisions of Congress should be dealt with immediately.

Associates African National Congress with liberatory movements and progressive forces and Government with imperialism. We salute Hitler.

i.a.: At this Conference the following resolutions were adopted.

- (a) Unqualified support for the Congress of the People sponsored by the national organisations to draw up the freedom charter pledges support for Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers to adhere strictly to the demands; looking, democratic and dynamic policy of the People and assets of the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; the mass of the people in the world peace movement and salute the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; of the peoples - condemns the democratic Government in which through the creation of the world peace movement S.E.A.T.O., and whole plan to re-arm German Nazis. The conference considers the plans of the ruling praised by warmongers that the modern weapons the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world; (e) Co-operation with trade union movement;
- (b) Unqualified support for the Congress of the People sponsored by the national organisations to draw up the freedom charter pledges support for Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers to adhere strictly to the demands; looking, democratic and dynamic policy of the People and assets of the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; the mass of the people in the world peace movement and salute the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; of the peoples - condemns the democratic Government in which through the creation of the world peace movement S.E.A.T.O., and whole plan to re-arm German Nazis. The conference considers the plans of the ruling praised by warmongers that the modern weapons the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world;
- (c) Unqualified support for the Congress of the People sponsored by the national organisations to draw up the freedom charter pledges support for Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers to adhere strictly to the demands; looking, democratic and dynamic policy of the People and assets of the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; the mass of the people in the world peace movement and salute the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; of the peoples - condemns the democratic Government in which through the creation of the world peace movement S.E.A.T.O., and whole plan to re-arm German Nazis. The conference considers the plans of the ruling praised by warmongers that the modern weapons the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world;
- (d) Unqualified support for the Congress of the People sponsored by the national organisations to draw up the freedom charter pledges support for Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers to adhere strictly to the demands; looking, democratic and dynamic policy of the People and assets of the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; the mass of the people in the world peace movement and salute the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; of the peoples - condemns the democratic Government in which through the creation of the world peace movement S.E.A.T.O., and whole plan to re-arm German Nazis. The conference considers the plans of the ruling praised by warmongers that the modern weapons the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world;
- (e) Unqualified support for the Congress of the People sponsored by the national organisations to draw up the freedom charter pledges support for Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers to adhere strictly to the demands; looking, democratic and dynamic policy of the People and assets of the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; the mass of the people in the world peace movement and salute the struggle of the people in Kenya have confidence; of the peoples - condemns the democratic Government in which through the creation of the world peace movement S.E.A.T.O., and whole plan to re-arm German Nazis. The conference considers the plans of the ruling praised by warmongers that the modern weapons the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world;

- (f) Fighting the Bantu Education Act;
- (g) Extending Resist Apartheid campaign to rural areas - an intensified campaign of resistance to be launched.

In a document entitled "The Analysis" found in possession of the National Organiser of the Congress of the People, we find the following:-

"The significance of Philosophy of Africanism.
To build a revolutionary peasant leadership.
To build a principled urban Proletariat leadership.
To create revolutionary urban basis as a testing ground for our programme and political theories.

United Party liberal fail to see the revolutionary implications of african nationalism.

In case of Civil war:-

Create military committees obtaining free political control by workers, peasants intellectuals.

Liquidation of capitalism.

Equal distribution of wealth.

Common ownership of the means of production land, mines and factories."

Various Provincial Action Committees of the C.O.P. were formed, i.a.:

- (1) In the Transvaal we find the Transvaal Action Committee, they issued a circular on the 18th of April, 1954.
- (2) In Natal Midlands one was formed; and
- (3) Another one at the Cape.

The history of the origin of the C.O.P. is further given in speeches made at gatherings, viz.:

SONIA BUNTING at Retreat on 3.11.1954.

GEORGE MPINDA at Worcester on 7.2.1955.

J. MTINI & N. KOTA at Parade, Cape Town on 13.3.1955.

B. TUROK at Simonstown on 9.4.1955.

C. MAKOHLISO & A. MATHINYA At Koelenhof on 24.4.55.

LA GUMA & TUROK at Torch Rally, Parade, at Capetown on
8.6.1955.

W. SISULU at Veeplaats, on the 28th March, 1954.

P. BEYLEVELD AT 8th Ann. Congress/^{of the Congress} of the People on the
28th March, 1955 and others and the full history is also
given in paragraphs 39-44 of the Agenda of S.A.I.C. 1954.

J. SLOVO in Liberation No. 10 of 1954.

The 41st Conference of the African National Congress,
held at Queenstown, took the momentous decision of convening a
Congress of the People of South Africa. Its resolutions elicited
the co-operation of the South African Indian Congress, the S.A.
Congress of Democrats, the South African Coloured Peoples Organi-
sation, to jointly convene this great assembly of the
people of South Africa to draw up a Freedom Charter. In terms
of the above decision the South African Indian Congress was invi-
ted to participate in a joint conference of the executive com-
mittees of the abovementioned organisations. (The letter of in-
vitation, which embodies the relevant resolution, is annexed
herewith, marked "B. 1", and our reply thereto marked "B.2".
Portion of the agenda of conference).

The joint conference met on the 21st of April 1954, and
discussed the matter fully on the basis of a memorandum submitted
to it by the African National Congress. (This is attached to the
Agenda). Acceptance of the idea of convoking a convention
of all the people of our country-white and non-white - by the
leaders of the participating organisation marked a forward step
in our struggle for democratic rights in South Africa. The reso-
lution accepting recommendations of the African National Congress
and establishing a sub-committee to draw up a draft plan is
attached herewith, marked annexure "B.4'.

The planning council drew up the plan for the convocation
of the Congress of the People and presented it to another joint
conference of the four organisations, which was held on the 9th
of May, 1954, The conference adopted a plan submitted to it by
the sub-committee with minor alterations. Extracts from this plan

were attached to the agenda. The Freedom Call is also annexed hereto, marked "B.6". The se last two documents were commended for the serious study of the delegates.

The joint conference further established the National Action Council of the Congress of the People to conduct a campaign. According to the plan it is desired to obtain maximum support on a national basis and the preliminary work is being done with the view to obtaining the broadest possible representation on the directing body. Provincial and regional organisations have also been set up and the constituent organisations of the South African Indian Congress are expected to carry out their tasks with enthusiasm.

For the first time in the history of South Africa, millions of people from all walks of life will be able to participate in the framing of a Charter of their own rights. They will be able to write their demands in it through their elected delegates. As the Freedom Charter must reflect the wishes of the people of our country on a mass basis, its success will depend on effective organisation, because, then and then only, will it contain the true expression of all the people of South Africa. We must take the responsibility of expressing the voice of the Indian people of this country and see that their aims are faithfully expressed in the great Charter of Freedom.

The incorporation of the people's demands in the Charter will create a historic document. We are certain that the people will proclaim their right to equality in all spheres of life, and will demand fundamental freedoms, will reject conditions that affect them adversely. The aspirations of the people will be in conflict with the existing state of affairs in our country. But these demands, which will come from the people themselves, will be of signal importance to South Africa. They will guide us forward in our struggle for a better and happier life."

Dealing with the next - it will be the South African Congress of Democrats.

On the 15th of June, 1953, the Springbok Legion in a circular to its members described South Africa "As an unhappy country in which the process of fascism has reached a step where it is increasingly difficult for an organisation with the limited character of the Legion to make any effective impact on the situation. The efforts of the Legion had to be directed towards the struggle for democracy. The aims and objects of the Legion, economic, political and social are now intricably tied up with the fate of democracy in South Africa. Our efforts have been directed towards the struggle for democracy. The issue before the country is that of total democracy or total Fascism and to consider how to make the maximum contribution for a victory for total democracy.

The strategic need in the struggle against fascism is to mobilise the people in active opposition to the Fascists and their programme and to prepare the people for decisive action to defeat the Fascists. As the non-whites are being catered for in the A.N.C., S.A.I.C., there is need for a national organisation amongst whites, capable of mobilising all who are prepared to wage a Militant extraparliamentary struggle for democracy in S.A."

On the 16th of June, 1953, a circular was issued with the names of A. Fisher, chairman C.O. D and C.G. Williams, chairman Springbok Legion stating inter alia that a solution must be sought outside the present Parliamentary parties naming, The U.P. and the Liberals. It describes the Congress (meaning the A.N.C. and S.A.I.C.) as the present democratic Congresses, and suggests that an organisation be created to cater principally, if not exclusively for Europeans, who believe uncompromisingly in democracy. The forthcoming conference will be held in September or October 1953.

In notes for speakers issued in August, 1953, by the then existing congress of democrats, the position of the various parliamentary parties are discussed - weighed and found wanting.

On the 24th of September, 1953, Jack Hodgson signing on behalf of the Convenors - Democratic League, Springbok Region and Congress of Democrats - issued a circular stating inter alia that the three mentioned organisations will meet in conference at Johannesburg on the 10th and 11th of November, 1953.

The conference was held on those dates by members of the three mentioned organisations together with five delegates each from the A.N.C. and the S.A. I.C. and the S.A.C.P.O. (See agenda and proposed arrangements for conference).

The main objection of the Congress of Democrats shall be to win support for own policy amongst those sections of the population not catered for by Congress movement. At this conference two papers were read:-

"The Road to Liberty" by L. Bernstein and "Draft of the Immediate Programme of Action" by J. Hodgson. After discussion these papers were referred to branches for further discussions.

"THE ROAD TO LIBERTY" contains inter alia: It is a lecture given at the inaugural conference of the Congress of Democrats, refers to a decisive clash in which are ranged on the one side all the forces of South African reaction, and on the other side, all the forces of democracy and progress - establishing a living and all embracing democracy.

The Nationalist Party - the spearhead of South African fascist reaction.

The Democratic Camp, consisting of the A.N.C. and the S.A.I.C. which speak for and in the name of the democratic masses or majority.

Clash coming between the progressive forces and the forces of reaction.

I am proposing the formation of an organisation which will

welcome within its ranks all South African persons whose understanding of democracy is the same as ours.

How will such an organisation fit into the democratic camp depends...

This conference consists of three bodies - Springbok Legion, C.O.D., and Democratic League.

There is advocates acceptance of the following resolution, which in effect means that the Springbok Legion is dissolved and members are urged to join the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. and the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

We are forming an organisation which will work for a change whereby the power of government will be entrusted to all the people of South Africa - a truly democratic South Africa: ment."

Now, the executive report to the Joint Congresses and Legion Committee, 30th September, 1953, contains inter alia, as I have mentioned;

The Draft of immediate programme of action by Hodgson.

The movement as a whole is the peoples' answer to fascism and the drive to war - and then it refers to the militant democrats.

The will of the people for democracy.

Basic democratic principles.

Attacks on Fascism and Asserting actively and militantly the legality of democratic concepts and aspirations, mobilising the people and preparing them for some decisive action which will assert the will of the people for democracy.

The particular situation - it refers to Fascism only defeated by defeating the Nationalist and that the Nationalists can only be defeated by extra-parliamentary action involving the masses of the people.

Alternative government can no longer be a government of white Parliamentary parties but a democratic peoples government.

The struggle is between white and non-white democrats, and white and non-white reactionaries.

People are as yet ill-equipped ideologically and organisationally to meet the onslaught of fascism.

Organisation is a part of National Liberatory Movement of resistance to fascism and war.

Leading militant democrats mobilising and preparing people for decisive action which will assist the will of the people for democracy.

Defeat of government and replace it by a Peoples Democratic Government.

React to every single issue that arises in South Africa.

React to budgets and economic decisions.

BUILDING OF NEW ORGANISATIONS:

Contacting and recruiting all militant white democrats;

Joint activities and campaigns to be undertaken;

Reciprocal assistance;

Mutual participation of membership in joint political social and sporting gatherings;

Resistance to fascism.

The draft constitution was accepted with amendments and various resolutions passed. The report on this conference contains the names of the executive.

It was resolved that the organisation (S.A.C.O.D.) shall strive to establish close fraternal relations with the Congress Movement at all levels of Branch, Regional and National Organisations and shall work towards close unity and alliance with the Congress movement in all its political activities, and that SACOD propaganda be disseminated among the working class and Trade union movement.

The Springbok Legion in its National Conference 1953 resolved inter alia -

It advocates co-operation with the African National Congress, S.A.I.C. and S.A. Congress of Democrats, and urges its

members to join these Congress and that the National Executive Committee he requested to enter into discussions with the South African Congress of Democrats with a view to the more effective exploitation of a Fighting Talk - that is a periodical - as the voice of the democratic movement.

On the 22nd October 1953, a Press release was issued on the formation of the new organisation S.A.C.O.D. in which it is stated that the conference condemns inter alia British action in British Guiana.

In Counter attack - Bulletin No. 1 November 1953 of the S.A. Congress of Democrats we find a report of this conference. The South African Congress of Democrats - the guarding of people's rights for forge a militant unity of all South Africans for democratic rights for all.

The National Council of S.A.C.O.D. held a meeting on 12. 13.2.54. At that meeting the National Executive Council endorsed the decision of the A.N.C. to convene a national convention. Encourages its members to assist the peace movement by joining local peace committees and to organise the democratically minded youth and recognises the important role "Fighting Talk and Advance" have played and will play in the democratic movement and calls upon regions and branches:

- (a) To obtain subscriptions and to assist in distribution
- (b) To initiate discussion with a view to improvement of content and counter attack should be published regularly.
- (c) To stimulate members to contribute articles and recommend to N.E.C. inter alia that Counterattack should be published regularly and to frame a resolution of policy.

In discussing the Western Areas Removal Scheme the joining of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. and the C.O.D. is advocated as well as to get others to become active members.

Circulars of discussions notes on National Liberty Struggles in Asia are set out, mention the exploitation of Coloured Population and then deals with the position of China and

India and the peace movement.

Circular of History of Non-European Franchise Segregation in South Africa etc. dealing with this matter and then, finally ends with the section "In South Africa we have a fascist state".

Then various notes will be referred to and various minutes, principally those of the 2nd of May, 1955 of S.A. Congress of Democrats and the 20th of May, 1955 and the 30th May 1955 where reference is made to the Congress of the People and at the last mentioned committee it was resolved to ask Luthuli for written opening address to conference to be read by A.N.C. nominee and refers to the Congress of the People.

Circular for the African National Congress - People must be organised for mass action.

THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT ON THE PEOPLES' MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM:

Over the last 20 months S.A.C.O.D. has taken its place as an equal partner with the A.N.C., S.A.I.C. and S.A.C.P.O. in the Peoples struggle for freedom. We have joined on all levels in campaigns to mobilise the People of S.A. in their struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Assisted in the resist Apartheid Campaign C.O.P. - Sponsoring the C.O.P. - The Progressive movement in S.A. has for a long time needed a manifesto in which its aims and objects are clearly and unequivocally stated. Freedom Charter will give us such a document.

The propaganda committee should be congratulated with the following speakers notes:

Congress of Democrats.

Indians in South Africa.

Race and Intelligence.

National Liberation Struggles in Asia.

History of Non-European Franchise.

Segregation in S.A.

Attack on Civil Liberties and others. Other circulars which were issued by the Congress of Democrats.

The working class is the vanguard of the peoples struggle - Assist the Trade Unions - assist the S.A.C.T.U. to organise and educate masses. Congress of Democrats is to assist the South African Peace Council.

In a document entitled South African Congress of Democrats, notes on political situation by the National Executive Committee for discussion at Conference was prepared.

The National Executive Committee submitted a resolution to National Conference inter alia condemning fascist action of authorities, e.g. Fort Hare in closing the College, and advising members to give assistance to South African Congress of Trade Unions and a page on Peace and International situation.

The resolutions adopted were inter alia:

Pledges wholehearted support to New Age. (That is a newspaper). Financial assistance to be given to New Age. Branches undertake to sell New Age and to regard it as a regular feature of their activities.

Copy of minutes of their conference shows: Election of office bearers, adoption of organisational report, adoption of chairman's report.

The Minutes of Secretariat, 24.3.55.

Political statements and National Conference. Decided to amend and send these with covering letters to the branches. Copies of N.E.C. and Secretariat minutes relating to the Congress of the People.

Counterattack appeared regularly, some dated, some were undated. And then there are a couple, like Mid March 1954 - which Advocated the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter and the 18th of April, 1955, on the Non-European and the Congress of the People news.

14.8.55 - a recent C.O.P. and the function to be held for the Fighting Talk - that is a periodical - on 28.8.55 - End fas-

cist Regime, bad Parliamentary opposition and Extraparliamentary struggle, that is the first of the Campaign of the Freedom Charter.

We have some more:

Undated: Western Areas Removal Campaign: re Counterattack and Fighting Talk and the people were urged to read the New Life in China by Ruth First.

They spoke about the Peace Campaign, on Bantu Education and Colonial Youth Day which are all matters which will be put in and referred to in evidence.

The Congress of the People issued bulletin No. 2 at the end of August, 1954 and the National Action Council met on the 15th August, 1954, Chief Luthuli - note - progress made in the campaign of the Congress of the People.

On the 31st May the four sponsoring organisations and the Trade Union (Non-European) issued a circular on mass conference to be held on the 27th of June, 1954.

The Congress of the People issued a circular to all volunteers on the 25th of January, 1955, and the National Action Council of the People issued a circular with the heading "As a result of the Historical Call" which will be referred to in evidence.

The Transvaal Committee of C.O.P. issued: Mobilise and Organise, stating: A set of lectures. The world we live in are available and should be studied.

Your Worship, I propose after the adjournment, to deal with the set of lectures, "The World we Live in".

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

ON RESUMING: (MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES):

Numbers of lectures, The World we Live in, The Country we live in and A Change is needed - found on premises of S.A. Congress of Democrats.

A periodical "Liberation" Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11 were also found as well as The Truth About Life in German Democratic

Republic (1955).

S.A. Congress of Democrats, National Executive Committee statement on political implications of the Hillbrow Bye-election mentioned extra parliamentary struggle. Militant Anti-Nat- Europeans for extra parliamentary struggle and the aims of the Freedom Charter, Congress of Democrats must be more progressive.

Resolution on the political line of the Friends of the Soviet Union were also found in the possession of the S.A. Congress of Democrats offices in Johannesburg.

- (1) 13.1.54: Copy of letter from S.A. Congress of Democrats Johannesburg to the Secretary, Durban Branch, advocating "Counter Attack" as the National Newspaper of the C.O.D.
- (2) On 26.6.54 Dr. Naicker speaks - circular issued by N.I.C. Durban: refers to South Africa as colonial or semi-colonial country; refers to war mongers and atomic weapons; then C.O.P.
- (3) And on 3.2.55 National Action Council of C.O.P. writes to Secretary of C.O.D. as one of the sponsoring organisations for the Congress of the People.

Now, in COUNTER ATTACK (undated): Bantu Education states: The fight against Bantu Education is the sharpest point of conflict between the forces of freedom and democracy and the forces of fascism.

The Western Areas Removal Scheme: A protest against removal.

COUNTER ATTACK: WESTERN AREAS CAMPAIGN: Obviously the campaign was to prevent it. Advises readers to sell and read "Fighting Talk".

Western Areas Removal: To resist it join Congress and to Stop this Nazi Scheme.

The C.O.P. works in close association with the South African Peace Council, which co-operates with the World Council for Peace.

On a letter dated 10.3.54 to Rica Hodgson from the General Secretary, World Council of Peace, show that they were in contact with the World Council of Peace.

On 17.6.55 Ben Turok writes to Secretary C.O.P., Johannesburg on behalf of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Cape Town.

Now, the National Conference of the S.A. Congress of Democrats held in Johannesburg on 24.6.55 we find the following:

The Organisational Report - C.O.P. Much work has been done by the Congress of Democrats members in connection with the C.O.P. Congress of Democrats members are active in other organisations, the S.A. Peace Movement, Federation of S.A. women and the Youth Festival.

According to a copy of the minutes of National Executive Committee of the Congress of Democrats held on the 22nd August 1955, the 5th September, 1955 and the 19th September, 1955, a draft plan to popularise the charter was discussed and adopted.

In Nation Executive Committee Minutes of the 25th July, 1955, we find the following:

The C.O.P. had been achieved, but it was desirable for the people of the four congresses to continue working together. To this end a working committee should be established between the four congresses.

The N.E.C. Minutes 8th August, 1955:

The joint meeting decided to establish a consultative committee consisting of two national representatives from each of the four organisations (see also letter from A.N.C. to C.O.D. as at the 8th July, 1955).

The joint executive meeting endorsed the Freedom Charter. The National Executive Committee ratified the actions of the executive members who were present at the joint meeting and endorsed the Freedom Charter on behalf of the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

It was agreed that the branches should be urged to make full use of 5 lectures "The World we Live in" and support "New

Age".

REGIONAL COMMITTEE of 7.7.55:

Members are asked to attend the next meeting of the Transvaal Peace Council on 13th July, same year.

And the National Executive Committee on 15th August, 1955, there is a letter on the same matter from S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation to Congress of Democrats.

Now, notes on the political situation for discussion, at the conference which was referred to above, will be fully referred to in expert evidence.

The following is an extract from a letter requesting greetings from the various organisations:

"We have pleasure in inviting your organisation to send a fraternal delegate to our conference. In these times when the fight against fascism and for peace is more urgent than ever, your expression of solidarity in the form of greetings will be valued by us."

The organisations referred to are i.a.,:

Peace Council, Johannesburg;

South African Labour Party;

South African Indian Congress,

African National Congress;

South African Liberal Party and

South African Congress of Trade Unions.

On the 24th of June, 1955, the following resolutions were taken at the National Conference of the S.A. Congress of Democrats:

1. This conference is opposed to all these laws and pledges itself to work unceasingly for the defeat of such fascist laws and ideologies and those quarters responsible for their perpetration.

2. Appreciating that the workers as a class have the greatest interest in the development of true democracy in our

country and that well organised in a militant trade unions will play the most important role in the liberation of all oppressed people.

3. New Age is the only truly democratic newspaper in our country - recommends that branches undertake to sell "New Age" and to regard this as a regular feature of their activities.

Policy of office insurance of Springbok Legion was transferred to S.A. Congress of Democrats.

At a meeting of the Joint Executive Committee of the Sponsoring Organisations, held at Stanger on 31.7.55, the Freedom Charter was endorsed. (The Freedom Charter will be referred to during evidence).

Bulletin of C.O.P. (Tvl. Committee) : Workers Unite, Workers Arise.

Resolutions of 12th annual Conference of African National Congress Youth League 29th May, 1955, are against the South-East Asian Treaty Organisation, N.A.T.O. and atomic weapons.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions was formed on the 5th and 6th of March, 1955. At this inaugural Conference, the Chairman, P. Beyleveld said:

The worker of today is at the mercy of organised capital, companies with large capital and powerful financial backing. The shareholders demand the maximum profit on the capital they invest. These profits are derived from the labour power of the workers.

The individual workman is in a very weak position in this argument with organised capital. We have often heard that the African people are not ripe for Trade Unions. They are however ripe enough to be used as labour power and to be exploited.

The Government passed the Public Safety Act in 1953, enabling the Minister of Justice to declare a state of emergency to suspend all acts of Parliament in fact to establish a dictatorship when the government so desires. All workers have rights

to share in the wealth of the country.

The struggle is not an easy one. The enemies of the workers and the enemies of progress are strong. They are riding on the crest of the wave today, but they have also reached their peak. They have exhausted their potential, whilst we the forces of progress have the future in front of us. Our potential is the masses of the people, people chafing against the yoke of oppression - people waiting for a lead.

At this conference the constitution and preamble were adopted :-

The preamble states i.a. The future of the people of S.A. is in the hands of the working class. Only the working class in alliance with other progressive actions of the community can build a happy life for all South Africans.

We firmly declare that the interests of all workers are alike. We resolve that this body shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interests of all workers and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity: "An injury to one is an injury to all."

An Executive Committee was elected and condemned the Western Areas Removal Scheme. At a meeting of the management committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions held on 13th April, 1955, it was resolved:

(a) That a leaflet on May-day be prepared.

(b) That S.A.C.T.U. affiliate to the World Federation of Trade Unions. On the 25th of May, 1955, the management committee resolved to send a fraternal delegate to the African National Congress Youth League, Johannesburg. S.A.C.T.U. be represented at Conference of Federation of South African Women. J. Nkadimeng be appointed organiser of S.A.C.T.U. General Secretary. Report to National Executive to be held on 27.6.1955 discloses:-

(a) That May-day 1955 Celebration was planned by the Management Committee.

(b) S.A.C.T.U. was represented at Annual Conference of

Natal Indian Congress.

(c) At a Conference held in Port Elizabeth convened by the Liberatory Movement - a representative of SACTU participated.

(d) At this conference of A.N.C. Youth League fraternal greetings were delivered by a SACTU delegate.

The Workers and education - A typewritten address found in S.A. Congress of Trade Union offices, discloses: On the NUSAS Conference it states: Talking about the Freedom Charter: These were the words in which the Workers and all democratic classes in S.A. expressed their demands.... Pledging from this day on to win the changes which are set out in the Freedom Charter. In the Bulletin of S.A. Congress of Trade Unions - Workers Unity Vol. 1 No. 1 of April 1955 there appears a report of the Conference of the 5/6th March, 1956 and also an article which Congress prepares for May-day.

The "Workers Unity" that is the official organ of SACTU of June, 1955, we find, "The first step in that task has already been taken - It is the calling of the C.O.P. to frame a charter of freedom for all who work and live in this country".

We of the Trade Union Movement have a most important part to play in the framing and moulding of the Freedom Charter and a still more important one in winning it we must see that the working people are well represented at the Congress of the People. We must make our unions big and strong so that they can win better conditions for us, and so that they can play a working part in the struggle for freedom. Trade Unionists must not stand aloof from C.O.P.

In Volume I No. 7, it states - Fascist nationalist oppression is becoming ever harsher. Acquaint the people with the great Freedom Charter and support Freedom Charter.

Struggle against the Government and the ruling class.

Victory can only be won by Imperialism uprooted and quotes from the Freedom Charter.

A set of lectures were found in the offices of the organisation. In the lectures - "What are trade Unions" - the following appear:

The majority militant Trade Unions were opposed to the war in its imperialist stage. 1st September 1939 to 22nd June 1941. The character of the war was changed when the nazis invaded the Soviet Union. SACTU continues the live traditions of the Trade Unionists, who have always held aloft the banner of the working class unity and international solidarity.

Lecture 5 deals with the Trade Unions on the struggles for liberation in South Africa and refers to New Age articles.

It advocates the establishment of a Peoples democracy... The replacement of the present cheap labour colonial structure with a democratic peoples structure as envisaged by the Freedom Charter. SACTU should take a leading part to popularise and implement the Charter.

The people are asked to read "South Africa's Way Forward" written by Moses Kotane.

In an editorial a wax sheet was found of a publication that SACTU campaigns for a Freedom Charter. This organisation was later formed as one of the sponsoring organisations of the C.O.P.

(One of the Accused persons, C. Damons are removed to hospital - Defence no objection to proceedings going on in her absence).

MR. VAN NIEKERK CONTINUES: The next organisation with which I want to deal is the S.A. Peace Council.

The Peace Movement started in South Africa by the formation of separate branches at Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. In August 1953 the S.A. Peace Council came into existence in Johannesburg.

The constitution, inter alia, provides for co-operation with other bodies and the promotion of activities for peacy by all means. Resolutions passed at this congress indicate that the

movement is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, that it condemns the policy of the S.A. Government, both internally and externally especially siding with the attackers of South Africa at Uno. Another resolution was that there should be participation with the World Peace Council which is, without doubt, communistically orientated and has its headquarters in communist countries.

According to documents relating to the 1952 World Peace Council Conference, which were found in possession of the S.A. Peace Council, the viewpoint of the W.P.C. is that the N.A.T.O. is a threat to peace and security in Europe, it opposes rearmament of Germany, it condemns the manufacture of nuclear weapons. It demands equality for the races and abolition of colonialism in South Africa, Kenya, Malaya and Vietnam. It blames capitalistic exploitation of colonies by Western Powers. It is stated that national independence concerns particularly the colonial people and that Africa is arising. Delegates of the Peace Movement in South Africa attended the World Peace Conference from time to time.

From another document found in possession of the secretary of the S.A.P.C. the following appears: "Peace can only be won by active and constructive organisation. The awakening among peoples of various countries is indicative of a new realisation that major decisions on war and peace can no longer be left to the ruling circles. Partisans of Peace called on their governments to end the hostilities in Korea - Further that if colonial peoples offer opposition to oppression and ... racial discrimination, they do so because they are imbued with a conviction that peace and freedom are indivisible... their struggle is a struggle for peaceful relations and free self-determination...."

A few extracts from speeches made at S.A.P.C. meetings will reveal the true character of the movement.

TRANSVAAL PEACE COUNCIL: JOHANNESBURG: 23.4.54: A speaker said that the cold war waged by America was more horrible than the

atomic bomb itself, that Russia has been urging the banning of the Atom bomb since 1947 and that Russia also has to arm herself to be ready in case war is declared on her.

TRANSVAAL PEACE COUNCIL: JOHANNESBURG: 2.8.54: The chairman said that "There was fear in the Western World. The U.S.A. feared the consequences of going ahead with affairs in Korea and China. This was a victory for the forces of peace - the forces of the East. Thereby a mighty blow has been struck against the warmongers of the West. A new society of mankind is awakening against the forces of imperialism" another speaker said, "That capitalists profit out of these wars and maintain their bases in the event of the worldwar. Why will Britain not leave Iran? Because it has a 200 mile border next to Russia. Iran is an important base in the event of war against Russia....We must take an interest in the peace movement in fact, war is raging in Kenya. The people in Kenya are involved in a struggle for national liberation.....In Asia after years of war the Imperialists were kicked out. China kicked the imperialists out themselves....The war mongering powers of the West are looking after themselves.....When we fight Malan we fight for peace... Countries like Russia supported us at UNO. Those are people who sympathise with us."

A speaker said that the people of America or England are no war mongers but the capitalists who want money.

At the Natal Peace Council, Durban on 23.5.55 at a meeting the following day it was said that "We are living in an age between the ages. There is going to be a catastrophic change... We are living in the period of the first world revolution... which is assuming two forms firstly the social revolution and secondly the colonial revolution... Asia and Africa are astir. Changes took place..."

At the Transvaal Peace Council in Johannesburg on the 14th August 1955 "We represent the peace loving people in S.A." and

"The people of the world demand peace... If not they will proceed with moral violence..."

In a circular, entitled "The Peace Movement and the C.O.P." the South African Peace Council alligns itself with the C.O.P. movement, stating that South Africa is part of the war camp, demands the return of Formosa to China and the expulsion of Chiang Kai Shek.

In a letter dated the 20th February 1954, the Secretary of the Cape Town Peace Council advises S.A. Peace Council, Johannesburg, "We are represented on the National Action Council of the Congress of the People".

In a letter dated the 9th of September, 1954, the Secretary of the Cape Town Peace Council writes to S.A. Peace Council, "With regard to peace and the C.O.P. we are in general agreement with the principle that peace work be related to local problems and to the C.O.P. Movement".

On 16.7.54 the Secretary, C.T.P.C. writes to a friend, "The link that exists between the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for peace. In helping peoples of other countries we are contending against the forces of Imperialist aggression, we in South Africa., who are struggling for our own liberation, will help ourselves...."

On 24.9.54 the S.A.P.C. writes to the Transvaal Peace Council and the Natal Peace Council and the Cape Town Peace Council, "The numerous meetings which will be organised by the C.O.P. organisers will provide an opportunity for putting over peace policy. It will be our duty to see that peace becomes an integral part of the Freedom Charter".

The S.A.P.C. issued a pamphlet "The H Bcrb" which refers to money mad warmongers and a circular which contains the following: Africa figures largely in the calculation of the warmongers and that collonial system was fraught with danger for world peace"

Another circular issued in May 1955 by the S.A.P.C. reads

as follows: "It is an essential in our work to make the aims of the struggle for peace more real by linking them closely with the national and local interests of the population."

On the 13th June, 1955, the Secretary of the Transvaal Peace Council writes to the Natal Peace Council, advising the latter that C.O.P. will be held on the 25th and 26th of June, 1955, and that leaflets will be distributed and a peace exhibition displayed.

The C.O.P. was attended by various members and office bearers of the S.A.P.C.

The Freedom Charter contains a section referring to "There shall be peace and friendship".

On the 9th September, 1955, the S.A.P.C. notified that World Peace Council of the holding of the C.O.P. It also acknowledged receipt of all literature which was carefully distributed.

It will emerge from the evidence that most of the members of the S.A.P.C. and other Peace Councils are also members of the African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions and the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, meetings in contrast with the apparent object of the movement are usually held behind closed doors.

The evidence will reveal that the S.A. Peace Council is a mouthpiece of communism, a distributor of Communist literature, especially to the other organisations.

Finally, the evidence will show that the Peace Councils by their activities opposed of the unconstitutional means of struggle advocated by the other organisations.

I am referring now to the SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

At the C.O.P. meeting at Kliptown on the 25th and 26th of June, 1955, the S.A.S. for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union distributed a pamphlet, "S. Africans in the Soviet Union" edited by Ruth First.

This Society was responsible for the distribution of literature:-

- (a) Giving the contemporary line of Communist policy;
- (b) Stressing the peace loving nature of the Soviet Union.
- (c) Stressing the war mongering policy of the American and British Imperialism;
- (d) Fighting all forms of Collonialism and colonial oppression;
- (e) Exalting the position in the Soviet Union and the satellite countries.

The various committees mentioned supported the C.O.P and the Freedom Charter, or supported the National Liberation Movement in advocating changes and the method by which these are to be obtained, e.g.: "The masses of S.A. can no longer be bluffed. We must fight for freedom, peace and friendship, we must get rid of this ruling clique of frightened men..."

A message from the Transvaal Peace Council to the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, read: "We welcome participation of the Youth in the struggle for peace. we sympathise with the oppressed people in British Guiana."

"The British Imperialists are keeping a strong grip on British Guiana by using arms, destroyers and troops. Great profits come back from Guiana to capitalists in Britain."

In 1953, the National Liberation Movement created the Peoples Progressive Party. This movement is exactly similar to the Congresses in South Africa.

"The World Youth Movement speaks to everybody in the colonies and in inspiring them with international brotherhood... We will leave the Imperialists rulers sitting with their gold and battle ships for themselves."

"Let us instal a Congress Government in Africa, we will get a free government and a peoples government in our country".
Message of Sisulu: "I saw the Social reconstruction Racial

discrimination vanished in Russia...."

On the 7th November, 1956, at a meeting of the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union held at Johannesburg, the chairman exalted the conditions in Russia and said that it was nearly 40 years since ⁱⁿ the Soviet Union the people brought about a new order of society - what they had hoped for and dreamt of. Another speaker said that since the last war the capitalist countries had been trying to provoke the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union had reduced its armed forces, that Soviet Union spent thousands of pounds to assist these undeveloped countries of the world, that the S.U. you find nothing which resembles colonialism, that imperialist countries are out for war as the events surrounding the Suez Canal shows, that slanderers say the USSR are keeping the Hungarians in bondage, that the USSR granted Hungary a loan of 100 million rubles repayable at an interest rate of 2%, that nobody can accuse the S.U. of giving this assistance for the purpose of conquest as is the case with America who gives aid with strings attached. Lastly he stated that the S. U. was extending the hand of friendship to us, the peoples of S. A. since we are oppressed. Another speaker spoke on the S.U. and colonialism with special reference to Hungary. He described the S.U. as the champion of the people in the under privileged and colonial countries. He said that the people of S.A. and Africa know and feel what colonialism is. That is means poverty, exploitation, the removal of the wealth of ones own country to some other country and that that charge has not been laid at the doorstep of the Soviet Union.

Now, the newspaper "New Age". At various meetings and in various documents, the members of these organisations were urged to assist in the distribution and financing of the newspaper "New Age" published by the Real Printing and Publishing Co. Pty. Ltd., Cape Town.

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

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

Location:- Johannesburg

©2011

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.