

Unjust Laws. , the Bantu Education Campaign and the Campaign for the Congress of the People. In all these campaigns, the African National Congress Youth League played a distinguished role and established itself as one of the leading organisations of Youth in our country.

The African National Congress Youth League in the Transvaal has so far established 13 Branches mostly along the Reef comprising over one thousand members. The leading members of the African National Congress Youth League from Branch to National Level are elected annually at democratic general meetings.

DIFFICULTY IN ORGANISATION:

The African National Congress Youth League in the Transvaal lacks a permanent Office Staff. This is a serious difficulty as all the Officials of the African National Congress Youth League are workers and they can only devote their energies to the enormous task of organising the Youth during the hours when they are not at their places of employment. Bound up with this difficulty is the problem of producing regular programme material such as bulletins for the education of the Youth. In the Transvaal for instance the African National Congress Youth League produces at irregular intervals one bulletin only, namely the African Lodestar. Further the African National Congress Youth League is unable to harness effectively the enormous energies of the African Youth in Social and Cultural Affairs, and so canalise them into the general flow of the struggle of the people for a better life.

Finally you will easily appreciate these difficulties that arise primarily because the African National Congress Youth League has no stable source of revenue.

An Office of the African National Congress Youth League.

The present Provincial Executive of the African National Congress Youth League has considered to launch a campaign to acquire and open an office for the African National Congress Youth League.

We estimated that such an office which should be situated if possible on the Reef would be run at a monthly cost of not less than £45 to begin with, and would include Staff, salaries, rent, etc.

We feel that considering the advanced political outlook of the majority of the African people and the genuine spirit of goodwill which extends towards strivings of Youth, it will not be difficult to launch a successful appeal for monthly donations to personalities such as yourself. A donation of whatever amount given in the spirit of love for Human Dignity and progress will be appreciated sincerely.

We enclose herewith a copy of our programme for building a truly National Youth Movement, which we trust you will find time to read and criticise.

In conclusion we feel that the matter which we have touched upon above merely serves to stimulate your curiosity and interest in our organisation and its ideals, and we feel if you could grant us the privilege of an interview at a time and place suitable to yourself, we would go a long way towards satisfying this interest.

Yours for a better Africa,

(sgd.) Y. Putini.

Secretary. African National Congress Youth
League."

To whom is this letter addressed ?-- Just "Dear Sir/Madam." It appears to be in the form of a circular letter.

When you say that the letter is signed by Putini, do you mean the manuscript or the typed copy ?-- No, the name is typed in.

And is the manuscript signed ?-- No, on the circular the name is merely typed in.

Did you know a person by the name of Putini ?-- I do.

Is he connected with this organisation ?-- Yes.

In what capacity ?-- As far as I know, he is the Secretary of the African National Congress Youth League.

You hand that document in ?-- Yes.

Now, we come to the next one, A.6 ?-- A.6 is a list of names and addresses, apparently a postal list.

You needn't read that. You hand that in as A.6 ?-- Yes.

Now, A.7 if the Defence would like that list, A.6, read out, it can be done.

BY MR. BERRANGE: Perhaps the witness could just pass the documents to us when he has finished with them, before they are handed in.

BY THE P.P.: Yes, that will be done.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

The next is A.7; what is that document ?-- This is a note of resolutions.

Is it typed or written ?-- It is a written note of resolutions.

Passed when -- well, will you read the resolutions and we will get the whole story ?-- Yes, (witness reads);

"RESOLUTIONS:

1. This Conference reiterates its stand on the condemnation of the Bantu Education Act as one of the measures schemed by the Nationalist Government, particularly to maintain white supremacy for the perpetual enslavement of the African people. In this light Conference urges a continued sustenance of the boycott of schools as the only practical and effective method of defeating this evil legislation.
2. This Conference calls upon the people of Western Areas to continue their determined resistance against the Verwoerd Removal scheme, which is aimed at the snatching away of the land ownership rights of the African people without replacement of same under the pretext of the vicious policy of apartheid. In this connection Conference urges landlord and tenant to unite and stand solidly together in face of this fascist onslaught.
3. In compliance with the sane and progressive policy of the African N.C. to defeat fascism and oppression in any form, and as it affects any race group in this country, Conference strongly condemns the fascist Nationalist Government Population Reg. Act which is used for the sole purpose of classifying the coloured people in such a manner as to render them open to pass laws, low

- wages, effects of Bantu Education, including all other oppressive laws affecting the African people.
4. This Conference repeats its opposition to the Government institutions such as Advisory Boards, Bantu Education School boards and Committees as bodies brought about with the sole purpose of swaying the people from the right course of fighting for full democratic rights. Conference therefore once more calls for an intensified boycott of these institutions.
 5. Conference views with all seriousness the announcement made by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, at the Nationalist Congress in Pretoria on the 23rd September, 1955, that as from 1st January, 1956, African women will carry passes. This announcement has aroused great indignation amongst the African people, especially the womenfolk. Conference therefore, having a good knowledge of the miseries of passes, calls upon the African people to stage a ceaseless fight against the imposition of passes on African women. It also calls for the intensification of existing women organisations and the formation of new ones where none exist, to fight relentlessly the extension of passes to women and total abolition of passes for all."

The next is A.8 ?-- A.8 is also a draft of a circular letter, apparently, and reads as follows :-

"Stencil regional letters.

Provincial - To Presidents as well.

Statement to New Age, N.B. To send to Provinces also.

Acting Secretary.

Bulletin.

Dear Friends,

Is it dated ?-- No, I don't see a date on it:-

".....Dear Friends,

The announcement by the Minister of Native Affairs that the African women will carry passes must receive the immediate attention of your Executive. It calls for strengthening of the organisation, the building of both the women section and the Youth Section. This protest must include the extension of the passes to other groups. The signature campaign or the popularisation of the Charter, must mean the full explanation of the implications of the Bantu Education Act, pass laws, and many other local issues. We enclose herewith a statement issued by the head office which speaks for itself."

"The announcement by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd, at the Nationalist Congress in Pretoria, 23rd September, 1955, that the African women will carry passes as from January, 1955, shall find the African women ready to meet the Minister's challenge. It will arouse the greatest indignation in the country among the Africans, and an unprecedented struggle against the evils of the passes will then ensue. In the past all efforts to enforce the carrying of passes by African women failed because of the heroic struggles.

The"

It was to be continued, but after the word "the" there is nothing more.

Then A.9 ?-- A.9 is a document "The significance of World Youth Day." It reads as follows :

"The World Youth Day is a day of celebration and rejoicing for the Youth of the whole world. It is the day for celebrating the victories won by the oppressed and exploited people in their struggle for Independence, National Existence and Peace. Only five years ago the great Chinese People threw off the shackles of Feudalistic and Imperialistic bondage, and have established the highest form of democracy ever evolved by mankind, namely, Peoples' Democracy. The Youth of Africa and the world cannot but express their heartfelt well wishes to the Chinese Youth who are engaged in the noble task of peaceful reconstruction and consolidation of their gains.

The Youth of Africa and the world cannot but salute the Great Victories of the people of Indo-China who like the people of Korea have routed the Imperialist bandits. Dien Bien Phu is a clear writing on the wall for the Western aggressors. This victory showed the whole world that no amount of finance and armaments will defeat the just demand of the oppressed peoples for a better life. Indeed, gone are the days of the old type of minor colonial wars conducted under the slogan :-

'Whatever happens we have got

Gattling gun and they have not.'

These victories of the people have shattered the dreams of the Imperialists, frustrated the war plans of the U.S. Interventionists and warmongers

and have paved the way for Peace in the world.

The World Youth Day is a day of sorrow. It is a day of mourning for those who have died for the cause. Let us think of our young brothers who are daily murdered by the Imperialists in Kenya, in Malaya and Guatemala. The flow of blood of these finest sons of the working and exploited peoples is enough to seal and re-enforce the solidarity of the fighting youth in the colonial countries and the world over. The Youth of South Africa will undoubtedly spare a few moments of thought for its own brethren who have been banned and deported thereby denied their birth-right of freely associating with their comrades.

The World Youth Day is a day of pledge for the Youth, to step up their resistance to tyranny to even greater heights. The Youth of South Africa shall on this day re-dedicate itself to wage a relentless struggle against reaction and fascism in our land. Our ability to organise against and defeat the Youth Slave Camps and the Bantu Education Act will be our noblest contribution to the world wide struggle for peace and freedom. Let us gather together on this day and tell the world that to us "Western Culture" has meant poverty and degradation. Let us gather and tell of achievements of our people in song and verse. Let us gather and tell the Youth of the World of our desire to meet them in sports field and never on battlefields. Let us gather and tell them of our desire to see peaceful cultural and economic intercourse between our countries. Let us come together and denounce those

who wish to set African against African, Asian against Asian, brother against brother.

Friends, nine years ago on November the 10th the young people met in Europe to form their own Youth Organisation -- the World Federation of Democratic Youth. We in South Africa support the WFDY because we realise that its policy of fighting for Peace and Independence is in conformity with the wishes of the labouring and exploited Youth the world over. Because its policy seeks to remove the Iron Curtain between the Youth and Food, between the Youth and Education, between the Youth and Freedom. Because we realise that the strength of the organised world Youth is the clearest warning to the McCarthys, the Winston Churchills, the Verwoerds that their days are numbered in Africa. That the days of Imperialists are numbered in the world.

PEACE SHALL TRIUMPH OVER WAR: FREEDOM OVER OPPRESSION.
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE YOUTH OF THE COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES.
LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD.
LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH."

That circular is unsigned.

The next is A.10. ?-- This is a copy of the Freedom Charter. "THE FREEDOM CHARTER" :-

ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AT KLIPTOWN, JOHANNESBURG, on JUNE 25th and 26th, 1955.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all

the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birth-right to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

AND THEREFORE we, the People of South Africa, black and white together -- equals, countrymen and brothers -- adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national

groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH;

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT;

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger; The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever

they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to

elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind, shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state

education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education, shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful, and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by

negotiation -- not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates -- Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swazland -- shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

LET ALL WHO LOVE THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR COUNTRY NOW SAY, AS WE SAY HERE: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

Issued by the Congress of the People, Box 11045, Johannesburg, and printed by Pacific Press(Pty.) Ltd., Jeppe."

The next is A.11, an issue of the pamphlet "Liberation" No.10 of 1954? -- Yes.

I don't think there is any need for you to read that out? -- I then hand it in; it is a special issue, and deals with "Trade Unions Face the Future."

The next is A.12, a pamphlet entitled "The Road to Higher Wages, Better Conditions."? -- Yes.

Issued by whom? -- It is published by the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, 10 Rosenberg Arcade, 56, Market Street, Johannesburg, and printed by the Pacific Press, (Pty.) Ltd. of Jeppe, Johannesburg.

A.13, is another pamphlet? -- Educating for Ignorance, it is called.

Does that relate to the Bantu Education ?-- Yes, the S.A. Congress of Democrats View of the Bantu Education Act, published by the S.A. Congress of Democrats. I now hand that in.

A.14 ?-- A.14 is a booklet, the constitution of the Peoples' Republic of China. I hand that in.

Did you also search the rest of the offices ?-- I did.

BY THE COURT: Does A.14 bear any signature or name ?-- No, it doesn't say where it has been printed, nor is it signed. On the first page "This constitution was adopted on 29th September, 1954, by the First National People's Congress for the Peoples' Republic of China at its first session."

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Then you searched the rest of the offices ?-- I did.

And you also took possession of other documents ?-- Yes.

A.15, is that the constitution of the African National Congress ?-- Yes, the first document is the constitution of the African National Congress.

Is it typed ?-- It is a roneod document.

Does it show when that Constitution was adopted ?-- Well, as far as I know, this is the original Constitution of the African National Congress; it is signed by A.B. Xuma and James A. Calata. I hand that in. There is a document attached to it, Constitution and Programme of the African National Congress.

Does that second document embody the Constitution ?-- Yes, the first portion contains the constitution as such and the other one is headed "Constitution and Programme

of the African National Congress."

. . . I do not propose to waste the time of the Court by reading the documents out; the second document is not signed. ?-- Then there is a further portion, typewritten, with amendments in writing, also called the "Constitution of the African National Congress"

BY THE COURT: Perhaps it would save time if instead of reading these lengthy documents out, the general contents could be referred to, and any particular aspect that the Crown wishes to emphasise may then be read.

BY THE P.P.: The difficulty that I see there is that witness will have to read out the whole document in order to decide for instance, the programme that is referred to there

BY THE COURT: No, you as the prosecutor

BY THE P.P.: I am afraid I cannot, not at this stage. Without reading it myself, at this stage, or without refreshing my memory as to the contents, I would not be able to say what the nature of each document is.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Can you say, for instance, when that programme of action was drawn up and adopted ?-- It is undated. The first portion of it is the constitution, which was first adopted by the African National Congress, when it was formed as such an organisation -- no, it must have been later than that, because the African National Congress was established in 1912, and I see this is signed by A.B.Xuma, and James A. Calata. I think they probably came into the movement later.

I am now referring to that Programme ?-- The Consti-

tution and Programme of the African National Congress.

What does it relate to ?-- That is "the name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress...." and sets out the aims and objects much in the same way as the constitution does.

Does it contemplate any variation in the original principles ?-- I would have to read the documents to decide that. I haven't checked the one document with the other yet. It does seem to differ. The objects of the organisation as set out in the first portion of the document is A.B.C., and the aims and objects of the second portion of the document, "Constitution and Programme of the African National Congress, Aims and Objects," goes very much further, A.B.C. & D. So they would not appear to be the same. And the remainder of the document details membership, branches, and general matters affecting the organisation as such.

You then hand in A.15 ?-- Yes.

The next is A.16, is that the draft constitution ?-- A.16 is a document headed "The draft constitution of the African National Congress."

Is it typed ?-- It is also a roneoed document.

BY MR. ROSENBERG: Would it not save time if, when referring to a document, witness would say when there is a typewritten name.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Is that one signed ?-- This document is also unsigned. I hand that in.

The next is A.17 ?-- This would appear to be a document on a conference of the African National Congress held at Korsten on the 18th & 19th June, 1955. This document

is in the native language, it appears to be Xosa. Po Korsten is in Port Elizabeth.

Does that document contain the agenda of the Conference ?-- It does appear to be an agenda of the particular conference held.

I may say at this stage that that document has been translated, and the translation is still in the course of being typed. You hand that document in ?-- Yes. The first page of the document has a name typed in "T.E. Tshunungwa." And there is also this document which was behind, at the back page, "Election of Office Bearers"-- this is in English --

Is it signed or typed ?-- No, it is just in writing, an incomplete document, notes by somebody apparently.

Will you read out those notes ?-- "Election of Office Bearers. President: Professor Z.K. Matthews, Professor Matthews declined. Moova Njেকেle, pleaded with Professor Matthews to stand, even though he had decided not to stand last year. We are at a time when we need Professor's guidance and experience particularly in the campaign against Bantu Education." And it is seconded by "Jack". "In endorsing the remarks of the mover, Mr. Jack said that it is painful to accept this statement from Professor." Then it goes on and moves Rev. Walter Gawe, No. 100, C.J. Mayekiso, 79, Prof. Matthews, 117; T.E. Tshunungwa, 100; P.M. Mashibine, 60; W.Z. Mkwaiyi, 25, J. Jack, 52; Dr. Tsokwe, R.T., 101; Mrs. F. Matomela, 62; Mfana, 78; Komasi, 52; Mr. Stuurman, 13; Rev. O. Cikolo, 74; Rev. J.A. Calata 97; Ntoni, 27; Mini 25; Fali 65; Yeko, 33; Nongubo, 55; W.M. Phongolo 18; Mrs. Baart 25; Z. Manyako 38." On the reverse of the page it says "(1) See Matthews, re Sophiatown classes; (2) Executive re

Alec."

The next is A.18 ?-- A.18 is a roneod document dated 12th March, 1954, and signed, typed by Mokxotho Matji -- not signed. The document is in the native language,

Issued by whom ?-- Mokxotho Matji.

Is it issued on behalf of any particular organisation ?-- It is in the native language; it would have to be translated. I don't see a translation here. Apparently from what I can see it is issued by the A.N.C. of the Cape.

Is there any address on it ?-- P.O. Box 48, New Brighton.

In connection with what is that document, do you know ?-- It is in the native language, it will have to be translated. There are several documents which form part of this exhibit.

Are all those documents signed by Matji ?-- No. The second document which is I see there is a copy of the document in English here; the name of Mokxotho Matji is typed on the second portion of the document, which is in English. The second portion of the document, is headed "AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (CAPE)" with the same address, P.O. Box 48, New Brighton, and dated 12 /3/54. It is addressed to "Dear Son of Afrika."

Is there any heading ?-- No.

Will you read it quickly please ?-- (Witness reads):

"Dear Son of Afrika,

Please read carefully through the documents attached to this letter and do not omit to pay special attention to the following instructions

which will assist in building our organisation in the province. Your co-operation will assist us in building a strong people's movement and also help us maintain the health reputation of being regarded as the guardian of the people's interests in all fields of their daily lives.

The Provincial Executive has decided henceforth to revive the publication of its organisational bulletin "INYANISO" which will contain the Presidential message and also topical news of interest to all our members; this will be produced fortnightly, commencing from the 22nd March 1954. Send us news from your area and popularise INYANISO. Send us all subscriptions by registered post only; do not send money orders and telegraphed orders. Send all monies and address your envelopes as follows :-

Dr. R.T. Bokwe, P.O. Middledrift (Cape)

Also state name of branch and number of members for subscription remitted.

Submit to us your complete "ROLL OF HONOUR" that is, roll of Volunteers who participated in the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign; this must include as far as it is possible the story of the campaign in your area, its effect on the people -- its effect on those who participated in the campaign .. gaol conditions and treatment etc;

Encourage the organisation of Women and Youth $\frac{111}{222}$ we must have strong women and youth organisations if we are to build a living and vigilant National

organisation. No time must be wasted making both the Womens' league and the Youth League a reality.

Branches are herewith also notified to send to the Provincial Treasurer any monies for the "DEFENCE FUND" which is now a permanent fund of our organisation, it will be observed that our appeal for the Matomela Defence Fund was very successful, and we have no doubt that branches will once more respond and send their contributions.

Branches will remember that the National Conference at Queenstown last December decided on its annual budget; monies were to come from various sources within the organisation. In addition to the usual subscription quota, it was decided that some money would have to be raised from Concerts, Dances, shows, etc. AND ALSO FROM LEVIES; You are expected to send to the Provincial Treasurer one shilling (1/-) per annum per member towards the fund of the province which will then be enabled to send its share to the National budget.

Branches must organise and where possible hold meetings of protest against the amendments being made to certain laws directed against the peoples' organisations and leaders. It would be appreciated if messages of protest were sent to M.P.'s and also to the Ministers who are piloting such measures in Parliament.

Provincial Conference will be held on the 26th and 27th June 1954. Branches will be informed of venue

in due course but must make preparations which will make this Conference bigger and even more representative than any other.

Proceed with the campaign of the Economic boycott, intensify it where a start has already been made.

Only buy where your money will buy you a job.

PREPARE FOR THE PEOPLES' CONFERENCE and remember, ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEMBERS BY JUNE THE 6th, 1954. IF YOU WANT TO TEACH THE PEOPLE, REMEMBER THE RULE : LEARN FROM THEM FIRSTAND..... BE HUMBLE.

Yours for Afrika,

Mokxotho Matji,

Secretary (Cape) A.N.C."

The next portion of this exhibit is a document "AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (CAPE) STATEMENT BY NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS ON THE PRESENT SESSION OF PARLIAMENT." This is typed, and the name appearing is "W.M.Sisulu, Secretary-General, African National Congress."

Can you just give us the purport of that document -- that is still part of Exhibit A.18? -- The document deals with the present Session of Parliament, which is being devoted mainly to an attempt on the part of the Government to consolidate its fascist power by legislative means.

To whom is that circular addressed? -- It is just headed "African National Congress (Cape). The name W.M.Sisulu is typed in as Secretary-General of the African National Congress. The next portion of the document deals with finance and branches.

You hand those documents in as Exh.A.18.? -- Yes.

The next is A.19. ?-- This document is headed "Conference Committee -- African National Congress (Transvaal) Transvaal Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats (Johannesburg) S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation, (Johannesburg) Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, and addressed from P.O. Box 9207, Johannesburg, dated 31st May, 1954.

In connection with what is this circular ?-- It is in connection with a Mass Conference to be held at the Trades Hall, 30 Kerk Street, Johannesburg, on Sunday 27th June, at 10 a.m. to discuss plans for opposing the inhuman and unjust Western Areas Removal Scheme; the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act -- otherwise known as the 'Slave Labour Act' the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, the enactment of which will be the death-knell of all trade unions, and the Bantu Education Act. Typed at the bottom, "Yours sincerely, F. Morris, A.E. Patel, V. Weinberg, S.S. le Pere, L. Messina. Secretaries." I hand that in.

Now we come to A.20. ?-- that is a circular "Resist Apartheid Conference, Trades Hall, Johannesburg, Sunday 27th June, 1954."

Does that contain the agenda of the Conference ?-- It does contain the agenda of a Conference which appears to have been referred to in the previous exhibits.

By whom is that issued ?-- It does not say. It is a rounded document and describes the First Session Chairman: Mr. E.P. Morotselle, and the times and agenda for the particular conference.

The next is A.21. ?-- Yes, that is a notebook.

Does it relate to a meeting of the African National Congress at Moroka on 1st August, 1954?-- Yes, there is what appears to be a resolution in writing.

Will you read it?-- Yes :-

1. "This meeting of the A.N.C., Moroka Branch, held at the Central Square on 1st August strongly condemns the shameful and cowardly action of the Malanite Government in banishing two leaders of the A.N.C. Youth League of East London, Mr. Ngwenhe and Lingisi to the Schoemanland.
2. It further protests against the banning orders imposed on our leaders by the Malanite Clique.
3. This meeting registers strong protest against the proposed increase of train fares and rents and other ignominious economic exploitations. The Nats. impose the burden of apartheid on the working masses.
4. This meeting further endorses the call for 50,000 volunteers called for by Chief A.J. Luthuli, and suggests to the branch that 5000 volunteers must come out of Moroka.
5. The meeting strongly and vehemently protests against the removal of Sophiatown and Newclare, Suppression Act, Native Labour Act. The amendment of I.C. Act and the implementation of Apartheid policy as a whole, extra ordinarily the banning of the democratically elected leaders of the people."

I hand that in.

Apart from the resolution that you have referred to, are there also certain notes relating to Communistic terms ?-- There is.

Is there any other resolution recorded there ?-- There is another resolution in this notebook.

Then the next is Exh. A.22 ?-- This is a circular letter to all branch secretaries of the African National Congress, Transvaal; the name P. Mathole is typed in as Acting Secretary of the African National Congress, Transvaal, dated 18th August, 1954, and it relates to the Womens' section of the African National Congress (Transvaal) which held an emergency Conference at the Communal Hall, Western Native Township, Johannesburg, on Sunday 22nd August, 1954, at 9.30 a.m., and it also refers to collection lists of "CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" I hand that in.

Exh. A.23. ?-- A.23 is an agenda of the African National Congress (Transvaal) Conference, held at the Communal Hall, Western Native Township from October 9th to 11th, 1954.

What is briefly the subject matter ?-- The opening of the Conference, the minutes, "Important message to every African," Presidential Address, Executive Report, Resolution of Conference led by H.G. Makgothi, Congress of the People and Volunteers by R.M. Resha.

The next is A.24 ?-- The first document of A.24 refers to Income and Expenditure Account for the year ending 30th October, 1954 of the African National Congress (Natal) and is signed P.H. Simelane. And the second portion is the Annual Executive Report 1954, Officials for the year, dealing with political remarks, National Conference

at Queenstown, December, 1954, Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, Economic Boycott, Political Boycott, the Western Areas Removal Scheme, and other apartheid measures, Ban on Leaders, Organisation of Branches, and the Charter Celebration. It is signed P.H. Simelane, for Massabalala B. Yengwa, Secretary. And the next portion of that document is a message to the 1954 Annual Provincial Conference of the African National Congress, Natal, from A.J. Lutuli.

What does that message refer to, inter alia. ?-- It refers to the Congress of the People, and other allied national organisations.

Is it signed ?-- The name A.J. Lutuli, President, A.N.C., Natal Province, President-General, African National Congress is typed in, and is dated 30th October, 1954, P.O. Groutville Mission, Natal.

And A.25 ?-- A.25 is a notice by the African National Congress, 308 Lakhani Chambers, Durban, 12th November, 1954, a notice to all branches of the African National Congress concerning the Annual National Conference in Durban on Thursday, the 16th to 19th December, 1954.

Is it signed ?-- It is signed P.H. Simelane for Secretariat.

A.26 ?-- A.26, is a written note, "Messrs. Tambo, Vundla, Hutchinson and others." It is signed by "Stalwart" to which is attached similar copies of Exh. A.25.

A.27 is a typewritten circular letter ?--Yes, "The African National Congress will be holding its 43rd Annual Conference from the 16th to the 19th December, 1954, at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, to consider and decide

upon the present situation in the country, and to make preparations for the great assembly of the Congress of the People which will draw up a Freedom Charter for the people of South Africa." It is unsigned and undated. The next portion of A.27 is a circular letter to all branches and members of the African National Congress advising them of the Annual National Conference in 1954, signed at Motsoaledi, for Secretariat.

Then A.28 ?-- A.28 is a foreword to the 42nd session of the African National Congress. It is a roneod document, signed O.R. Tambo.

A.29 ?-- A.29 is the supplementary report of the secretariat of the African National Congress on the Congress of the People, submitted to the 42nd annual conference of the Congress, held in Durban on the 16th 17th, 18th and 19th December, 1954.

Does it relate to the Congress of the People ?-- Yes. Attached to that are annexures A.1, a memorandum on the Congress of the People submitted by the African National Congress to the Conference of the sponsoring organisations on 21st March, 1954, Annexure A.2 "We call the people of South Africa," and then a list of banned leaders, and deported leaders. These documents are all unsigned.

The next one is A.30 ?-- A.30 is a document relating to the African National Congress, Report to the 42nd Annual Conference held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, from the 16th to 19th December, 1954, pages 1 to 15.

A.31 ?-- A.31 is a supplementary report of the secretariat of the African National Congress on the

Congress of the People submitted to the 42nd Annual Conference of the Congress held in Durban on 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th December, 1954. It has with it annexures A.1, Memorandum of the Congress of the People submitted by the African National Congress to the Conference of the sponsoring organisations on 21st March, 1954. Annexure, A.2 "We call the people of South Africa," a list of banned leaders, and a list of Nationalist laws.

A.32 ?-- A.32 is a document "Resolutions of the African National Congress Annual Conference, 1954."

What do those resolutions relate to ?-- There are 10 resolutions, they refer to the Freedom Charter, 50,000 Freedom Volunteers, Western Areas Removal, Geneva Conference, People's Conference; President's address, Bantu Education, the oppressive regulations under the Native Trust and Land Amendment Act, and increased rentals.

A.33 ?-- A.33 is an address delivered by Dr. G.M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress, at the opening of the National Conference of the African National Congress at Durban, on Thursday, the 16th December, 1954.

A.34 ?-- A.34 is an address delivered by Chief A.J. Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress, to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress at Durban from the 16th to the 19th December, 1954.

A.35 ?-- A.35 is a message to the 1954 Annual Provincial Conference of the African National Congress - Natal from A.J. Lutuli. The name A.J. Lutuli is typed in President, A.N.C. Natal Province, and President-General of the African National Congress, October 1954, P.O.

Groutville Mission, Natal . . .

A.36 ?-- A.36 contains messages to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress.

Held where ?-- Messages from various parts of the world.

Where was that conference held ?-- It doesn't say; it is the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress., apparently the one previously described as 16th to 19th December, 1954.

A.37 ?-- A.37 African National Congress, the Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, on the 16th to 19th December, 1954. It contains the various Exhibits I have just referred to. The foreword, as I have mentioned, is signed by O.R. Tambo.

And A.38 ?-- A.38 is a similar document to A.37.

And A.39 ?-- A.39 is a message to the African People and their allies in the struggle for freedom in the Union of South Africa, and it is signed by ~~A.S.V.~~ W.M. Sisulu, Secretary General. It is actually typed, not signed.

Then A.40 ?-- A.40 is the Presidential Address of the African National Congress (Transvaal) submitted at the 42nd Annual Provincial Conference held at the Communal Hall, Western Native Township, Johannesburg on 9th - 11th October, 1954. It is a roneod document, unsigned.

A.41 ?-- A.41 is several copies of a circular letter to the Executive, by the African National Congress Youth

League, 7044 B Westcliff, P.O. Orlando, dated 14th January, 1954, with the name typed in, Duma Nokwe, Assistant National Secretary C.Y.L.

In connection with what is that circular ?-- It deals with Mass Youth Movement, discussion of problems involved in the absence of recreational facilities, to discuss the problems facing the youth as workers, peasants, the nursing profession, and in education in general, inviting all democrats and democratic organisations of youth including individual schools, etc., progressive literature and the congress of the rights of youth, and with the A.N.C.'s resolution to convene a Congress of the People of South Africa to draw up a Freedom Charter.

MR. ROSENBERG ADDRESSES COURT:

(Application for permission for accused to remove their coats granted.)

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Now we come to A.42., is that also an A.N.C.Y.L. circular dated 18th January, 1954, about a conference to be held on 31/1/54, and signed by Nokwe ?-- Yes, it is not signed; the name DumaNokwe is typed in, as Secretary, African National Congress Youth League.

A.43, is that also a letter of the African National Congress Youth League ?-- Yes, dated 26/1/54, to the Secretary, Congress of Democrats Youth League, Johannesburg, in connection with the Conference on the 31st January, also typed in, Duma Nokwe, Secretary of the A.N.C. Youth League.

A.44 ?-- A.44 is a letter to Miss Hilda Watts, from the Colonial Youth Day Committee, dated 26/1/19__, signed by Duma Nokwe, Secretary, Colonial Youth Day Committee.

A.45 ?-- A.45 is a circular letter, African National Congress Youth League (Transvaal), dated 17/5/54, advising of the Annual Provincial Conference on the 23rd May at 9.30 a.m. at the Trades Hall, 30 Kerk Street, Johannesburg. It is signed by R.A.Tsehlana

A.46 ?-- A.46 is the Annual Provincial Conference, African National Congress Youth League, Draft Resolutions.

And does that document state when the conference was held ?-- This is an unsigned document, but there is a typed stencil with it. It is in connection with the pass laws and condemns the depriving of Africans of opportunities for genuine education, the establishment of concentration camps and farm goals; condemns the choking of the Trade Union movement, and so on, cultural activities, and has reference also to the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

A.47 ?-- This is a Presidential Report to the Provincial Conference, African National Congress Youth League.

Is there any date on it ?-- No, there is no date and it is an unsigned document, but there is a date referred to here :- "When the President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Brano Bernini, made his Report to the Council of Meeting of the W.F.D.Y., which was held in Peking from the 9th-15th August, 1954, he made the correct analysis, that one of the most important and urgent questions of the international democratic youth movement is "the movement of young people in the colonial and dependent countries for their rights, national independence, and peace."

A.48 ?-- That is the Annual Report of the Provincial Executive of the A.N.C.Y.L. to the 12th Provincial Congress. It is a written document, and also has a stencil.

A.49, is that the A.N.C.Y.L. 12th Annual Conference report ?-- Yes, 2 copies of the agenda, of the African National Congress Youth League (Transvaal), the 12th Annual Conference.

Is it signed ?-- No, the programme mentions, in type, Mr. Resha, Mr. E.P. Moretsele, Mr. P. Molaoa, Mr. B. Masemola, Mr. H.G. Makgothi, Mr. P. Nthite, Mr. J.P. Manne.

The next one is A.50 ?-- A.50 is resolutions of the 10th Annual Conference of the African National Congress Youth League (Transvaal) held on Sunday 23rd May 1954 at the Trades Hall, 30 Kerk Street, Johannesburg..

What do they relate to ?-- Reiterates its faith in the stand on the ideology of African nationalism as contained in the practice and leadership of the African National Congress and resolves that : "1. The Provincial Executive Committee of the A.N.C.Y.L. be instructed to inquire into the situation in the Orlando branch," a general instruction ^{to} /the branches of the Transvaal, studying the interests of the Youth and thus creating the basis of a powerful mass Youth Movement to fight fascism, condemning the Verwoerd plan, Western Areas Removal Plan, Bantu Education and settlement of disputes Act; it identifies itself with the struggle for the Colonial Peoples' fight to throw off foreign domination and enslavement, stresses its solidarity with the peoples of Kenya, Indo-China, North

Korea, Malaya and British Guiana. "This conference welcomes the efforts that the peoples of the world are making to bring peace to mankind, and to end wars."

The next one, A.51 ?-- A.51, The Transvaal delegation reports on National Conference held on 25th June, 1954 at Uitenhage.

A.52 ?-- A.52 is page 12 of some document, referring to the National Executive Committee of the Congress Youth League, mentioning the names of J.G. Matthews, Duma Nokwe, Dr. W.Z. Conco, R. Resha, H.G. Makgothi, M.B. Yengwa, B. Ntshangane, T.T. Tshume, Zondani, Dr. Diliza Mji, T.T. Letlaka, Stemela and Rakhetla Tsehlana. Those are the names given as members of the National Executive Committee. Matthews is the President-General, Duma Nokwe is Secretary-General, Transvaal, and Dr. W.Z. Conco of Natal Treasurer-General.

A.53 ?-- A statement issued by the working committee of the African National Congress, Youth League, a typed document, signed by R. Resha, in his capacity as National President of the African National Congress Youth League.

Does that relate to the Fort Hare matter ?-- Yes.

A.54 ?-- There are other documents forming part of A.53, there is a letter dated 27th April, 1955, to the Secretary-General, A.N.C., Johannesburg, signed by Leslie Notmanyane, Provincial Secretary, Bloemfontein. Then there is also a letter to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, regarding P.S. Manana, signed by B. Turok, from Cape Town, dated 4th April, 1955. Another letter, typed on the letterhead of the African National Congress, Natal, dated 21st April, 1955, to the Secretariat

A.N.C., Johannesburg, signed P.H. Simelane, Secretariat. Another letter, dated 5/5/55, to the Secretary, A.N.C. Youth League, signed by P.P. Ntshane, as Provincial Secretary, African National Congress Youth League.

Do you know a person by that name?-- Yes, he is one of the Accused, No. 57.

Can you say whether the signature there is that of the Accused?-- I have never seen his signature. There is still one other document in A.53, To Mr. Theo Nkamane, Pretoria, on the letterhead of the African National Congress, dated 17/5/55, typed P. Mathole, Secretary, Congress of the People.

The next is A.54?-- A.54 is the Programme for the building of a mass Youth League, a document issued by the A.N.C.Y.L.

Does it bear any date?-- It is in accordance with the resolution of the A.N.C.Y.L. adopted at its National Conference held at Uitenhage on the 26th and 27th June, 1954"

Is it signed?-- Unsigned.

A.55?-- A pre-Conference Presidential Call by A.J. Luthuli?-- That is so.

Is it a roneoed?-- It is a roneoed document.

Does it bear any date?-- There is also a typed written document of the same thing;

To which Conference does it relate?-- The Annual Conference, it doesn't mention a date there. I'm sorry, it is dated, P.O. Groutville Mission, 10/11/54, and typed A.J. Luthuli, President-General, A.N.C.

What is that about?-- It relates to Freedom

volunteers, The African National Congress, as such, the resistance to apartheid call.

Has it any reference to the Western Areas Removal campaign, or not ?-- It refers to various other organisations, such as the S.A. Indian Congress, and the Congress of Democrats, and principally to organise and propagandise the Congress of the People.

Then A.56, is that an A.N.C. Circular letter, purporting to be signed by J. Nkadimeng, about a meeting to be held on 11th December, 1954 ?-- Yes, on the letterhead of the African National Congress, Transvaal Province, a circular letter to Branch Secretaries advising them of a special meeting of the Joint Executive Committees of the African National Congress to be held on Saturday, 11th December, 1954, at the A.N.C. offices at 2 p.m., and signed J. Nkadimeng.

Do you know a person by that name ?-- Yes, one of the Accused, No. 54.

Do you know whether that is his signature ?-- I don't think I have seen his signature before.

Then the next is A.57 ?-- It is a letter from the African National Congress Youth League, New Brighton Branch, P.O. Box 48, New Brighton, dated 4/5/55, to the Secretary-General, African National Congress, Johannesburg." The following officials were elected at the 1955 Annual General Meeting of the abovementioned branch :

PRESIDENT:	W.F. Mati
VICE PRESIDENT	C. Matshaba
SECRETARY	V.W. Mini.
ASST. SECRETARY	L.M. Kepe

TREASURER	W.Z. Mkwayi
OPO	T.T. Tshume
SPEAKER	M.B.Ntsangani,"

Then the executive members are T.D. Mqata, N.A. Beni, Miss G.N.Mesani, M.Z. Mdyogolo, G. Ndungane, D.L.Fuyani. It is signed "Yours for Freedom, W. Mini."

A.58, is that an A.N.C. Circular letter ?-- Yes, to all branch secretaries, regarding "the Joint Branch executive meeting, scheduled to take place on Saturday, 29th January, 1955, has been postponed to the 5th February, 1955, at 2. p.m.

Is it signed ?-- In connection with the Western Areas Removal over the week-end, and signed by R.M.Resha. It has an organising programme attached for the A.N.C. Provincial Women's League.

In what capacity did Resha sign that ?-- For Secretariat, and several people are mentioned here.

Do you know Resha's signature ?-- Yes, I have seen his signature before.

Is that his signature ?-- Yes.

A. 59 ?-- That is the minutes of the A.N.C. Executive (Tvl.) held on the 20th February, 1955.

Do the minutes show which office bearers were there ?-- Yes, it deals with organisation, the sub-committees, and Education Committee "Mr. H.G. Makgothi with powers to co-ordinate the activities of committees and organisations fighting Bantu Education." H.G. Makgothi is one of the Accused. Then it goes on "Volunteer Board, Messrs. R.M. Resha (Vol. in Chief) J. Nkadimeng (1st Deputy Vol. in

Chief) and Mr. Ngwendu (2nd Deputy Vol. in chief).
Finance Committee: Mrs. L. Ngoyi, G. Matseke and Mr. B. Ngwendu. C.O.P. Messrs. E.P. Moretsele, O. Motsabi, G. Matseke, J. Sibande and R. Resha."

Do you know a person by the name of Ngwendu ?--
Yes, William S. Ngwendu, he is one of the Accused -- he is in Court, No. 53. Mrs. L. Ngoyi is No. 52. Mr. E.P. Moretsele, is Accused No. 46, O. Motsabi, is Accused No. 47; I don't know who J. Sibande is. Then there is "Resist Apartheid, J. Nkadimeng (Chairman), B. Ngwendu, H.G. Makgothi, L. Ngoyi and R. Resha. It was decided that all the branches in the Rand be visited before the end of this week..... The meeting closed at" It doesn't mention the time.

A.60 ?-- A.60 is also from the A.N.C. (Transvaal), a special conference held at Sophiatown on Sunday 13th March, 1955, with the name M.K. Mpho from Roodepoort.

Do you know a person by that name ?-- Yes, it is Accused No. 48. It contains a programme with written notes, apparently of the proceedings. The programme also mentions the names of P.Q. Vundla, Congress of the People by Mr. Syd Shall, one of the Accused, No. 67 of the Congress of Democrats, a discussion on the Congress of the People, Bantu Education by Mr. H.G. Makgothi; Western Areas Removal Scheme by Mr. R.M. Resha.

Is that all in A.60 ?-- Yes, I have not referred to the written notes, it is very badly written, apparently a record of proceedings at this Conference.

A.61 ?-- This is "Resolutions passed at the special conference of the African National Congress held at Sophiatown, on the 13th March, 1955.

Dealing with resolutions ?-- It recommends that "the National Action Council of the Congress of the People to take the initiative to intensify the campaign for the Conference of the C.O.P. to take place as from the 25th -26th June, 1955, at a place which will be decided and considered by the National Action Council. Further, this Conference urges the National Action Council to advise Regional branches of the sponsoring organisations to send in the demands of the people and to send delegates to this historic Conference of the Congress of the People."

And A.62 ?-- African National Congress (Central Branch) dated 22/3/55, to the Provincial Secretary, A.N.C. Transvaal, Johannesburg. "I hereby kindly inform you that on the 6th March 1955, an annual members meeting was held in the offices of the Transvaal Indian Congress, where the following were elected as the incoming Executive for the year 1955.

1. Ephraim Bopape, Chairman; 2 John Nkadimeng, Vice-Chairman; 3 Lucky Mosimane, Secretary; 4 Alex Nchabeleng, Assistant Secretary; 5 Manzine Masilane, Treasurer. Members of the Committee: 6, John Moche, 7 Joel Tenyane, 8 Abraham Pilane, 9 Sophie Nchupetsang; 10. Daniel Poho, 11 Kruger Siningwa; 12 Benjamin Mdaka." That is signed by L. Mosimane, Secretary.

Then A.63

BY THE COURT: Some of these names seem familiar, I have seen them before.

BY THE P.P.: The names that have been read out now, with the exception of Nkadimeng, are not before the Court; the witness has already referred to Nkadimeng.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Then A.63 ?-- That is a resolution: "This Special Conference of the African National Congress (Transvaal) held in Sophiatown on the 27th March, 1955, having fully considered the serious implications of the decision taken at Special Conference of the A.N.C. (Transvaal) resolves: (a) that the resolution passed by the Special Conference of the African National Congress (Transvaal) held at Sophiatown, on the 13th March, 1955, to commence the withdrawal of African children from primary schools as from the 1st April, 1955, contrary to the decision of the National Executive Committee of the A.N.C. to defer the date, be rescinded. (b) That Conference recommends to the N.E.C. that there should be demonstrations on the 2nd and 3rd April, against Bantu Education. (c) That the boycott of school committees and school boards of Dr. Verwoerd schools be intensified and (d) Conference further recommends to the N.E.C. to allow Areas which are ready to begin the boycott." "Moved by J. Kumalo (Moroka branch) and seconded by Mr. Khosola, (Brakpan branch.)"

Do you know a person by that name "Kumalo" ?--
Yes, Jerry Kumalo of Moroka, that is Accused No. 17.

Now, the next is A.64 ?-- That is the minutes of the National Executive Meeting held in Durban on the 21st May, 1955. It is signed, but I'm afraid I can't make it out, and it mentions those being present as Chief A.J. Luthuli, Prof. Z.K. Matthews (Chairman), Dr. A.E. Letele,

Dr.W.Z. Conco, Mrs. M.Y Motlakwane, Messrs. E.P. Morestele, P.H.Simelane, L. Masina, P.Q. Vundla, T.E. Tshunungwa, R.M. Resha, and A.S. Hutchinson.

A.65 ?-- African National Congress Youth League, Sophiatown, Johannesburg, 24th May, 1955, "Re Members' Meeting Thursday, 26th May, 1955." It is an unsigned document. "We are living during a time of hardship, when the Nationalist Government of this country is doing everything in its power to see it that the African is oppressed in his land of birth. Such evil laws as the Passes, Removal Scheme, Group Areas Act, Bantu Education....." that is what it refers to. ".....It needs courage, determination, discipline, patience and consistency. Above all, we must be a MIGHTY UNITED FORCE in order to crush down these forces of oppression."

A.66 ?-- That is an A.N.C.Y.L. Programme in connection with a meeting to be held on 29/5/55 at Sophiatown; "The Provincial Conference of the A.N.C. Youth League (Transvaal) ." There are numerous people mentioned here. I think I have handed in a similar document.

A.67 ?-- Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Executive Committee. "A special meeting of the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee was held at W.N.T. on the 31st May, 1955. The meeting commenced at 11 a.m." On the Agendawas the organisation and congress of the People.

A.68 ?-- Minutes of the Provincial Executive, African National Congress, held on Thursday 16th June, 1955. Present "E.P.Moretsele, B. Ngwendu, act. treasurer,

G. Matseke, H. Makgothi, O. Motsabi, P.G. Keetse and G. Nkadimeng.

Do you know a person by the name of Makgothi ?--
Yes, Accused No.29, present in Court.

A.69 ?-- Resolutions adopted at the National Conference of S.A. Congress of Democrats held on 24th June, 1955.

Briefly what do they refer to ?-- "Political - Restrictions on civil liberties." "Appellate Division Quorum Act." "Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act," "Group Areas Amendment Act," "Senate Act," "Native Resettlement Act," "Departure from the Union Regulations Act," "Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Act," "Population Registration Act," "The Suppression Acts," "Bantu Education," "Fort Hare," "University Apartheid," "Language Ordinance," "Trade Unions" "Peace and the International Situation," "Education and Propaganda," "New Age", "Youth Work"

Is it signed ?-- No, it is not signed.

A.70 ?-- Written notes of the meeting of the National Executive Committee, dated 25th June, 1955,
"Present: Dr. A. Letele, Dr. W. Conco, Messrs. R. Resha, P.Q. Vundla, L. Masina, T.E. Tshunungwa and E.P. Moretsele."
It is not signed.

A.71 ?-- Minutes of the Joint Executives of the African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, S.A. Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation, held on 31st July, 1955, in Stanger, Natal.
"Chairman, Chief Albert J. Lutuli, and various persons are mentioned here.

Does that refer to the Congress of the people ?--

Yes.

A.72, does that show the minutes of the first meeting of the National Consultative Committee held on 16th August, 1955 ?-- That is so. The election of office bearers according to these minutes, "Chairman, P. Byleveld...."

Is he before the Court ?-- Yes. And "Joint Secretaries, A. Patel and R. Resha."

Are all those people before the Court ?-- They are. P. Byleveld is Accused No. 6, A. Patel is Accused 58, and Resha Accused 63.

Do you know what the relationship is between the National Consultative Committee and the Congress of the People ?-- As far as I can see from these minutes here, it is "Present: A.N.C. 2 representatives; S.A.I.C. 1 representative; S.A.C.P.O. 1 representative; S.A.C.D.D., 2 representatives."

Now, A.73, are those the minutes of the second meeting of this Consultative Committee, held on 24th August, 1955 ?-- That is so.

Briefly, what was discussed ?-- "Present, A.N.C., 2 representatives, S.A.I.C., nil, apology received; S.A.C.P.O. 2 representatives, S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives. "(1) To request the individuals who are to write on the various chapters of the Charter to start immediately and all to be informed during this week. (11) To print the English, Zulu, Sotha and Xosa versions of the Charter as soon as possible."

Then A.74, are those the minutes of the third meeting held on 30th August, 1955 ?-- That is so.

Briefly, what was discussed there ?-- To print the charter as soon as possible in various numbers, 5,000 copies in English, 5000 Zulu, 5000 Sotho, 5000 Xosa, and so on, and allotted to the various organisations the duty of doing this.

Is that document signed ?-- No, it is not signed.

The next one is A.75, does that show the minutes of the fourth meeting on the 22nd September, 1955 ?-- Yes. Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the National Consultative Committee held on the 22nd September, "Present, A.N.C. 2 representatives, S.A.I.C. 2 representatives, S.A.C.O.D. 2 representatives, and S.A.C.P.O. 2 representatives." It is not signed. It deals also with the Freedom Charter and Joint Congress Committee, Cape Western.

The next is A.76, does that show the minutes of the A.N.C. Meeting at Sophiatown ?-- They are written notes of a public meeting ... "was first held in the morning at Sophiatown at Congress Square. Prominent speakers spoke in protest of many oppressive laws."

Does it show on what date the meeting was held ?-- It just mentions Sunday.

Do the notes show what was discussed at that meeting ?-- Resolutions taken there, by the Resolutions Committee and read by Mr. H.G. Makgothi, the 1949 Boycott decision to stand, the rejection of higher rents, the implementation of the 1953 boycott, and organising of parents and teachers associations against the Bantu Education Act. It is unsigned.

A.77. Are those also the minutes of an A.N.C. meeting?-- Yes, it is headed "Agenda, Matters Arising, Bantu Education, Removal of Western Areas, and the Congress of the People." The Chairman according to the notes was Prof. Z.K. Matthews.

Do the minutes show the date of the meeting?-- No date. There is reference in the resolutions "The National Executive of the A.N.C. has decided to defer the implementation of the resolution adopted at the 42nd Annual Conference held at Durban in December 1954 in connection with the withdrawal of African Children from primary schools."

A.78?-- The document begins "The coming into being of the African National Congress in 1912...." it is a typed document, unsigned.

A.79, is that the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress circular dated 18th January, 1954?-- Yes.

Signed by?-- By A.M. Kathrada, for M. Moolla -- Joint Hon. Secretaries. It refers to Paul Joseph.

Do you know persons by those names?-- Yes, they are Accused in Court, No. 18 Kathrada, Joseph Accused No. 14.

And what is the subject matter of that circular?-- It is the first news letter of the year, "....we wish to take this opportunity of extending to you the greetings and best wishes of the Executive Committee of the Youth Congress for a very successful, bright and peaceful New Year." And then "PAUL JOSEPH: Firstly, it will be our pleasant task of welcoming back into our midst one of the leading members of our organisation, Paul Joseph, who

was sent over by us to the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students in Bucarest, in August of last year. After Bucarest Mr. Joseph made an extensive tour of Europe, visiting Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom. He is going to relate his experiences to us at the meeting." It also deals with the Transvaal Youth Festival, Colonial Youth Day and so on.

And then Exh. A.80, is that a message to the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress?-- Yes, the document reads "The African National Congress Youth League salutes and commends the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress on the occasion of its tenth Annual Conference....."

Is it signed?-- Unsigned.

A.81?-- A.81 is the tenth Annual General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, held at Johannesburg on the 15th May, 1955, at the Duncan Hall. That contains the report of the activities of the organisation to the 10th Annual General Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress held at the Duncan Hall Johannesburg, on Sunday 15th May, 1955.

Is it signed?-- It contains the Secretarial Report, the paper on sport, paper on education and culture, It is not signed.

A.82?-- A.82 is an Agenda Book of the 8th Annual Provincial Conference held at Durban on 25-26-27th March, 1955, of the Natal Indian Congress.

Is that roneod?-- That is a roneod document as well.

A.83?-- That is the 21st Conference of the S.A. Indian Congress held at Durban, on the 9th, 10th and

11th July, 1954.

Is that of the S.A. Indian Congress ?-- Yes. The Exhibit has the name "J. Nkadimeng" on the top, and it was opened by Chief A.J. Luthuli, and Dr.Y.M. Dadoo, is described as the President; Vice-Presidents Dr. G.M. Naicker, Nana Sita, and joint hon. secretaries Yusuf Cachal Cachalia and D.U. Mistry.

And A.84, is that a circular entitled "The World We Live in" ?-- Yes. It is a roneod document, not signed.

A.85, is that a circular entitled "The Country we live in" ?-- Yes.

A.86 is a circular, "Change is needed." ?-- Yes. It is described as "Lecture Three, Change is Needed."

The last three are ?-- In a series.

"The World We Live in," "The Country We Live in" and "Change is needed" ?-- Yes.

Are those numbered 1, 2 and 3 ?-- Yes, the documents deal with various items. There are also attached type-written copies of this document.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES: LO/1/57.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE:

BY THE P.P.: May it please Your Worship: Two matters have arisen to which I would like to draw Your Worship's attention. The First is, Accused No. 116, S. Mkalipi, that was joined yesterday -- I don't think it was recorded whether he was represented or not.

MR. ROSENBERG: I appear for that accused.

BY THE P.P.: The second matter concerns the Accused. I

have been asked to ask Your Worship whether the Accused can be instructed to take their seats by 9 o'clock in the mornings, so as to facilitate the checking, and so on.

BY THE COURT: Will that suit the Defence? (Counsel signify assent.) The Accused will understand then that they must take their seats in their properly allocated places by at least 9 o'clock in the morning.

BY THE P.P.: Could the same be done for instance, at the tea adjournment at 11 o'clock; if they are told that the Court will adjourn for, say quarter-of-an-hour, they must take their seats immediately afterwards. There is a lot of delay.

BY THE COURT: It doesn't give them much time; the adjournment is only for a quarter of an hour -- do you need a check then?

BY MR. BERRANGE: I might mention that yesterday I was approached by a number of the Accused in regard to the situation here during the tea adjournment, and the complaints that have been made to me are to the effect that the African women are not being permitted proper use of the toilets, and that is one of the reasons, of course, why there has been this delay. I understand there has been some difficulty about it so far as the police are concerned in allowing them to use these toilets. I didn't want to raise it in Court, I thought I would raise it privately.

BY THE COURT: I suggest we have a consultation during one

one of the adjournments -- perhaps this could be smoothed out.

BY MR. BERRANGE: I think it would be better to do it then.

EDOLF EDEL EDWARD MOELLER, still under oath:

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTD.:

Yesterday we had got to Exh. A.86. Now we come to A.87, which is a document purporting to be issued by the National Action Council, dealing with the origin of the Congress of the People, and saying Professor Matthews gave birth to the great idea of the Congress of the People; then there is attached typewritten articles dealing with the history of the Congress of the People?-- That is so.

That document is not signed?-- It is unsigned.

A.88, is roneod document "Memorandum on the Congress of the People" submitted by the African National Congress to the Conference of the sponsoring organisations on 21st March, 1954, also unsigned?-- That is so.

A.89, is a portion of the pamphlet "Fighting Talk" containing pages 7, 8, 9 and 10, with the Freedom Charter set out on pages 8 and 9, and an articles "Let us Work Together," by Walter Sisulu, dealing with the Congress of the People?-- That is so.

A.90, is a typewritten circular letter dealing with the proposed big ndaba on the 25th and 26th June, 1955, to the Congress of the People, to be held at Klip-town, unsigned?-- That is so.

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A.91, is also a document dealing with the organisation of the Congress of the People, typewritten document, unsigned.

A.92, is a roneod circular entitled, "YOUTH PREPARE!! FIGHT AND DIE TOGETHERNEVER TURN BACK! A.J. LUTHULI" and also deals with the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

A.93, a roneod circular signed by W.M. Sisulu for the Secretaration of the National Action Council of Congress of the People, undated, dealing with aCall for the Congress of the People, and al so giving the history and methods of organisation in connection with the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of W.M. Sisulu ?-- He is one of the Accused, No. 70, the second from the end in the third row. (Accused stands for identification).

Do you know what position he occupies in the organisation of the African National Congress ?-- He was at one time the Secretary-General of the Congress, the A.N.C.

Do you know his signature ?-- I have seen his signature, I know it.

What do you say about the signature appearing on that circular ?-- I say that is his signature.

While I am dealing with him, for how long have you known him ?-- For some eight years, I should say.

The next document is A.94, a typewritten document also dealing with the Congress of the People, unsigned and

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