

undated,?-- Yes.

tThe next one, A.95, a circular letter to branches, signed by O.R. Tambo on behalf of the Secretariat; a roneod document -- will you read the last paragraph of the circular ?-- Yes. "The greatest message to the Conference will be a call to all delegates to prepare for the holding of the great Congress of the People." (Signed:)O.R. Tambo, Secretariat.

Now, A.96, is a document, typewritten, containing instructions to branch visitors; will you njust give the headings of matters dealt with there -- is it unsigned and undated ?-- The headings to the various paragraphs, (1) to (8), Elections, Demands, C.O.P. Literature, Circular letter, delegates from and contact with outlying areas, finance, local problems, and paragraph (viii) "It must at all times be stressed that the C.O.P. campaign is not separate from other campaigns - e.g. Western Areas, Bantu Education, etc. It embodies all of them, and this should be reflected in the demands brought in. Also, C.O.P. should be discussed wherever possible -- e.g. at meetings, etc. on Bantu Education, etc. It must at all times be stressed that contact must be made with as many people as possible, and that delegates should be readily representative of and supported by the people in their area." It is unsigned.

I would like to go back to Exh. A.95, the circular letter signed by O.R. Tambo. Do you know a person by

that name ?-- Yes, he is one of the accused, No. 2 in the fourth row, Accused No.74.

For how long have you known him ?-- For a number of years.

Do you know his signature ?-- I have never seen him signing his name.

A.97 is a wax sheet, which speaks for itself "Forward to the Congress of the People" and "AFRIKA" stencilled on it ?-- Yes.

A.98 is a roneod circular issued by the Congress of the People, Transvaal Volunteer Board, dated 2/9/54 addressed to al volunteers announcing a meeting to be held on 8/9/54 at Donaldson Centre, Orlando, with the name of R. Resha typed in for Provincial Volunteer Board ?-- Yes.

A.99 is a typewritten document, undated and unsigned, headed "Elections to the Congress of the People", will you read those paragraphs that are marked in pencil ?-- Paragraph 9: "The C.O.P. intends to draft a Freedom Charter based on the demands of the people. Therefore the people who want freedom and who have put forward demands must nominate and elect those pe ople whom they feel will explain the demands before Congress, and get them incorporated in the Freedom Charter." Paragraph 10(1) "Elections ought to be held in such a way that nobody's opinion is opposed, for we want everybody to be heard. Therefore there should be no opposition of an individual or group of candidates by an individual or group of can-

or group of candidates of a different opinion."

A.100 is a typewritten document also undated and unsigned, marked "A Plan of Work for the Congress of the People in the Transvaal." Will you read those passages that are marked in that document ?-- "A meeting of the Johannesburg Volunteer-in-Chiefs from the different branches must be held in Johannesburg Central on Saturday the 23rd October and they should be addressed by one of the Provincial Volunteer-in-Chiefs on the specific tasks and ~~and~~ duties of Volunteers as outlined in the circular drawn up by the National Secretariat."

Would you read those passages marked on the last page ?-- "A letter should be drafted asking every branch to appoint amongst its members of the executive a number of persons whose main task would be to do the work of the Congress of the People; to form local committees bringing other organisations into these committees for instance in Orlando out of the 11 members of the executive committee, 3 can be appointed to specialise of the Congress of the People work. Then they work jointly with members of the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation from Nooidgesig. Then they invite local bodies such as the Vigilance Associations, Residents Committees and other religious and cultural organisations. To do this there must be no feeling whatsoever that there is an attempt to form a new organisation because that will destroy the very

objectives of the unity we are trying to create."

A.101 is a roneod document, undated and unsigned, marked "Message by W.<sup>1</sup>. Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress." Dealing with his own banning and that of leaders of the organisations -- will you also read certain passages marked in that document ?--

A.101, paragraph 3: "The ruthlessness of the Government in the use of this fascist measure has affected even those who feared to participate in a positive struggle against the Nationalist onslaught."

The last page contains references to the Congress of the People ?-- That is so.

Will you read those relevant portions ?-- "That is how you can make easy the task of those who will remain, the task of Chief A.J. Luthuli, a beloved Peoples' President, the task of Dr. Naicker, Dr. van der Ross, Beylerveld and Masina, and all those who work and stand with them. In this you can be guided by the rich literature our organisations have produced, especially from the first nation-wide political strike in 1950 up to the present day of the great Congress of the people.

A.102, a typewritten document, undated, unsigned, starting with "The people on the march to freedom...." Will you just read out the headings of the various paragraphs, and such portions as are marked in pencil ?-- "The People on the March to Freedom." "Struggle has made this Advance Possible." "The Way Opens to Peace and Freedom." "The Nationalists Try to Turn the Clock Back."

"The People fight back." "No Compromise with apartheid."  
"Forward with the Freedom Charter." "Link all campaigns  
and relate them to the Freedom Charter." "Learning from  
mistakes." "The Campaign against the removal of the  
western areas." "The Campaign against Bantu Education."  
"Organisation." "Local issues." "Recruiting." "Finance."  
"Women in the African National Congress." "On with the  
struggle."

I think the second paragraph on the first page  
relates to the colonial struggle?-- Yes. I read: "This  
new era of colonial liberation was symbolised by the  
Bandung Conference held in April, earlier this year.  
This conference represented 29 Asian and African countries  
which not so long ago were represented in the councils of  
the nations by their foreign oppressors and Colonial  
Office spokesmen. Here was a conference of free peoples  
who until recently had been victims of imperialism and  
colonialism. It was a conference which pledged to fight  
until the last vestiges of imperialism and colonialism  
are wiped off the face of the earth. The conference made  
a pact not for aggression against smaller nations, but  
for peace and freedom. It deplored the policies of race  
segregation and discrimination which form the basis of  
government and human relations in large regions of the  
still exploited world. It proposed economic and cultural  
co-operation between the Asian and African people, and  
demanded the increased representation for the people of  
these two continents in the United Nations. Oppressed  
people everywhere will be inspired by this conference to

redouble their efforts to win freedom themselves."

"The African National Congress cannot disregard or hold itself aloof from these important changes which have come about in the world, and were symbolised in the Bandung conference. We salute our brothers who have achieved their liberation, and all those still engaged in fighting for their freedom! It is our task to make known to the oppressed people of South Africa the fact that our movement is not an isolated and lone one, but only one arm of the great struggle of people everywhere to live out their lives in peace and freedom."

A.103 is a circular issued by the African National Congress, dated 22/10/54, typewritten, roneod, and signed by O. Motshabi, dealing with the formation of local committees of the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of O. Motshabi ?--  
I do.

Is he in Court ?-- Yes, the first in the third row, Accused No. 47.

A.104 is a roneod circular issued to all branches of the African National Congress dated 1/1/55, circular No. 1/55, signed by R.M. Resha, for Secretariat, dealing with Bantu Education, resistance to removal of the Western Areas, realisation of the Congress of the People ?-- Yes, signed O.R. Tambo.

A.105, also a roneod circular issued by the African National Congress, undated and unsigned, dealing with a resolution to hold local conferences on 5/12/54, to dis-

cuss the aims and objects of the Congress of the People  
?-- Yes.

A.106, a handwritten document, written by somebody on behalf of the Secretary, A.N.C., Transvaal, addressed to the Regional Committee of the C.O.P., dealing with a meeting of the Natal Midlands Regional Committee for the Congress of the People, at Boom Street, Pietermaritzburg, also dealing with the Great Charter of Freedom, undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

A.107: A circular issued by the Congress of the People, Johannesburg dated 21/1/55, addressed to all volunteers, unsigned, but issued apparently by the National African Council, dealing with the Freedom Charter, and the duties of the Freedom Volunteers ?-- Yes.

A.108: A Roneod document headed "Congress of the People, Provincial Volunteer Board. Application for enrolment as a volunteer." ?-- Yes.

A.109: A roneod document issued by the National Action Council, dated 31/1/55, addressed to all regions and provinces, and dealing with freedom volunteers ?-- Yes.

A.110: Typewritten copy of a letter addressed to the secretary, African National Congress (Tvl.) Johannesburg, by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, dated 3/2/55, purporting to be signed by one Moolla, dealing with the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of M. Moolla ?--

Yes, the third accused in the second row . (Accused stands for identification -- Accused No. 44.)

A.111, a typewritten letter, headed "Congress of the People, Transvaal Action Committee," dated 24/2/55, addressed, to the secretary African National Congress, Transvaal, Johannesburg, by the Convenor of the Transvaal Provincial Committee for the Congress of the People," which appears to be signed by S. Shall -- will you read the first paragraph : ?-- "The great Congress of the People is to be held within six months. This great Congress can be a turning point in the history of South Africa; from a march towards fascism we can turn South African towards a people's democracy and permanent peace and prosperity."

By whom is it signed ?-- S. Shall.

Do you know that signature ?-- No.

Do you know such a person ?-- He is one of the accused.

Will you identify the person that you know by that name ?-- Yes, he is the gentleman, fifth from the end of the third row, and appears on the list as Accused No. 67. (Accused stands for identification.)

A.112, a circular issued by the African National Congress, Transvaal Province, signed by R.M. Resha, for Secretary, dated 1/3/55, addressed to all branches of the African National Congress, Transvaal Province -- it looks as if it is an invitation to a meeting to be held at Western Native Townships, Johannesburg, on the 13th March, 1955, where matters relating to Bantu Education,



removal of Western Areas, and the Congress of the People would be discussed ?-- Yes, signed by R.M. Resha.

A.113, roneod circular dated 16/3/55 signed by R. Resha, dealing with the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, also an envelope addressed to R. Resha, Box 2948, Johannesburg. And another document in a native language, with the Freedom Charter, attached, also in a native language ?-- Yes, it appears to be correspondence returned by the postal authorities to R. Resha.

Is that document, the one attached, apparently a printed one -- is that the Freedom Charter in a native language ?-- Yes.

In what language is it ?-- It appears to be in Sesoto.

Are you a Sesoto linguist ?-- I do speak the language.

Now, A.114, a roneod circular issued by the Transvaal Action Council of the Congress of the People, dated 16th March, 1955, addressed to all Congress Branches, committees, officials, and local committees of the Congress of the People and volunteer chiefs, unsigned, dealing with the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter; will you read paragraph No. 3 marked on that circular ?-- "Every Congress member must understand what demands the people have; they must understand the world we live in; they must understand how to liberate the nation; they must study." That is the first portion of the paragraph.

A.115, a roneod circular, bulletin of the Transvaal

Provincial Committee of the Congress of the People, dated November 27th, 1954, "Forward to Freedom. Our first issue." Will you read the passage on the extreme right-hand corner?-- "Chief Luthuli's call. On the 26th June, 1954, Chief A.J. Luthuli, President in General of the A.N.C., and volunteer in chief, issued a call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers. In response to this call the Transvaal has decided to recruit 15,000 volunteers. If you have not enrolled, do so now. Contact your local committees; organise for the Congress of the People."

A.116, another bulletin of the Transvaal Committee of the Congress of the People, dated 22/3/55, and will you read the first paragraph marked there "Democracy in the making."?-- "Democracy in the Making: Next month, commencing April 15th, for the first time, all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour or creed, will be electing their candidates for the great Congress of the People; for the first time there is an opportunity for the real voice of South Africa to be heard. The voice of the residents of Sophiatown, forced out of their homes at the point of a gun to enable the South African Fascists to bring their vicious apartheid policy one step nearer to fruition; the voice of the South African mothers who have to watch their children playing in the streets, easy targets for racing motor cars, for lack of schools, creches and playgrounds; and of the young people of all races forced into dead-end jobs for lack either of the right or the money to become usefully trained artisans and professionals; of the Trade Unionists and other pro-

gressive South Africans who have been deprived by the Government of their leaders because they fought too well for democratic rights. For it is the demands for an end to such things....."

I just wanted you to refer to the first part ?-- It goes on to refer to the Freedom Charter.

A.117 is a pamphlet called "The Call" issued apparently in the middle of February 1955, "Our First Issue," dealing with world news on page 1, war and peace on page 3, Western Areas campaign on page 5, the C.O.P. news on page 7, and African National Congress News on page 9, Natal Indian Congress news on page 10, trade union news, by proletarian on page 11 ?-- Yes.

A.119, another pamphlet, called "The Call" issued the middle of March, 1955, containing the circular "The World we Live in," which you have already referred to, as Exh. A.84, National News, Western Areas news, Congress of the People News, Natal Indian Congress news, African National Congress News, Trade Union news ?-- Yes.

A.118, another pamphlet "The Call" with the heading "Forward to the Congress of the People," a special issue, referring on page 1 to the Congress of the People, meeting to be held on 25/6/55, and on page 7, giving the contents of the circular "The Country we live in" which you have referred to as Exh. A.85 ?-- Yes.

A.120, a typewritten document, issued by the National Action Council, of the Congress of the People, dated 23rd March, 1955, addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, and referring to the

constitution of the Transvaal Committee of the Congress of the People, signed by M. Moolla on behalf of the National Action Council ?-- Yes.

A.121, a roneod circular, issued by the Transvaal Committee for the Congress of the People, dated 26/3/55, issued by the Secretary of the Transvaal Committee of the Congress of the People -- will you read the passage marked there ?-- "Please find enclosed some copies of the lectured notes, "The World We Live in." Please make sure that all your branch members read the notes. You should have a special branch meeting to discuss these notes. We would be very grateful if you would write and tell us what the members have to say in the discussion; what suggestions, criticisms and demands were made."

A.122, another roneod circular, issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, and signed by M. Moolla on behalf of the Secretariat of the Congress of the People, containing instructions to delegates to the Congress of the People, dated 30/3/55 ?-- Yes.

A.123, a typewritten letter dated 31/3/55, addressed to the Provincial Secretary of the African National Congress, Johannesburg, dealing with the Congress of the People meeting in June 1955, signed by Alfred Hutchinson, for the Secretariat ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of Alfred Hutchinson ?-- He is one of the Accused, Accused No. 11. (Witness stands for identification)

Do you know his signature ?-- I do not.

A.124, a letter addressed to the Secretariat, African National Congress, Johannesburg, signed by P. Simelane for Secretariat of the African National Congress, Durban, Natal Branch, dated 5/4/55, beginning with "We have received your letter of 31/3/55, and we will do our best to see that the great assembly of the Congress of the People is made a success." ?-- Yes.

A.125, a typewritten circular, issued by the African National Congress, dated 5/4/55, signed by R. Resha for the Secretary, Transvaal Province, which is an invitation to a special meeting of the Secretaries of the Johannesburg Region of the Congress of the People to be held on 6/4/55, in Johannesburg ?-- Yes.

A.126, African National Congress Circular, dated 5/4/55, signed by R. Resha, Secretary, Transvaal Province, reminding people about the meeting to be held on the 9/4/55, dealing with matters of administration relating to the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

A.127, typewritten letter by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, dated 21/4/55, addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, advising that organisation of a full meeting of the National Council of the Congress of the People to be held on 23rd and 24th June, 1955, in Johannesburg, setting out the agenda, signed by M. Moolla for the Secretariat ?-- Yes.

A.128, a roneod circular issued by the African National Congress, Johannesburg, on 9/5/55, addressed

to all A.N.C., and A.N.C. Youth League Branches, Johannesburg, and deals with a meeting to be held on 14/5/55, where matters relating to Bantu Education and the Congress of the People would be discussed, and it is signed by R.M. Resha, secretary. There is also something written in ink by Resha at the bottom -- would you read that to the Court? -- "The following reports must be submitted at the meetings: Report on Bantu Education, Report on the C.O.P., total membership, and number of cards taken at the office," and the initials RR. appear there.

Now, A.129 is a circular issued by the National Council of the Congress of the People, dated 10/5/55, and signed by Beyleveld for the Secretariat of the Congress of the People, and it deals with the proposed meeting of the Congress of the People, in June, 1955, and it is addressed to the Secretary, Marylands Committee for Peace, Balto 17 MD, U.S.A., and there are various envelopes relating to the same addressees, apparently, and persons to whom this same circular was sent -- I would like you to explain; does it mean that that same circular was addressed to the people whose names figure on the envelopes, and that those envelopes have apparently been returned by the postal authorities? -- That is so --

there are five envelopes containing the identical document to A.129, signed by Beyleveld, and appear to have been returned by the postal authorities, to the African National Congress, P.O.Box 2948, Johannesburg.

A.130, is a typewritten circular letter, issued by the Transvaal Action Council of the Congress of the People, dated 23/5/55, addressed to "Dear Friends...." dealing with Congress of the People matters, with the annexure circular "Forward to Freedom," dated 17/5/55 attached, with the envelope addressed to The Secretary, Central Branch, A.N.C. Johannesburg. ?-- Yes.

A.131, a typed document, headed "Congress of the People" West Rand Region, undated and unsigned, dealing with a meeting held on 25/5/55. Does it say in the second paragraph there "To the Secretary of the Congress of the People, West Rand Branches...." ?-- Yes, "Mr. M.K. Mpho, Secretary of the C.O.P. on the West Rand, was engaged for this purpose. Mr. Mpho would organise the whole of the West Rand executive to see to his wages and transport every. And he had to report his activities to the executive every Monday."

I think you identified a person by that name yesterday ?-- Yes, he is one of the Accused, No. 48.

Do you know whether he occupies any position in the organisation of the African National Congress ?-- I believe he is an ordinary member of the Congress.

And the Congress of the People ?-- According to this he was the secretary of the C.O.P.

From your own knowledge ?-- I can't say that from my own knowledge.

A.132, another circular, issued by the African National Congress, dated 18/6/55, signed by E.P. Moretsele

President, African National Congress, and addressed to all branches of the A.N.C., dealing with instructions to the volunteers to the Congress of the People, containing a circular headed "Instructions and Duties" for volunteers at the Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

Are you able to identify the signature of E.P. Moretsele ?-- I have never seen him sign his name.

A.133, a roneod document addressed "Your signature for the Freedom Charter" and dealing with a mass conference to be held on 18/9/55 for the purpose of collecting the signatures of 450,000 people, apparently issued by the Transvaal Consultative Committee, unsigned. ?--Yes.

A.134, a roneod document containing the resolutions adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on 25th and 26th June, 1955, unsigned, which pledges to work for the achievement of the Freedom Charter ?-- Yes.

A.135 is a typewritten document dealing with the Congress of the People held in June 1955, will you read the bottom portion of this first page ?-- This portion refers to the Freedom Charter: "The Freedom Charter is a basic law of the liberatory movement, a declaration of principles uniting all the people in our land, black and white, except for the small section of reactionaries, who see in the Charter the end of their long established domination and exploitation. The Charter is the picture of future South Africa in which oppression and exploitation shall be abolished."

Is it undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.



A.136, is a typewritten note, dealing with the Congress of the People, and inviting comments and what is described as an "objective report and frank and honest criticism" about the Congress ?-- Yes.

It is undated and unsigned ?-- That is so.

A.137 a roneod document marked "1,000,000 signatures for the Freedom Charter" and setting out the principles of the Freedom Charter, with a space for signatures ?-- Yes.

A.138 suggested programme, beginning with "The Congress of the People is over and the Freedom Charter is now the basic law of the whole Congress movement in South Africa, Significance of Freedom Charter...." undated and unsigned. Will you read the passage marked on page 8 relating to political education ?-- "This is recognised by all to be a vital necessity. The lectures issued in connection with C.O.P. campaign were excellent./ There were no lectures with a specifically rural emphasis. These must be supplied. We suggest too that the Freedom Charter be made the basis of education for all members. If we can ensure that each member at least knows all the points contained in the Freedom Charter, and can explain each point, we will have gone a long way. It is important to ensure that members have work to do. This is of great assistance to their political education as it retains interest in political work and encourages study."

Also unsigned ?-- That is so.

A.139, a typewritten document showing the report of the Credentials Committee of the Congress of the People

on 25th and 26th June, 1955, unsigned and undated. Will you read the third last paragraph of that document ?--  
"This Conference is not only unique because of its size, also because for the first time in our history every racial section of the population is represented. There are 2196 Africans, 320 Indians, 230 Coloureds and 112 European delegates present at this great assembly. Of these there are 721 women and 2,163 men."

A.140, a printed document beginning with the words "This call to the Congress of the People....." giving the terms of the Freedom Charter, apparently issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People, Johannesburg ?-- Yes.

A.141, a roneod circular of a bulletin of the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the Congress of the People, dated 1st March, 1955, headed "Mobilise and Organise," in connection with the Freedom Charter and Congress of the People ?-- Yes.

A.142, a number of printed copies of the Freedom Charter, printed in English and in Xosa language, apparently Sesoto, and also roneod copies of the Freedom Charter, with one circular issued by the Transvaal Consultative Committee, in connection with a meeting to be held on 18th September, 1955, for the purpose of launching the signature campaign of the Freedom Charter ?-- Yes.

A.143, a copy of a typewritten letter dated 13/7/55 addressed to Dr. A.E. Letele, Kimberley, notifying him of a National Executive Committee meeting, to be held at Groutville, Natal, on 30/7/55 ?-- Yes.

Also for the purpose of getting a full report of the work of the Congress of the People and the future plans for popularising the Freedom Charter; apparently signed by Resha -- his initials appear on that document ?-- Just the initials.

Do you know a person by the name of A.E. Letele ?-- I know of the man -- there is such a person accused.

A.144, a copy of a typewritten letter dated 14/7/55, addressed to "Dear Chief" and signed by R.M. Resha, for Secretariat, notifying him of the proposed executive conference to be held at Stanger on 31/7/55 ?-- Yes.

The next is A.145, a roneod document headed "Congress of the People Conference, Sunday July 25th" ?-- These would appear to be delegates' forms.

A.146, a typewritten circular letter, issued by the African National Congress, dated 28th July, 1955, addressed to the Secretary, proposing a joint meeting of the four organisations to take place at the Transvaal Indian Congress on 4/8/55, to discuss the winding up of the Congress of the People and future plans for popularising the Freedom Charter, signed by R.M. Resha, Secretary ?--- Yes.

A.147, a copy of a typewritten letter, dated 28/7/55, in connection with the proposed meeting on 3/8/55, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the Congress of the People, and the future plans in connection

with the Freedom Charter. The name Robert Resha, Secretary, African National Congress, is typed, and sent to Transvaal Indian Congress, S.A./Peoples' Organisation, and Congress of Democrats ?-- Yes.

A.148, a letter in ink, addressed to "Dear Robert" and signed by M.L. Mpho, Box 672, Johannesburg, dated 1/8/55, asking him to be notified of the date of a meeting of the West Rand Region of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

A.149, copy of the newspaper "New Age" dated 11/8/55, containing an editorial "Go Get the Signatures," and recapitulating the terms of the Freedom Charter ?-- Yes.

A.150, a typewritten circular letter, issued by the African National Congress, dated 20/8/55, addressed to the Provincial Secretary, African National Congress, notifying the persons concerned of the setting up of the National Consultative Committee for the purpose of obtaining the 1,000,000 signatures for the Freedom Charter by the 25th June, 1956, and signed by A. Hutchinson for O.R. Tambo, Acting Secretary-General ?-- Yes, two of the letters are signed A. Hutchinson; the other one has the name typed in.

A.151 a copy of the New Age newspaper, dated 8/9/55, with the notice on the front page "1,000,000 signatures. Campaign opens. Win Support for the Freedom Charter" ?-- Yes.

A.152, a typewritten letter by the Secretary of the Joint Congress Committee, Kliptown, addressed to the Secretary, Joint Congress Committee, Johannesburg -- (National Consultative Committee) dealing with the question of allocation of 350,000 signatures to be obtained from the Cape, signed by B. Turok ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of Turok ?-- Yes, there is such a person accused.-- do you know him

Do you know him ?-- I have seen him before.  
(Accused stands for identification -- Accused No. 97.)

A.153, a typewritten letter addressed to the Secretary, Joint Congress Committee, Cape Town, by the National Consultative Committee, Johannesburg, dated 20/9/55, in answer to the previous mentioned letter, and signed by somebody on behalf of the Secretariat -- can you make out the signature ?-- No, I'm afraid I cannot.

A.154, a copy of a letter written by somebody for the Secretariat, addressed to the secretary, B. Turok, Secretary, Joint Congress Committee, Cape Town, the address being given as 37 West St., undated, in connection with a letter from that person dated 17/8/55, dealing with the formation of the National Consultative Committee ?-- Yes.

A.155, a roneod notice of a general meeting to be held by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress on 26/9/55 with this notice on it "Come and Show Your Support for the Peoples Programme of the Future by endorsing the Freedom Charter." Also hear Miss Lillian Ngoyi ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of Lilian Ngoyi ?-- Yes. (Accused No. 52 -- witness stands for identification) That is the person.

A.156 is a file marked "Congress of the People" containing minutes of meetings of the Transvaal Committee for the Congress of the People held on 12/4/55, 5/4/55, 29/4/55, 22/3/55, 15/3/55, 1/3/55 and 8/3/55, 22/2/55, and also other letters relating to the Congress of the People, addressed to the various branches of the African National Congress ?-- Yes.

A.157, a pamphlet entitled "We shall not move" and relating to the resistance to the Western Areas Removal, and also one in the Bantu/Sesoto language ?-- Yes.

A.158, a circular letter typewritten, issued by the African National Congress, 5/1/55, with the name of R. Resha, Transvaal Volunteer in Chief, typed underneath, addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Alexandra -- will you read the last paragraph ?-- "Your volunteer in chief and all the volunteers in your area, are hereby directed to report at the corner of Meyer and Victoria Roads, Sophiatown, on Saturday the 6th January, 1955, at 2 p.m. sharp to work for the nation," and in type, the name "R.M. Resha."

A.159, a typewritten letter addressed by the African National Congress, dated 6/1/55 addressed to the Secretary, S.A. Congress of Democrats, enclosing a copy of a notice issued to the Western Areas residents, and

and the African National statement on the removal of the people of the western areas, and signed by O.R.Tambo for the National Secretariat ?-- Yes.

And A.160, report from Brakpan, 31/1/55, signed by J.Nkadimeng, dealing with the Western Areas Removal Campaign ?-- Yes.

A.161, roneod document, pamphlet, called "Counter-Attack, Bulletin of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, Western Areas Campaign," undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

A.162, a report of the Secretariat on the Western Areas, giving a review of the campaign, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.163, a secretarial report to the National Executive of the African National Congress, also dealing with removals from Sophiatown to Meadowlands, organisation, Bantu Education, trade union movements, Congress of the People, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.164, is a document in pencil, marked P.O.'s round up, by J.P.Mann, also dealing with the Western Areas Removal ?-- Yes.

A.165, is a document in Zulu, setting out the views of the African National Congress on the Bantu Education Act. I may say that there is a translation of the Zulu pamphlet attached to it now, and evidence will be led later on about the translation ?-- Yes.

Exh. A.166, is an exercise book containing an article on Bantu Education, also in Zulu ?-- Yes.

And also part of A.166, is another article on the same subject matter, Bantu Education, also in Zulu, with

the translation attached ?-- Yes.

A.167 is a memorandum on Bantu Education with special reference to the decision of the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, a typewritten document, apparently issued by the National Secretariat of the African National Congress, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.168, also a typewritten document, entitled "Memorandum on Bantu Education with special reference to the decision of the 42nd Annual Conference of the A.N.C." This is different to the last one -- will you read that portion marked in the first paragraph ?-- "The declared goal of political struggle and endeavour by the non-European peoples of this country, is the right to live as full and free citizens of South Africa, the right to participate in its Government on the basis of full equality, as between man and man, the right to decide the role of South Africa in the international sphere of youth, human relationships; for as long as they have and enjoy the freedom to adjust themselves to existing conditions and to strive to gain supremacy of them, and for so long as their individual and collective abilities are given full and free scope for growth and development, the non-Europeans cannot in the long run fail to reach their appointed goal. Their surest guarantee for ultimate victory in their struggle and the greatest threat and danger to white exploitation and domination is the political consciousness of the masses of the oppressed people, their contact with



current world events and trends in international relationships, their acquaintance with and knowledge of the history of liberatory movements in other parts of the world, their unity of purpose with all democrats in this country and abroad -- a unity which transcends racial or ethnic differences and strikes at the very foundation of the South African social, economic and political structure. The forces and influences that have operated to build the power of the oppressed people are essentially and fundamentally educational in nature, and there can be no effective counteraction to this power except by educational methods."

A.169 is a typed document headed "Resolution adopted by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on Bantu Education," with a manuscript note by R.M. Resha, inviting delegates to a special conference on the 13/3/55 to discuss the Bantu Education and Removal -- apparently of the Western Areas -- I notice the first copy of this document is signed by R.M. Resha, Secretary.

A.170, is a memorandum, typewritten, on Bantu Education, unsigned and undated -- Yes.

A.171, a pamphlet entitled "Educating for Ignorance" issued by the S.A. Congress of Democrats, in connection with the Bantu Education Act -- Yes.

A.172, is a circular entitled "Boycott" dealing with Bantu Education -- Yes.

A.173, a roneod document in connection with Anti-Bantu Education Committee Conference held in Sophiatown on 9/1/55, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.174, typewritten letter, by the African National Congress, Roodepoort Branch, addressed to the Secretary of the African National Congress, giving a short report on Bantu Education, and signed by M.K. Mpho as secretary of the African National Congress Working Committee, Roodepoort, with a note addressed to Mr. R.M. Resha, also signed by M.K. Mpho ?-- Yes.

A.175, a roneod circular issued by the Secretary, African National Congress, signed by R.M. Resha, dated 23rd March, being a notice of a special conference to be held at Sophiatown on 27th March, 1955, the agenda being Bantu Education ?-- Yes.

A.176, a typewritten document, issued by the National Secretariat, dealing with the Bantu Education. Will you read the part on page 10 relating to the principles of alternative education ?-- "The principles of Alternative Education: The education which the people will provide through the leadership of the A.N.C. will be the people's education. The people's education will be democratic, liberatory education. It will be democratic in control, organisation and purpose, because it will be the education of the people, by the people and for the people. It will be liberatory in objects, because its

main object will be to equip the people and youth to fulfil their historic task of liberating themselves. The aims of the people's education will be to raise the literacy of the people and the children, to raise the political consciousness and understanding of the people and children; to develop in each person and child an attitude of selfless service to the people; to foster international solidarity, and a love of peace.

A.177, the minutes of a meeting held on the 19th March, 1955, where the Bantu Education boycott was discussed?-- Yes.

A.178, a roneod notice of a meeting to be held on 27th March, 1955, at Freedom Square, Jouertin Location, the agenda being Bantu Education & Congress of the People. This notice appears to be issued by the African National Congress, Klerksdorp Branch, unsigned and undated?-- Yes.

A.179, a letter written by the Secretary, L. Masina, of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, Johannesburg, dated 7/4/55, in connection with the Bantu Education Conference, and the second paragraph: "We have to advise that we have elected three representatives, viz. Mr. C. Mayekiso, Miss S. Damons and Miss C. Jassen -- do you know any of the persons mentioned in that second paragraph?-- I know of these people.

Do you know that person L. Masina?-- Yes. He is one of the Accused (Accused No. 34.)

Do you know his signature ?-- I don't.

A.180, a resolution adopted at a special conference of organisations opposed to the Bantu Education Act, conference held on 9th and 10th April, 1955 -- this is a roneod document unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.181, a circular issued to the Provincial Secretaries, roneod also dealing with the struggle against Bantu Education and the boycott to be imposed on the 1st April, 1955, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.182, a manuscript document dated 16th April 1955, apparently being the minutes of a meeting held on the 16th April, 1955, in connection with Bantu Education, also unsigned and undated ,?-- Yes.

A.183, typewritten circular, issued by the African National Congress dated 19th April, 1955, to all Provincial Secretaries, giving a report of the meeting held of the National Executive at Port Elizabeth on the 9th and 10th April, where Bantu Education was discussed; it purports to be signed by O.R.Tambo as Acting Secretary-General, African National Congress ?-- Yes.

A.184, a letter written to the Provincial Secretary Transvaal of the African National Congress, Johannesburg, and signed by T.E.Tshunungwa, National Organiser of the A.N.C., Queenstown, 22/4/55, also dealing with the school boycott ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of T.E.Tshunungwa, ?-- There is such a person accused.

A.185, a letter purporting to have been written

by Z.K. Mathews, Acting President, A.N.C., from Alice, C.P., 27/6/55 addressed to O.R. Tambo, Johannesburg, also dealing with the Bantu Education, with certain annexures -- the annexures deal with some minister's federation deputation?-- Yes, it deals with the meeting by the inter-denominational ministers, African Ministers Federation.

In connection with Bantu Education?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of Z.K. Mathews?-- Yes, he is an accused before Court.

Do you know him?-- Yes.

Will you identify him?-- No.109 (Witness stands for identification by witness.)

Do you know what position he occupies in the African National Congress?-- No, I can't say that I do.

Do you know his signature?-- I have never seen it before.

A.186, a pamphlet called "The Counter Attack" dated 1/8/55, dealing with the "Answer to Bantu Education"?-- Yes.

A.187, a typewritten letter by the Acting Secretary of the Acting National Congress Women's League, Transvaal, dated 30/8/55, addressed to the Provincial Secretary, African National Congress, notifying the latter of the resolution that was passed in connection with the Bantu Education Act?-- Yes, signed by Motingoe.

A.188, a typewritten document, marked "Draft Plans

for the Campaign against Bantu Education," undated and unsigned, setting out how the Bantu Education should be opposed, its implementation?-- Yes.

It is not signed?-- No.

A.189, a roneod circular issued by the President, African National Congress, Transvaal, signed by E.P. Moretsele, also dealing with the Bantu Education Act?-- Yes.

A.190, a roneod circular called "A Call to the African People," issued by the African National Congress, Transvaal, also dealing with the same subject matter, Bantu Education, and ending off with a reference to the Congress of the People -- unsigned and undated?-- Yes.

A.191, a roneod document apparently by the Federation of S.A. Women, Johannesburg, entitled "Let Women make the laws." Undated and unsigned?-- Yes.

A.192, a pamphlet entitled "What do Women Want" also containing a notice of a meeting to be held on the 29th May, and containing the words "Bring Your Demands for the Freedom Charter," organised by the Federation of S.A. Women, with a note dated 24/5/55 addressed to "Dear Robert" and signed by Helen -- will you read that letter?-- The letter is on the letterhead of the Transvaal Clothing Industry Medical Aid Society -- Dear Robert, You remember I asked you for an A.N.C. speaker for the Women's meeting on Sunday next to speak on the demands I have worked on this leaflet -- Time is limited as we have a number of speakers about 20 minutes,

(including interpreter) Can you let me know who the speaker will be? Many thanks, Helen. Would you please give ~~these~~ notices to Mrs. Resha. Have only discovered that none was sent to her -- H.J."

Do you know a person by the name of Helen connected with the Federation of S.A. Women? -- Yes. I see the initials at the bottom of the letter, "H.J." -- Helen Josephs -- Accused No.13.

Can you identify her handwriting and signature? -- I have never seen her handwriting or signature before.

A.193, a letter addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, by the Secretary of the Federation of S.A. Women, Johannesburg, dated 25/7/55 notifying the A.N.C. of a meeting to be held on the 7th August, 1955, and signed by Helen Josephs? -- Yes.

A.194, a pamphlet which appears to be a report compiled and issued by the Federation of S.A. Women, and called "The Children of South Africa" also dealing with Bantu Education? -- Yes.

A.195, a pamphlet entitled "A Call to all Mothers" with some more of these pamphlets in an envelope attached? -- Yes.

Does that appear to be issued by the Federation of S.A. Women? -- Yes, it is issued by the Transvaal Branch of the Federation of S.A. Women.

A.196, a pamphlet called "The New Youth, Vo.1, No. 6, May 1955," with the words "Let us Black Folks read" on the front page? -- Yes.

A.197, is a pamphlet called "South Africans in Soviet Union, containing articles by various persons with their photos at the various places where the articles were written ?-- Yes.

What is the first article in that document ?--  
The introduction is by the Rev. Thompson.

Is there a photograph ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by that name ?-- Yes, he is an accused before the Court -- Accused No. 78.

The next article ?-- "Soviet Workers" by Paul Josephs.

Who is he ?-- Accused No. 14. "Freedom of Nations" by Walter Sisulu.

Is his photograph there ?-- Yes.

Is Walter Sisulu, Accused No. 70 -- you referred to him yesterday ?-- Yes. The next article "Soviet Education" by Duma Nokwe.

Is his photo also there ?-- Yes.

Is he accused No. 56 ?-- Yes. The next article "Soviet Culture" by Brian Bunting. He is not an accused. "Jury in the Soviet Union" by Sam Kahn -- he is not an accused either. And "Building the Future" by Ruth First.

The next document, A.198, a pamphlet called "Liberation No. 10 of 1954" and is there an article on page 25, entitled "The Congress of the People" by Adv. J. Slovo ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by that name ?-- I do.



Practising as an advocate ?-- Yes. Accused No. 72.

A.199, another issue of Liberation, No. 12 of 1955 setting out the Freedom Charter on page 20 ?-- Yes.

Then A.200, pamphlet "Bulletin No. 1, entitled "Mayibuye! Afrika!" bulletin of the African National Congress, containing articles of Dr. W.S. Conco and M.B. Yengwa, and Chief A.J. Luthuli. Conco's article deals with the gathering called "The Congress of the People" ?-- Yes.

Are those articles signed by the persons I have mentioned ?-- No, just typed "A.J. Luthuli, P.O. Groutville Mission, Natal," August 15, 1955. And also typed Dr. W.Z. Conco and Masibalala B. Yengwa, M.B. Yengwa, P.B. Stanger.

Do you know a person by that name ?-- I know of persons by those names.

Yengwa, Conco ?-- Yes. I know of these people.

And A.J. Luthuli ?-- I know him, he is seated at the back. Accused No. 132. (Accused stands for identification by witness.)

The next document, A.201, typewritten, entitled "Welcome to African National Congress, Bulletin by A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress" and signed by A.J. Luthuli, President-General, African National Congress, dealing with this bulletin that you have just referred to, Mo. 200 ?-- Yes.

A.202, a copy of the "Fighting Talk" pamphlet of September, 1955, containing an article on page 11, entitled "Atoms for Peace" by Dr. R. Press. And on page 12, an article entitled "Verwoerd's Camps and Colleges," by Duma Nokwe ?-- Yes.

Do you know a person by the name of R. Press ?-- Yes, one of the Accused before Court, No. 60.

A.203, a pamphlet called "The African Lodestar" of November 1953, issued by the African National Congress Youth League, containing articles on the Bantu Education, and the Trade Union, politics; on page 5 a reference to the trade union movement, as forming the basis and integral part of the struggle for freedom and democracy in this country ?-- Yes.

A.204, another issue of the "African Lodestar" of May 1954, with a reference to the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, on page 7 ?-- Yes.

A.205, another issue of the "African Lodestar" for January, 1954, with reference to the history of colonialism and imperialism in our beloved motherland; and on page 5, "Task of the people's liberatory organisations to mobilise the people of South Africa to resist the march of the fascist in our country"; containing an article "Struggle for Southern Africa -- the fourth in a series of articles by W.M.Sisulu ?-- Yes.

A.206, an incomplete copy of the "African Lodestar"

it doesn't give any date, containing articles on the Bantu Education, and a message from the World Federation of Democratic Youth ?-- Yes.

A.207, is an issue of the pamphlet called "Inyaniso" translated as "The Truth", a Cape A.N.C. Newsletter, the president's address to Africans, also dealing with the progress of the school boycott, with the translation attached. ?-- Yes.

A.208, another issue of the Newsletter "Inyaniso" No.1 of 1954, dealing with the preparations for the Congress of the People, and the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, on page 2; apparently issued by Z.K.Mathews, President of the A.N.C. Cape, with a note 100,000 members by 26th June, 1954 "Let's make the Target. Organise. Lead." ?-- Yes.

A.209, a circular issued, dated 1/2/55 by the African National Congress of the Cape, signed by the Provincial Secretary, T.E. Tshunungwa, in Xosa apparently, dealing with the pamphlet called "Inyaniso" and the translation is also attached ?-- Yes.

Then A.210, the pamphlet "Inyaniso" No. 1 of 1955, dealing with various matters, like Bantu Education, and the Western Areas Removal Scheme, and the banning of certain leaders, with the name of T.E.Tshunungwa typed underneath ?-- Yes.

A.211, is a circular, or a document in pencil -- no, it is a roneod circular entitled "Umququzeli", "Warning to women", and it deals with Congress of the

People and the Slave Education Act; the translation is also attached ?-- Yes.

Then comes A.212, a press release relating to the Bantu Education Act, unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.213, typewritten press statement issued by the African National Congress, Johannesburg, on 8/7/54, and signed by E.P. Moretsele, President of the A.N.C., Transvaal, dealing with the recent police raids at mass meetings and conferences, and containing of a notice of a mass meeting to be held on 11th July, 1954, in Sophiatown. ?-- Yes.

A.214, another press release, entitled "Another Step to Total Dictatorship," typed with the name O.R. Tambo, as acting Secretary-General, A.N.C., underneath dealing with various pieces of legislation ?-- Yes.

A.215, another press release issued by the National Action Council of the Congress of the People and signed by O.R. Tambo, and dated 29/3/55, also in connection with the proposed Congress of the People to be held in June, 1955 ?-- Yes.

A.216, typewritten statement by O.R. Tambo, Acting Secretary-General, African National Congress, entitled "The Significance of the Afro-Asian Conference." Will you read those passages marked in pencil ?--  
"The unique Afro-Asian Conference which is being held in April in Indonesia, will be watched with great interest by the entire world; perhaps by different people

for different reasons. To the vast majority of the Afro-Asian peoples, it will certainly be a source of inspiration. It will be regarded as paving the way for good things to come, and a step in the direction of meeting the aspirations of the vast majority of mankind, particularly the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa. The main purpose of the Conference is to devise ways and means of securing and maintaining peace by eliminating all causes and sources of war. These representatives of more than two-thirds of the world's population are moved by a common desire to cultivate mutual understanding and seek a common approach to the most burning issues of the day, namely, War and Imperialism, which are the world's thorniest problems..... The significance of this Conference, therefore, lies in the fact that the sponsors and the people who are meeting have themselves been for centuries the subjects of exploitation and foreign domination by Western colonial powers, and have now decided to take the destiny of their people and their countries unto themselves." It continues.

A.217, another typewritten document, with a manuscript attached, entitled "The Afro-Asian Conference, a Bulwark of Peace and Independence." The manuscript contains the words "Submitted by T.X. Makiwane" -- do you know such a person? -- I do.

Do you know whether he is associated with the African National Congress? -- He is associated with the A.N.C.

In what capacity? -- I think he is a member of the Alexandra Branch.

Will you read those two passages which are marked in this typewritten document ?-- "The coming Afro-Asian Conference is therefore one of tremendous historical importance. It is an important milestone in the struggles of the peoples of the world for peace. It is an important milestone on the journey to freedom. The Conference therefore is hailed with enthusiasm by all genuine African patriots." The second page - "Armies of the imperialist have shipped away to fight the dirty wars of suppressing, the struggles of other peoples for freedom. During the last war our Youth went to help fight and destroy the fascists and nazis under Hitler, but their thanks has been a few bicycles and ninety-six page pass books. So long as we allow our country to be under the iron heel of fascists and imperialists, so long will the Youth of our country remain cannon fodder. The Youth must therefore realise that the fight for Peace is inseparable from the fight for freedom and independence. Our slogan should be "Put a stop to colonialism and you shall have put a stop to war."

A.218, a news letter No. 3, August, 1955, apparently by the Asian Socialist Conference, Secretariat, Rangoon, containing articles or letters by various individuals. The first one being entitled "Socialist Revolution." Will you read the passage marked on the front page ?-- "The capitalist regime has been shaken up. It cannot organise its own basis of the anarchy in pro-

duction and on social injustice. The whole system is being destroyed by a crisis. It is not important how big the giant is, or how large its material resources are. It is digging now its own grave. Socialism as an ideology of the proletariat is historically called to destroy old systems, particularly sensitive on those big changes occurring in the capitalistic system. The international character of socialism comes out of the common interest of the masses all the world over, exploited by the national financial capital. In the epoch like this, all differences between classes reach their maximum. In countries which by the means of revolution had thrown over the capitalist ruling class, appeared the backward tendencies which more or less represent the creation of new socialist classes. The revolutionary socialism must be aware of this fact." It is an unsigned document. It is headed Asian Socialist Conference dated August, 1955, and is newsletter No. 3, from 4 Wingaba Road, Rangoon.

A.219, a letter by Secretary General of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, addressed to Mr. Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General, African National Congress, Johannesburg, and dated 11/12/53, inviting him to write an article on nationalism in Africa?-- Yes.

A.220, a letter by W.M. Sisulu, addressed to the Secretary-General of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, in reply to the letter just referred, dated 29/12/53, in which he indicates his willingness to write such an article ?-- Yes.

A.221, a typewritten document undated and unsigned entitled "Some Experiences at Soviet Educational Institutions," starting as follows "A few days after Mr. W.M Sisulu..... had arrived in Moscow in 1953..... ?-- Yes.

Then A.222, a roneod document entitled "The Significance of World Youth Day," undated and unsigned -- will you read the passages marked on that document ?-- "Only five years ago the great Chinese people threw off the shackles of feudalistic and imperliastic bondage and have established the highest form of democracy ever evolved by mankind, viz. people's 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. 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. 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.

Then A.223, a roneod circular, or portion of a circular from pages 7 to 15, containing articles on the Congress of the People, Western Areas Removal, and Resist Apartheid Scheme, Bantu Education, etc. ?-- Yes.

Then A.224, a typewritten document, called "Resolutions of the Executive Committee" of the World Federation of Democratic Youth" "Stop Column, January 25th to 28th,



1954; on page 6, New Affiliations, No.9 S.A. India n Youth Congress, undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

A.225, typewritten document unsigned and undated, called "The Alliance of the Liberatory and Trade Union Movements ?-- Yes.

A.226, a typewritten letter by the Secretary, Friends of China Society, Johannesburg, 19/9/55, addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, inviting this organisation to a meeting or conference, called the National Day of China, to be celebrated on 1/10/55, and also inviting messages of solidarity, signed by S. Esakjee ?-- Yes.

He is an Accused ?-- Yes. No. 9 Accused.

A.227, a roneod document apparently issued by the World Democratic Youth League, and on page 11 containing an article by Ruth First, delegate from South Africa, undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

A.228, is a manuscript, partly in ink, partly in pencil, entitled "World War No.3", unsigned and undated ?-- Yes.

A.229, another manuscript in ink, entitled the "Capitalist Democracy", undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

A.230, is a roneod circular, entitled "New China News Agency, Thursday December 23, 1954," undated and unsigned ?-- Yes.

The next document, A.231, appears to be a bulletin issued by the New China News Agency, 45, Museum Street,

Street, London, and dated 19/5/55, addressed to the Passive Resister, 18 Barkly Arcade, 38 Market Street, Johannesburg, and posted in London, with the London Post Office stamp ?-- Yes.

A.232, a pamphlet called "Democratic German Report" dated 10th June, 1955, addressed to the General Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, and bearing the Berlin post office stamp ?-- Yes.

A.233, the same type of pamphlet, "Democratic German Report" dated 8/7/55, addressed to the General Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, and it appears to bear the Berlin Post Office Stamp ?-- Yes.

Then A.234, a pamphlet called "New Hungary" of May 1955, "Hungarian News and Information Service" addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, posted from London ?-- Yes.

A.235, the same pamphlet "New Hungary" for June, 1955, also addressed to the African National Congress, Johannesburg, from London ?-- Yes.

Then A.236, looks like newspaper called "International Gathering of Rural Youth," edited by the International Preparatory Committee, Vienna ?-- Yes.

A.237, Agerpres Information Bulletin, dated 17/4/54 purporting to be issued by the Rumanian News Agency, Agerpres, Bucharest, addressed to Miss Hilda Watts, Secretary, Peace Council of South Africa, Johannesburg,

bearing the Bucharest Post Office Stamp ?-- Yes.

Then A.238, an Agerpres Bulletin, dated 25/7/54, also addressed to Miss Hilda Watts, Secretary, Peace Council of South Africa, Johannesburg, and bearing the Bucharest Post Office stamp ?-- Yes.

A.239, Agerpress Information Bulletin, dated December 30, 1954 ?-- Yes.

A.240, pamphlet called "British Rumanian Bulletin" of June 1954, published by the British Rumanian Friendship Association in London.

A.241, a letter from the Institutul Roman Relatile Culturale Cu Sterain Atatea, Bucharest; a letter from this institute -- and it is dated 28/7/54, and addressed to W.M. Sisulu, 25 Fox Street, Box 9207, Johannesburg, will you read this letter in English ?-- "Dear Sir, A Long time has elapsed since we have not got news from you. We hope you have received the publications we regularly send you and that they are of interest to you. Now we send you several articles accompanied by photographs which reflect some of the achievements attained by the Rumanian people in various domains of activity. We send you these materials on the occasion of August 23rd, when the Rumanian people celebrate 10 years since their liberation. We hope they will render you and your friends who are desirous to know our people's achievements a more complete image of our country. We would be glad to know your impression of the materials sent by the

Institute. Awaiting your early answer, please accept our friendly greetings." It is signed by some person whose signature I can't make out.

Then A.242, a roneod document entitled "Rumania of Yesterday and of today," and it is not signed or dated ?-- Yes.

A.243, a circular letter addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, by the Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, dated 20/9/54 -- can you make out from where it was posted ?-- Budapest.

Then A.244, another letter from the same source, i.e. the World Federation of Democratic Youth, dated 18/1/55, addressed to R.A. Tsehlane, African National Congress Youth League, Johannesburg -- it looks as if it was posted in Budapest.

Then A.245, a booklet entitled "The Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Peking 9-15th August, 1954," and there is a note "Published by World Youth Magazine, Organ of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Budapest, Hungary." ?-- Yes.

Then A.246, is an envelope addressed to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg, from Berlin containing booklets, pamphlets, on "Women of the World Youth" issued by the Women's International Democratic Federation, January 1955, and "Unity for the Defence of Our Rights of Our Children of Peace," special information

bulletin of the Women's International Democratic Federation ?-- Yes.

Then A.247, is an envelope addressed to the National Action Committee, Johannesburg, containing pamphlets on "Women of the Whole World" and "That They May Live" with a parcel slip "Federation of S.A. Women ?-- Yes.

Then A.248, a roneod document entitled "The Peace Movement and Congress of the People. Will you read those passages that are marked in that circular ?--

"While the peace movement must not usurp the functions of the liberation movement or lose independent character, it must start from the viewpoint that every conquest won in the course of the struggle for national liberation constitutes an advance of the peace forces over the forces of aggression and every success of the peace movement represents an advance for the forces of liberation over the forces of aggression and oppression. The tasks of the peace movement are to constantly put forward the policy of the world movement, to show the connection between peace and liberation, to win the support of the liberation movement and all sections of the population in the struggle for peace. To bring the people into action on specific peace campaigns and to show the people that their activities together with those of other people have a profound influence on the course of events. The rearmament of Germany must be prevented and can still be prevented by the organised activities of the people, in all people supporting the opposition of the German,

French and other peoples, and the proposal of the U.S.S.R. for a European security conference. The solution of this problem lies in the re-establishment of a democratic, peace-loving Germany on the basis of free All-German elections. Germany must not be allowed to become part of any military alliance, but must be included in a general European security agreement. Peace in Asia can only be assured on the basis of disarmament of Chiang Kai Chek, the return of Formosa to China, the recognition of China and its inclusion in the United Nations and the dissolution of the S.E.A.T.O. Military Alliance.

SOUTH AFRICA: The Government of South Africa is part of the war camp and the system of military alliances, an ally of those who are intent upon crushing liberation and independence movements and preparing for war. As soon as the war in Korea broke out the Government sent troops to assist the aggressors against the people of North Korea. The Government has declared its readiness to join the proposed Middle East military pact and is actively engaged in the effort to prepare Africa for war. Recently, Minister Erasmus held talks in other African territories and in England on questions of defence. Then followed the proposal for the formation of a military alliance on NATO lines for Africa. The Government continuously suggests the need of co-operation with the ruling circles in other territories in order to preserve White Supremacy in Africa.

In other words, co-operation to suppress the movements for independence and liberation, if necessary, by force, as in Kenya. This racialism, as preached and practised in South Africa contains all the seeds of war. The Herrenvolk theory of the Nazi regime were used directly to create an atmosphere in which war could be waged. The Nazis used racialism as an excuse to occupy countries in order to save Germans living in those countries."

Is that signed? -- No, it is unsigned; it is a document headed "The Peace Movement and the Congress of the People," but it is unsigned.

Then A.249, document No. 2, "Problems of Organisation" "Peace Circles Must Strengthen the Peace Movement." A roneod document apparently issued by the Secretariat of the South African Peace Council, in December, 1954, Johannesburg -- will you also read this document? -- "Document 2. Problems of Organisation. Peace Circles must Strengthen the Peace Movement. The World Peace Council has issued a document "Recommendations and Problems of Organisations" which highlights the victories and underlines the weaknesses of the world movements for peace. Your Secretariat has examined the document in detail, discussing those aspects which appear to apply to our movement, and submits to you for discussion and comments the following points: (1) It is essential in our work to make the struggle for peace more real by **linking** them closely with the national and local interests of the population. The World Peace Council points out that each committee in each country must find the best methods to do this and must adapt the campaigns launched on a world scale to their own conditions. In some countries

where the world campaign has not been adapted to particular national conditions through specific national campaigns, there has been a limited or intermittent level of activity. Generally arising from narrow aims, or aims which tend to present the struggle for peace along the lines of the abstract formula, "Peace is better than War." Our propaganda must stress that peace is fundamental, to and closely allied with all the other aspirations of the people. Kenya must be cited as one example of how closely independent the struggle for peace and national independence the people's liberties are. War threatens people, living standards and their civil liberties. The War Powers today are those who hold colonial people in suppression. World War threatens all because of the determination of States to suppress the attempt of colonial people to self-Government and national independence. (2) We must strive to sustain activity on national and regional scales by linking one activity with another, and leading one into another. So whilst specific campaigns are run and should continue to be conducted on such issues as the banning of atomic weapons, at the same time, these campaigns must be fitted into the general demands of the movement, co-existence, negotiation, instead of war, the Five Power Peace Pact, and so on. Instead of conducting several seemingly isolated campaigns, all efforts will thus link up into the



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