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cause it is out of the way."

What is the next sentence?-- "If possible, allow whites to join the organisation." With African Police Force?

Whose policy was that they were referring to?-- The I.N.C. when did you leave the South African Police Force?

Now, you have mentioned at some of these meetings songs were sung; what type of songs were sung at the meeting, were they hymns or other songs?-- Those were the songs of the organisation, the P.A.C. the commercial world?-- That is correct.

Do you know the titles of the songs?-- No, I do not know the titles. names of the South African Police Force?

4 For And what were the songs about, generally speaking?-- One of the songs was about the Continent of Africa. And one of the songs was about the burden of the document called the passes. Is correct.

Have you ever heard those songs sung at any meeting which is not a P.A.C. meeting?-- No.

Now, you mentioned that Counsel had been to many meetings; you are not suggesting that Counsel attended the Pan-Africanist Congress meetings, are you?-- No.

(No further questions) Answer?-- Yes.

COURT ADJOURNS:

Did you ever go up, in what part of the country?

Was it in that same language?-- Yes.

Did you attend did you reach when you left school?

And in Johannesburg did you live in one of the local police compounds?-- That is correct.

And in Johannesburg, generally speaking, and in connection with your police duties, did you come into contact with many different types of native dialects?-- Yes,



18/10/1960S. DUNGA.

SOLOMON DUNGA S.S.: (SPEAKING IN ENGLISH)

X.D. BY P.P.: Were you in the South African Police Force?—  
That is correct.

When did you leave the South African Police Force?—  
On the 30th June, 1960.

Did you leave it of your own accord, or for some  
other reason?— I left it on my own accord.

Now are you in the commercial world?— That is correct.

Prior to leaving the Police Force, for how long had  
you been in the service of the South African Police Force?—  
For six years and 9 months.

And during that period a portion of your service was  
with the Security Branch stationed at The Greys, Johannesburg  
?— That is correct.

For how long were you stationed at The Greys in the  
South African Police Force?— For six years. *College did*

So straight after leaving the Police ~~Station~~ *College did*  
you commence duties at The Greys?— No, sir, I first worked  
in uniform in the Northern Areas, Johannesburg Areas.

In the Johannesburg Areas?— Yes.

And where did you grow up, in what part of the coun-  
try?— I grew up in the Transkei.

And what is your home language?— Xosa.

And what standard did you reach when you left school  
?— Standard X.

And in Johannesburg did you live in one of the local  
native townships?— That is correct.

And in Johannesburg, generally speaking, and in  
connection with your police duties, did you come into con-  
tact with many different types of native dialects?— Yes,



I used to meet people who speak different languages.

Can you try and speak up a little so that his Worship can hear; you are speaking very softly. Now, besides English what other native languages do you speak?— and understand?— I speak Xosa.

And apart from Xosa?— There is no other language that I can say I really know very well.

I want to try and get some clarity on that. Do you understand any at all, of the other native dialects?— I could say I have a near understanding of Sesuto.

Now the Sesuto that you are referring to, who speaks that type of Sesuto that you understand?— from what part of the country do these people come who speak the Sesuto that you understand?— Actually there are two types of Sesuto dialects; the one is spoken by the Southern Sesuto group and the other is spoken by the Northern group.

Now which one do you understand?— I would say I have a smattering of both.

A smattering of both of them?— Yes.

Is it correct that the Northern Sesuto is sometimes referred to as Sepedi?— That is correct.

Now during your term of duty with the Security Branch what part of your duties to attend what has been referred to as political meetings?— That is so, yes.

And amongst others what other duties did you perform when attending these political meetings?— I was instructed to take notes whenever I was sent out to attend a political meeting.

You took notes of what?— Of the speeches that were delivered at those meetings by the various speakers.



And at what time do you make your notes in relation to the time when the man is speaking?— Immediately a person started speaking I used to take down notes.

Did you always follow that practice; did you always do that when you attended those meetings?— Yes, I used to do that.

And you'd take the notes down in the English language?— That is correct.

Now are you able to take down each and every word that anyone speaker says at a meeting?— No.

Approximately how much on the average of a speaker's speech are you able to take down?— Not more than thirty three and a third percent.

Not more than thirty three and a third percent?—No.

During your term of office as a Security policeman did you learn the name Pan African Congress?— Yes.

Without referring to your notes will you be able to give the Court the dates on which you attended any Pan African Congress meetings?— No, I would be unable to do that, not offhand.

And without reference to your notes, will you be able to give the Court any details of what any speaker said at any such Pan African Congress meeting?— Yes.

You will?— Yes, I will.

Without reference to your notes?— No., not without reference to my notes.

And if you are allowed to look at your notes what effect will that have on you?— I may be able to build up a mental picture of what happened at the time.

May the witness be permitted to refer to his notes, your Worship?



THE COURT: Yes., to refresh his memory.

P.P: It will be 'S', your Worship, Exhibit 'S'.

THE COURT: Are those your notes of certain meetings?— Yes, they are, your Worship.

P.P: And those notes, which are Exhibit 'S', refer to a meeting held on the 30th August, 1959, at Alexander Township, Johannesburg, Regional Division, is that correct?— That is correct.

Whereabouts at Alexander Township was this particular meeting held?— At No.3 Square, Alexander Township.

Was it held in a hall or on an open piece of ground?— It is an open space.

And how many persons do you estimate were present at that meeting?— I've got no estimation here in my notes.

The speakers at the meeting, where did they speak from? Did they have any furniture or anything like that?— I cannot remember that.

Were there any banners or posters, or flags at this meeting?— Actually I cannot remember.

Have you got anything in your notes to designate or show who was holding the meeting, or what was holding the meeting?— I've got here in the preamble to the notes P.A.C. Public Meeting held at No.3 Square, Alexander Township.

And what is the abbreviation P.A.C., what does it stand for?— Pan African Congress.

Now who was the first speaker at this meeting?— S. Mathopa.

Have you got only S. Mathopa on your notes, or have you got his name in full?— I've got S. Mathopa in my notes.



In what language did he speak?— I've got S here;  
I think he spoke in Sesuto.

Did he have an interpreter?— I've got nothing in  
my notes to indicate that he had an interpreter.

So if you've got nothing in your notes to indicate  
whether or not he had an interpreter, what does that signify  
— what does that indicate, if you haven't got a note that  
there was an interpreter?— It might indicate that I might  
have omitted the name of the interpreter by mistake, or  
that there was no interpreter at all.

How well did you understand the Sesuto which S.  
Mathopa spoke?— I should think that because I took down what  
he said — he might have spoken in a Sesuto dialect that I  
understand.

Now if you will turn to page 1 of your notes, com-  
mencing with the speech of Solomon Mathopa, commence reading  
from the words, 'Now, Afrika.....'?— Our country, Afrika,  
Freedom in our lifetime. Fellow Africans, we are again meet-  
ing here today under the auspices of the Pan African Congress.  
We ought to be very many on this Square, but it surprises me  
that there are no people who have come to this meeting. We  
have to meet here in order to discuss matters which affect  
our people.'

Just pause there. Now if you'll turn to page 2  
of your notes, you will see that there is a green cross and  
a green arrow; will you commence reading the sentence im-  
mediately before that one which reads as follows: "Now that  
they have....."?— "Now that they have closed they are dis-  
cussing what their next step will be, and that is why we  
of the P.A.C. are meeting to-day. We are holding this meet-  
ing in order to educate our people politically. Our aim is



to free Africa from Cape to Cairo according to our motto  
'Africa for the Africans'."

Thank you. Now who was the next speaker?— J.  
Matzunya.

In what language did Matzunya speak?— I just  
cannot make out here in what language he spoke.

Have you got a note there of the language he  
did speak?— I think it was Zulu.

Did he have an interpreter?— No, there is noth-  
ing in my notes to indicate that he had an interpreter.

Now if a man has an interpreter at a meeting  
do you make any note at all, whether in fact there was  
an interpreter for the speaker?— Sometimes I did, some-  
times I would omit it -- sometimes you are in a hurry  
to write down what the speaker says and you omit to write  
down whether there is an interpreter or not.

Anyway, you've got no fixed procedure in regard  
to making a note to indicate whether or not there is an  
interpreter?— No, there is no fixed procedure.

How well did you understand what Matzunya was  
speaking, the language he was speaking?— I don't under-  
stand you properly.

How well did you understand the Zulu language  
which Matzunya was speaking?— I could understand the  
Zulu language; I've got a good understanding of the Zulu  
language.

Now if you'll turn to page 5 of your notes  
commencing at the green arrow "In Sekuniland...." ?—  
"In Sekuniland people were murdered because of the very  
same type of tyrannical action of the white people.  
Today we hear the Peri Urban Areas Health Board telling



people to go to its wonderful houses in Diepkloff and Meadowlands. This shows us that the white people have come with all sorts of deceptions in order to destroy our people. As we see today the whites have erected the beerhall here in Alexander Township...."

Now turn to page 5, from the words "This shows us..." I beg your pardon, we've got that. Turn to page 7, from the words "We are not going...."?— We are not going to be stopped by anybody because we are convinced that we are on the right path."

Who was the next speaker?— A. Ghare.

In what language did he speak?— I cannot make out whether it was Sesuto or Zulu.

You cannot tell us whether or not he had an interpreter?— No, sir.

Now commencing on page 8 of your notes, from the beginning of his speech, "Fellow Africans....."?—"Fellow Africans, my duty is only to add to what previous speakers have said. Our people are victims of great sufferings through the tyranny of these white people. Our people have now become the drags and money of the white people in the country of our birth." That is all, sir.

'It is our duty therefore to rid .....'?—  
There is nothing else in my notes.

May I see those notes please. Now whilst you were in the Police Force you did your duty as a policeman, isn't that correct?— Correct.

What are your personal feelings in regard to the fact that you've been called to give evidence here this morning?— I should say that I have a doubt in my mind whether I'd be able to give evidence in an unbiased



manner. I have a certain doubt in my mind as to whether I'd be able to give evidence without any bias, because of my present position, your Worship.

Is it correct that you are employed in the capacity of a private firm which brings you into daily contact with members of the African community?— That is correct.

And do you cover the whole of the Witwatersrand?— I do the Witwatersrand and the Northern Transvaal.

And what is it that worries you?— What worried me mostly is the reaction of the general public, the reaction of the African people when they are confronted with the news that I have given evidence in a matter in which political principles were involved.

What affect would that have on your business relations?— In my own mind, your Worship, it would be very prejudicial to my position.

Are you suggesting that because you are now giving evidence about facts which you performed during your duties as a policeman, that Africans in general might be so small minded that they would hold it against you in the business world?— The general public is not so broadminded; they would probably not be in a position to accept such an excuse.

I see. Anyway, I refer your Worship to page 34 of the record. Will you look at the notes which I am going to show you; are those notes in your handwriting?— That is correct.

They refer to a meeting held on the 27th September, 1959, at No. 3 Square, Alexander Township?— That is correct.

Exhibit 'T', your Worship. This was again held an open piece of ground?— That is correct.

I'm sorry, I cannot just



And how many persons did you estimate were present at this meeting?— About 150 persons of both sexes.

What was the race of the persons who attended the meeting?— They were Africans, popularly known as Bantus.

And which sex was there more of?— I've got a note here that there were both sexes.

Yes, but can you recall which of the two sexes there were more of; were there more women or more men at that meeting; that's what I want to find out?— I am sorry, I cannot answer - I cannot now recollect.

Now you have attended numerous so-called political meetings I take it?— Yes.

And you've also attended meetings of an organisation known as the South African National Congress, have you not?— Yes, I have attended meetings held by the African National Congress.

Now at these types of meetings, of the A.N.C. and P.A.C. which sex do you find - usually there is more of, in general, at the meetings?— It depends on the nature of the meeting. Sometimes you find more women than men, and sometimes you find more men than women.

I see. So then once we have established the nature of the meeting then possibly we'll be able to assist you and refresh your memory in deciding which sex was in the majority? Now, of the men who were present at this particular meeting, what is their average age group?— People who mostly attend the meetings - most of the audiences are usually over the age of 16 years.

At this meeting on the 27th September, 1959, was there any platform, or any furniture where the speakers made their speeches from?— I'm sorry, I cannot just



say that now offhand, because we never used to make a note whether there was a platform or a flag or anything like that.

And can you recall in respect of this meeting whether or not there were any flags, banners or posters?-- No, your Worship.

Have you got a note on your notes as to who or what was holding this meeting?-- I've got that it was a P.A.C. public meeting.

And was there a chairman at this meeting?-- Yes, I've got here in my notes that the chairman was Solomon Mathupa.

And he was also the first speaker according to your notes?-- That is correct.

And according to your notes what language did he speak in?-- I've got here 'S', indicating that it was in Sesuto.

Now if you'll turn to page 2 of your notes from the words "Hence we....."?-- "Hence we of the Africanist Movement are standing for the rights of the African people. We are opposed to multi-racialism because we are the only oppressed people in this land, and we should be organised into a purely black political force for the achievement of our freedom."

Pause there. Now turn to page 4 of your notes, "Today the whites....."?-- "Today the whites are masters in our land. They have a Parliament where they make laws alone for our oppression. These laws are made because the whites are frightened of the African people. That is the reason why we should meet here to-day. We are meeting here in order to devise means whereby we can get



our land back."

Who was the next speaker?-- Abe Mogate.

In what language did he speak?-- He spoke in Sesuto.

Did he have an interpreter?-- Yes, there was an interpreter, J. Molotho.

And what language did J. Molotho speak?-- He interpreted into Zulu.

How is it that you know there was an interpreter for this speaker at this meeting?-- The usual procedure I adopted was when I wrote the name of the speaker and there is an interpreter, immediately after that I write down the name of the interpreter.

You say that was your usual procedure?-- That was my usual procedure.

Who was the next speaker?-- Joshesh Madunya.

I see. Now is there anything in your notes referring to a P. Bopate?-- On page 5.

Did he speak or what did he do?-- He interpreted.

He interpreted for whom?-- For A. Shagade.

So Abe Ghare had two interpreters?-- Yes, he had two interpreters.

What language did Peter Bopate speak?-- I've got no note to indicate what language he spoke in.

Now at what stage did the interpreters interpret what the speaker was saying; what I'm trying to find out is did they speak altogether at the same time, or one after the other?-- Usually they spoke one after the other; when one finishes a sentence the other interprets that sentence again.

So have you got in your notes Peter Bopape, or is it under the name of A. Ghare?-- I've got here Peter



Bopape interpreted, and then I continued to write down what the speaker was saying.

Now if you'll turn to page 6 of your notes, commencing at the words "In order to maintain...."?-- "In order to maintain their position as bosses the white people have adopted criminal methods for the subjugation of the African masses. They are using methods of destruction because they want to prove that the Africans are not ripe intellectually to govern this land. According to these gangsters the Africans should carry passes. They buy these passes from the very same whites for 3/6d. / and later the same white man is empowered to ask for the same pass from the African people. However, an African has no right to demand his 3/6d. from the European. In respect of this law we have proved how foolish we are. Friends, unity is strength."

Now if you'll turn to page 8 of your notes, "We Pan Africanists...."?-- "We Pan Africanists are prepared to go it alone without the advice of the whites, and if we can be united under that idea we shall not buy this 3/6d. pass and we shall not submit willingly to oppression. Afrika."

THE COURT: Will you try to read slower please and pronounce your words fully. "We shall not submit willingly to oppression"; is that the last word?-- That is the last word, your Worship, 'Afrika, Afrika'.

P.P: Yes?-- "Yes, Africa is our country. We shall march to our freedom like the children of Israel, Waowhichad from Pharoah's oppression to their land of milk and honey."

Who was your next speaker?-- Josesh Madunya.



And in what language did he speak?— He spoke in Zulu.

And did you follow your usual practice and make a note whether or not there was an interpreter?— That is correct.

And have you a note of an interpreter?— There is no note of an interpreter.

May I just have your notes for a moment. Will you turn to page 15, commencing with the words "All goes in line...."?— "It all goes in line with Dr. Verwoerd, and they all follow the .....of white domination. We Pan Africanists say 'To hell with white domination' The white people have lost nothing but we Africans have lost our land. Thus we say we cannot allow Indians and whites to stand on our platforms."

Turn to page 16 and read from "Friends...."?— "Friends, beware of the white people. I am telling you to-day that this Alexander Township is going like Sophiatown. The so called preachers of the Bible are racketeers; all they want is money and to me they stand together for the protagonism of white domination. The Pan Africanist Congress gives a warning to you to save food and keep your money. There is a hard day coming; you have heard that Verwoerd says that if he does not establish a Republic he is going to fight to the last drop of blood, but we do not know with whom he is going to fight. Save food; we urge you to save food and your money. I am giving you the message from the Pan Africanist Congress."

Now if you'll turn to page 18 of your notes and read from "But...."?— "But for all I know white justice means that the children of Africa should be sold to the



Bethal farmers, where you will be killed and made manure. What Verwoerd is going to do is unthinkable and I want you to prepare. Hitler started this way. He became more mad as time went on until he threw the whole world into the flames of War."

Now, will you turn to page 33 of your notes, "We want our land"?-- "We want our land Fellow Africans; we claim every inch of Africa from Morekotto to Madagascar, from Cape to Cairo,"

Go on?-- "You see, Verwoerd wants you to be on one side; that is why he is sending you to Meadowlands, so that one day when you decide not to go to work they will drop a bomb and you will all die, you, a policeman, an informer, or an ordinary person. In conclusion I say, please fellow Africans save food for the hard days ahead, our country."

Who was the next speaker?-- Joshua Mashaba.

In what language did he speak?-- He spoke in Sesuto.

And did you follow your usual practice of making a note as to whether there was an interpreter or not?-- That is correct.

Have you a note of an interpreter?-- Yes, John Zendo was the interpreter.

What language did he speak?-- He interpreted into Zulu.

Commencing with page 25 of his speech, that is where he starts, isn't it? Correct me if I'm wrong?-- Page 25, yes. "When we say this is our country we really mean . . ."

Just pause there a moment. Didn't he commence



by saying "Our country, our country, fellow Africans"?—  
 "Our country, our country, fellow Africans, you have been  
 told almost all, and I am going to be brief. In the first  
 place our organisation does not change colour. When we say  
 this is our country we really mean it, that is why we say  
 Africa for the Africans. Our message to you was therefore  
 that you should save food; you should realise that our  
 enemy is the white man." Some sa

Carry on?— "Some say that a white person is good,  
 but we say that a rabbit never makes friends with a hound.  
 I call upon you therefore, fellow Africans, to realise that  
 our organisation is open to you. Come to join the P.A.C."

If your Worship will turn to page 40 of the  
 record, sir. Now the notes which you have before you,  
 are they in your handwriting?— That is correct.

Exhibit 'U', your Worship. They refer to notes  
 of a meeting held on the 13th December, 1959, at No. 3  
 Square, Alexander Township?— Yes, sir.

How many persons attended the meeting?— There  
 were 20 (?) persons who attended the meeting.

And what was the average age of the men who  
 attended that meeting?— As I have already indicated  
 usually the people who attended the meetings -- I cannot  
 say which specific meetings -- but they were over the  
 age of 16 years usually.

And who or what organisation held this meeting;  
 have you got a note of that?— In the preamble I've got  
 P.A.C. meeting, No.3 Square, Alexander Township, on the  
 13th December, 1959.

Can you recall whether there were any flags,  
 banners or posters at this meeting?— There might have



been, I cannot say.

And can you recall whether the speakers had any tables or platform from which they addressed this meeting?  
 ?-- Not at this stage.

Who was your first speaker?-- Solomon Matupa.

Was there a chairman?-- Solomon Matupa was the chairman.

What language did he spoke?-- He spoke in Sesuto.

Now if you'll turn to page 2 of your notes "When we walk in the very streets...."?-- "When we walk in the very streets of our land we are supposed to have passes and permits. The whites are imposing these restrictions on us because they are afraid that we might revolt against their evil policies. That we in the Pan Africanist Congress are intending to fight for our freedom, for the freedom of the African people. Our policy is different from the policies of different organisations, because we do not believe in racialism. We stand for rule by the African people in Africa. On the 19th at 2.p.m. we shall hold a conference of the P.A.C. at the Orlando Communal Hall, to the 20th, when we shall start our programme for 1960. We invite all of you to attend this conference. I call upon Mr. Mogale to speak to you."

Who was the next speaker?-- A. Mogale.

What language did he speak?-- He spoke in Sesuto.

Is there a note of an interpreter?-- No, there is no note of an interpreter.

Now if you'll turn to the back of page 3 commencing with the words "I am coming back to you....."?--  
 "I am coming back to Nationalism. Europeans rule Europe  
 Indians rule India, what about Africa? Africa we say must



be ruled by Africans and that is why we are opposed to the belief that Africa is a multi-racial country. We say Africa for the Africans. Why should we allow foreigners to come and rule our country."

If you'll turn now to the back of page 4, from the words "It is now time....."?— "It is now time fellow Africans, to understand what Nationalism is. If you Africans would appreciate the value of Nationalism, the political awakening of Africans in this country from Cape to Cairo, from Morocco to Madagascar, we shall achieve our freedom through non-violent means. We must claim every inch of Africa."

Now if you'll turn to page 6 of your notes, "We of the P.A.C"?— "We of the P.A.C. believe in freedom for all as soon as we can capture the reins of government and take charge of political power, economic resources and a re-adjustment of the social structure in this country. We must be prepared to fight to the bitter end, The methods used upon us by the stooges of white domination who believe in the divided rule principle. Such newspapers as "New Age" are instruments used....."

Alright. Now if you'll turn to the back of page 7, "On the 19th....."?— "On the 19th we shall be in Orlando. We are marching forward, fellow Africans, whether the whites like it or not. Our country, Africa".

Who was the next speaker?— C. Ndaba.

What language did Ndaba speak in?— He spoke in Zulu.

And did he have an interpreter?— I've got no note of that.

Did he start speaking on page 8 of your notes



?— Back of page 7.

Will you read out please what you've noted there of his speech? From the words "Friends, when we form..."?—"Friends, when we form our own government women will never stand in queues for beer as they do at this beerhall. When we take over the government of this country we shall not have such things as passes. We do not care for such things as the Liberal Party or the Progressives. People who advocate multi-racialism are deceiving the African people. They have never been sincere. We of the P.A.C. want our land back. On the 19th we want the whole of Alexander Township to go to Orlando."

That's the end of Exhibit 'U'. Now I'll refer you to another exhibit which will be marked Exhibit 'V'. Is Exhibit V in your handwriting?— Correct.

They refer to a meeting held on the 10th of January, 1960, at No.3 Square, Alexander Township, Johannesburg?— That is correct.

Approximately how many persons were present at this meeting?— About 200 persons of both sexes.

And what was the average age of the men? Do you still say from 16 up?— That is correct.

Who was the chairman at this meeting?— J.

Matsunya.

He was also the first speaker?— That is correct.

In what language did he speak?— He spoke in

Zulu.

And have you a note of any interpreter?— No, sir.

Now if you'll turn to the back of page 1 of your notes from the words "Now the question arises...."?— "Now the question arises, when will South Africa be independent."



That day will surely dawn when we shall have an African democracy in South Africa, a government of the African people by the Africans. On that day we shall see the triumph of African Nationalism. That undying spirit which is in the breath of every African. We have been asked by many people whether in our organisation we accept whites as members. Our answer is 'No'. We do not want any non-Africans in our first step towards independence. When we have achieved our independence in South Africa we shall form a Federation of the three States of Africa. Then we shall be taking immediate steps towards the formation of a United States of Independent Africa. We claim every inch of Africa. Africa as a whole belongs to us, fellow Africans."

Yes. Now turn to the back of page 3, "When you go to sleep...."?-- "When you go to sleep you have to lock and bar your doors because of terrorism and terrorism is born of drunkenness (?). That is alright in this country. The police are hoboes and a hobo has no sense to argue National matters intelligently. It is because of the low intellectual level of our people as a whole. The white people are guilty of all these evils from which we suffer, subjecting our people to such a disgraceful position.

Who was the next speaker; just read out the last sentence of Matsunya's speech, what you have noted of it?-- "Well, I do not say there is no God..."

Forget about that; just the last sentence?--  
"I shall now call upon Mr. Ngweba to address you.

And who was the next speaker?-- Jonathan

Mqweba.

What language did he speak?-- I've got no note.



about that, sir.

Now if you'll turn to the back of page 5, or before you do that, was there an interpreter; have you a note of an interpreter?— No, I've got no note.

Turn to the back of page 5, "We are not allowed" ?— "We are not allowed to move freely in our country which is a result of that.....(inaudible). This is the dragon which limits our movements and causes our exploitation as a cheap labour force, and many other evils. We are from now on decided to fight against this horrible dragon with many heads. Today we have three heads which you should always bear in mind. 1) An African who has been spared and continues to live in a town cannot be permitted to leave in another town for less than 72 hours." That's a mistake, it should have been 'more' not less, sir!

THE COURT: What does your note say, less or more ?— Less, sir.

P.P: Yes?— "A man, daughter and son of over 18 years, a niece or nephew or a grandchild in terms of Act 25 of 1945, section 1(a) and (c). That is why you see them arrested. 2) If an African born in a town has lived continuously there for 15 years his dependants are entitled to visit him for less than 72 hours. All this is born of the co-ordination of Dutchmen (?) 3) If an African was born in a town and has lived there continuously for 14 years and has worked for one employer for 9 years neither his daughter nor his wife nor his son, although he may be dependant upon them is entitled to live with him for more than 72 hours without permission. That is why you see school children having passes. Now, fellow Africans, under these three heads we are trying to bring to the



notice of our people what our plan is going to be to fight against this .....(?). Do not be in a hurry, wait for our leaders to go in front of us. Do not fear that you will be shot. Our resolution for this step was (a) to call upon the nation to take definite action against the Pass Laws. (b) To call upon the P.A.C. to embark on . . . ." I cannot make out the next word, sir.

THE COURT: Can you spell it?— I can't even spell it, sir.

You can't make out the word after 'embark'?— Yes.

"On a campaign of intensive organisation for the unity of the nation to get ready for action at any given time. (c) To immediately elect the national and advise it to be ready for the call for positive action as from to-day. (d) To impose an annual levy of £1.2.6 on every member of the P.A.C. as from to-day. We shall have to await a national directive for the implementation of the final decision. But whatever action the National Executive decides upon the slogan of 'No pay (?), no fight, no defence must be strictly adhered to.' From to-day we have been warned by P.A.C. to save food and money in order to provide for the rainy day. We do not know when the day will come but it certainly is coming. You have heard our decisions to-day. Our headquarters say we should wait."

Yes. Now turn to page 9 of your notes, "By 1963 we must be free in this country. We must..... the picture of African Nationalism from to-day, whether you are a P.A.C. member or not. Go outside and preach to the people. To the womenfolk I say we know that you are the people who felt the pain when Jesus was



CRUCIFIED...."

Yes. Now turn to the back of page 10 "In these words....."?-- In these words, Mr. Chairman, I make an appeal to our membership to pay up their membership fees before March this year, when we shall be taking positive action. We need the pressure of the masses in our struggle. Do not forget, no bail, no fine and no defence. Maybe before March something will happen. For one thing the lawyers will starve and their tents must not come and worry us. All we want is independence now. Freedom in our lifetime. Independent State of Africa to-morrow."

Yes. Who was the next speaker?-- Charlie Ndaba.

What language did he speak?-- He spoke in Zulu.

Did he have an interpreter?-- I have no note to that

effect.

Now turn to page 12 of your notes "Today let us begin....."?-- "Today let us begin positive action against the Passes. The Albert Street Pass Office must be closed. Let us prepare ourselves for the destruction of the Pass Laws. We do not care what the government of white South Africa says about us. We are going to work for the abolition of this scourge of the pass laws. People are going to be members of the P.A.C. whether they like it or not. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Afrika, Afrika."

That's the end of Exhibit 'V'. Have a look at Exhibit 'V'; I refer you to the back of page 7 where you have got something about the nation. I refer you to a word first of all on the back of page 7 where you've got - you identified it to 'immediately alert the nation to advise it to be ready' etc. Then I referred you to page 7, at the bottom, where there is (a) and then (b)



To call upon the P.A.C. to embark ..... the word you couldn't identify just now, and then "... on a campaign, and what do you now say that word is?— Immediately.

If your Wership will turn to page 45 of the record. Will you have a look at Exhibit "W" which relates to a meeting dated the 31st January, 1960, held at Alexander Township. That will be Exhibit "W"; are these notes in your handwriting?— Yes, they are.

How many persons do you estimate were present at that meeting?— I've got nothing in my notes.

The persons who were present, what was their race?— Africans.

Africans or Bantus?— Yes.

Were both sexes present, or was it just confined to one sex?— At most of the meetings there were both sexes; people of both sexes attended.

And did the average age of the persons attending average from 16 upwards, is that correct?— Yes, I should say so.

And have you got a note as to who or what was holding this meeting?— The P.A.C. public meeting, I've got in my notes, held at No.3 Square, Alexander Township, on the 31st January, 1960.

And who was the first speaker?— Chairman, S. Matupa.

In what language did he speak?— He spoke in Sesuto.

And have you any note of an interpreter?— Yes, G. Ndlovu interpreted into Zulu.

And commencing at page 1 of your notes, the note of the speech of S. Matupa?— "We are meeting here, fellow Africans, to-day as we do every Sunday, in order to rally the African masses and to prepare them for the struggle



for the liberation of our people. The treachery of the white people has manifested itself in many different ways."

Yes. Turn to page 3 of your notes, "We have..."

?— "We have been born here to-day but we see such people as MacMillan entering our country in freedom and nobody asking for a pass from him."

Now page 5 of your notes, "Our policy....."?—

"Our policy is against white domination in any form. We cannot accept the policy of white Liberals and Progressives and we cannot cooperate with any white political organisation."

Now turn to page 6, "We of the P.A.C....."?— "We of the P.A.C. do not believe in the colour of a person's skin. I shall now call upon my speakers and I want you, friends, to prepare yourselves on every Sunday to come here. You must have heard from the Press that the question of African unity has to be solved, and now we have declared that in 1963 a new Africa will be born from Morocco to Madagascar and from Cape to Cairo. I shall without waste of time call upon Mr. Bupape."

Who was the next speaker?— P. Bupape.

And what language did he speak?— He spoke in Sesuto.

Did he have an interpreter?— George Ndhlovu interpreted into Zulu.

Commencing at page 7 of your notes, "Fellow Africans....."?— "Fellow Africans, time is short and I shall be brief. Friends, the time in which we live demands supreme sacrifices from all Africans. Today every African must know that he is a leader of the masses. When we come to meetings we must be prepared for action."



Yes. Now turn to page 9, "Further we appeal.."?--  
 "Further we appeal to the white people to drop trimming  
 our country with white lace curtains, because this country  
 will never lose its identity withhathhaak man's land. They  
 have tried to kill us but wewen't die. Therefore I think  
 that we should offer ourselves to death once and for all.  
 The whites in this country are clamouring for apartheid."

Now if you'll turn to page 10, "Let us stand..."  
 ?-- "Let us stand in a united effort and in one voice say  
 African belongs to us. Everyone must prepare oneself  
 for death and for gaol. The time is nigh, whether one likes  
 it or not. I hope that the Special Branch man here will  
 carry my message to the police. They must remember that  
 the Cate Manor tragedy was caused by the actions of in-  
 experienced young policemen."

Who was the next speaker?-- G. Ndhlovu.

What language did he speak?-- I've got nothing in  
 my notes to indicate in which language he spoke.

I see that the G. Ndhlovu who interpreted earlier  
 for P. Bupape?-- Yes, I remember.

Is that the same man?-- The same man.

Now, commencing at page 12 of your notes, "Our  
 country...."?-- "Our country, Africa. Friends, I only  
 want to speak the truth. I want you to thank your luck  
 because freedom is at your doorstep, and you have just  
 not opened your door for it. You are not the people who  
 stand in the way to freedom. The leaders of the African  
 people are responsible for this state of affairs. When  
 the P.A.C. was born the African people's destiny was de-  
 cided, so we in this Movement are going to be free during  
 this year, 1960. In all the histories of other countries



we have never heard of the freedom of one people being achieved by others. We must dedicate ourselves for the freedom of our people. No one will achieve freedom without suffering for it. We must be prepared to face death and police like me. The people of this land are ready to take action to free the country from white exploitation. All I want to tell you to-day about the P.A.C. is that you should be armed against your enemy."

Yes. Turn to page 14, "Tell them....."?-- "Tell them that you are fighting for the liberation of Africa. We say Africa for the Africans."

Page 15 now, "Our policy....."?-- Our policy is only that Africa is for the Africans. This country is not going to be ruled by a white minority as from this year 1960. We do not want their advice, nor do we seek their co-operation."

Who was the next speaker?-- J. Ngwenba.

And what language did he speak?-- He spoke in Xosa.

That's your home language?-- Yes.

And was there an interpreter?-- I've got nothing in my notes about that.

Now commencing on page 16, "Fellow Africans..."?-- "Fellow Africans, the time for speeches is over. What is now left is action. By now I have forecast that we might have the Square full of people but yet we still have hopes because the people are always ready to respond to a call for action in their struggle."

What is that word . . .?-- The people are very responsive to a call for action in their struggle, sir.

Yes, go on?-- "I have to repeat our warnings that you should save food and money, for as hot as it is



today it may be raining tomorrow. 1960 is a year of freedom."

Yes. Turn to page 18, "They know that....."?--  
 "They know that during this year we are going to take over the government of this country. We will make their so called Houses of Parliament ... museums for pigeons and other animals (?). Now again we want to remind you that our struggle against the passes is going to be intensified. We are not going to take up cudgels and axes to fight against the passes . . . ."

Will you read that again please?-- "We are not going to take up cudgels . . . ."

Have you got the word 'not there'; we are not?--  
 We are not going to take up cudgels . . .

THE COURT: He has repeated it three times; you can look at the notes.

P.P.: Yes, your Worship. Yes?-- "We are going to throw away the whole of that dirty piece of legislation. We want to remind the whites that if they want to live in peace with us the pass must go, otherwise the very policemen who are asking us for passes will go to work in the Welkom Mines. As can be seen to-day the whites are making a big exodus from Nyasaland and Kenya into Rhodesia and into South Africa. We are going to send them to Australia."

Yes. Now the last sentence of that speaker's notes?-- "We call upon the African people reminding them of the great strike taken by African Nationalism to follow the P.A.C. flag".

Was the P.A.C. flag there; you refer to "Follow the P.A.C. flag"; was there any flag there?-- I'm sorry but I cannot say whether it was the official P.A.C. flag.



ON THE COURT RESUMING AT 2.15 P.M

SOLOMON MUNGA S.S:

XD. BY P.P: If your Worship will turn to page 60 of the record. I am going to refer you to some further notes taken by you which will be Exhibit 'X'. Are these notes in your handwriting?-- They are.

And they refer to a meeting held on the 20th March, 1960, at No.3 Square, Alexander Township, Johannesburg?-- That is correct.

Who or what organisation was holding the meeting?-- I've got in my notes here 'P.A.C. public meeting held at No.3 Square, Alexander,'

And approximately how many persons were present?-- 100 persons of both sexes were present.

The average age of the men being approximately 16 years and upwards?-- That is correct.

Who was the chairman?-- J. Matzunya.

And was he also the first speaker?-- That is correct.

In what language did he speak?-- He spoke in English, Zulu and Sesuto.

So would he first speak in English, then in Zulu and then in Sesuto?-- He was the type of man who goes from one language to the other; not consecutively, if he starts in Sesuto then he goes into English and back into Sesuto and then in Zulu and so on.

And commencing at the beginning of Matzunya's speech, will you please read out what he said according to your notes?-- "Our country, Africa. Freedom in our lifetime. We have again met under the auspices of the Pan Africanist Congress. We say we do not want the milk,



we want the cow, and we do not want our freedom, but independence. We do not want to have the vote, but we want to rule ourselves in this country and make our own laws. In terms of African Nationalism we want independence and freedom. Most of you have heard about the war that we have declared against passes. We are going to fight against the passes to the bitter end in South Africa. We are prepared to go it alone in our struggle until victory is achieved. We shall not accept foreign leadership in our organisation until we have achieved our independence. You have heard that the campaign against passes is due to be launched tomorrow, but we are differing within our organisation. Some say that we should leave them at home and surrender ourselves at the police stations, but I say we must destroy the passes and go to work. Surrender ourselves at police stations and not go to work, we shall still have the possession of the pass. I say we should destroy these passes and forget about it. I also say that the campaign was not properly organised. Now you have seen the 'Sunday Times' reporting that I have been expelled from the P.A.C., but I say nobody will stop me from doing work for the African people."

Yes. Now turn to page 3, "The day....."?

"The day we destroy passes we shall not leave them at home. The leaders are afraid to say we must destroy the passes because they fear the Criminal Laws Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act, for in terms of that Act the penalties are very severe. You only read in papers that Matzunya has been expelled from the P.A.C. but I am not expelled. The leadership must be expelled because they are afraid. We must first be organised fully



well in order to run any particular campaign in the same way as Ghandi did for his people. For 200 years the passes have been in existence and in order to destroy it for ever you must organise the whole of South Africa. If you don't do it you are open to ridicule in the same way as what happened - as what the women did when they went to trample the flowers at the Union Buildings. They started saying 'yes, we tread down the flowers of Union Buildings' but they still came back with passes in their pockets. These protests do not work among the African people because you Africans have no vote. The only thing that is required is dynamic action. You must have 80% or 90% of the people following you in order to destroy the passes effectively. I do not want to go to jail because I demonstrate against the passes, and when I come back I am still forced to carry a pass."

Turn to page 5, "I want....."?— "I want the total abolition of passes and their substitution by identification certificates. We cannot be free while sitting down. The pass will never be abolished unless you organise and organise and organise."

Who was the next speaker?— N. Mashego.

In what language did he speak?— He spoke in Sesuto.

Did he have an interpreter?— Yes, A. Mtengu who interpreted into Zulu.

What did Mashego say?— "Friends, you have heard in the papers the President of the P.A.C. saying we should leave the passes at home and go to police stations, whence we shall come back to stay at home. But that is dangerous; we might even get mowed down



with bullets, or a baten charge for an alleged attack on the police stations. We have therefore decided to have nothing to do with him. He can go to Hell with his intellectuals. We want to end the passes, and the President can go to Hell because we won't allow ourselves to be played with, and killed because of the money he got to sell us out. We want money in order to prepare for the great campaign against the passes which we are intending to run."

Yes, now if you will turn to page 8 of your notes; have you got a note there of a speaker G.Ndhlovu?-- That is correct.

What language did he speak?-- He spoke in Zulu.

Have you a note of an interpreter?-- No, sir.

Read from the beginning on page 8, "Afrika, Afrika ...."?-- "Afrika, Afrika, I am not going to say much except this. You have been told in the past of leaders who wanted you to die first, but now you have leaders like me who are prepared to die first for you. I say this from the deepest part of my heart, today a coward will expose himself. We have heard what Matzunya has said in connection with tomorrow's campaign, but I say that Matzunya ought not to have adopted this attitude. Now that the whole country is prepared for this campaign we are to be isolated from the rest of our people. We have elected Sabuke to lead us, and if he leads us wrongly it is not for us to defy him. If he bungles we shall get another leader. How long will we isolate ourselves from our brothers? I say tomorrow I am going to throw away this pass and surrender myself at the police station. If I lose a pass I shall be more free than my brother. At 7 a.m. tomorrow I shall



be here on this Square. I shall march with all those who want to go with me to the police station."

Who was the next speaker?-- Abe Ghare.

Did he have an interpreter?-- B. Bupape was the interpreter.

What language did Abe Ghare speak?-- I've got nothing in my notes to show what language.

And the speaker Bupape?-- Neither.

Now will you turn to page 10 of your notes, where it says "Children of Africa....."?-- "Children of Africa, the P.A.C. has ordered that all Africans should surrender themselves at police stations as a way of fighting against passes."

Yes. Now apparently there was some conflict at this meeting?-- That is correct.

Did the audience at the meeting give any sign as to whom they favoured, Matzunya or Mashlabu, and Abe Ghare?-- I just do not remember now.

Were you on duty at Alexander Township at all the following day, that is the 21st March, 1960?-- No, sir.

Now what was the Pan Africanist Congress mostly concerned with abolishing, doing away with?-- Mostly they were concerned about white domination.

And what part did passes play in their speeches and organisation?-- Actually they spoke against passes very strongly.

Now you said earlier on that depending on the nature of the meeting, it all depended whether there were more women or more men; now in view of the fact that most of the speeches that you have read from seemed to criticise white domination and passes - the carrying of



passes -- does that perhaps help you to estimate which sex predominated or was in the majority at these meetings that you attended; more men, or more women?-- I do not think that I can gauge the majority of the sexes in that manner.

Have a look at Exhibit 'T', at page 14; that is a speech by Joshua Matzunya there, is it not?-- That is correct.

Read from the words "Today the African National Congress....."?-- Today the African National Congress does not represent the interests of the African people. It is now the mouthpiece of the Communist Party of South Africa which went underground when it was banned. The day the African National Congress conquers its opponent you will see a red flag, with the Hammer and Sickle. Even the so called Movement for the conquest of Africa does not stand for the interests of the African people." (?)

Thank you.

XXD. BY MR. UNTERHALTER: Mr. Dunga, in the course of your examination in chief you told the Prosecutor that you felt, if I understood you correctly, a little embarrassed at having to give the evidence that you were giving?-- That is correct, yes.

But I take it that notwithstanding your feeling embarrassed what you said is nevertheless the truth, in the way you've reported the speeches and so on?-- Yes, it is the truth.

And I'm sure in the questions, in the answers you're going to give to my questions you are also going to tell the truth?-- That is correct, yes.

Would it be correct for me to say that you feel



embarrassed because African people are somewhat critical of African policemen?— That would partly be true, but the cause of my embarrassment is that I am now in a different occupation altogether, and as such I have to be in continuous contact with the African people, and as such if it comes to some of my customers' ears that I have given evidence in a matter in which political principles are involved, some of them are men who I should say are politically very sensitive, and they might take exception to the whole thing.

Mr. Dunga, I don't want to add to your embarrassment, and I shall try not to do so, but would you agree with me that people who as you say are sensitive to political principle might tend to criticise you because they think that in a way as an African you would be betraying the African people?— That is correct, sir.

And they would consider it a betrayal because it concerns something that is absolutely vital to African people to-day; the oppression of the Pass Laws as they see it?— That is correct.

I take it that in the years in which you were associated with the Police Force you had ample opportunity of being able to gauge and judge the attitude of African people to the laws that govern them in this country?— That is correct.

And you can speak with authority on that subject, I take it?— I think I am qualified to speak in that matter.

Mr. Dunga, leaving aside the question as to the rightness or the wrongness of the Laws, would it be correct to say that in the mind of the African people



the carrying out of the Pass Laws is in some way associated with the person of the policeman who has to carry them out?— Yes, they tend to have that attitude towards the policeman, but, of course, in my own opinion the Pass Laws are unjust and it generally follows that the police are burdened with the load of having to apply these laws, and so they become unpopular.

In other words, they transfer their hostility to the abstract law from that law to the person of the human being who has to carry it out?— That is correct.

And very often even though a policeman might be humane and as kind as he can be in the circumstances, he also meets the impact of that criticism because he represents the system; is that correct?— That is correct.

I take it that over the years you observed a number of political movements among the African people directed against these laws and the Pass Laws in particular?— That is correct, yes.

And is it correct also to say that the people as a whole are united in their opposition to the law, but they may be divided in regard to the way in which the Law ought to be opposed and resisted?— That is so, yes.

It was actually the P.A.C. that developed the idea of a positive resistance to the Pass Laws, was it?— In the form of a concrete plan. Or am I wrong in saying so?— As far as I can remember it was the P.A.C. yes. Because as far as I remember the passive resistance of 1952 by the African National Congress and other Congresses was passive. It was not merely aimed at the Pass Laws as such; it was aimed at discriminatory legislation.



And the idea of the Defiance Campaign in 1952 was to court arrest by breaking any Apartheid Law such as separate entrances to Post Offices, or separate benches and things like that?-- That is correct.

Would you say then that the first plan for defiance or protest against laws came with the scheme developed by the A.N.C?-- That is correct, and I think the scheme was devised in 1949 when the Programme of Action was actually passed in Queenstown.

Yes. It was a dramatic and novel idea in these days, was it not?-- That is correct.

And it caught the imagination of tens of thousands of Africans?-- That is correct.

And many thousands of them did in fact go to jail following this campaign in 1952?-- That is correct.

Would you say, Mr. Dunga, that after the passing of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in 1953 the idea still remained widespread among the African people that it was dormant because of the very severe penalties of that legislation?-- That is correct, sir.

But I take it you agree that if the circumstances should be such as to inflame the people, shall we say, whatever these circumstances might be, that idea having been sown in the minds of the people, could very well be adopted a second time notwithstanding the penalties of the Criminal Law Amendment Act?-- That is correct, sir.

So that there was really a basic attitude of mind among very large sections of the African population even some years before the troubles of March of this year?-- Yes.



(Witness) In fact it had always been hinted in previous meetings, even before the coming into existence of the P.A.C. that there was to be a day when the people would fight against passes.

And with the coming into existence of the P.A.C. what really was given form was a kind of specially militant African Nationalism that was not part of the general programme and policies of the A.N.C?— That is correct.

And it's correct, is it not, that the split came about because of discontent and criticism by a diffident section of A.N.C. membership?— That is correct, yes. Actually the split in the African National Congress started in 1955, just before the Congress of the People meeting that was held in Kliptown, sir.

And I think it was actually the proposals about the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter that started certain critics in the A.N.C. on the way to forming the P.A.C?— That is correct, sir.

And among various differences there was the quarrel about the multi-racial policy of the A.N.C; is that correct?— That is correct.

And also a suspicion and a resentment at what they thought was a Communist influence at work in the A.N.C?— That is correct; that was what was actually said at later P.A.C. meetings.

Now, were you able, Mr. Dunga, to assess from your experience the extent of P.A.C. influence among the African people at large over the last year or so; say before March of 1960?— At their meetings and their inaugural conference - they were not very well attended; I cannot say that it had wooed a great number of the African people



into its ranks, under its banner.

In other words, the influence of the A.N.C. which has been operating since 1912 is by and large the more forceful and greater influence over the period I'm discussing, than that of the P.A.C. - among the people at large?-- That is correct, yes.

And I suppose really the innate conservatism of African people would make them a little suspicious of following the P.A.C. until that leadership had proved itself?-- That is correct.

And in fact up till the 21st March of this year it had not proved itself?-- There is no instance that I can quote where it had previously proved itself, up to that time.

To put it another way, in terms of leaders, would you agree that the influence of Chief Luthuli was far greater among the people at large in South Africa than that of Robert Sebuke?-- I could say so, yes.

Now, as regards the Pass Campaign, the agitation rather against the passes, that had been on the way for some months prior to the 21st March, suggestions had also been made by the A.N.C. had they not, as to a form of resistance against the Pass Laws?-- Yes; I remember there was one particular meeting at which A.N.C. officials said that passes should be abolished by April 1st.

If I'm correct, I think the method that was suggested by the A.N.C. was that of burning the pass?-- That is correct, yes.

But this hadn't been suggested in any widespread fashion for any length of time before the 21st



March; it was a very recent suggestion?— Yes, it was just a new suggestion as far as I remember, sir.

And even as far as the P.A.C. is concerned, would it not be correct to say that the instructions about how the campaign was to be started was left almost until the last moment?— Yes, they were only released on the 20th. On the 19th, I'm sorry.

On the 19th March?— Yes.

So that before the 19th March what may have reached the African population at large was a general voice of protest and criticism against the Pass Laws as such?— That is right, yes.

To which the African people had been exposed literally for years prior?— That is correct.

But the specific form, if it got about at all, was only made known a matter of about 48 hours before the incidence of the 21st March?— That is correct.

Mr. Dunga, I take it that if a rumour, whether well founded or illfounded, got about among the people that there was going to be an important pronouncement in connection with the Pass Laws, the interests of the people just before the 21st March was such that they would have gone in their thousands to hear such a pronouncement because of their attitude to the Pass Laws?— That is correct, yes.

And it only needed a few skilfully placed suggestions in well populated townships for people to act in response to these suggestions?— That is correct, yes.

Now, Mr. Dunga, I'd like to deal at once with the meeting that you attended at Alexander Township on the 20th March of this year; that is your Exhibit 'X'.



Mr Dunga, before I go on to the detail of this meeting, I take it that there was a considerable measure of disagreement among the people who were leading that meeting as to what was to be done the following day?— Yes.

And whatever else might be said about the meeting I take it it's clear that no definite lead was given to the people who attended that meeting, or others who may have heard of that meeting, as to what the people should do?— No, there was no definite lead given whatsoever.

Mr. Matzunya I take it is a person of some considerable influence in Alexander Township?— That is correct.

And in view of what he said he might well have had an effect upon the people not to carry out the orders of Mr. Sebuke?— That is correct.

Are you able to say from your own observations after the 21st March whether in fact his opposition to the plan did result in people not following the suggestions of the P.A.C. leaders?— I cannot say.

In passing I'd like to ask you, to your knowledge were any churches or schools burnt in Alexander Township as a result of the events of the 21st March?— Not that I knew of, sir.

In the ordinary course as a policeman, if that had happened, would such events have been brought to your attention?— I would have known about them.

**THE COURT:** In which location were you living at the time?— I was living in Meadowlands at the time, sir, but I was stationed at Alexander Township.

Is Meadowlands 15 or more miles from Alexander Township?— About 18 miles, sir.



MR. UNTERHALTER:

Did you return to Alexander Township for duty say on the 22nd March? The day after the Sharpeville shootings?— I think I did.

It was a Tuesday?— On the 22nd I was on duty. /

You were on duty in the ordinary course in Alexander Township?— That is correct.

And nothing was brought to your attention about burnt schools or churches?— No, sir.

Now you read to us from your notes as they appear in Exhibit 'X'. I see that at the back of page 2 and at the bottom you write as follows: "Sebukwe and his gang can do what they like, but they have themselves failed to organise Orlando West because they say that they are intellectuals and they only drink tea in their houses. Tomorrow I shall not lead anyone to the police station, I am not a fool." That is correct, is it?— That is correct.

I don't know if you want to see it?— No, I know that is correct.

Then at the back of page 3 there is another note; you had just read this reference to the Sunday papers about Matsunya having been expelled from the P.A.C. you remember?— That's right, sir.

Then your note goes on to say: "The leadership must be expelled because they are afraid". That's correct is it?— That's correct, yes.

Then at the back of page 4 I see you have recorded this: "I do not want to go to gael because I demonstrate against the passes, and when I come back I am still forced to carry a pass. I want to go to gael and come out still to carry a pass."



to carry a pass." I'm afraid I don't follow that, Mr. Dunga. I'll read it again: "I want to go into gaol and come out still to carry a pass"?-- May I look at it please?

Yes; I read to you from the back of page 4 and the top of page 5. It seems out of context somehow?-- It may have been an error, sir. He meant probably that he wants to go to gaol and come out without the pass.

Yes. Would that in effect be more consistent with the whole context of the speech he was delivering?-- Yes, sir.

At the back of page 4, your Worship, and the top of page 5. I'm not sure that you read out what I'm just about now to read to you; you might just tell me if you have. "I say tomorrow we must go to our business as usual because I can see the leadership is play". There at the back of page 5 you report the speech of N. Mashego - I think you said this, but I'm not quite sure - "Friends, you've heard in the papers the President of the P.A.C. has said we should leave the passes at home and go to the police stations, whence we shall come back and stay at home, but that is dangerous". I'm not sure if you read that phrase, 'That that is dangerous'; it might even be lower down?-- Yes, I think so, sir.

There is a sentence on page 6; "We want money in order to prepare for the great campaign against the passes which we in P.A.C. are determined to launch". Is that correct?-- That is correct, yes.

It would seem that this speaker was also supporting Matzunya about delaying the implementation for the reason that there should be more money before they



start?— Yes, that is the impression I also got.

Now I see at the back of page 6 in the speech of John Zende he says, "The chairman said that there are laws which frighten our African leaders and that is true"  
?— Yes, that is correct.

And then in the speech of Ndhlovu at the back of page 8 I see there is this phrase, "We have heard what Matzunya has said in connection with tomorrow's campaign, but I feel that Matzunya ought to have not adopted this attitude"?— Yes.

Now on page 11 you were reporting a speech of Abe Ghare and you have this phrase there, "There is nothing contained in this resolution which directs us to obey the present campaign"?— That is correct, sir.

And both these sentences, apart from the general context, have led you, as you've just said in your evidence, to the opinion that there was quite an acute difference between people?— Yes.

Mr. Dunga, you have been very candid in the evidence that you gave to my learned friend about your ability to record what was written down, and if I may say so you've said very fairly that you didn't think you could get down more than 33-1/3% of what was said; you have had a fair amount of experience, I take it, in writing down speeches at these meetings?— Yes.

And have you been able over the years to form some estimate as to the comparability of your colleagues, other members of the Security Branch, who do the same thing; compare your skill with theirs?— Yes, I have sometimes done that.

Would you say that taking down a third is a fair



estimate of what a person can be entrusted with those duties; that it's a fairly accurate estimate?— It often depends on the amount of writing you can do while the speaker is speaking, and that is always governed by your educational standard — most of the times — and it is really, in my own opinion, impossible to write down more than a third of what is said, even if there are two interpreters.

The standard that you attained was Std. X?—

That is correct.

And that's a fairly high standard?— Well, I should say it's a reasonably good standard.

Yes. Lots of your colleagues, many of your colleagues who have given evidence here — I'm sorry, your former colleagues — have said in speaking about their educational qualifications that they are less than Std. X. Would you say that by and large if it were less than you'd expect them to record even less than 33-1/3% because of educational deficiencies?— That is my opinion.

Many of them with lesser qualifications than yourself claim to record as much as 75%; would you say that they must be wrong in their estimate?— It would be a wrong estimate.

And I take it if one bolder than all the others claims 98%, he is even more wrong?— Yes.

Mr. Dunga, as far as procedure is concerned, is it correct — it's a routine practice for two members of the Security Branch to be present at a meeting, and each of them to record?— That is the usual procedure.

The idea being that the one should supplement the other?— That is correct, sir.



Now, you have said in referring to various notes of the meetings you took, that these were public meetings of the P.A.C?— That is correct, sir.

Now I assume that you inferred this from the general nature of what was said at these meetings?— That is so.

Was there any source of information that you had that led you to be so sure that it was a P.A.C. meeting?— There was no other source.

In the course of giving your evidence in regard to Exhibit 'S', you said at the conclusion that that is all, and my learned friend asked you a question in regard to it. I'm not sure if you can answer this question, but you see, attached to the Summons in this matter are certain details of a speech of Abe Ghare which has more than what you read out; you came to the end of your notes and you said 'That's all', but in the Summons there is a record of a little more than that; can you explain....?— I certainly cannot explain how it happened.

Now dealing with the meeting, Exhibit 'S', of the 30th August, on pages 1 to 2, you read out the phrase "You ought to be very many at the Square but it surprises me that there are no people who have come to this meeting." You don't say at the head of the meeting - at the head of your notes how many people are present, and you also said that in your evidence. Perhaps you could look at the top of page 1 - you've got the word 'Est.' which I assume means estimate, and then you've got the letters 'Ath'?— Attendance.

Oh, I see, it means estimated attendance?—Yes.

And then you don't fill in any figures?— No.

Can one assume from that that there must have been



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And then you don't fill in any figures?— No.

Can one assume from that that there must have been



hardly anyone there?— I know it's difficult to task <sup>my</sup> your memory at this stage, but that speaker seems to be suggesting that he is really talking to nobody; did it sound strange to you at the time....?— I cannot now say, sir.

It's highly probable though?— It's probable, yes.

Let me put it this way; many of these meetings in fact were very sparsely attended?— Yes.

New Exhibit 'T', at page 10, we have these notes of yours, "But if we look at that flag flying over there you will find that it is like the P.A.C. flag; they call themselves the movement for the re-conquest of Africa. It is another name for the International Trotskyite organisation. Now they say they are fighting for the re-conquest of Africa". That is what was said?— That is what was said, yes.

Did you have occasion in the course of your duties to attend meetings - to be at any of these meetings for the re-conquest of Africa?— Yes, I once attended a meeting. I think I once attended a meeting on the re-conquest of Africa - - perhaps once or twice.

It's a small organisation?— Very small, yes.

I understand it's connected with a movement called "The Democracy of Content", is that correct?— Something like that.

It also, of course, criticises the Pass Laws?— Yes.

And if its possible so to describe it, it's even more to the Left than the Communist influenced A.N.C.?— Yes, it is.



Very often their people used to come to the P.A.C. meetings and ask insulting questions of the speakers, is that right?— That is correct. At one stage the leader of the Movement for the Conquest of Africa was chased out of the P.A.C. meeting at Alexander.

And the white leader to whom reference is made in these notes was also . ?—That was the one who was chased out.

He was also very vociferous in his criticism?— Yes.

So that really people listening to the speeches on the one hand and the criticisms on the other didn't know where they stood; would that be correct?— Yes, it would, sir.

Now, to increase the confusion it appears that — from your notes which I shall read to you in a moment — even political movements that were sympathetic to the position of the Africans and the various laws in this country — even these movements were severely criticised by the P.A.C. . . The Progressives and so on?— That is correct.

And this again must contribute to the confusion of the people who heard the address?— That is correct.

In order to put this in its context, perhaps I should read to you from the bottom of page 11 of this Exhibit 'T'; would you just confirm that what I read is correct. Discussing this organisation for the Re-Conquest of Africa, he apparently went on to say, according to your note: "They came here under the influence — under the pretence of fighting against the Peri Urban Areas Health Board."?— Yes.



"But we have found today that they just wanted to introduce themselves to the people"— That is correct.

"They wanted to come to our platform since, so they said, they also believed in African Nationalism"— That is correct.

"But we refused because we knew that anyone who is backed by whites is a traitor to the country". He then goes on to refer to the Progressives. I just want to pause there for a moment. Are you able to say as a person who has attended political meetings whether you have any knowledge generally of the policy of the Progressive Party?— I have never been to their meetings. Probably, if I had been to some of their meetings, I'd be in a position to say what their policy is. My information about their policy is . . .

THE COURT: What you get from the papers?— Yes, your Worship.

MR. UNTERHALTER: Well, your note goes on to say "The Progressives went about telling people not to eat potatoes, but when the people had boycotted potatoes they came back and told the people to eat them". "Tell me, have they stopped the slave conditions in the farms now that the people are urged to eat potatoes again? These people are liars, they deceived our dear Luthuli by saying that they will follow him wherever he goes; that is even if Luthuli leads them into fire they will follow him. Well, the whites for whom Luthuli was working told him to stay in Lower Tugela, and we wonder why his followers do not fetch him." That was said?— Yes, that is so.

Now I refer to Exhibit 'U', a meeting of the



13th December, and to page 6 of your notes. This was at the back of page 6 and it commences as follows: "Such newspapers as 'New Age' are instruments used to crush the struggle of the African people for independence and freedom. They fight against white capitalist domination to impose white Socialist domination on our people. We of the P.A.C. have nothing to do with the Prime Minister of England; we have nothing to do with Russia, we have nothing to do with China. We only have responded to the call to free our Africa." I take it that it is from statements such as the one I've just read to you that one draws the conclusion that they are highly critical of the A.N.C. because of their so called Communist leanings?— That is correct, yes.

Now I refer to Exhibit 'V', a meeting of the 10th January, 1960, at the back of page 1; I see this note: "We of the P.A.C. want to form a democratic government in South Africa where a majority rules, not the democracy of the ruling minority at present." Is that correct?— That is correct.

And then on page 9 I see you've noted this: "Our programme is now open and we should work it out; we are not going to use guns but positive action"?— Yes, that is correct.

Now I refer to Exhibit 'W', notes of the meeting on the 31st January; I see on page 8 of these notes you have written the following: "I appeal to the member of the Special Branch here to go and tell the Station Commander at Bramley that they must send responsible policemen to us in the location, because if they continue sending hooligans in police uniforms to come and insult and ill-



treat our people, otherwise there will be trouble"?—  
That is correct, sir.

That was said, was it?— Yes, sir.

Then on page 10 I read this note: "In conclusion I want to tell you fellow Africans that the country is going to be free without bloodshed"?— That is correct.

I think you read this out on page 11: "I hope that the Special Branch man here will carry my message to the police; they must remember that the Cato Manor tragedy was caused by the circumstances emanating from the actions of inexperienced young policemen"?— That is correct, sir.

Now when you read out from page 14 of these notes you read the following sentence: "All I want to tell you to-day about the P.A.C. is that you should be armed against your enemy, and you've written a sentence which I don't remember hearing you read in your evidence in chief; it immediately follows what I've just read to you and it's this: "You must be able to face them with intelligent argument."?— That is correct, sir.

Mr. Dunga, just pausing there for a moment. Your general impressions throughout the months that you listened to these meetings of the P.A.C., was it that that although they were protesting against these laws the methods of opposition that they were hinting at, or openly advocating, were methods of non-violence?— Yes, yes.

I take it the sentence I've just read out to you is typical of that attitude, is it?— Yes.

At the bottom of that page, right at the bottom, there is a sentence which I don't remember you reading out,



as follows: "We do not mean - - -" Oh, perhaps I'd better give you the context. I just finished the sentence 'with intelligent argument', then you read out: "Tell them that you are fighting for the liberation of Africa; we say Africa for the Africans", and then the sentence that you didn't read out, I believe: "We do not mean only the black man with this, but everyone, black, yellow or white, who owes allegiance to Africa only.". Is that correct?-- That is correct.

And page 16, Mr. Ngweba's speech, the second sentence is to this effect: "By now I have forecast that we might have this Square full of people, but yet we still have got hope because the people are very responsive to a call for action in the struggle"?-- Yes.

Can you say whether the meaning of this was that he was disappointed there had not been a larger attendance at the meeting?-- Yes, sir.

In the middle of page 20 I see this: "I want to appeal to the young policemen who are running around misbehaving and throwing their weight around because they have revolvers that we want no second Cater Manor here in Alexander Township."?-- Yes.

Thank you, your Worship, that is all.

ACCUSED NO.1: No questions.

ACCUSED NO.3: No questions.

ACCUSED NO.4: No questions.

ACCUSED NO.8: No questions.

ACCUSED NO.38: No questions.

ACCUSED NO.39: No questions.

RE XD. BY P.P: Is it correct that the biggest thren



side of the African community as a whole is the passes?--  
Yes, that is correct.

Against the Pass system as a whole, and the carrying of passes - it was against that that these protests were made?-- That is correct.

Now, how did the members of the Pan African Congress want the people they were addressing to assist in the protest?-- I'm not very certain as to who the members of the Pan Africanist Congress were, except those people who actually said that they were members of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Well, I'm referring to these speakers; how did the speakers at these meetings - how did they want the people to assist them in the protests against the Pass Laws?-- As far as the campaign of the 21st is concerned, it was generally agreed that people should leave their passes at home and go to surrender themselves at police stations.

THE COURT: When did that sort of instruction or view come through; when was it published?-- In fact, your Worship, there was a Conference on the 19th March at the Trade Hall; it was not very well attended, and that was where the instruction was released to the people who were inside the hall.

Before that there were just hints that there was going to be some instruction as to what they should do, without telling them what it was going to be?-- No, they didn't tell them what it was going to be.

P.P.: Exhibit 'X', the last exhibit, is it correct that Abe Ghare made the following statement according to your notes: "P.A.C. has issued a statement



on paper that tomorrow ...." and you've got brackets...  
 "21/3/60, all these who are Africans should leave their  
 passes at home and go to surrender themselves at police  
 stations"?— That is correct, yes. When was the meeting  
 held, I'm sorry?

This was on the 21st March. You say that  
 Mahleu who was the second last speaker said that he  
 would lead people from the Square tomorrow to the police  
 station if anybody wanted to be present; he would be  
 there waiting to lead people to the police station?— That  
 is correct.

THE COURT: That would be to which police station  
 ?— He referred to Bramley Police Station, your Worship.

Which is the police station for Alexander Town-  
 ship; is that correct?— That is correct.

P.P: He apparently disagreed with Matsunya; he  
 referred to him as a coward, didn't he. He said: "I say  
 a coward will expose himself; we have heard what Matsunya  
 has said in connection with tomorrow's campaign"; was  
 he referring to.....?— He was generally giving that im-  
 pression.

Now, was it correct or not that it was the proud  
 boast of speakers at Pan Africanist Congress meetings that  
 they differed in the leadership from other organisations  
 because they as leaders would always be in front of the  
 people? They would be the first to die, as they put it,  
 and they wouldn't ask the others to die first?— Well,  
 I think they carried it out to the letter, when their lead-  
 ers were arrested before the other people were arrested.

That was the proud boast of the leaders?—Yes, that  
 is correct.



Now, in view of the fact that the African people as a whole found the pass system obnoxious, knowing the African people as you do, supposing some P.A.C. leaders, or leaders of any organisation, spread the rumour abroad that they should go to police stations, that they would hear an important announcement about passes, what effect do you think it would have on them?— Is that a supposition, sir?

Yes? In view of the fact that passes was their big bugbear, supposing the rumour was spread around the various townships by leaders of a political organisation that on such and such a day they should all go along to the police stations — somebody on a high level would talk to them about passes — what effect do you think it would have on the people; would they pay heed to such a rumour or not?— It might have a great effect I should say, sir. The African people are very sensitive to the pass laws. Or it might not have any effect. It might not be organised.

I see. Now, do you know at all why the instructions for the launching of this campaign was left so late and only came out on the 19th March?— No, I know of no reasons.

I think you have said that the Pan African Congress had a more dynamic and positive policy than the African National Congress?— The speaker said so, if I remember — — somebody, I think, said so.

And could any white person be members of the Pan African Congress, according to what you heard at the meetings?— Not as far as I heard.

I think it would be fair to say that the



African community as a whole would give any organisation which promised the abolition of passes its full support - wouldn't you say so?— I would, yes.

And I think it follows that any organisation which proved itself by obtaining positive results would have a greater following later on, not so?— Yes, it would.

Now, did the African National Congress advocate any policy of violence?— The African National Congress?

Yes?— I've never been to a meeting of the African National Congress where violence was advocated.

Now this campaign, the Defiance Campaign which you were talking about, there the laws had to be broken?— Without violence.

Without violence?— Yes.

You don't commit an act of violence if you sit on a seat which is reserved for some other section.

**BY THE COURT:** In all the speeches that you heard at meetings you attended, was there anything suggested that an important official would announce anything about passes at police stations on the 21st March?— No; when the directive was announced at meetings the only thing that was said was that the people should leave their passes at home and go to surrender themselves for arrest. Surrender themselves at police stations for arrest?— That's right, sir.

Thank you very much, Mr. Dunga, you may stand down.

CASE REMANDED TO 19/10/1960.