

D.L. Fuyane, and volunteer in chief, W.Z. Makwai. This document is the same as TT.90. CM.14, is the bulletin Isizwe, of October, 1955, it has been dealt with under PDN. 168. CM.15, is the bulletin "The Threatened People," published by S.A.C.O.D., it has been dealt with under FA.22. (5 CM.17, is a roneod document, it appears to be Inyeniso, and I refer to page 5, which deals with the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. CM.18, four issues of "Liberation," dated respectively September, 1956, November 1955, November 1956 and December 1955. These have been dealt with under the (10 numbers G.1114 and G.1150. CM.19, is the circular on the Congress of the People, and attached to it is the bulletin Speaking Together of August 1954. For possession only. CM.20, is a roneod circular of the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, Transvaal, and it sends sincere greetings to the (15 43rd Annual Conference of the African National Congress. It bears the written signature and the typed signature of Stanley B. Lollan, Secretary. It supports the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. CM.21 is "Fighting Talk," May 1956, for possession, and it is dealt with under G.1132. CM.23, (20 bulletin "Workers Unity," Vol. 1 No. 7, it has been dealt with under LLM.74. CM.24, is a bulletin "Workers Unity," for August 1955, it has been dealt with under D.28D. CM.25 is a printed copy of the Freedom Charter. CM.26, is the roneod report of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, annual report, (25 and it refers to the first annual national conference at Salt River on the 4th March, 1956. This is dealt with under LLM. 151. CM.30, is the bulletin "Afrika" journal of the A.N.C. Youth League, it is referred to in the policy schedule at page 12. On page 1a, on the heading "Greater Tomorrow," it says - (30
In this issue of Afrika we desire to unveil before

African youth a vision of the Afrika we are aiming to create in the not too distant future. All too often members of the liberatory movement lose themselves in the day to day struggles against oppression, fascism and war. By keeping in the background our (5 plan for the Afrika we want to see, we are easily led into regarding any reverse in the struggle as a cause for pessimism and despair. The struggle is a means to an end, and whilst it is true that the major portion (10 of our energies now must be taken up with the tasks and plans for smashing racialism and fascism for good in South Africa and in Afrika as a whole, we must keep an eye on the final and ultimate objectives. This serves to check mere expediency and opportunism in the march towards freedom. In this issue, in a manner necessari- (15 ly hasty and imperfect/^{we} will deal with some of the aspects of social organisation in the New Africa. In the next issue of Afrika we shall attempt to complete this construction of the Greater Tomorrow whose dawn we shall soon begin to see in Afrika. (20

Then in the next paragraph there is reference to the Congress of the People. Then on page 2, Congress Movement in New Afrika. "The major task of the National Liberatory Movements in South Africa and Afrika as a whole is the establishment of a truly united, free, democratic and prosperous Republic." (25 I quote from paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6. -

The democratic Congress Government of the New Afrika Republic shall establish a true democratic system. The Principles of Government of the Republic shall be enshrined in the concrete practice of democracy and (30 the necessary conditions for the practice of democracy shall be its chief concern. The Freedom Charter or

constitution will not be a document of general principles. It may or may not be practised in the state. It will be a statement of the rights whose exercise will be guaranteed, ensured and protected by the state. In this government power will rest on the broad will (5 of the people organised in local peoples Inkundla's to the Congress of the People, which will be the supreme organ of government. The rights of the different nationalities and groups to express themselves, their characteristics, culture, languages, etc., will(10 be guaranteed by a democracy in which racialism and discrimination of any kind will be punished as a major crime. All peoples will have the right to elect and be elected to Councils of State, and the democracy will be genuine as there will be no room for privileged (15 classes. The cultural heritage of the world will be within reach of the entire population and will not be a monopoly of small classes of people. The Peoples Republic will be prosperous. All land to the People! All Mineral wealth and resources to the People! These(20 slogans will be the watchword of the new system. The constant concern of the State will be to ensure the maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising needs of the people on the basis of higher techniques; to ensure that there is created a completely cultured (25 people by seeing to it that a cultured life and existence is within the means of all the people. Those are the general principles on which will be based the structure of New Afrika. That must be our task, to be put into effect in the shortest possible time. A United (30 Free, Democratic and Prosperous Peoples Republic of New

Afrika.

Then on page 3, there is a chapter dealing with Natural Resources and Economics in New Afrika. I read the last two paragraphs -

It is true that the Democratic Peoples Republic has and will have tremendous resources, but the problems (5 will be very large and complicated. There is the big backlog of chaotic, and parasitic organisation that will be a relic from Imperialist days. The lack of trained technicians and administrators and above the determined attempts of reactionary forces to sabotage (10 in an effort to continue the myth of African inability and regain their former position. These are not insoluble problems and provided the people are vigilant there will be no difficulty in solving them. Fortunately too because we are getting our freedom late when there are (15 already governments in the world which are anti-colonial among formerly colonial peoples, we can count on the assistance that has no strings attached. Our first task will be to transform the Democratic Afrikanist Re-

4 public into a modern industrial state. This stage will (20 be the democratic one in which all the Peoples, Workers, Peasants, Intelligentsia will combine to transform Africa into an efficient and well organised state. At this stage inequalities of wealth might still occur. When a solid basis exists the time will have arrived for a (25 step to Afrikanistic socialism and finally to Africanism, which is the stage when mans economic unhumanity to man is finally eliminated.

Then on page 7, "Replies of J.G. Matthews to questions put to him by various Africanists on current policy of the Congress (30 Youth League." The following occurs -

Question: Is the Congress Youth League still organised around the creed of African Nationalism?

Reply: Undoubtedly. There has been absolutely no change of policy with regard to the unifying principles of African Nationalism. Indeed, it could not but be (5 so, in view of the fact that the League like the mother-body is a national movement in which, at this stage, different political ideas (on specific questions and tactics) might exist; but which is united in its desire for a single African Nation, a single state, independence, self-determination, the development of a flourishing National culture. In recent years, however, there has been a struggle within the League, as with the A.N.C., to smash those forces which under the cloak of protecting 'the sacred principles of African Nationalism' have taken a right-wing reactionary path, hampered the mass struggle, sought to cut off contact with the masses and maintain the League as a body in the air, periodically issuing pontifical statements on policy. The acceptance of the doctrines of these gentlemen would have fossilised the movement and put an end to all forward development. African Nationalism as propounded and laid down in the various policy statements issued from time to time by the National Executive, is a healthy, democratic, non-racialist, anti- (25 colonial, anti-imperialist Nationalism. Its aim is to secure the freedom independence of Afrika as a whole and to create the necessary conditions by which Afrika will make its contribution to the world progress in modern times. There has been no departure from this (30 policy in the League. It suits the right-wing reactionaries, (whose real ideas find expression in the

so-called National bloc led by Thema. However, to say there has been a departure on the part of the leadership in order to hide their own real and dangerous deviations under a cust of self-righteousness. Using the time honoured weapon of dubbing opponents Commu- (5 nists the right-wing oppose each and every step taken to strengthen the League for militant struggle against fascism, imperialism and war. Indeed until it was unsafe, they opposed the Defiance Campaign. No, these forces cannot measure up to the needs of the present (10 situation.

Question: It seems you are criticising the Right element inside and outside the League. But is there no Left-wing deviation? Reply: Yes, there certainly is. The left-wing deviation is just as bad as the right. (15 It leads in the long-run to the same results. The Mistake of the left-wingers is that they minimise the revolutionary potential of the African National Liberation struggle for democratic rights. They deny that the major part of our energies at this stage must be to (20 build a powerfu national movement of workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia and that this is a necessary pre-condition to any further advance. They deny the logic of the situation in South Africa and carry on a clandestine and sometimes open war against (25 African Nationalism, which they condemn without qualification whilst it is clear that in so far as the National Liberation struggle is concerned, it must be led by the Africans, these left-wing groups dub that truth, racist and reactionary. To put it in different terms(30 the left deviation results from a failure to see the need

the need for an organic link and balance between the national liberation struggle and the struggle for the end of minority exploiter groups in society. The problem of National liberation and the problem of real economic freedom are twin problems that(5 are organically linked. But the left-wing elements deny the reality of the National Liberation struggle for democratic rights or merely pay lip-service to it. That is their basic error and it leads to all kinds of wrong attitudes and actions. Like the right-wing dev-(10 iation this must also be eliminated.

Question: What do you suggest as the best means of ensuring a correct line? Reply: Firstly, there is need for a more serious approach to the study of politics in the movement. At the moment the position is chaotic in(15 that respect. But ideological work is an empty phrase if it does not go hand in hand with constant practical mass activity. Therefore a scientific programme of study must be initiated in the Youth Movement linked up with a dynamic practical activity that will contact (20 with the masses.

Question: On the international plane what is the attitude of African nationalists. Should they take sides in the so-called Cold War. Reply: In considering any question, African Nationalists are guided by what is (25 good and advantageous to Africa and its struggle now and in the future. At the present time the task of the Africans is to rid themselves of the shackles of imperialism. The imperialist powers against whom they to contend are Great Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, (30 etc. Because we are opposed to these countries and what

they are doing in Africa we are naturally in the camp of others who are faced with these same powers in their countries, e.g. the Indo-Chinese against the French and the Malayan people against the British. Without entering into the merits of the question, the (5 objective position is that if African Nationalists are against the British because of what they are doing to us in Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia, then we are firmly in the camp of other oppressed people who are fighting these same groups of powers. That is the reasoning (10 behind our policy which links us with the anti-imperialist forces the world over. It is not the fault of the Africans therefore if they find themselves objectively in the Eastern camp in the Cold War. This is caused by the Western powers which insist on the continued (15 colonisation and exploitation of Africa.

Question: Have you any comment to make on the decision taken at the recent Cape Conference of the A.N.C. to urge the National Executive to call a Congress of the People of South Africa? Reply? It was my privilege (20 to attend this conference and I believe the A.N.C. and certainly the Youth League must give full support to this idea. There has been much talk of inter-racial conventions....

I omit the rest of that paragraph, and then on page 9, the (25 writer goes on to support the holding of the Congress of the People. The first two paragraphs on page 9 -

Question: Should members of the National Movement take an active part in the activities of the Peace Movement in this country. Does this not divert our attention (30 from the struggle for liberation? Reply: The oppressed

people in South Africa and in Afrika are among those who should play a very active role in the Peace Movement. We in Afrika are the last bastion of colonialism, and signs are not lacking that the imperialists are seeking to make this continent their base in the event (5 of a third world war. They desire that we should be the cannon-fodder in any future war. Secondly Africa is the biggest producer of uranium and other materials used in the production of atomic weapons. Just contemplating this alone should make for peace. Thirdly, (10 the problem of liberating Afrika, the second biggest continent, is not a local problem. It is an international problem which challenges the entire imperialist world. It is useless concentrating our gaze on the Malans at home and forgetting the powerful international (15 al forces that do not want to see Africa free. It should be noticed that people who profit by war are the same as those who oppress others. It is nevertheless true that perhaps the propaganda methods adopted in this country have not been very good. I think a more ori- (20 ginal manner of presenting the Peace message to the masses is required for a people who are only just beginning to have some sort of international outlook. In this respect the Peace movement could be considerably improved. But, of course, this can only be done (25 within the framework of the Peace Congress itself. It would be wise for the coolness towards the Peace movement in certain quarters to be dropped. A parochial outlook towards the international implications of our struggle can lead to disaster. Let us give full sup- (30 port to the work of the Peace Congress in South Africa and the world.

CM.31. is an A.N.C. membership card, for the year 1955, in the name of C.J. Mayekiso, 33 Ferguson Road. And attached to that is a membership card of the African Textile Workers Industrial Union, in the name of C. Mayekiso. CM.34. is a document which appears in the policy schedule at pages 9 and 41. (5 It is the African National Congress, Annual Conference report, 1952, the Cape Province. On the cover is the address of Dr. Mji, Dr. Njongwe, and J.G. Matthews. The opening address is stated to be by Dr. Mji, 14th February, 1953. On page 2 there is an attack on the present Government, and the last (10 part of the page -

The Bloemfontein Congress of the African National Congress in 1949 marked the beginning of a new temper amongst the African people. The Programme of action passed that year, though very deficient in several (15 respects, yet bears all over, the stamp of Defiance. The new spirit of being self-reliant, doing away with deputations and dismissing from the leadership any liberalist hangers-on. Since then, the A.N.C. has from time to time called on the people to demonstrate (20 their growing consciousness against white baasskap.

Then on page 4, the document states -

Men who held senior positions for years had to be jettisoned, and a young militant leadership has been thrown up by the struggle. It is one of the signs (25 of growing political maturity among our people that today, unlike before, age and personal possessions are not attributes to qualify or disqualify one for the honoured position of leadership.

Racial Co-operation. The gradually growing spirit of (30 co-operation among the oppressed people of this

country is an achievement which your leaders, without sparing effort have been able to accomplish most successfully. The uprooting of racial prejudices is a gradual process, especially in a country like ours where the whole divisive apparatus is fully brought (5 into play. Fascism thrives on racialism and all genuine members of the African National Congress must denounce racialism openly and fearlessly. Friends, we are not fighting to dominate other racial groups. But we want to create a new Society in Africa. We do not(10 want to substitute Malan with a black Malan. No dictators in South Africa. Mayibuye!

A New Outlook: There was a time, before Congress was engaged in mass activity, when concept for the future was in the minds of our leaders, a state in which the(15 white financial sharks would be replaced with black bosses. The petit bourgeois leadership saw in Congress, an instrument whereby they could advance the interests of and gain concessions for the articulate amongst our people. That Time is Past. Friends, our(20 struggle has given our movement a fresh and virile orientation. A new orientation! It has become increasingly clear that exploitation is evil, whether it is practised by an African to an African. (Cries of Down with oppression) We can no longer tolerate or (25 fight for a system in which the lot of the ordinary man is left to the fortuitous inter-action of selfish economic interests. The ordinary man, the so-called worker, has shown, in this struggle, that he is the only true and consistent fighter for the rights of (30 the people. The future must, of necessity, belong to

them. The worker has invested his sweat and blood in the struggle in order that South Africa should be a country where he can live in peace and prosperity. What have been the reactions on the other side of the colour line? The campaign for the Defiance of Unjust (5 Laws, has produced diverse reactions from the white citizens of our country. Firstly....

It then deals with the reaction of the Government to the Defiance Campaign. Then at the bottom of page 4 -

With the assistance of Sir. P. Sillitoe, Chief of (10 M.I.5 in the United Kingdom -- the Suppression of Communism Act was promulgated in 1950. Diversionists, amongst our people and ranks tried to mislead the people by saying that this was a measure aimed at the S.A. Communist Party. We warned our people and South (15 Africa in 1950, as we shall repeatedly do so that an attack on the liberties of any group or individual is an attack on all the oppressed people. History has borne testimony to the correctness of our stand.... The so-called Red Act was mainly intended to crush the (20 liberatory movements of the oppressed people of this country. This Act has defined a new and forceful tide of the people's desire for freedom, but could not, however, crush it. The brave Sons and Daughters of Afrika broke through its mesh and, in the discipli- (25 plined and non-violent demonstrations of defiance, almost brought the Nationalist regime to its knees. (Shouts: Freedom in our lifetime.)

And then it refers to a number of bills piloted by the government, and it continues - (30

Again there has emerged from the white camp, a large

number of so-called liberals, who, shaken by the strength of the black man, are so afraid for their future, that they must now try to win the favour of our people, or try to be in such a position in relation to the struggle, so that they can be able to (5 guide it along their own lines. Now, our people must beware of so-called Liberals. Liberals have for a very long time been the backroom boys of the African National Congress. Liberals, have, for a whole century, stumped the political growth of the African people. The (10 time has arrived when these belly-crawling amphibians should be ruthlessly exposed. Perhaps you wonder what I mean by Liberal?

The writer then goes on to deal with what the liberal is, and it continues - (15

I want to warn the African leaders that the temper of the common man is against all that Liberalism stands for; the people want full equality now! The people want to participatefully in shaping the destiny of their country; these they do not conceive as coming about (20 (materialising) through gradualistic make-shifts which must take them another one hundred years. They want freedom now. Freedom in our lifetime!! (Long and prolonged applause, Afrika!)

Then it continues in the last paragraph on page 5 - (25

The Defiance campaign has also precipitated, from the white camp, into our ranks, genuine true democrats amongst them. There is a small but growing number of white people, who, tired of paying lip-service to the struggle of the Africans, have come out courageously and (30 associated themselves with the defiance campaign. It is

a difficult decision for an African to make, when he must voluntarily go to gaol. His fears are mostly to the rigours of jail life. With a white man, apart from physical fear, there is the added stigma of being a traitor to white supremacy; The Sacrifice is Greater! Let (5 us therefore carry on our movement in the full knowledge that -- our army is growing day by day and that our army, being an army of justice and fairplay, has active supporters even the other side of the colour line. Now Friends, what of the future? Indeed there are dark clouds hanging(10 over us. Never before has the future of the African looked so gloomy. South Africa today has become one big prison for the black man. The Government will spare no effort to inflict as many casualties as possible amongst our ranks before it gives in. Furthermore, it must be understood (15 that before the goal of liberty is reached, all the colonial countries, including America will spare no effort to buttress the reactionary powers in our own country. This is a colossal struggle, it calls for sustained energy and effort; but the foundations of this citadel of op- (20 pression have been shaken. The maniacal frenzy of the Minister of Justice, the increasing truculence of the police are indications of the cracks on its walls. How long those walls will stand in our country will depend on our determination and efforts. Let us march together (25 confident of the future. We have made a worthy start for a worthy cause. We cannot fail. The oppressor is already defeated. He knows that some day he must give in. There lies our strength and therein his weakness. Morally there is no justification for oppression and yet, there is no (30 case against us. (Shouts of Inkululeko...) Friends, as the

sinister clouds of reaction gather over us, there is an increased demand on every one of us to intensify our efforts. We must not be weak, we must not falter. We must face the task, which destiny left to us to perform. For only in that spirit, that defiant spirit, shall we (5 achieve freedom in our lifetime. (Prolonged cheers, Afrika) Mayibuye.

I hand in this document. CM.35. is the annual report of the African National Congress, to the executive, African National Congress Conference at Bloemfontein in December, 1955. This (10 has been dealt with under LLM.81. CM.36. is the A.N.C. Constitution, for possession only.

(No further questions)

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED:

WILLIAM WOLFAARDT BECK, duly sworn. (15

EXAMINED BY MR.TRENGROVE: Mr. Beck, you are a detective sergeant in the South African police, Port Elizabeth ?-- Yes.

Now, on the 27th September, 1955, did you conduct a search in premises situated at block 2, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth .?-- Yes. (20

Is that a private house ?-- Yes.

Do you know who stays there ?-- Nkwai.

And did you search the premises for documents ?-- Yes.

And who was present when you searched ?-- Nkwai was present, and also his brother. (25

Are you able to identify him ?-- Yes.

Will you do so ?-- (Witness identifies Nkwai)

Did Nkwai the Accused make any comment as to the documents that you found there ?-- No, he looked upon it as his own.

Now, why do you say he looked upon it as his won ?-- He(30 told me. It was pointed out and he said it was his property.

Now, you then found documents there which you took away to your headquarters ?-- Yes.

And did the Accused Mkwai make that statement that these documents were his own property in respect of all the documents which you took away ?-- Yes. (5

Do you remember the 5th December, 1956 ?-- Yes.

Did you on that day arrest the Accused ?-- Yes, I arrested him.

Where was that ?-- At his house.

And did you on that occasion take away any documents ?-- (10
Yes.

Where did you find the documents ?-- Underneath his bed, his carton box.

Did he make any comment as to whose documents they were ?-- No. I asked him whose documents they were, and he said (15
that they were his.

Was that said in respect of all the documents that were found ?-- Yes.

And you removed those documents ?-- Yes.

The Crown is relying on the admission in respect of (20
these two searches, set forth here at page 1550 of the record, read with a statement by Mr. Coaker at page 1551 of the record. The facts set out by the Crown are that on the 27th September, 1955, at the house of the Accused Mkwai, Block 2, New Brighton, Det. Sgt. W.D. Beck in the presence of the Accused, removed (25
the documents WM.1 to 7, and on the 5th December, 1956, at the same place, from the same premises, and also in the presence of the Accused, documents WM.8 to 38 were removed. And Mr. Coaker at page 1551 said in regard to the searches referred to by the Crown the Defence admits the facts set out. Mr. (30
Coaker also states the general reservation with regard to the

admissions. WM.1. is the booklet New Life in China, by Ruth First, with foreword by W.M. Sisulu. It is handed in for possession only. WM.2. "Liberation," dated June 1953, No.3 this is included in the policy schedule at page 12, but the relevant passages have already been read by my learned friend (5 Mr. Hoexter when he dealt with Liberations, and this is the same as LB.43. The next document is WM.3. bulletin Inyeniso No. 1. It is in a Bantu language, and the translation will be provided at a later date. WM.4. is the roneod document The Peace Movement and the Congress Movement; for possession(10 only. WM.5. is the roneod letter by the National Action Council for the Congress of the People, and it deals with the resolve to hold the Congress of the People. WM.6. is the Pictorial issue of The Call, pictorial issue on the Congress of the People. It is the same as D.95. WM.8. J. Stalin against(15 vulgarising the slogan of self-criticism. It is a Foreign Languages Publishing House Publication, Moscow. WM.14. is a bulletin "New Times" 1956, it is published in Moscow. WM.16 are five issues of "Liberation" dated respectively October 1955, June 1956, March 1956, April 1956, September 1956, and (20 APRIL 1956. These were dealt with under G.1114. The next is Symposium on the National Question, WM.19. with a foreword by I.O. Horwitz, containing contributions by L. Forman, Jordaan, Ngwenya and Simon, for possession. WM.20. it is a Soviet Norwegian communique, an annexure to the "new times,"of the (25 24th November, 1955. WM.21. is a document headed "The Sisulu Banning." Page 2 is a document in the Bantu language, Inyeniso, newsletter, of which a translation will be provided. Under the heading "The Sisulu Banning," it refers in the second paragraph to the election of Mr. Sisulu to the position of (30 Secretary-General at the historic national conference of the

A.N.C., 1949. And then it states -

He more than any other elected at the Conference reflected the new militant mood of the people, that was crying out for an end to the hesitancy and vacillation that were characteristic of the previous decades in African politics. (5 As secretary-general in control of the organisation machinery it will be his task to see that the African people played their part in the fight against the Fascist government of Dr. Daniel Francois Malan. In spite of the failure of their policies to meet the urgent (10 need for the times, the men in whose footsteps Sisulu followed, had rendered very great service to the African people.

And then it refers to the contribution made by the Rev. J.A.

Calata. In the 4th paragraph - (15

Sisulu was elected in difficult times, and stepped into the shoes of a big man, but the last five years have proved he is a worthy successor to the great A.N.C. secretary-general Calata. The Sisulu regime has been full of mighty events, and in each event he played a (20 key role. For instance, it can now be revealed that the Defiance Campaign was Sisulu's brain child, more we need not say. In banning W.M. Sisulu the Government has acted precipitately and without much thought. To ban Sisulu is to attempt the main task of silencing the humanitarian (25 and progressive policy which the A.N.C. stands for. It marks the end of any little restraint the Government might have had in its mad rush towards the establishment of a naked fascist state in South Africa. To the African people and particularly to the African youth, the banning (30 of the secretary-general represents a challenge. Sisulu

is not interested in curand resolutions. He is expecting the youth to come forward in large numbers to join the Luthuli volunteers, and expecting the volunteers to organise and spread throughout the country, to all the people the message of the Congress of the People, a message of peace, democracy. People's nationalism, land for the people, the message for which the Fascists have banned Sisulu.

WM.22. is the journal Afrika, of the A.N.C.Y.L., it has been dealt with under B.18, WM.28. is a document in the Xosa language, of which a translation will be supplied. The Crown has already presented this in English, "The World We Live in." WM.29. is a collection list for New Age; it is in a Bantu language, and the evidence is that this is a collection list for New Age. WM.32. is a printed copy of the Freedom Charter. (15 WM.33. is for possession only, it is a bulletin Congress Voice December 1955. WM.36. is a bulletin Workers Unity of August 1955, it is the same as the document D.28A. WM.38. is a bulletin "Fighting Talk," October, 1956, and December 1955. It is dealt with under G.1132. (20

(No further questions.)

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED:

JOHANNES JORDAAN. duly sworn.

EXAMINED BY MR. TRENGROVE: You are a detective head constable in the S.A. Police at Port Elizabeth, is that correct?-- Yes. (25

Now, do you know premises 9 Court Chambers, Port Elizabeth?-- Yes.

Who occupies those premises?-- These offices are kept or occupied by the African National Congress, also by S.A.C.T.U. and the African Textile Workers Union. (30

Was that also the position on 5/12/56?-- Yes.

Do you know the offices ?- Yes.

Have you been there yourself ?-- Yes, I have often visited them.

Now, which persons occupy those offices ?-- W. Mkwai, Elizabeth Walton, and in 1956 at the time when these premises were searched, there was also Melville Fletcher. (5

Now, this W. Mkwai, do you know what position he occupied in any of the organisations referred to by you as occupying those premises ?-- As far as I know, he was the secretary of the Textile Workers Union. (10

Do you know whether he was connected with any of the Congress movements ?-- That I cannot say.

Do you know what part of the office was occupied by him ?-- There was a writing desk in that office where he usually sat. (15

Would you be able to identify this W. Mkwai ?-- Yes.

Would you mind stepping from the witness box and pointing him out if he is in Court ?-- (Witness identifies Accused 24)

Did you conduct a search at these premises on 6/12/56 ?-- Yes. (20

And did you remove certain documents from the office ?-- Yes.

From what portion of the offices did you remove the documents ?-- I took documents from the whole office and also out of the drawers of the table, the writing desk where Mkwai was sitting at the time. (25

Was Mkwai present when you searched ?-- No.

How did you know which was his desk ?-- As I have already said, I have often visited these offices in the course of my duties, and I usually saw him sitting at that writing desk. (30

I show you certain exhibits, marked WM.41, WM.42, WM.43,

WM.44, WM.45, WM.46 and WM.47 -- 47 is omitted. Can you tell the Court where you found these documents. ?-- These documents were all found on the table, or in the drawers of the desk.

WM.41 is a letter and envelope addressed to the Secretary(5 of the Cape Eastern Consultative Committee at Port Elizabeth, and portion of it is a letter from the Transvaal Consultative Committee, the 2nd July, 1956, Johannesburg, addressed to "Dear Friend," and it is signed F. Adams, on behalf of the Transvaal Consultative Committee. WM.42. is a roneod (10 letter, addressed to Dear Comrade, containing fraternal greetings from the Praesidium of the Building Workers Trade Union. It contains an appeal to the building delegates of all countries from the delegates at the plenary session of the Constructing Workers Trade Union of the Soviet Union on dis-(15 armament. I hand this in for possession at this stage. WM.43. is a bulletin "Counter-Attack," two issues, October 1956 and November 1956, these have been dealt with under Nos. C.1016 and 1017. That is WM.43 and WM.44. WM.45. is the constitution of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, (20 handed in for possession, and WM.46. is the presidential address to the first annual conference of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, Cape Town, March 1956. This has been dealt with under LLm.151.

(No further questions)

(25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: We have decided to accede to the request of the Crown and the Defence to have a short adjournment over the week-end, the 1st October to Tuesday the 6th. We will adjourn then at 1 o'clock on Thursday in terms of your request.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES 29/9/1959

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE:

MR. PLEMAN ADDRESSED COURT:

Accused 27 Absent.

Accused 23 now present in Court -- affidavit to be handed in.

JOHANNES JORDAAN. still under oath: (5)

EXAMINED BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: On 6/12/56, did you on the authority of a search warrant search the premises 7 Court Chambers, Port Elizabeth?-- Yes.

Who was occupying these premises at the time?-- A person by the name of G. Mbeki. (10)

Would you have a look at the following documents, MA.149 MA.153 MA.150, MA.151, MA.152, MA.154 and MA.155 -- did you seize these documents under the authority of a search warrant?-- Yes. I found them on the writing desk, and in the drawers.

Is that of his desk?-- Yes. (15)

G. Mbeki is mentioned as one of the co-conspirators, MA.149, is circular No. 2, S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, dated 28/3/55, shows L. Masina as secretary. MA.150, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, circular, dated 20/4/55, to all affiliated trade unions, and shows C.J. Mayekiso, S.A. (20 Congress of Trade Unions, -- it bears his signature. Now, do you know this person C.J. Mayekiso?-- Yes.

Do you know a person connected with the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions by that name in Port Elizabeth?-- No. I know Mayekiso, but I don't know whether he is connected with (25 S.A.C.T.U.

MA.151, a letter from the African Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers Union, which shows Leslie Masina as secretary, round about 26th or 27th March, 1955. MA.152, is an envelope addressed to Mr. G. Mbeki, 9 Court Chambers, 129 (30 Adderley Street, Port Elizabeth, with a letter from "Fighting

Talk," Johannesburg, dated 10/2/1956, which shows Ruth First as editor. Similarly, MA.153, is a letter from "Fighting Talk" dated Johannesburg 1/5/56, which shows Ruth First as editor. MA.154, is a letter from "Fighting Talk" 1956, signed "Ruth F." MA.155, is a letter from 9 Court Chambers, Adderley (5 Street, Port Elizabeth, 29th March, 1956, and refers to the death of a freedom volunteer J.N. Jebe, and calls J.N. Jebe, staunch, faithful and most industrious volunteer and member of the African National Congress who was shot by the police with sten guns in one of the most provocative actions in New (10 Brighton, Port Elizabeth, on the night of 23rd March, 1956. This is signed W.Z. Mkwai for C.J. Mayekiso, chairman, Eastern Cape Regional Committee, African National Congress. Do you know a man by the name of Mkwai ?-- I do.

Can you identify him ?-- Yes. (15

And Mayekiso ?-- I know Mayekiso also, I can identify him too.

Will you please identify the persons W.Z. Mkwai and Mayekiso ?-- Witness identifies Mkwai as Accused 24 and Mayekiso as Accused 22.) (20

(No further questions)

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED:

PETRUS ANDRIES GABRIEL STRYDOM, still under oath:

EXAMINED BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: You have given evidence in this case ?-- I have. (25

On 6/12/56, did you, accompanied by Hd. Const. Jordaan go to 7 Court Chambers, Port Elizabeth ?-- That is correct.

And were you present when the search of these premises was conducted ?-- That is so.

Did you search the person of G. Mbeki ?-- That is so. (30

Will you have a look at these documents before you, MA.164

MA.169, 173 and 174. ?-- These are the documents I found in his inside pocket.

MA.164 is a membership card, African National Congress, in the name of G. Mbeki, New Brighton Branch, and signed by T.A. Mqota, general treasurer for A.N.C., and also as secretary, African National Congress, New Brighton Administrative Bureau, for the year 1956. MA.169, is a letter from Cape Town, 27/11/56, referring to New Age, and asking him to send his copy earlier. MA.173, is a letter signed F. Carneson, to whom it may concern, from New Age, 18th July, 1955, certified that Mr. G.A. Mbeki has been appointed Port Elizabeth and

Eastern Province representative reporter for New Age. He is authorised to send Press telegrams on our account."

MA.174. is a letter from New Age, dated 30/11/55, to whom it may concern - (15

This is to certify that Mr. G... .. Mbeki is authorised to send Press telegrams to New Age newspaper, telegraphic address New Age, Cape Town.

Both these letters are signed by F.A. Carneson. I have here an envelope in which these documents were contained ?-- I (20 took the envelope in his presence. I requested him to give me an envelope, he took it from his desk, and I made a note at the top.

(No further questions)

NO CROSS- EXAMINATION: (25

CONRADIE MOGEE, still under oath:

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. PLEWMAN: I want to deal with the first document you put in, CM.1. The Crown has put it on record that it starts on page 2. I would equally like it on record that it doesn't conclude on the final page, and apparently (30 it is an incomplete document. At the bottom of page 7 it

contains a carry over note, typed in. I would also like it on record that it is entirely undated, unsigned. The next document which I wish to deal with is Exh. CM.4, which is the African National Congress Cape Provincial 43rd Annual Provincial Conference, agenda paper and minutes, and I just want to (5 draw attention on page 1 to an item on the agenda, 9 a.m. devotions, and it appears also in the minutes on page 3, under the numeral (i) "Devotions conducted by the Rev. J.A. Calata," and there is also a reference in the minutes to what is referred to as "national service." Then at page 4 of the docu- (10 ment, there is set out "Resolutions adopted by the Provincial Conference." Resolution 1 I can summarise by saying that it reaffirms the belief in the programme of action. Resolution 2 can be summarised by saying that this opposes the establishment of African Youth Camps on the lines indicated (15 by the Central Government, and for various reasons, it says that the motives are sinister, and it complains that the African National Congress was never consulted at the conference called to discuss this youth camp. Resolution 3 refers to the opposition of the A.N.C. to the transfer of the control of African (20 Education to the Native Affairs Department, and it sets out that this department has no experience of educational problems and it deplores the idea of this transfer. There is also a resolution, No. 4, about the settlement of Disputes Act, and resolution 5 urges branches of Congress to use the boycott wea- (25 pon in regard to the following -

- (a) to make available employment opportunities for Africans,
- (b) to afford proper service and treatment to the African customer and
- (c) generally to recognise their dependence on African purchasing power to be used (30 against individual firms and businesses.

And then further on page 5, resolution 7,

That this Conference considers the establishment of a Congress newspaper as an urgent necessity in order to make it possible for the message of liberation to be carried to the people in their own languages. (5

There are three others, and I refer to resolution 8, that is the resolution about the need to call a Congress of the People and the final sentence of that resolution reads as follows:

Such a Congress of the People would serve to unite all democratic forces in South Africa amongst all races in (10 a front against the dangers of fascism and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems of the country.

There are two resolutions which I won't refer to, and then the final resolution, No. 11, expresses opposition to the removal (15 of the Coloured Voters from the Common Roll, either with or without a two-thirds majority, and also opposes the extension of the system of separate representation and says -

Separate representation which has already proved a failure in the case of African people will confer no benefit (20 on either the coloured people or the country as a whole.

That is all that I wish to read from that document and all that I wish to obtain.

NO RE-EXAMINATION:

STANLEY BLAKE DAVIS, still under oath: (25

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. PLEWMAN: Mr. Davis, I just want to deal with a few documents, three documents which you handed in. The first was CM.17, a number of roneoed sheets, apparently part of the newspaper Inyenizo, most of it in an African language. Page 5 summarised by my learned friend as dealing (30 with the Congress of the People, and I wish through this wit-

ness what is apparently discussed here is the decisions that will have to be taken at the forthcoming conference, the third line reads -

Conference will have to decide on what recommendations to make in regard to 1949 boycott resolutions, and (5 it then goes on and includes a reference to the Congress of the People. The next document I wish to deal with is Exh. CM.30, which is a journal "Afrika", journal of the A.N.C.Y.L. My learned friend fairly extensive portions of an article headed on page 2, "Congress Government in New Afrika," (10 discussing the establishment of an African Republic. The article as a whole continues for some three pages, and merely to put it in perspective I wish to read certain other paragraphs which will give an idea of what the article in fact deals with. On page 3, there is a reference under the (15 heading "Natural Resources and economics in New Africa,"

The democratic republic of Afrika which we have envisioned, black Afrika, comprising the whole territory at least south of the Sahara will be a mighty state. And then it deals with certain other problems, and again (20 lower down in the third paragraph -

Of the other factors necessary for the development of Afrika, there is no lack. The rivers of new Afrika are big and acknowledged to possess the greatest known reserves of hydro-electric power. Then there are also (25 the great lakes, Nyanza, Tanganyika, Nyasa and others, also an inexhaustible source of power, quite apart from the aesthetic value they may have.

And if I may summarise it in this way, subject to my learned friend's re-examination, it deals obviously with the concept (30 of a United Afrika, which forms no part of the new State,

envisaged in this case. The next exhibit which I wish to deal with is Exh. CM.34. This is the report of the African National Congress, Cape Provincial Annual Conference, 1952, addresses, and the Crown read in from page 2 the address of Dr. Mji, delivered on the 14th February, 1953. I would like (5 to refer to page 8 of the same document, where there appears a presidential address by Dr. J.L. Njongwe, acting president. I shall endeavour as far as possible to summarise. The address welcomes the delegates and then in the second paragraph, it reads as follows - (10

At this time your deliberations assume national importance but from this house must emerge a definite, clear and concise plan, on the mode and form, the liberation movement may take. The non-violent aspect of our campaign remains unchanged. (15

What the address then does is to analyse various situations under various headings, and I just refer in general to the headings. The first is democratic government -

The A.N.C. is wedded to the ideal of democratic government based on the broad will of the people. To us, the (20 ideal of democracy is attainable. To postulate that the white man knows best is, to us, utter nonsense and wholly unacceptable. Democratic government means, to us, the attainment of full citizenship rights for all, irrespective of race, sex or creed. We reject as political dis- (25 honesty and hypocrisy any theory of apartheid, baasskap or trusteeship or any other name by which our humiliation as a people goes.

The paragraph goes on to deal with the doctrines of the present Government, and that the A.N.C. and its allies fight for (30 full citizenship rights and they reject the idea of loaded

franchise. The next paragraph is headed African Nationalism, and reads as follows -

The attainment of a democratic government in South Africa must be based on African Nationalism. By this, we understand the development of a single South African nation, (5 out of these apparently divergent groups. The prejudices in our present society are not inherent, they are man-made, fostered for the benefit of a few who wish to entrench themselves into power and exploit the rest. The language, culture and colour differences are not neces- (10 sarily divisive forces, if all South Africans made an effort toward building a single, united and prosperous, independent Nation with an undivided loyalty to South Africa.

There is then a paragraph, Natural Resources and Land. (15

A paragraph under Labour which stresses opposition to the colour bar in industry, a paragraph headed "Education and Health," which says that the speaker rejects the Eiselen report and recommendations, and says -

We stand for one uniform system of education for all (20 sections of the population, having in mind constructive adaptation of the different cultures to fit in with the system.

And then it goes on to deal further with education. In the second paragraph under that heading it says - (25

I could add a few more, but these are basic and should be understood by all. With ill-will towards none, we wish to build a truly democratic South Africa. The existence of various racial groups in the country is not incompatible with this aim. (30

He then deals with the achievements of the Defiance Campaign

under the headings, Unity, National Pride, Organisation,
Freedom Songs, volunteers, leadership, paragraph 8, religion -

The campaign has brought about a revival of the spiritual values bringing people nearer God, in their daily conduct. Indeed, their faith in God has given birth to faith in (5 themselves. When they say with all sincerity "Lead Kindly Light Amid the encircling Gloom, Lead Thou Me On." Yes, there is a future, after all, and all this suffering is not futile.

The next sub-paragraph, "Discipline," - (10

The development and success of passive non-violent resistance (that is the campaign of the Defiance campaign) is dependent on the possession by participants of a keen sense of self-discipline. This we have achieved.

There are then various other headings, "What of the Future?" (15 Organisation, Trade Unions, Economics, and the Conclusion.

There is also a political review presented to the Provincial Conference appearing on page 12. I don't propose to read it. It contains in the body of the review praise for the Defiance Campaign, a reference to the need for newspapers in the ver-(20 nacular, and those are the only portions of the review which I draw attention to.

(No further questions)

NO RE-EXAMINATION:

WILLIAM BECK, still under oath: (25

CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. PLEWMAN: Mr. Beck, I take it that in addition to the documents you have handed in, you took a lot of other documents?-- Yes.

And those included memorandum submitted to the United Nations Organisation Commission on Racial Discrimination (30 by the Springbok Legion. A book "300 years of history of

history of South Africa. A pamphlet of the African Education Movement, and various other pamphlets, is that correct?--
Yes.

You also found a booklet called "African Slaves" ?--
I cannot remember that one. (5

It has your name on the back, and is given a number, WM.1A. ?-- Yes, I see now this was one of the documents.

I don't wish to hand this in, this is similar to the other documents and the one already handed in as African Slaves. I just wished to record that this was also found (10 here.

(No further questions)

NO RE-EXAMINATION:

DAVID CORNELIUS FOURIE, duly sworn,

EXAMINED BY MR. TRENGROVE: (15

You are a head constable in the S.A. Police, stationed at Ermelo ?-- Yes.

Do you remember 26th June, 1955 ?-- Yes, I do.

Did you attend a gathering known as the Congress of the People at Kliptown ?-- I did. (20

And did you there take possession of certain documents from a certain person ?-- Yes.

Who was this person that you took the documents from ?-- Joseph Jack.

Do you know this Joseph Jack ?-- I know him. (25

Was he an accused at the Preparatory Examination in this case ?-- Yes.

Could you have a look at these documents marked JJ.21, JJ.22, JJ.23 and JJ.24 ?-- I see them.

Do you identify them ?-- Yes, they are documents that (30 I found in his possession.

At the Congress of the People at Kliptown?-- Yes.

Now, where was this person J. Jack when you took possession of these documents?-- Near the platform from where they addressed the meeting, there was an enclosure there, and he was inside that enclosure. (5

JJ.21, is the document "There is no Freedom without peace," issued by the S.A. Peace Council. JJ.22, is the bulletin published by the S.A.C.O.D., "Educating for Ignorance," JJ.23, is the bulletin in a Xosa language, which the Crown will allege is "The Call to the Congress of the People"(10 and JJ.24, is a roneod document, headed "Draft Freedom Charter." I hand these in for possession.

(No further questions)

NO CROSS-EXAMINATION:

JACOBUS JOHANNES VAN ZYL, duly sworn, (15

EXAMINED BY MR. TRENGROVE: Do you remember the 5/12/56?--

I do.

Did you on that day proceed to a certain address in Port Elizabeth, 4 Atlas Street, Korsten. ?-- I did.

And did you there take possession of certain documents (20 ?-- I did.

Now, can you tell Their Lordships, what these premises are at 4 Atlas Street where you found these documents?-- It consists of one room, I found the wife of the Accused in that room. (25

You found a woman in the room?-- Yes.

And it was a bedroom, is that correct?-- Yes.

And at the time that you came there it was occupied by a woman and some children?-- Yes.

And where did you find the documents that you removed?--(30 I found the documents underneath the bed in a cardboard box,

in the wardrobe and on the rack.

And you then took those documents to police headquarters ?--
I did.

- Do you know who was the occupant of that room ?--
Benson Ndimbe. (5

Did you know him at the time ?-- I did not know him
at the time.

The Crown relies on the admission made at page 1554
of the Preparatory Examination record, read with page 1567.
At page 1554, it is stated by the Crown that on the 5th (10
December, the house at 4 Atlas Street, Korsten, Port Eliza-
beth, was searched by Det. Hd. Constable J.G. Van Zyl of the
South African Police, and documents handed in as BEN1 to 10
were taken. It is stated incorrectly at the Preparatory
Examination that they were taken in the presence of the Accused; (15
the Crown isn't relying on that. That is made clear at page
1567, where Mr. Coaker makes the admission that states that
they were not taken in the presence of the Accused.

BEN.1 is a copy of "The Call to the Congress of the
People, the same as A.89. In regard to BEN.2, I will (20
have to apply for an amendment to schedule 4. This document
is not included in schedule 4 as being a document in the pos-
session of the Accused, and I have to apply for an amendment
of that schedule.

BY MR. PLEWMAN: Milords, I suppose I should, as my learned (25
leader indicated, say that we don't accept amendments but the
prejudice will no doubt be

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Yes, the amendment is allowed.

EXAMINATION BY MR. TRENGROVE CONTD.: This is a document, ro-
neod, headed "Address to the C.Y.L. Conference by A.S. (30
Ngwentshe, Cape President." Sons and Daughters of Afrika -

The year 1949 was an historic year for all of us. In that year the idea and programme of African Nationalism triumphed thanks to the indefatigable efforts of the Congress Youth League. In that year the African Nationalism made a revolutionary departure from its (5 past factors. For the first time in the history of Congress, a president was elected on the platform of African Nationalism. On his assumption of office he undertook specifically to implement a programme inspired by African nationalism. In other words, the A.N.C. had (10 derliberately and consciously declared itself for the new spirit of African Nationalism. It had decided in a clear way to follow the great path of struggle on a basis of a programme designed to strengthen and consolidate the African people while setting new goals and (15 new targets in their struggle for freedom. In that way the African National Congress laid the foundations for the rise of a new resolute leadership inspired by the desire to liberate our people in our very lifetime. It was on the basis of these concrete achievements in 1949 (20 that the non-European peoples of South Africa succeeded in 1952 to launch the mighty defiance struggles of 1952, struggles which have already changed the content and temper of politics in Africa and opened up unparalleled opportunities for further building and consolidating the (25 peoples on the basis of African nationalism. The immediate effect of our heroic defiance campaign has been to harden the and to forge links of greater unity among them. The victory of the Nationalist Party (30 has revealed tendencies of greater unity among the whites and their corresponding hardening towards the non-Europeans.

And then the paragraph refers to a number of ways in which this has happened, it deals with certain acts which were passed, and it continues -

This partnership in the struggle has shocked the rulers and earned for us the admiration of the democratic (5 world. The united force of the people of the parties, the Union Federal Party, the S.A. Liberal Party. This is a good sign in itself for it demonstrates the rising fire of the African people whose unity and solidarity under the banner of the A.N.C. and the inspiration of (10 African Nationalism is the only basic guarantee of ultimate victory and true democracy in South Africa. Although new parties are being formed they are really insignificant, comparatively speaking. The outstanding fact of the situation is the growing hardening and (15 unity of the rulers on the basis of a policy of retaining their political and economic power and of keeping non-whites perpetually subjected. The great task that faces us is that of addressing ourselves to the problems that flow from our successes in 1952, and their results(20 on the one hand, and the successes of the rulers and their consequences on the other hand. In this short address I shall briefly indicate the path along which we should begin to consolidate our national front, so as to steel our people for the mighty...they are beginning to open.(25

And then it refers to the two-fold view of the struggle, the immediate and the longer range view. It refers to the building up of leadership and it refers to analysing the conditions and taking account of the growing consciousness and solidarity of the African people. BEN.3. is a draft constitution of (30 the African National Congress, which is handed in for pos-

session. BEN.4 is a memo on the draft constitution, and BEN.8 an issue of Liberation of June 1956, for possession. It has been dealt with under G.1114.

(No further questions)

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED: (5

BY MR. HOEXTER: Milords, the next batch to be dealt with is the newspaper "New Age," and Your Lordships will recall that these documents were handed in by the witness Grandi, last Monday. In order to expedite the reading of extracts from these papers, I have prepared lists for the Defence and the (10 Bench, setting forth those articles which appear either in the policy of organisation schedule, or in schedule 3. This will eliminate constant reference to these three schedules, and I beg leave to hand them in. One list relates to Schedule 3, the other to the policy schedule. There are approximately (15 100 New Ages to which reference will have to be made. The articles to be read in in toto are very few and far between and I shall try as far as possible to summarise the contents of articles referred to. The first issue to which I make reference is the issue of 28th October, 1954, No. 1 Vol. 1. (20 All the series are under Exhibit G.1123, relating to both schedules. In the issue of 28th October, 1954, there is no article which appears either in the policy schedule or schedule 3. Your Lordships will recollect in the evidence of Grandi, there was reference made to an agreement between (25 his firm of printers and the proprietors of the newspaper "Advance." That was handed in. The first thing I refer to in the issue of 28/10/54, is a green printed slip, which is very short, it is signed F. Carneson, Director, and it reads as follows - "Advance, re banning of Advance." (30

Dear Friend, we regret to advise you that our paper

Advance has been dictatorially suppressed by the Nationalist Government and we are therefore unable to supply you with the copy in terms of the subscription order placed with us.

Then it refers to the unexpired portion of the subscription (5 and continues -

However, we enclose herewith a copy of a new paper which is now being published in Cape Town and we shall be pleased to make arrangements with the publishers to take over the unexpired portion of your subscription unless (10 we hear from you to the contrary.

The first article I refer to in this paper, occurs on pages 1 to 2, under the headline "Democrats greet New Age," Various messages of congratulation from various bodies and various individuals are included in this paper, and I refer to three (15 of them only. The first one is on page 1, from the secretary of the Cape Town Peace Council, wishing the paper every success in the struggle for peace and democracy, and having something to say about the destructive power of atomic weapons and the undesirability of German re-armament. Then on page (20 2,, there is a message from Mr. Greenwood Ngotyane, who is an executive member of the Cape Provincial African National Congress, and those are the only messages to which I refer. The next article to which I refer, occurs on page 2 under the headline "Advance was murdered by Nationalists," says (25 Brian Bunting, and there is the further descriptive title, which says that New Age has invited Mr. Brian Bunting, former editor of Advance to contribute an article on the suppression of the paper. I do not quote from the article, save for referring briefly to the concluding paragraph which says the (30 following - "Court Action"

In the belief that the banning of Advance was illegal

we intend to seek redress in the Courts, but we are not so naive as to believe that with a government as contemptful of law as it is of democratic rights, press freedom can be preserved in the Courts alone. As the final guarantors of basic human rights, we turn as we have (5 always turned, to the masses of people, the African miners, the Indian industrial workers, the coloured artisans, to the farm workers, to their European allies, freedom, peace and security can only be won through the liberatory movement. The answer to the tyranny of (10 Swart, Strydom and Company lies in the organisation and unity of the people in militant struggle against fascism. Let us go forward into the New Age with unwavering determination and confidence in the justice and final triumph of our cause. Then also on page 2, a very (15 brief news item, under the heading, ban on youth leader, and referring to recent bannings and banishments, it says that one has been directed against the Indian youth leader Mr. Ahmed M. Kathrada, he is volunteer in chief on the executive of the Transvaal Indian Congress, as well as sec- (20 retary of the S.A. Indian Youth Congress. Then on page 3 of this issue, there is an article under the headline "Transvaal Leaders denounce Nat. ban on Peoples Paper, Resist Apartheid Tyranny. The introductory portion reads -

The banning of Advance is condemned in strong state- (25 ments by three peoples leaders here, Mr. Walter Sisulu, Dr. Dadoo and Mr. Moses Kotane....

Then the condemnations from these people are set forth. I do not quote from that part of the article which relates to Mr. Sisulu's comments. As far as Kotane is concerned, I read (30 the last two paragraphs of his condemnation merely. He says -

Now even these pretences of democratic and judicial procedure have been dropped. There is a police raid followed by a curt announcement that the paper is banned. This is fascism naked and unashamed, the emergent police state becomes more and more careless about maintaining (5 the clothing of democratic decency. The oppressed people of South Africa will have to fight bitterly for the precious right to a free and independent Press.

Then on page 4 of this issue, two brief items - under the headline "German Rearmament is passed to Third World War." (10 "South African Peace Call," a description of a statement by ...I read the first few sentences.

From our Johannesburg correspondent - Once again the insane folly of the 1930's is being committed by the leaders of the Western nations, declares a strong state-(15 ment by the S.A. Congress of Democrats opposing the rearmament of peace.

And then reference is further made to a penny pamphlet issued by the S.A. Peace Council in this connection. The only other thing that I quote from this issue occurs also on page 4, (20 under the headline "All Racial Trade Union Centre being formed, Co-operation is Keynote." Reference is made to a statement issued by Messrs. L. Masina and Ohlson, joint secretaries of the co-ordination committee, relating to the formation of a new trade union co-ordinating centre. (25

The next issue is Vol. 1 No. 2, the issue of 4/11/54. I refer first to page 1, under the headline "Rapidly Moving Towards Victory and New World, Freedom Leaders back New Age " and I read the first paragraph only -

In welcoming New Age, I know it will fearlessly cham- (30 pion the cause of the oppressed people in South Africa. It will live up to the spirit of the new age which is

Freedom, for the forces of freedom everywhere are rapidly moving towards victory and a new world, declared Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, in an interview with New Age this week. Nefarious plans of dictators. In a democratic (5 country the press is a strong bulwark of the liberties of the people, and so it is often a thorn in the side of the dictators. In carrying out their nefarious plans dictators invariably seek to control or destroy the Press. Especially that section of the Press which is (10 independent and fearless, Chief Luthuli went on.

Then in the same article, there are messages of congratulation and expressions of joy at the formation of the new paper from the Johannesburg Region of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, and in a message from Mr. Leslie Masina, as (15 secretary of the council of non-European trade unions. Also on page 2 there is a message of congratulation from the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, which says "the appearance of the paper in these times of mounting oppression and total subjugation of the masses of the country is a bright light (20 that will illumine the thorny path to freedom." Then on page 4 of this edition, there is an advertisement referring to a celebration on November 7th, in Fordsburg, of the 37th Anniversary of the Soviet Union. The meeting will be under the auspices of the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with (25 the U.S.S.R. and the chairman will be the Rev. D.C. Thompson, and lastly in this issue, there is an article "World Trade, by Spectator, and this can be summarised as an account of a visit by Pandit Nehru to Peking, and describing meetings with Mao Tse Tung and Chu en Lai in enthusiastic language and (30 containing a criticism of German rearmament and what is called

the new pattern of Western power politics.

The next issue is that of 11/11/1954, Vol. 1 No. 3. I refer first to page 1, an article "Africans Nearing Most Decisive Conference in Congress History, Mobilising the Liberatory Forces." I quote only the introductory sentence (5 which says -

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.

It states a circular last week to all branches of the African (10 National Congress.... Then on page 2 of this issue, under the headline "Peace Threat by S.A. Clergymen," from our Johannesburg correspondent, there is an article the gist of which can be gleaned from the first paragraph which says -

A number of ministers of religion of various denomina- (15 tions and different races came together at the end of October under the auspices of the Transvaal Peace Council to discuss problems of world peace. The Conference was presided over by the Rev. Douglas Thompson, and the concluding portion - (20

A message from Dr. Hulet Johnston, Dean of Canterbury received too late to be read at the Conference conveyed most cordial support.

And then under the heading "Red Dean's Message" the following short portion occurs - (25

This last year has been an outstanding peace year, wrote Dr. Johnston, starting with Mr. Malenkov's quiet statement without any boastings or threatenings that Russia possessed the hydrogen bomb, but in the same breath as it were asking that all such bombs might be totally banned. (30

And then there is a reference in his message to Geneva as an

outstanding feature in the struggle for peace. Then on page 4 of this issue, the article, this is a regular feature in the paper, "World Stage, by Spectator," Under the headline "Britain has no solution to Kenya colonial crisis," an article on Kenya, the disturbances in that country, and I quote (5 two brief paragraphs only.

No End in Kenya. The British have no ideas for ending the emergency in Kenya, except to continue with the campaign of bloodshed and terror, which has been going on for the past two years. This emerged from a recent (10 statement made to the House of Commons by the new colonial secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd after his return from his tour of the Colony. All he could offer in the way of pacification was a demand for the unconditional surrender of the terrorists.....Casualties: The casualty (15 list makes even grimmer reading. Mr. Lennox Boyd said that up to September 25th 1954, 6,608 terrorists had been killed and 11,524 captured, of whom only 727 were wounded. Casualties for the security forces 476 killed, 28 Europeans, two asians and 446 Africans, and 426 wounded. (20 In addition Mr. Lennox Boyd claimed 25 Europeans, 18 Asians and 1,234 African civilians had been 'murdered by terrorists.'

The next issue is Vol. 1 No. 4, November 18th, 1954. I refer first to page 1, an article under the headline "Strydom (25 Manoeuvres for Fascist Nat. Republic, the introductory portion saying that the accession to the premiership of Mr. Strydom is a matter of time, not whether but when, and describing preparations for what is described as the knifing of Mr. Havenga. Then on the same page, an article under the title (30 "Peaceful co-existence." Saying that at a public meeting of

the A.N.C. at Veeplaats on November 7th -

...a resolution was adopted calling for the opening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in the interests of peace and prosperity...

and sending greetings of peace and friendship with the people(5 of the Soviet Union through the Rev. D.C. Thompson, the resolution is then quoted. Also on the same page 1, there is an article "Ban follows interrogation," referring to a banning of a member of the executive committee of the S.A. Congress of Democrats, and comment received from the person involved.(10 The last paragraph of his comment reads as follows -

Oppression of the people will not continue much longer because they are learning the lesson of standing united. They are an irresistible force. Minister of no Minister, the people know of the struggles and successes of the (15 common men in other lands. The struggle for freedom in their own land will involve many sacrifices, but that they will succeed is as sure as night follows day.

Your Lordships will see that this is the first item to which reference is made in the policy schedule before Your Lord- (20 ships. Then on page 4 of this issue, again the article "World Stage by Spectator," and under the heading "Are War Dangers Receding?" there occurs a review of international events and trends, and I quote one paragraph from the article only, in the middle column, which says - (25

The fact is that co-existence alarms the West because the perspective of unlimited peace means that socialist countries will get stronger while the West gets weaker and weaker. A recent leader in the London "Times," said it was the "constant endeavour," of the West to (30 establish an equilibrium of power with the Communist

States.....

and then there is a quotation from "The Times," and the article continues -

The west can hardly hope to keep a preponderant measure of strength. Probably looking ahead a few years, it (5 may be glad if it can preserve an effective deterrent strength. The Times concludes, just like its brother Time on the other side of the Atlantic, the consolidation of Western unity and Western strength is the overriding task. Power Politics: This is plain power poli-(10 tics naked and unashamed. The aim of the West is not peace but domination and mastery of the world. So long as Russia and China are forced to accept the Anglo-American dicta. so long will peace be tolerable to the West. But once the strength of Russia and China exceeds(15 that of Britain and America and their satellites -- but no, such a prospect is unthinkable. Everything must be done to stop that from happening, and that everything includes war. There are powerful groups in the United States who believe that world war should be started (20 now, preferably in the Far East, while the Western Powers still have a chance, so they believe, to win. In March of this year these groups persuaded the United States administration the time had come to intervene in the Indo-China war. U.S. warships and aircraft carriers (25 were already on their way to join in the fighting with atomic weapons when pressure from France and Britain compelled Eisenhower to reverse the decision. The result was the Geneva agreement, and no world war.

The next issue is Vol. 1 No. 5, 25th November, 1954. I refer(30 first to page 1, an article under the headline "Legal Struggle

to resist apartheid and for Charter, Call to A.N.C.
Ranks.

This is from a Johannesburg correspondent. It begins -
Urging Congress branches to ensure 100% attendance at
the forthcoming A.N.C. Conference due to begin at Dur- (5
ban on December 16th, a message from President Luthuli
says that the occasion provides an opportunity to show

.....

certain things, and the balance of the article is again a
description of what Luthuli said. The concluding paragraph (10
of the article reads -

Reiterating his call for 50,000 volunteers, Mr. Luthuli
concludes: Throughout history, no freedom has come to
any people without blood and tears. Africans cannot be
an exception to this divine test. But take courage in (15
the knowledge that no matter how dark the future may seem,
right must triumph over wrong, and also remember that
no national movement has ever failed. Shall yours be
the first in history to fail?

Then I quote next on page 3, the editorial article called (20
"A Coat of Paint for the United Party." I read two very
brief paragraphs only, the first and the last -

Mr. Strauss, leader of the United Party, has had a
triumph in steering his new policy by almost unanimous
vote through the Party's Bloemfontein Congress. (25

But what a triumph and what a policy. Every word of
this disgusting document shows it to be a compendium
of mealie mouthed hypocrisy, greedy self-interest and
shamefaced cowardice..... The lessons for the oppressed
peoples of South Africa are plain. They can expect noth- (30
ing except what they take by their own strength, unity

and political advancement. The gathering power of the liberatory movement has forced the United Party to scuttle around looking for a new camouflage for its old policy. That power must continue to gather, to organise and to take the initiative. (5

On page 6 of this issue, an article "The Africans and the Cold War, by a leading member of the A.N.C." This is one of the few articles from which I shall quote at any length.

Since the end of the Second World War and the consequent emergence of the two big power blocs in the East and (10 the West, the African liberation movement has been faced with the necessity of working out a clear attitude on foreign affairs. First of all it must be said that like all liberation movements the African movement is concerned primarily and almost exclusively with the (15 solution of internal problems. In the words of Pandit Nehru a national movement is like a man suffering from cancer. He can think of nothing else. This is only natural and proper in the present historical situation of the African people. The African national liberation(20 movement in South Africa, like the emancipatory movements all over Africa, is grappling with very serious internal problems arising from the colonisation of the different territories and the absence in them of genuine political, social and economic rights for the masses of the people.(25 The struggles of the African peoples to unite themselves and form organisations powerful enough to win liberation and democracy meet everywhere with fierce resistance on the part of the oppressors, who are determined to protect their interests in Africa. To this formidable task (30 must be added other objective difficulties such as

tribal and other divisions, the lack of a fully developed political consciousness among the peoples, and undeveloped working class and national liberatory organisations. Policy in Making: The very nature of these problems and difficulties facing the freedom movement (5 in the African people has until recently retarded the growth of a policy that recognises the over-riding importance of international events on the struggle of the African people. Events are however compelling the African leadership albeit grudgingly to formulate some (10 kind of international policy. In the language of the post-war world, the Africans are having to take up an attitude towards the cold war. At present it is probably wrong to speak of the development of an international policy in the African national movement. It (15 is probably more accurate to say that the thinking of the African leadership with reference to international affairs is developing a fairly precise tendency or direction. It could be nothing more than a tendency owing to the fact that the African National movement united Africans of (20 different creeds and beliefs, and therefore cannot base its policies on theoretic assumptions, but rather on the observed facts. The points from which African internationalism begins, is the need to achieve political independence, freedom, land, and an end to racial dis-(25 crimination in Africa now. In other words, the task of the African National movement is to encourage and develop all those factors that will enable it to achieve freedom for the people in the shortest possible time, and place them in a position to make their full contribution to (30 the welfare of Africa and the world. Bearing this in mind

then, what does the African see when he looks at the contemporary international scene. ...

Last Bastion. First fact that strikes him is that Africa, the last bastion of colonialism in the world is divided and ruled over by five or six European powers including (5 among them Great Britain, Belgium, France and Portugal. To these must be added the nominally independent reactionary regimes such as Liberia and Abyssinia, which could hardly survive without a great deal of serious support. These powers, together with South Africa, (10 singly or collectively, stand in the way of any genuine advance of the African people towards freedom and democracy in the land of their birth. In all their struggles the Africans find themselves face to face with one or other of these powers. The African then notices that (15 these same powers are a nuisance to other oppressed people in the world. In British Guiana, Malaya, Indo-China, Goa and elsewhere. A closer look reveals that these powers have a way of hanging together. They are or were together in NATO and EDC. They were altogether (20 in the Marshall plan. In the debates at UNO it is to be noticed that representatives of these powers generally express similar policies when colonial affairs come up for discussion and invariably vote together. By this time it has become clear that another and much (25 bigger power than any of these directly or indirectly supports them in all their endeavours, namely the United States of America. When issues affecting African freedom comes up the United States ruling class through its representatives, mostly votes against the people, or ab- (30 stains from voting, through fear of hurting the suscep-

tibilities of its friends, the colonial powers. Thus the tremendous power of the United States is used to prop up the decaying colonial system against the interests of millions of Africans. And it is with bitterness that the African reflects that the initial spurt that made the (5 United States possible lies in the transportation in an earlier age of millions of Africa's best sons and daughters to work as slaves in America....

Then there is a further description of the slave trade.

Meantime the African National movement is patient in (10 desire for freedom, notices another group of powers that seem ever anxious to develop friendship with the African people. They oppose colonialism regularly and consistently. They support the national struggle for liberation. They take up a principled stand at UNO every time against (15 racial discrimination and for freedom for all people in the world. Among these powers is to be found the Soviet Union, people's China, Burma, India, Indonesia and Poland.

Then under the title "East and West," there follows a description which shows that East and West represent opposite (20 polarities, containing praise for the East and condemnation for the West. Then in the concluding paragraph the article says - "Realistic policy" -

The West claims that all its acts are really in the interests of Africans whom they oppress and that the East-(25 ern powers are actuated by bad motives towards Africa. This simply won't wash. On the basis of these facts, the African national movement is developing what is a realistic and independently conceived policy which includes alliance and friendship with all peoples struggl-(30 ing against imperialism and colonialism in the world.

On terms of mutual respect and equality, opposition to war and the turning of Africa into a war base for any future war. Support of the peace movement in its endeavour to relax international tension and secure a peace pact between the big powers. The attainment of a united (5 strong, free, independent, and prosperous Africa. The acceptance of genuine permissible assistance from any source that will ensure the attainment of the above in the shortest possible time, while respecting our independence and freedom. This policy corresponds with the (10 historical needs of the Africans at the present time, and recent events are proving the correctness of our standpoint in the cold war.

Then on page 7 of this issue, there is an article "China is Re-writing History by Ruth First." It is a description of (15 developments in the People's Republic of China, I quote one very brief paragraph only. It occurs in the fourth column on page 7 in which the author says -

There was much to write down and inevitably my notebooks became scrawled with self-invented abbrevia- (20 tions. Two were indispensable "B.L." Before Liberation, that is before 1949, and "A.L." After Liberation. These are landmarks important in the New China as B.C. and A.D. in general history. 1949, the year of the liberation and the people's government changed everything in this (25 vast country.

And then lastly in this issue, I refer to page 8, the article "World Stage by Spectator." Under the headline "Help without strings, world backward areas." The opening portion of the article says "The Western world has been greatly alarmed at (30 the extent to which the Soviet Union is encouraging the indus-

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