

34601, and the concluding portion is taken from an  
article in the September, 1955 issue; the article is  
"Adventure 1955" and the author is described as H.Watts.  
Here, too, my lords, enunciating the ideas - the link  
between the Peace Movement and the Liberatory struggle,  
and support for the World Peace Movement and the neces-  
sity for expression of the ideas of that Movement by  
the South African Peace Movement. All these ideas are  
in harmony with the ideas expressed by the Congress Move-  
ment.

15, my lords: "That Malanism is no accident,  
it is the inevitable end product of white domination and  
conquest. It cannot be defeated and overthrown within  
the framework of the 1910 Constitution, that rotten,  
leaky, compromise of 1910 that let the minority Nation-  
alist Government seize power and pave the way to the  
Police State. The true alternative to the Swart-Strydom  
dictatorship which threatens us is a real and vigorous  
Peoples Democracy embodying the demands and aspirations  
of the millions of subjugated people of our country for  
land, equality and freedom. The only road to that demo-  
cracy runs through the efforts of the oppressed people  
themselves, through mass education, mass organisation,  
and mass struggle, untiring building of the Liberatory  
Movements and Trade Unions. We are in the grip of some-  
thing that many Africans do not understand, a set of  
contradictions unavoidably destined to bring about con-  
tinued friction between oppressor and oppressed, be-  
tween the ruler and the ruled. In this struggle there  
can be no neutral mid-way camp. Either you are with  
the Liberation Movement or you are against it. And how

can man better serve than facing fearful odds for the  
ashes of his fathers, the temples of his Gods and the  
discovery of his true self than in service for his people."

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My lords, the first portion in this paragraph  
is taken from an Editorial article in the November 1955  
issue - I beg your lordships' pardon - - June, 1953 issue,  
an Editorial entitled "After the Election, what next?".  
The further description of the Constitution which is in-  
terposed is taken from the November, 1955 issue, an  
Editorial article, and the last part of the paragraph  
is taken from the issue of August, 1956, record page  
3546 to 3547, an article entitled "Bantu Education -  
a Communication".

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Now, my lords, the first part of this paragraph  
states what the African National Congress, the Congress  
Movement, have said in many places and in unqualifying  
terms: it's hardly necessary, my lords, to refer to  
any of the documents. One may in passing point to the  
Opening Address for example at the 40th Annual Confer-  
ence of the Cape Provincial - the A.N.C. in the Cape -  
which was held in February, 1953 - - the Opening Address  
by Dr. Mgee, to which reference has already been made  
- it has been referred to at various places in the re-  
cord, the last I think occurring in the testimony of  
the witness Luthuli at page 13091. This portion of the  
speech was put to him, "Thus today in spite of all forms  
of intimidation open to a Fascist police force, in  
spite of the incarceration of leaders, in spite of the  
danger to life and limb, in spite of the threat of con-  
centration camps, the African people are more determined  
than ever to make greater sacrifices to make South Africa

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a true Peoples Democracy, a Peoples Democracy where racial- 1  
ism and exploitation of man by man shall be banished.

My lords, our submission here is briefly that  
the whole of this paragraph is in line with the point  
of view expressed by the Congress Movement, and the con-  
cluding part of the paragraph expresses a concept which 5  
is often propagated by the Congress Movement, namely  
that inherent in the situation in this country is a con-  
tradiction, or a series of contradictions whose resolu-  
tion will call for some form of clash, a contradiction  
that can be resolved in no other way and which , until 10  
the clash comes, must involve ever greater and greater  
friction between the two classes, the oppressor on the  
one hand and the oppressed on the other. The ruler  
and the ruled. And again this emphasis, which is  
found everywhere in statements by the Congress Move- 15  
ment, in the battle which is being waged there is no  
neutral position, no middle road.

BEKKER J: What do you make of the words -  
"It cannot be defeated and overthrown within the frame-  
work of the 1910 Constitution". Do you remember the 20  
witness said "Well, you'll have to amend the South  
Africa Act to fit in with the demands of the Freedom  
Charter"?-- Yes. My lords, the fact . . .

BEKKER J: Do the words go further than that?

MR. HOEXTER: With respect, yes, my lord, 25  
in this sense: one can describe the most farreaching  
radical and revolutionary changes in the political  
situation of a country as being achieved, or as re-  
quiring - as it undoubtedly does - the amendment of  
the Constitution. The use of that phrase "amendment" 30



of the Constitution" isn't a necessary pointer to a peaceful or constitutional transition. There can be no doubt that farreaching Legislative changes must be or may have to be imported, but that doesn't necessarily imply a constitutional change, my lords.

BEKKER J: If, if the alliance is going to achieve universal franchise by an amendment to the Act would they not have to act in terms of the Constitution?

MR. HOEXTER: Yes, my lord. If that is the intention, yes. The submission is merely that that course of conduct is not suggested by the particular words employed here.

BEKKER J: That's what I want you to tell me, what do you submit in this regard?

MR. HOEXTER: Well, my lord, this implies that the change which is sought will occur not through Parliament but outside Parliament.

BEKKER J: Yes.

MR. HOEXTER: 16, my lords. "That South Africa is not quite a Police State yet, but is coming closeto it every day. All constitutional safeguards have been thrown overboard and individual liberties ruthlessly suppressed. Hellbent for their Fascist Republic the Nationalists recognise that the only vehement and serious opposition to their plans is to be found in those organisations which have repeatedly been the victims of their vindictive raids and bans. The South Africa planned for us by Strydom, Verwoerd, Swart and the Broederbond is a nightmare of oppression and regimentation and colour mania. It is the graveyard fantasy of a vanishing despotism. The Nationalist

Government has unleashed a reign of terror hitherto  
unknown and oppression and exploitation have reached  
new heights. This is the era of Imperialism when  
Capitalism resorts to Fascism to prolong its parasitic  
existence."

My Lords, the first sentence there is taken  
from "Liberation" No.9, of 1954, record page 3489.

My lords, the second sentence referring to the "con-  
stitutional safeguards being thrown overboard" is  
taken from an article which is not here mentioned;  
it is the October 1955 issue - record page 3520 - an  
article by Mandela to which reference will be made  
later. The portion of the paragraph marked 2 in  
the footnote is taken from an Editorial article en-  
titled "Which way are we going"? which occurs in the  
November 1955 issue, record page 3521 to 2522, and the  
concluding portion is taken from the December 1955  
issue, record page 3530 to 3531, an article entitled  
"The A.N.C. Conference"; the author is described as  
J.D.M.

Now here again, my lords, the analysis, the  
description of the trend in this country accords with  
the description which is to be found in many Congress  
- African National Congress documents and speeches,  
and again, the concluding portion contains an historical  
analysis - - the transition, the development of Capitalism  
and Imperialism to which reference has already been made  
in another connection.

17, my lords: "That since the Government  
rules by force and violence it fears the democratic  
upsurge represented by the Congress of the People .

They know too well that once the mass of oppressed people  
backed by their organised strength say "Give us what is  
ours", the days of the oppressor are numbered, for from  
agreement in unity and purpose grows action. It is  
therefore no accident that in the past years the whole  
South African Police State apparatus had been called into  
play to prevent the Congress of the People from becoming  
a reality. One of the most urgent tasks facing the National  
Action Council is the selection and training of thousands  
of persons who have shown their readiness to sacrifice by  
becoming Freedom Volunteers, thus indicating their eligibility  
for the honoured role of leadership. Insufficient steps  
have been taken, however, to create the machinery for the  
establishment of volunteers into shock brigade units."

My lords, this is taken from "Liberation" No.  
10 of 1954; it is not dealt with in the record at the  
same place as the other "Liberations"; it is read in  
in Vol. 1, page 1636; it is an article on the Congress  
of the People and the author is described as J.Slovo.

My lords, this one, too, can be briefly  
dealt with, insofar as the significance of the Congress  
of the People Campaign and the probable reaction of the  
ruler to this campaign is concerned. It echoes what is  
said in many places by the Congress Movement. The  
second part of the paragraph deals with the volunteers  
and it describes - it gives them a role which is des-  
cribed in similar terms at other places by the Congress  
Movement. The fact first of all that to be a Freedom  
Volunteer implies an acceptance for the necessity for  
sacrifice; the notion that the Freedom Volunteers



will be leaders, and stressing the idea of the organisation of the volunteers into shock brigade units; that idea is elsewhere described as well.

18, my lords: "That there are potent signs that the country is ready for democracy and that the Congress of the People is indeed, as Moses Kotane has shewn, South Africa's way forward. The Freedom Charter now forms the ground plan for future action. The fundamental question that faces our country is Freedom Charter or Broederbond despotism? There is no neutral area. The African National Congress should adopt the Freedom Charter as a basis for a programme of Action and treat it as the political bible of the Nation."

The first portion of this paragraph, my lords, including the reference to Moses Kotane, is taken from an Editorial article entitled "War against whom?", in No.8 of 1954, record page 3484. The second part of the paragraph describing the Freedom Charter as the ground plan for future action is taken from an article in the October 1955 issue, record page 3520. The article is entitled "The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald" and the author is described as Mandela. The third portion posing the question which is before the country, comes from the November 1955 issue, record page 35223, it's an Editorial article entitled "Which way are we going" my lords, and the concluding portion is taken from "Liberation" of December, 1955, record page 3531, an article entitled "The A.N.C. Conference", author J.B.M.

Now again in this paragraph, my lords, the ideas expressed present no novelty to anybody who has read the African National Congress documents, or the

documents put forward by the Congress Movement as a whole. 1  
Here, again, my lords, we have the insistence on this  
idea that there is no neutral ground; it must be the one  
thing or the other.

19, my lords: "That the major bastion of demo-  
cratic freedom in our land is not the feeble opposition 5  
in our minority Parliament but the masses of oppressed non-  
white people outside it, as represented by the National  
Congresses and political and trade union movements.  
There is evidence of growing consciousness of the futility  
of a purely electoral and parliamentary fight, and the 10  
need for more militant and realistic methods. The  
Nationalist and United Parties are both Capitalist par-  
ties whose theory and practice involves continuation of  
exploitation and white supremacy. The South African  
Liberals will do anything for the Africans except get off 15  
their backs. The United and Liberal Parties are futile  
and irrelevant, as are all the other unstable groupings  
which seek so desperately for some neutral area between  
the embattled armies of freedom and slavery. There is  
no neutral area." 20

My lords, the first portion is taken from  
the February 1954 issue, record page 3476; an Editorial  
article entitled "Drunk with Power". The second part  
is taken from the October 1955 issue, record page 3517  
to 3518, an article entitled "Can the C.O.D. win mass 25  
support - author is described as J. Johnson"; the third  
portion is taken from the June 1953 issue, record page  
3548, Editorial article "After the election - what next".  
The concluding portion is taken from "Liberation" of  
November, 1955, record page 3523. My lords, it's not 30



stated here but in fact this comes from an Editorial article entitled "Which way are we going"?

Here, again, my lords, the submission is that these ideas are fully in harmony with the ideas expressed by the Congress Movement as a whole, and specifically by the African National Congress. Reference has been made in dealing with "Fighting Talk" to the role relegated to the Parliamentary Opposition which is fading out of the picture; the recognition of the futility of a purely electoral and parliamentary fight, the reason for discarding the United Party. Here it is bracketed with the Nationalist Party for the same reason that we saw in dealing with "Fighting Talk", namely that it merely represents a segment of the ruling class. The two parties represent identical class interests, and this paragraph concludes again with this idea that there is no neutral area, and not only are the United and Liberal Parties futile and irrelevant, but any other grouping or group which does not directly align itself with the Liberatory forces in the country. is also to be discarded, and rejected.

20, my lords: "That in South Africa where the entire population is almost split into two hostile camps, and where there can be no middle course the fault of the Liberals, and this spells their doom, is to attempt such a middle course. They are afraid to identify themselves with the people, to assume the task of mobilising that social force capable of lifting the struggle to higher levels. They will employ only democratic and constitutional means which means in effect that we must obey the Constitution which debars the majority from

participation in the government. The Liberals hate and 1  
fear this idea of revolutionary democracy in South  
Africa, as much as the Malans and the Oppenheimers do.  
They stand for the adoption of more supple systems of  
oppression and exploitation, and the retention of the  
cheap labour system is subordinate to Colonial status 5  
of the non-European masses. The class interests of  
the Liberals are identical with those of the Nationalists."

And this whole paragraph, my lords, is taken  
from a rather lengthy article in the June 1953 issue,  
record page 3550 to 3553; this article is called "Search- 10  
light on the Liberal Party" - it has often been dealt  
with and the author is described as Mandela.

Your lordships will recollect that Mr. Mandela  
was invited to comment on this article in the course of  
his cross examination. I wish to refer back very, very 15  
briefly. My lords, this is in Vol.76 and I refer first,  
my lords, to page 16037. At this place Mandela admits  
that he is the author of the article concerned and  
then the question is put to him, ("Q) You say that in  
South Africa the population is split into two hostile 20  
camps; you refer to recent political events and you  
say there can be no middle course in this country; what  
did you mean by that?-- (A) Well, no party can have a  
future in this country if it advocates for example con-  
ciliation as a matter of solving political problems. 25  
If a party says to the Congress 'Gentlemen, you are launch-  
ing the Defiance Campaign as some sections of the Liberals  
did in 1952, we think it is wrong for you to launch this  
type of action; rather you must talk nicely to the  
Government. That is the only way in which you can advance 30

your cause'."

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And then the witness continues, my lords, "There is no room for that type of view in this country because the Government has just turned its face towards any such approach, and the only method that can succeed is the one which we have adopted, the one of pressure and forcing the Government to capitulate to our demands."

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Then further on the reaction of the Liberals and the idea which is expressed in the article, that they fear the idea of revolutionary democracy - that was explored with the witness a little later on in the same volume at page 16044. He was referred to an exhibit which is a collection of speeches and articles on Lenin by Stalin, and the passage that was put to him was an article entitled "Confidence in the Masses". The question to him was "It says theoreticians and leaders of parties who know the history of nations, who have studied the history of revolutions from beginning to end, are sometimes afflicted with an unpleasant disease. This disease is known as 'Fear of the masses', lack of confidence in the creative ability of the masses. Sometimes on this ground leaders adopt a certain aristocratic pose towards the masses who, although not versed in the history of revolution, are destined to break up the old and build the new. The fear that the elements may break forth, that the masses may break up too much the desire to play the role of nurses, try to teach the masses from books, but who refuse to learn from the masses. Such is the basis of this sort of aristocratic attitude. And then the question was put to him: ("Q) Now your personal opinion - would that type of disease be the one from which

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the Liberal party suffered at the time when you wrote 1  
this article?--(A) As far as I'm concerned the Liberal  
Party, on the basis of what they had said to us, and on  
the basis of their official documents, feared mass action,  
and that is the question I arrived at, not because of any  
theoretical knowledge but because of my experience." "It 5  
may coincide with the views of theoreticians on the mat-  
ter, it is irrelevant to me."

So, my lords, here is this article and my sub-  
mission is that it accords with the point of view of the  
Congress Movement, expressed by all the Congresses, that 10  
the Liberals are afraid to identify themselves with  
forces capable of lifting the struggle to a higher level,  
and that fear is rooted in a fear of mass action, and  
the consequences of mass action; and also the same idea  
expressed the idea we have seen before, that the quarrel 15  
with the Liberals is again that their class interests  
are identical with the class interests of the ruling  
powers.

Also, my lords, in the course of Mr. Mandela's  
cross examination at page 16041 the meaning of the phrase 20  
which is used in the article, "Revolutionary Democracy",  
was put to the witness; it was suggested to him that  
this implied something more than simply the system of  
universal franchise; that it implied farreaching econo-  
mic changes as well, and I think that the witness' answer 25  
can be summed up by saying that he used the term in the  
sense of the demands of the Freedom Charter, and that  
represented the revolutionary democracy.

I continue, my lords, "That the lesson of  
history . . ." 21, my lords: "That the lesson of 30

history shows that Parliament, or the existing Constitutional  
authority, is never the only or the most important fountain  
head of political change. Those who have political power  
in their hands are the watchdogs of the old order, but not  
the group that advocates social change. By adhering to  
the principles of Constitutional means of struggle the  
Liberals have divorced themselves from the mass move-  
ments of the non-European people".

My lords, these extracts are taken from  
"Liberation" of November, 1953, record page 3467 to 3469,  
an article entitled "The Constitution Fallacy", and the  
author is described as R. First. My lords, this article  
has often been considered, I don't wish to inflict it  
on your lordships again. Perhaps one can look briefly  
at the setting in the article in which these excerpts  
occur. I read, my lords, from page 3469, line 17,  
having been somewhat critical of a gentleman called Mr.  
Price, the authoress continues and says: "It is possible  
to put another construction on Mr. Price's approach, and  
that is to see it not as an advice to the non-European  
people to submit to unjust laws, but to leave it to  
Europeans who have the vote to campaign constitutionally  
to win non-European emancipation. Of all current Liberal  
illusions this is perhaps the deepest of all. All who  
have read any history must surely recognise that Par-  
liament or that the existing constitutional authority  
is never the only, or the most important fountainhead  
of political change, and those with political power in  
their hands are the watchdogs of the old order, but not  
the group that advocates social change. Under the  
Nationalist policy of white .....democracy South Africa's

Parliament has not only become incapable of defending 1  
democracy, but South Africa's white electorate has been  
won over to the belief that they have an interest in  
entrenching the present system of inequality and race  
discrimination. All credit to the members of the Liberal  
Party who try to convince them that this is not so, but 5  
the Liberals must not delude themselves that faces with  
a serious challenge to their political majority the  
Nationalists will not subvert the Constitution to remain  
in power. They are capable of disfranchising the opposi-  
tion voters who exhibit un-South African views and using 10  
the battery of dictatorial measures that they have equipped  
themselves with, to ensure their ascendancy. Above all  
the Liberals must not delude themselves that the non-  
Europeans can patiently await the results of painstaking  
and long term Liberal education and reform of white 15  
public opinion. Oppression has become too painful for  
such never ending patience. In any case, to keep the  
non-Europeans just as onlookers on the side lines of  
a white political game while the small sympathetic group  
tries to encourage greater tolerance and understanding 20  
of their plight, is to give them a completely passive  
role and is presumptuous, condescending and impudent."

Now, my lords, the position here is that this  
article mirrors the attitude of the Congress Movement  
as a whole, the attitude which excludes reform, the idea 25  
of reform by educating the electorate up to new ideas,  
the attitude which pours scorn on the idea that the  
masses of the people should be mere onlookers and spec-  
tators and not participants in the struggle.

Next, my lords, 22: "That although the Congress 30



of the People marked a great stride forward for the liberation of Africa, if we are to understand clearly what part must be taken, how to organise, what to do, then we must have the constant exchange and clash of ideas. Follows a quotation, 'Practice without theory is blind, theory without practice is sterile'. "In the political and ideological spheres the theoretical level of members of the African National Congress should be raised to a higher plane. Congress ideology and propaganda amongst the broad masses should be increased. There is a lack of appreciation of unity, of theory of practice, which could enable people to understand not only how, and in what direction the Liberatory Movement is moving at the present time, but also how and in what direction it will move in the near future."

My lords, the first portion of this was found in the September 1955 issue, record page 3511, author H. Watts; an article to which reference has been made before. The article is entitled "Adventure 1955." The second portion, my lords, is taken from the November 1955 issue, record page 3526 to 3527. This is an article entitled "Problems of Organisation in the African National Congress, and the author is described as being 'banned leader'". My lords, this article starts at page 3525 of the record. It's not necessary to deal at length with this paragraph, my lords, this idea is stressed throughout in the Congress Movement. In fact, your lordships saw yesterday, when reference was made to some of the documents, the reason for urging support of the journal we are now considering, was to heighten the political consciousness, to increase the political

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majority of the masses, and that is what is suggested here,  
the need for education - political education - which will  
give an understanding, not merely of the present situation  
but which will enable members of the Liberatory Movement  
to predict the probable future course of the struggle.

23, my lords: "That the Freedom Charter is  
more than a mere list of demands for democratic reform.  
It is a revolutionary document precisely because the  
changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking up  
the economic and political set-up of present South  
Africa. To win the Charter will be no easy task to be  
accomplished in a day; it will not be easy to wrest  
freedom from the rulers of South Africa, greedy to preserve  
big profits and cheap labour, cruel and ruthless, inflamed  
with racial arrogance and contempt for dark skinned people.  
The Charter is the rock upon which we must build, but  
much remains to be done in discussing and deciding upon  
many problems which still beset all the work for the im-  
plementation of the Charter. In such discussions it  
will be very wrong to ignore the world background against  
which our own struggles take place, or the essential need  
to learn from similar struggles in other places and other  
lands. The Freedom Charter demands a completely new  
approach and new methods to all our struggles. It demands  
the highest political clarity and responsibility for  
the most efficient organisation and ability."

My lords, here, again, any acquaintance with  
the documents which have been handed in will show that  
these ideas are often expressed by the Congress Movement  
generally and specifically the African National Congress.

BEKKER J: The main submission on these

extractions is that we will find a mirror, to use your language, in African National Congress documents?

Can we take that portion as read?

MR. HOEXTER: As your lordship pleases; it will save a great deal of time, unless comment is called for. I shall just give the references here. The first portion is taken from the June 1956 issue, record page 3540, the article entitled "In Our Lifetime", also stated to be by Mandela. The second portion, Liberation No.11, 1955, record page 3493, Editorial article "On the Eve". Thirdly, issue of November, 1955, record page 3525, Editorial article "Which way are we going". Lastly, "Liberation" of November, 1955, record page 3526, article "Problems of Organisation in the A.N.C", author described as 'Banned Leader'.

24, my lords: "That the democratic struggle in South Africa is conducted by an alliance of various classes and political groupings amongst the non-Europeans supported by White democrats. In this alliance the Democratic Movement has the rudiments of a dynamic and militant mass movement; provided the Movement exploits its initial advantages on its side at the present moment immense opportunities exist for the winning of the demands of the Freedom Charter within our lifetime." That is taken from June 1956 issue, record page 3542 to 3543; the author is Mandela, the article is entitled "In our Lifetime".

The only comment required here, my lords, is again the insistence on mass action - the militant mass movement.

25, my lords: "That it is an historical fact that nice words and resolutions will not make the tidal



change we have in mind. It has become necessary to forge  
new weapons and new styles of mobilising the country to  
meet the new forces of Fascism. Prior to the adoption of  
its present Constitution the African National Congress bore  
little organisation resemblance to the Unionwide mass  
liberation movement capable of leading militant struggles  
of the people into which it has developed to-day. A  
time was bound to come when the potentialities of a purely  
constitutional and reformist agitation would be played out  
and the African National Congress would have to break new  
ground and challenge reaction in a more positive and  
effective manner. The Freedom Day strike of May, 1950,  
the National Day Protest during June of the same year,  
and the Defiance Campaign of June, 1952, were all in the  
spirit of the Programme of Action and they gave tremendous  
impetus to the Liberatory Movement in this country. The  
Defiance Campaign made a tremendous impact on the people  
and achieved a high degree of political consciousness."

These excerpts, my lords, were taken from  
firstly, December 1955 issue, record page 3531; an article  
"The A.N.C. Conference", and the author is described as  
J.B.M. Secondly, issue of November, 1955, record page  
3527 - not 3526 as here stated, my lords - an article  
"Problems of Organisation", the author is described as  
- "Problems of Organisation in the A.N.C", and the author  
is described as 'Banned Leader'. Thirdly, the issue of  
February, 1956, record page 3533, an article entitled  
"The Special Conference of the A.N.C", author described  
as Allen Doyle. Fourthly, the issue of November, 1956,  
record page 3505, an article entitled "The A.N.C. and

Nationalism", and the author is described as 'Googan Gcwka' (?). Fifthly . . .

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RUMPF J: How is that spelt?

MR. HOEXTER: I beg your lordship's pardon. The third last letter should be a 'u' and not a 'v'. Fifthly, the issue of November, 1953, record page 3475 - an article entitled "Towards Democratic Unity", the author being said to be Mr. Mandela.

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26, my lords: "That revolutionary charges in the Union structure involve revolutionary means to implement them. We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win a single victory of political freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the Government. This means we are committed to forms of struggle which seek to mobilise from our own ranks forces capable of waging a determined and militant struggle against all forms of reaction. To win the demands of the Freedom Charter calls for the organisation, launching and development of mass struggle on the widest scale. They will be won and consolidated only in agitation, through stubborn and determined mass struggle, to defeat the economic and political policies of the Nationalist Government. The most vital task facing the Democratic Movement in this country is to unleash such struggles and to develop them on the basis of the concrete and immediate demands of the people from area to area."

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My lords, the first short sentence is taken from the Editorial article "After the Election, what next"? which occurs in the June 1953 issue, record page 3548; the second portion is taken from the article to which I

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have already referred, "Searchlight on the Liberal Party" in the June 1953 issue, record page 3551 to 3552, and the last paragraph - the one which deals with the necessity for developing mass struggles - is taken from the June, 1956 issue, record page 3540, article "In our Lifetime" - author Mandela.

My lords, as far as this idea, the necessity for mass action, is concerned, it's everywhere emphasised - the witness Conco was one of the first Defence witnesses to deal with it. This is at page 11227 of the record, and his testimony there can be summed up by saying that he admitted that the African National Congress had always emphasised the necessity for mass action, and he said that his appeal to the masses was not confined to the members of the African National Congress, and the hope and appeal in campaigns such as the Western Areas Campaign - the Bantu Education Campaign and the Anti-Pass Campaign, was to get everybody to resist, not merely members of the organisation.

My lords, this article was dealt with in the cross examination of Mr. Mandela, Vol.76, page 16134. However, that portion of the record deals not so much with the mass struggles as with the question whether the attainment of the demands of the Freedom Charter would represent a step in the transition from Capitalism to Socialism. My lords, perhaps it will be more convenient to deal with this when Mandela's own personal position is dealt with.

27, my lords: "That the emergence during October, 1953, of the South African Congress of Democrats - a body established at the instance of the African and



Indian Congresses, was an event of prime political importance, in that it represented an organised body of white persons who stood foursquare with the Liberation Movement and had no set of principles of its own, separate and distinct from those of the Congresses. The allegiance of the Anti-Nationalist white is becoming fluid and it is a task for the whole Congress Movement and in particular for the Congress of Democrats to win such elements to the Congress Movement for an extra-parliamentary struggle and the aims of the Freedom Charter. When democracy is achieved the South African Congress of Democrats will inherit the leadership of white South Africa. We must take the message of the Freedom Charter into every European home. At the moment little sympathy is likely to be encountered but as the contradictions of Fascism become more economically apparent an increasing number of white adherents will be found."

The first portion taken, my lords, from the November, 1953 issue, record page 3466, an Editorial article entitled "The Crises of Leadership"; the second portion taken from the October 1955 issue, record page 3518 to 9 - an article entitled "Can C.O.D. win mass support", the author is J. Johnson. The third portion is from the issue of December, 1955, record page 3532, an article "Can C.O.D. win Mass Support" - author R. Preiss. The last portion, issue of March, 1956, record page 3535, an article innocuously entitled "Can C.O.D. win mass support", author described as one Goldberg.

This calls for no particular comment, my lords, except again the insistence for expression of the

19163.

MR. HOEXTER

idea in the concluding paragraph of the contradictions . 1  
of our society, or more specifically here the contradic-  
tions of Fascism which will become more economically  
apparent as time goes on.

28, my lords: "That . . . ."

BEKKER J: Mr. Hoexter, I think the record may 5  
probably be clearer if after having referred to what you  
call the first portion, you give a reference immediately.

MR. HOEXTER: As your lordship pleases.

BEKKER J: Otherwise one wouldn't know which  
is the first portion and the second and the third, and so 10  
on.

MR. HOEXTER: As your lordships please, I shall  
follow that procedure. 28, my lords: "That the Malanites  
will try to stifle the truth of the cause of Congress with  
lies, and strange the movement with provocations, repres- 15  
sions and violence. They shall not succeed. But let us  
have no illusions. Let us not ask against whom war is  
being prepared, for whom the bullets are intended. They  
are meant for us. Only the conscious determined partici-  
pation of the South African people in defence of peace 20  
can avert the massacre that is being thwarted".

That, my lords, is taken from an Editorial  
article "War - against whom?" in No.8, of 1954 issue,  
record page 3484 to 3485. "Before we can unite we must  
know for what purpose we have come together; before we 25  
can enroll our soldiers of emancipation and send them  
into political struggles for the Freedom cause, we must  
tell them clearly the aims for which they are called to  
suffer, to sacrifice and perhaps to die.

That is taken, my lords, from an Editorial 30

Article "On the Eve", issue No.11 of 1955, record page 3494.

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"Lynchings and pogroms are illogical weapons to be resorted to should the onward march of the Liberation Movement manifest itself." Issue October, 1955, record page 3520, article 'The Spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald', author Mandela.

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Now all these extracts, my lords, represent the same trend of thought which can be summarised by saying that the ruling clique is planning a massacre. Your lordships will recollect that this theme - the propagation of this idea by the Congress Movement was considered by some of the Defence witnesses. My lords, in Vol. 75 in cross examination of Mr. Mandela; this was dealt with briefly; I refer first to page 15972 of the record, my lords, line 14, where the question was put ("Q) Mr. Mandela, apart from the policy upon which you have decided, the Congress Movement was certain, was it not, that violence would be used by the ruling class?-- (A) It reckoned with that possibility". ("Q) Well, were you not at pains to stress it?-- (A) It may have been so". And then this theme is further explored with him on page 15973, my lords, and towards the end of that page the question is put to him, ("Q) Would you agree with me, Mr. Mandela, that these sentiments - these warnings - are fully representative of Congress thought?-- (A) My lords, as I have said, these views may have been expressed by the African National Congress." That is at page 15974, my lords.

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He proceeds: "Certainly Congress reckons with the possibility of a lot of violence and blood shed has been committed time without number by the

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Nationalist Government, and Congress has on several occasions warned its followers that they should expect this". And then, my lords, at pages 15976 and 77 this extract from his own article is put to him, and the suggestion that lynchings are likely to result if the Liberation Movement continues, ("Q) As far as you know, has the onward march of the Liberatory Movement continued to manifest itself?-- (A) Yes, quite strongly". And then it was put to him: ("Q) And in your opinion is the possibility of this violence to which you refer there increased?-- (A) Oh, yes, we feel that the Government will not hesitate to massacre hundreds of Africans in order to intimidate them, not to oppose the reactionary policy."

I read on, my lords: 29 - "That the people's alliance has an extraordinarily difficult and dangerous task before it. The South African ruling class is a formidable one, it is backed by and closely linked with foreign Imperialism. It is armed and ready to use violence and it will stop at nothing to retain its oppressive and unjust rule. It is ruthless, cunning and desperate. This dangerous adversary will be defeated and the people shall govern for the tide of history is running for freedom. But how soon that victory will be won and how costly it will prove will depend largely upon how speedily and effectively the Congress Movement, at the head of the Freedom fighters in South Africa, can accomplish their great task."

That is taken, my lords, from the Editorial article "Wreckers at Work", issue of April, 1956, record page 3536.

"The claim advanced in some quarters that there must be a guarantee that any campaign embarked upon can be carried out peacefully is to be rejected out of hand. Such a form of insurance is unknown in politics. In any case every demonstration of the non-European people that has ended in some bloodshed has so ended as a result of vicious State action."

That is taken, my lords, from the article to which reference has already been made this morning, "The Constitutional Fallacy", and I should in fairness point out, my lords, that as far as the concluding section is concerned here the article is a long one and I have here deviated from my practice of using the catch words and I have summarised to some extent, the import of the article. But the article I am sure is so well known by now that it is unnecessary to make further reference to it at this stage.

30, my lords: "That the workers are the principal force upon which the democratic movement should rely, but in order to repel the savage onslaught of the Nationalist Government it is necessary that other classes and groupings be joined. The formation in March, 1955, of the South African Congress of Trade Unions was a significant step. Its first President, Peter Byleveld pointed out that Trade Unions should be active in both the political and economic fields as these hung together and could not be separated from one another."

That, my lords, is taken from the issue of June, 1956, record page 3543 to 4, article "In our Lifetime", author Mandela.

31, my lords: "That the Liberation Movement cannot hope for victory without organising the 6,000 non-Europeans engaged in Agriculture, the poorest and most oppressed group. This has become an urgent practical issue. The time is long overdue for the building of a mighty peasant movement in our country. If the non-European workers and bourgeoisie are the head of the present struggle, the peasants are the backbone without which no victory is conceivable. With the memory of Witzieshoek fresh in our minds who can doubt that properly organised and supported by the democratic movement in the Towns our people in the countryside are ready to resist oppression? Effective organisation of the peasantry will raise to a higher level the entire struggle for national liberation."

My lords, that is taken from the issue No.10 of 1954, record page 3490 to 1, the article is called "Concerning peasants" and the author is described as MarutleMokgohlwa.

"The problem of organisation in the countryside poses itself as one of major importance for the Liberatory Movement. Through the co-ordination of spontaneous and local demonstrations and by raising them to a political level the beginnings will be found of opposition to the policy of oppression and keeping backward the people of the Transkei."

That is taken, my lords, from the February 1956 issue, record page 3534, article headed "In our lifetime", author Mandela.

32, my lords: - I am indebted to my learned friend, my lords, the last article to which I referred is not "In our Lifetime", it's an article "The Transkei



re-visited".

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32, my lords: "That all South Africans must be made to realise that the Western Areas Removal Scheme is a matter of grave national importance, and that they cannot with impunity allow the Government to get along with the criminal plan of which the Western Areas Re,oval Scheme is but a part; it is their political responsibility and national duty to respond to the clarion call to halt the Government in its intentions."

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That is taken, my lords, from the issue No. 8 of 1954, record page 3485, author Kotane.

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"The Bantu Education Act is a reactionary scheme because it is designed to satisfy the needs of a reactionary and heartless class of exploiters. While the Nationalists disregard the needs of the masses and subject them to more ruthless exploitation and oppression in the interests of solving the contradictions of their society, they do not take into account the sharpening conflict which they are creating between themselves and the people. This conflict will ultimately break their artificial political and economic structure."

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That is from issue No.9, of 1954, my lords, record page 3489 to 90. The author is described as Mr. Nokwe.

"Bantu Education is fraught with danger for the Liberatory Movement, and it deserves study, vigilance and the most effective assault." That, my lords, is from issue of October, 1955, record page 3516, the author again being Mr. Nokwe.

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"To ensure the success of the campaign against

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Bantu Education, it should be carried out continuously and flexibly; use should be made of planned and consistent propaganda and organisational work. The campaign should not be regarded as a separate thing in itself, but as an integral part of the general struggle."

My lords, that is taken from the December 1955 issue, record page 3529, Editorial article.

And lastly, as far as "Liberation" is concerned, my lords, 33: "That we have come today to realise the urgent necessity for mobilising, through their respective organisations, all democrats, black and white, to resist and conquer reaction by united effort." That is "Liberation", November 1953, record page 3474, author Mr. Mandela.

"The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald haunts South Africa, and it can only be repelled by the united strength of the people. Every situation must be used to raise the people's level of political understanding. All discriminatory measures should be used as a rallying point around which a United Front will be built." That is from "Liberation of October 1955, record page 3520 to 1, author is again described as Mandela.

"If carried out properly, United Front tactics can considerably advance the struggle; place it on a higher level, and enlarge the influence and power of the people's movements. Under conditions that exist in our country the policy of the United Front needs to be pushed vigorously and skilfully. The people must be drawn into active struggle against the acts of Fascists. The application of United Front tactics is called for in every situation, however. In one situation it might be correct

for the Progressive Movement to unite with the potentially treacherous 'national' bourgeoisie, for example, when a semi-colonial country suffers imperialist invasion. In a different situation, for example, when two imperialist countries are involved in a war for the division of colonies, the Progressive Movement in one such country might find it necessary to organise against the war, to reject collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and turn the Imperialist war into a civil war in which the working class, under its leadership, seizes power."

That is taken, my lords, from the issue of November, 1956, record page 3506 to 3510, author is described as J. Matthews. This is an article, my lords, entitled "Building a United Front", and, my lords, here again in fairness I should point out that there may be a greater use of summary than repeating the abssisima verba of the article; as it's such a long article I should say that this summary indicates the main tenor of that article, my lords.

My lords, this concept of a United Front which looms largely in the propaganda of the Movement was commented on by the Defence witness Dr. Conco at page 11296 of the record, 11296 to 11297.

My lords, that concludes the references to which I want to refer to the journal "Liberation", and I now proceed to consider "Advance" and "New Age". My lords, the extracts - these papers represent the bulk of the extracts that were read into the record and I've tried to cut down references to the bare minimum; in order to save time I have also - I propose dealing with "Advance" and "New Age" in effect as a single



publication. I content myself with the bare submission  
that it appears from the evidence that the one can truly  
be regarded as the heir and successor of the other, and  
no less an authority than Mr. Luthuli saw the matter in  
this light. My lords, I refer to page 13786 of the  
record in which Mr. Luthuli said that New Age was just  
Advance under a new name; he said that he published  
a statement protesting against the banning of "Advance"  
and welcoming the publication "New Age". He said he  
knew at that time that the policy of the new paper was  
going to be the same as the old one, and he also mentioned  
that he was approached by Miss Ruth First in Johannesburg  
with a view to making these statements of welcome to the  
new journal which were in fact published in "New Age".

My lords, in addition, to save time because  
"Advance" and "New Age" are essentially newspapers, while  
I still draw attention to the identity of the author and  
those articles which are editorial articles, to save time  
I propose not to mention in each case the title of the  
article unless your lordships so desire.

1) "That the company responsible for the  
publication of the newspaper "Advance" considered it to  
be "one of the most powerful weapons available in the  
struggle for liberation". When the newspaper "Advance"  
was succeeded by the newspaper "New Age", messages of  
welcome from leaders in the Liberation Movement published  
by "New Age" indicated that the newspaper would champion  
the cause of the oppressed people in South Africa."

My lords, the first sentence there is taken  
from an editorial article in "Advance" on the 11th  
February, 1954, record page 3609 to 3610. The bit

dealing with the messages received by "New Age" is taken from "New Age", 4th November, 1954, record page 3889 to 10, and it is this issue which publishes the message to which Luthuli referred, and also the messages of other leaders.

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"And that in times of mounting oppression and total subjugation of the masses of the country, it would 'illumine the thorny path to freedom'". That is taken from the same issue of the 4th November, 1954, at page 3890.

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"New Age" became the voice of the oppressed people, forwarding the cause of liberation everywhere in the world, and ceaselessly opposing the designs of the Imperialists to plunge mankind once more into war." That is taken, my lords, from a letter which was written to "New Age", author is described as Paul Joseph in the issue of the 10th November, 1955, record page 4035, to 4036.

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"In supporting the Liberatory Movement the newspapers "Advance" and "New Age" during the period of the indictment published matter which propagated the following points of view and policies: -

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And here, my lords, at the outset I make the same blanket submission in regard to the tenor of these articles and the ideas expressed by the Congress Movement, that I made in connection with the other two papers.

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2: "That for hundreds of years the British have been butchering native populations (as presently evidenced by the atrocities in Kenya, Nyasaland and Malaya), as a method of repression, and to conquer, pillage and plunder the indigenous peoples of China, Asia, Africa and

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elsewhere."

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My lords, that is taken from "Advance" of the 10th September, 1953, record page 3577, author Sam Kahn.

"For years the Capitalist countries have lived on raw materials and cheap labour from Asia and Africa. The rise of the National Liberation Movements in Asia and the Pacific regions have forced the Imperial powers to turn their eyes to Africa. In Africa the Imperial powers of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Spain, have their chief or only colonial dependencies."

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My lords, that, as your lordships will see at once, is a re-statement of a speech and article by Mr. Mandela. It occurs in the issue of the 3rd September, 1953, record page 3574, and at that juncture it was taken to be read in under Exhibit E.62, at page 1904 to 1905 of the record. But, my lords, it is, however, the same speech that we have already encountered in "Liberation".

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KENNEDY J: Read into the record where?

MR. HOEXTER: My lords, 1904 to 1905, and then the same idea of the last paragraph is expressed in a "New Age" of the 25th November, 1954, record page 3898, the author is described as a 'leading member of the A.N.C."

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3) " That the Capitalist form of Society, in which Imperialist domination has its roots, depends for its existence on the reduction of wages, on reservoirs of the unemployed, and on the exploitation of man by man."

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"New Age", 29th March, 1956, record page 4063, author "Spectator".

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4): "That the Imperial powers already mentioned, together with South Africa stand in the way of any genuine advance of the African people towards freedom and democracy. Another and much bigger power directly or indirectly supports them in all their endeavours: the United States of America. The tremendous power of the United States is used to keep up the decaying colonial system against the interests of millions of Africans."

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"New Age", 25th November, 1954, record page 3898, author is described as being "A leading member of the A.N.C."

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5): "That the internal contradictions and conflicts within the Imperial camp are broadening daily. The countries of the aggressive Atlantic bloc are in danger of losing their national independence as a result of American interference in their domestic affairs. In their mad lust for markets and profits these imperial powers will not hesitate to cut one another's throats, to break the peace to drench millions of innocent people in blood and to bring misery and untold suffering to humanity."

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The reference to the countries of the Atlantic bloc was dealt with, my lords, in "Liberation"; also the following sentences. This is taken from the "Advance of the 3rd September, 1953, and again the author is described as Mandela and again I refer to Exhibit.E.62. read in at page 1905 of the record. But it is again the same - the essential idea as expressed by Africa and World Peace.

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My lords, 6 is again the same idea, that to protect their markets and investments, to crush the Liberation Movements, and to forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the continent, and have made Africa a war base of the Imperialists in their schemes for world war and domination." And then it goes on to say: "This is the true explanation of the barbarous and cruel manner in which liberatory movements all over Africa are being suppressed. In their mad lusts for profits, and in their war preparations, the United States and her satellites have jeopardised the rights of people to national independence."

This again is "Advance" of the 3rd September, 1953, author Mandela, record page 3574. At that stage of the record reference was again made to Exhibit E.62, my lords, and the same idea expressed in this article is also expressed in "New Age" of the 31st March, 1955, record page 3935.

7): That the African national movement notices, however, another group of powers that seem ever anxious to develop friendship with the African people. They oppose colonialism regularly and consistently. They support the struggle for National Liberation. Among these powers is to be found the Soviet Union, Peoples' China, Burma, India, Indonesia and Poland."

My lords, there I refer to "New Age" of the 25th November, 1954, record page 3899, author "Leading member of the A.N.C."

"The Peoples Democracies and the Soviet Union and China stand firmly for peace and friendship with all

democracy loving people. They are anti-imperialist and anti-oppression." My lords, that is taken from "Advance" of the 25th February, 1954, record page 3613, author Sisulu."

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"In the camp of democracy and socialism (for example, in Peoples China) brutal exploitation and repression of the workers has been banished. In the Soviet Union people of different races and nationalities live together in fraternity and in a common desire for peace and freedom". My lords, this is taken from "Advance" of the 19th November, 1953, record page 3586/7, author Sisulu.

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"Through automation Humanity stands at the threshold of the dream of release from heavy burdens of toil. This dream will not be realised by machines alone. To make it true Capitalism will have to be abolished. For under Capitalism 'automation' will be used not to promote the happiness and welfare of the people, but to increase the profits of the bosses." That is taken from "New Age" of the 27th October, 1955, record page 4033, author E.R.Gravaman.

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(COURT ADJOURNED FOR 20 MINUTES).

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ON THE COURT RESUMING:

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MR. HOEXTER: My lords, I was busy dealing with paragraph 7 in the "Advance" and "New Age" series. Before I go any further, my lords, I should correct an error which I made. In the first paragraph, in the first portion of this proposition, it concludes "Amongst these

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powers is to be found the Soviet Union, Peoples China,  
Burma, Indonesia and Poland." My lords, between  
the words "Burma" and "Indonesia" the word "India" should  
be introduced, as well.

My lords, generally as far as this paragraph  
is concerned I wish to make reference briefly to the  
Presidential Address at the African National Congress  
Transvaal Conference held in Johannesburg in October,  
1954. This was dealt with, my lords, under Exhibit  
A.40, and it was read into the record, my lords, at page  
293 in Vol.2. At that part of the record a portion is  
read in which says: "The world over the oppressed people  
have come out in open defiance of their enemies. On the  
one hand, and on the other hand we witness a tendency  
by the reactionary imperialist powers under the influence  
and leadership of American imperialism, to plunge the  
world into another blood bath that will bring nothing  
but death, misery and starvation to suffering humanity".  
"With this object in view the imperialist capitalist  
powers are intensifying their oppression and exploitation  
of the colonial and semi-colonial masses."

And then it goes on to say that the enslaved  
masses everywhere are very much indebted to the progressive  
powers such as the Soviet Union, China, the new democra-  
cies and India, for the role they are playing in inter-  
national politics.

My lords, I turn to proposition 8: "That  
the aim of the Western Powers is not peace, but domina-  
tion and mastery of the world." That comes from "New  
Age" 18th November, 1954, record page 3894, an article  
by "Spectator."

"The Soviet leaders have frequently reiterated their desire to settle outstanding differences with the Western Powers by negotiation, but the Western Powers make no concessions; instead they concentrate their energies on building up NATO and SEATO forces against the Soviet Union. The United States is planning war."

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That comes from "New Age", 17th February, 1955, record 3925, author "Spectator."

"While the whole civilized world stands horrified on the brink of atomic war, the United States, with reckless disregard for the consequences, pushes its provocation against Peoples China to the limit."

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That comes from "New Age" of the 3rd February, 1955, record page 3918. Here, my lords, I refer briefly to resolutions of the African National Congress Annual Conference, 1954, - my lords, there are two references to this. It's ZKM.19 and also A.15. I think it was dealt with under the latter, my lords. My reference to the record is at page 185, and I refer only to the 6th resolution which says: "This conference of the African National Conference meeting at a time when there is no major conflict in the world after the Geneva Conference, and the Indo-China Armistice, salutes the struggle of the world peace Movement and asserts its faith in the peaceful co-existence of peoples with varying political systems through the principle of negotiation. Therefore Conference condemns the plans of the ruling clique of America to precipitate a third World War through the creation of war pacts such as NATO and SEATO and the whole plan for re-armament German

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Nazis. This Conference considers that modern weapons praised by the warmongers are inhuman, maintains that the energy of the atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to peaceful reconstruction of the world."

And then also briefly in this connection, my lords, I refer to an "African Lodestar" which was dealt with under H.17 and J.N.1; page 4 of this bulletin contains an article on the resolutions of the 12th Annual Conference of the A.N.C.Y.L. Transvaal held on the 29th May, 1955, and this was read into the record, my lords, at page 1984. It's a discussion of the resolutions and it says: "The historic conference of the Youth League adopted unanimously four important resolutions which are enumerated herein below and are discussed briefly. (1) This Annual Conference of the Transvaal African National Congress Youth League meeting at a time when the warmongers led by the United States Government is preparing to throw the World into an atomic war by reviving German militarism in Europe, forming war alliances like the NATO and SEATO etc., around the countries of the Peoples Democracies, and interfering in the domestic affairs of the Chinese people who want to liberate their country from the bandit Chang-ki-Chek, (a) supports the demands of the World Peace Movement and the South African Peace Council for the banning of all atomic weapons of war; (b) pledges itself never to participate in any war for the benefit of the imperialists, (c) Conference salutes the coming Fifth Festival of Youth, Peace and Friendship arranged by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, as an important contribution of the youth of the world in the struggle

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for peace. The resolution shows how the imperialists headed by the Government of the United States of America are preparing to throw the world into a terrible third world war against the true interests and wishes of the youth and peoples of the world who desire to live together in peace. Conference took a correct stand on the side of the forces of peace and progress and condemned the efforts of the mad people who want a third blood bath."

I continue, my lords, with proposition 9:  
"That the overriding aim of American policy in the post-war period has been to extend and tighten her economic grip on as much of the world as possible; to grab maximum profits, and to surround the Soviet Union, the Peoples Democracies and Peoples China with a steel ring of military bases from which an assault could be launched at any moment. The political basis for this plan has been a series of military pacts which have been concluded between the anti- Communist countries."

That is taken from "New Age" of the 7th April, 1955, record 3937, author "Spectator".

And, my lords, for a statement of similar view I refer also to "Advance" of the 20th May, 1954, record 3632, an editorial article.

LO) "That under the cloak of defending itself against Communism, the Government of the United States is devoting all its resources and its financial power to propagating war, mobilising its economy for war, and producing frightful weapons of mass destruction. These wars are specifically directed against the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and, therefore, against the

Liberatory Movement itself." 1

And I cite there, my lords, "Advance" of the 7th October, 1954, record 3649, author Sisulu.

11) "That "Advance" stands wholeheartedly with the African National Congress and all lovers of freedom in support of the struggle of the people of Kenya, and all colonial peoples for freedom. In Kenya, when the imperialists saw the strength of the people, they decided to use violence against the people; to break laws, kill and intimidate. They looked for an excuse. Just as in South Africa, the oppressors created a false scare; the Mau Mau. The oppressors used this as an excuse for doing away with laws that prevented them from using violence against the freedom movement in Kenya." "The British do not like to admit that what is happening in Malaya is a revolution. They try to make out that it is just a handful of bandits making trouble." 5 10 15

Well, my lords, I shall give your lordships the references. The first portion as far as "prevent them from using violence in Kenya" - that is taken from an "Advance" of the 4th March, 1954, record 36157, - it's an editorial article. The second portion which refers to British reluctance to recognise that there is a revolution in Malaya - that is taken from "New Age" of the 26th May, 1955, record 3951, the author is "Spectator." 20 25

"The war in Malaya began seven years ago, when the British met the demands of the national liberatory movement for independence, and of trade unions for higher wages, with military terror of the same kind as that being employed by them in Kenya to-day." That is taken from "New Age" of the 10th November, 1955, record 4036, 30

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