

picture is a very rosy one.

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 50, 11th October, 1956, page 1, and continued on pages 3 and 7, there is an article, headline caption "All-in Conference Calls for United Front Against Apartheid. Tomlinson Report

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Unanimously Rejected." (From Govan Mbeki), Bloemfontein:

"A resolution totally rejecting the Tomlinson Report and calling for the formation of a multi-racial united front to fight against apartheid was passed unaniously amidst scenes of great enthusiasm at the all-in conference held here last week."

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On page 2, My Lord, the editorial article, entitled "The Bloemfontein Conference". I quote three brief paragraphs from it. The first says :

"The all-in African conference in Bloemfontein last week is a milestone in the history of the liberation movement. Showing a statesmanship and political understanding of the highest order, the 400 delegates who attended were unanimous in their main findings."

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Then the article says what the main findings were, and it continues :

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"The conference 'calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour and creed to form a united front against apartheid'."

Then in the concluding paragraph, the editorial says :

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"Nevertheless, where there is a will, there is a way. Old hates and habits must be put aside. With the inspiring achievement of the - of Bloemfontein before our eyes, let us all pledge to allow nothing to stand in the way of building the maximum possible unity in the struggle for freedom in our lifetime."

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The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 51, October, 18th,

1956, on page 1 there is an article, headline caption "Fight for Peace Is Priority No. 1", with the name "Rev. Thompson". Then the article says :

"Peace, like freedom and justice, is indivisible.

You cannot have peace without justice and freedom 5  
for all, said the Rev. D.C. Thompson, President of  
the S.A. Peace Council, when he opened the Peace  
Conference organised by the Cape Town Peace Council,  
in the Library of the City Hall last Sunday."

Then there is a photograph, and beneath it the caption 10

"Speaking at the Cape Town Peace Convention last Sunday  
were (from the left) Mr. Alex Bell, Mrs. Elizabeth Mafe-  
king, the Rev. D. C. Thompson and Mr. Alex la Guma".

Then this article is continued on page 7 of the issue,  
My Lord. On page 5 of this issue, an article, headline 15  
caption "New Age Discussion Article. Should Foreign  
Artists and Sportsmen Boycott S. Africa?" by Moses M.  
Kotane. I quote two brief paragraphs from it :

"We have seen some highly successful boycotts in  
South Africa. The African people, in particular, have 20  
shown in their famous bus boycotts in Alexandra in  
the 'forties, and more recently in Kliptown and  
Evaton, a high degree of unity and solidarity in  
such struggles. And the economic boycott remains  
a weapon of great potential value in establishing 25  
the rights of the Non-European people as consumers.

Nevertheless, the boycott is not and cannot be the  
answer to every problem. It is a tactical weapon  
of the people whose use must be weighed afresh in  
each new set of circumstances. But we have, as 30  
everybody knows, some people in our country who are  
ever 'calling' other people to boycott something or

other; often it seems they are not serious at all, but just political exhibitionists who issue 'calls' without any prospect of their being heeded, or any intention of organising the people to implement them."

And then under the caption "Culture and Sport" it says : 5

"It is a welcome sign of the increasing maturity of our national liberation movements that, in addition to purely political questions, they are also giving more attention to questions of great interest to thousands of people, such as sporting and cultural 10 activities.

In doing so it is natural that all patriotic Non-Whites should pay special attention to the hateful colour bars that disfigure and stultify these activities, just as they do everything else in this coun- 15 try."

Then under the caption "Smash the Colour Bar", it says :

"How can we break down these stultifying restrictions? In the long run, it can only be done by removing the vicious system of white domination and apartheid which 20 gives rise to these phenomena, and replacing it with a people's democratic system, along the lines of the Freedom Charter. Only then can we truly realise the ideal of opening the doors of culture, the theatres, opera houses, sportsfields, universities and 25 libraries to all our people. That is why Non-White intellectuals and sportsmen should join whole-heartedly in the people's struggle for the Charter."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 52, October 25th, 1956. On page 1, an article, headline caption "Chief 30 Luthuli to Speak on Africa and Peace. Broad Sponsorship for Anti-war Convention". The news item comes from



Johannesburg, and it begins by saying :

"An impressive panel of sponsors of South Africans from all walks of life is backing the national Peace Convention that opens in Johannesburg this week."

Later on it says :

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"The Peace Convention programme includes :

'Africa Needs Peace' by Chief A.J. Luthuli;

'Cultural Links with the World' by Mr. Alfred Hutchinson..."

It says that the sponsors also include trade unionists

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L. Masina and A. Sibeko and leaders of each of the

Congresses. It is accompanied by a photograph,

with the descriptive caption "Rev. D.C.Thompson, Chairman of the S.A. Peace Council".

On page 4, My Lord, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, 15

headline caption "People's Democracies Astir with Reform".

I read the opening and concluding portions of the article only :

"The reverbrations of the political bombshell exploded

by the Soviet leaders at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. continue to be felt throughout the world and, 20

naturally, not least of all in the countries of the

People's Democracies. The forthright attack on the

cult of the individual, bureaucracy, lack of collec-

tive leadership and gross violations of Socialist 25

legality has been enthusiastically taken up and con-

tinued by rank and file Communists and the mass of the

people in all the Socialist countries.

The shap weapon of criticism has been unsheathed

and no one, however high his position or former repu- 30

tation, can hope to hide from it. A bright searchlight

has been turned on all the unswept corners, with



some surprising and often dramatic results.

Gomulka is Back.

Latest in these developments is the re-election of Wladyslaw Gomulka to the position of First Secretary of the Polish Workers' Party, a position which he had 5 previously occupied with great distinction before being expelled and gaoled soon after the Cominform rupture with Marshall Tito.

He was released in 1955 and it was soon afterwards admitted that the charges against him had been fabricated. His reinstatement is yet another indication of how seriously the task of 'putting matters right' is being undertaken in the People's Democracies.

The Poznam trials were another example of the new approach being adopted towards the problems of building 15 Socialism. One of the most important of these problems is that of curbing the power of Public Security organisations, so as to prevent violations of justice and the stifling of legitimate criticism.

The proceedings at the trial demonstrated that one 20 of the best methods of ousting Security officials in their places is to ensure an absolutely fair and impartial hearing for all accused persons."

The concluding paragraph under the caption "No Soviet Tanks" says :

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"The Western press has outdone itself in producing false stories of Soviet 'invasions' of the People's Democracies - the Editor of the Polish paper Stettin Kurier stated last week that he and his staff 'had spent a whole day laughing' at the reports (carried 30 in front-page headlines by South Africa's press), that '80 tanks were massing on Poland from East

Germany' on the news of Marshall Rokossowski's removal from the Politburo.

Differences there are. Difficulties there are. But the enemies of Socialism have no cause for rejoicing. Everything will be solved - and peacefully. 5

As Elwyn Jones summed it up :

'I found no hankering for a return to pre-war conditions of cruel contrast between rich and poor and of reactionary military dictatorship. I met no Pole in Poland who wanted a return to the pre-war regime. But 10 I found a general resolve to create a Polish democracy and prevent any recurrence of arbitrary rule.'

Page 7 of this issue, My Lord, headline caption "Socialism, Anti-Colonialism, Peace : Indonesia, China, Have Same Ideal", says President Sukarno on Triumphant Visit. This emanates 15 from Peking, and says :

"'You want to have a new world in which there is no exploitation, no oppression and no suffering and people can live in freedom and happiness' said Indonesia's President Sukarno to the Chinese Prime Minister Mao Tse-tung, during 20 his triumphant visit to China last week. 'That is also our ideal'.

Hundreds of thousands of cheering Peking citizens had lined the route from the airport to the city to greet the leader of Indonesia's 82 million people. 25

President Sukarno declared on his arrival...."

Then the article goes on to describe the consolidation of friendship between these two great countries.

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 3, No. 1, November 1st, 1956. On page 2, an article, an editorial article, "Africa 30 for Peace". It says that since the end of Hitler's war in 1946, there has been no peace. Soldiers from Europe and

America have been fighting in Malaya, in Kenya, Korea, Algeria, Morocco, Cyprus, Vietnam.... Then it poses the question "Fighting for What?" and the answer is that they have been fighting to prevent the people in these countries, in Asia and Africa from governing themselves as it is their right to do. It says that now war is threatening in Suez, and it ends with a call to stop war, to do certain other things, and there is a footnote that this is a "Call adopted by the S.A. Peace Convention in Johannesburg last week". On page 4, "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "The Revolt in Hungary". I read the first portion only, My Lord :

"The daily press, naturally, is exaggerating and distorting the events in Hungary. But making the maximum allowance for lies and hysteria the hard facts must remain hard for progressives to take.

There has been a large-scale revolt against a People's Democratic government.

The fighting in the streets of Budapest has come as a shock to me, as to most progressives, and the best way to overcome the shock is to face the facts that underly the revolt.

It can NOT be explained simply in terms of U.S. spies and provocateurs - though they have certainly played their part.

It can only be explained in terms of intense dissatisfaction on the part of a section of the least politically-conscious workers themselves - dissatisfaction strong enough to make them ready tools for the hard-dying Hungarian capitalists class and its foreign allies. The fact that it was necessary for the Hungarian government to call Soviet troops to its aid



is clear enough testimony that a fair number of workers must have been, at best, neutral, in the conflict, for every factory has its well-armed, well-trained workers' defence group, and had this workers' militia been united and enthusiastic, the uprising 5 could have been smashed without foreign aid.

Why the Dissatisfaction?

What is the basis for the dissatisfaction - dissatisfaction which both the Polish and the Hungarian governments have admitted to exist and to be at least 10 party justified?

In attempting to answer this question I may seem to stress negative things - the grim mistakes. Let me make it clear at the outset that I believe that only the most blind can fail to see that the whole picture 15 is a wonderful one of the world's surge towards the new life which lies before us.

There have been terrible errors and terrible barbarities in the building of that new world. But they are not even a tiny fraction of the cruelties, suffering 20 and inequity which are perpetrated daily and deliberately in the old order. The Socialist world is painfully exposing its own crimes as a warning that they must never be allowed to happen again - but the western world can only exist by the continuation of its crimes 25 and merciless cruelties; the hangings in Cyprus, the mass shootings in Algeria are regular pages in the bloody history of imperialism.

And in our own country we know of the daily injustice of innocent people herded into jails, of mothers 30 separated from families, of people torn from their homes and livelihoods at the whim of a cruel dictatorship.

The local newspapers which are so oblivious to the evils which stem from racialism have a hopeless task in trying to turn the Non-European people against the people's democracies with hypocritical cant about the absence of civil liberties in Hungary." 5

And then the author continues to describe his experiences in one of the people's democracies, and he appears to do so fairly objectively, and makes several criticisms. Then My Lord, on page 8 of this issue, there is an article, headline caption "Africa Needs World Peace". I read the opening paragraph only : 10

"Africa needs a world at peace. This was the theme dominating last week's crowded and representative National Peace Convention in this city." That is Johannesburg. "Packing the hall to the doors, 850 peace convention delegates and hundreds more visitors representing all sections of the people, heard Chief A.J. Luthuli emphasise : 'Peace is indisolubly interwoven with the question of freedom, for peace without freedom is a mockery ... Freedom cannot flower to its best except in a climate of peace. For oppressed people such as we are, it would be futile and unrealistic to speak of peace outside the context of the struggle for freedom.'" 15 20

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 3, No. 2, November 8th, 1956. On page 1, headline caption "Microphone Found Hidden at A.N.C. Conference". This is a description of what happened before the start of the Annual Conference of the African National Congress in Lady Selborne, and it also deals with the Report to the Conference. On page 2, the editorial article, headline caption "Halt the War in Egypt". It is a very short article, and it says : 25 30

"All South African democrats have been roused to anger by the crude and cold-blooded aggression against Egypt. The whole might of the British and French armies - aided by the Israelis - is being turned against the people of Egypt in order to rob her of her control of the Suez Canal and to punish her for standing up for her rights. 5

Lawlessly, murderously, imperialism has gone into action. Who can doubt that this time the people will triumph and that in their desperation Eden and his followers had sped the doom of the system of oppression and exploitation which they serve? 10

But mighty though the forces of liberation are, no progressive dares to underestimate the dangers which lie behind the desperation of the imperialists. Even if they risk the destruction of all mankind, Eden and those he represents are prepared to plunge the world into war rather than give up their plunder. 15

If the people of all countries stand firm and make it known clearly - and loudly - that they will not put up with the aggression against Egypt, the British, French and Israeli invasions can be halted. 20

The working-people of Britain are making their stand known in no unmistakable terms. The Congress movement in our own country, living up to its status as the spokesman of the whole people, has condemned the aggression and called for it to be brought to a halt. 25

As an African country we are closely involved in this invasion of Africa. As members of the liberation movement we are closely involved in this attack on a liberation movement. As opponents of national oppression and colonialism we are involved in this oppressive 30



and imperialist war. As part of the Commonwealth we are involved in this vicious British Tory action - for let it not be forgotten that the Nats have a pact with the Tories permitting them to use Simonstown as a base Even Without the Union's Permission. 5

We dare not remain quiet. Our voices must be heard in the call for an end to the war in Egypt - the demand for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of that country."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 3, No. 3, 15th November, 1956. On page 2, the editorial article, "Fighters for 'Freedom'". This says : 10

"The students of Stellenbosch and Pretoria have developed a sudden passion for freedom and democracy. They have marched through the streets of their cities carrying 15 banners inscribed with democratic slogans. Two of them have volunteered to go off and fight in a 'war for liberty'.

Freedom for the Non-European people enslaved in South Africa? Democracy for the masses of South Africans who 20 are denied the vote or the right to a say in the running of their country? Justice for people sitting in gaol because they have no passes, for the people deported without trial, for the farm labourers, beaten and starved? 25

No! The students said nothing of freedom here. They want to go off to fight for freedom in Europe!

Even then, this spark of interest in liberty appears hard to kindle - only two volunteered.

Imagine It'. Die Burger and the Star : Transvaler 30 and Zionest Record; Natal Mercury and Cape Times; Eric Louw and Harry Lawrence - All supporting a

Revolution!

With such backing there must be something radically different about this revolution; this fight for freedom.

When the people of Cyprus rise up against British imperialism and struggle for their freedom - what do our papers say? Bandits, murderers, killers! When the people of Kenya rise up in desperation against the plunder of the land, what do our papers say? Savages, primitive beasts! What have they said about every single struggle for freedom and democracy in the past? They have lied about them, slandered them, fought them.

But this time they are enthusiastically backing the revolutionaries - trying every trick in their propaganda armoury to awaken a spirit of war against the Soviet Union.

In some parts of the world, no doubt, they will have success in creating such a hysteria, But in this country their task is hopeless.

For when they talk of 'freedom' the Non-European people will hurl back at them: Where do you stand on our freedom? And when they talk of democracy they will be asked : Where do you stand on our democracy?

Whatever they think are the rights and wrongs of the situation in Hungary, progressives in South Africa stand four square on one thing: That the attempt of the generals and war-makers to cash in on the present situation to foment a war on the Soviet Union must fail.

Whatever differences there may be within the world progressive camp on the manner of marching towards the new age, these differences will be solved within

that camp itself. United States forces would bring no peace to Hungary. South African armed forces would bring no democracy and equality!

The threat of war is great and the war-makers are eager to take their opportunity. No progressive South African will hesitate in seeing his duty to do everything in his power to show that an imperialist war will have no backing from the people of our country."

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Page 3, My Lord, "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Egypt and Hungary - Defeats for Reaction". I quote the opening portion only. It says :

"The world has never been closer to a full-scale atomic war than it was last week - and the danger is by no means past. The mere fact that the imperialists have had to modify their tactics in the Middle East should not lull anyone into a false sense of security.

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We are witnessing an all-out attempt to divert attention from the Middle East, to whip up anti-Soviet hatred over the Hungarian issue, and to lay the foundation for possible Western intervention against the Soviet Union.

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On November 3 the diplomatic...."

Then on page 5, of this issue, My Lord, - on pages 4 and 5 there are articles "What they say about Hungary - the news the daily press didn't print". This is a news roundup and then apart from the news roundup there is an article, headline caption "Relations between Soviet Union and People's Democracies". The descriptive title is :

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"On October 31st, at the height of the disturbances in Hungary, the Soviet Government issued a statement on the relationships between the Soviet Union and the

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People's Democracies of Eastern Europe, with special reference to Hungary. Not a single word of this statement was reproduced in the South African press. New Age this week prints the document in its entirety, believing that it will contribute to a better understanding of what happened in Hungary after November 1st." 5

And this article then contains an analysis of events in Hungary, and the concluding paragraph says, under the caption "Workers' Task" : 10

"The defence of the socialist gains of people's democratic Hungary is today the chief and sacred obligation of the workers, peasants, intellectuals of the entire Hungarian working people.

The Soviet Government expresses confidence that the peoples of the socialist countries will not allow the external and internal reactionary forces to shake the foundations of the people's democratic system, gained and reinforced by the selfless struggle and labour of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of each country. They will do their utmost to remove all obstacles standing in the way to the further strengthening of the democratic foundations, independence and sovereignty of their country and then to develop further the socialist basis of each country, its economy, its culture for the sake of the steady advance of the material well-being and cultural standards of all the working people. They will consolidate the fraternal unity and mutual assistance between the socialist countries for reinforcing the great cause of peace and socialism." 15 20 25 30

Then on page 7, My Lord, an article, headline caption

"Last week marked the 39th Anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union. In this special article Dr. Sukarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, writes on The October Revolution and the Asian Awakening." I quote three paragraphs from this article :

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"We live in the twentieth century. And we may be proud of it. Why? Because the twentieth century is witnessing developments of tremendous importance to all mankind.

Once of these momentous developments is the awakening of the Asian peoples, who have risen everywhere to fight for their independence and deliverance from the oppression of Western conquerors.

Workers' Struggle.

Another epoch-making development is the struggle of the workers and peasants in feudal societies to alter their destiny, a struggle which culminated in the establishment of socialist states in Russia, and in a number of East-European countries and in China.

There is yet another development whose immense importance to the world cannot be overlooked, namely, the discovery of atomic energy as a new source of power. Atomic energy opens up unprecedented potentialities for all mankind.

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What was the force which inspired the national awakening of the Asian people?"

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And then it describes the industrial revolution, the huge markets which Asia represented, and goes on to say under the caption "Political Domination" :

"In order to ensure their economic domination over the Asia countries and to retain Asia as a market and a source of raw materials, the West-European powers, by

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various devices, gradually acquired political domination over these countries. With the help of colonial troops, as their instrument of power, which resorted time and again to brutal measures of suppression, they established what they called political stability in 5 Asia. In this way nearly all the Asian countries fell under the political and economic sway of Western Europe.

This colonial oppression had two forms, political domination and economic exploitation, and lasted for more than three hundred years. Colonial oppression 10 destroyed the independence of the Asian nations. They not only lost their independence; economic exploitation protected by political power, brought infinite hardships and misery on Asia's millions.

In the course of time the poverty and want caused by 15 the conquerors became too intolerable to be borne. The Asian peoples then began to produce popular leaders from their midst who became spokesmen of the aspirations, ideas and interests of these still 'mute' nations. The wishes and demands which Asia's millions could not 20 as yet express openly, were voices by these leaders. Great Leaders.

They became their advocates, the spokesmen of their interests, the organisers of their struggle. Guided by such great leaders as Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit 25 Nehru in India, Dr. Sun Yat-sen in China, Jose Rizal in the Philippines, the Asian peoples rose to fight for their independence. They did so wherever possible by democratic means, but where they were compelled to, with the help of force. 30

Sometimes the colonial authorities succeeded by brute force in halting the movement for independence of these poverty-stricken millions. But they could not



break their will to struggle and their potential energy. The constantly growing fighting strength of the Asian peoples stems, in effect, from one source. This source has two sides: a negative side - resistance to the political domination and economic oppression of the conquerors; and a positive side - the effort to build a just and prosperous society in which people may live happily and enjoy all human rights."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 3, No. 4, November 22nd, 1956. Page 4, "World Stage", by Spectator. Headline caption "Victory in Egypt not yet Won". I quote two brief portions :

"The force of world anger at the British French and Israeli invasion of Egypt has led to a cease-fire and brought to a temporary halt the use of naked aggression to crush the Nasser government. This is a victory for the forces of progress, but it is by no means a final victory.

The hot breath of another Korea-type war, or even a third world war, has not yet passed by.

The anglo-French military forces are still astride the Suez Canal. And Israel still maintains that she will hold onto the spoils of conquest."

Then the concluding paragraph compares the situation in Hungary and Egypt under the caption "False Analogy". It says :

"The analogy between Hungary and Egypt is false : The Anglo-French aggression was directed against the Egyptian government; the Soviet assistance on the invitation of the Hungarian government.

The Anglo-Frence forces invaded Egypt. The Soviet

forces were stationed in Hungary with the recognised responsibility of protecting Hungary's independence and preventing her return to fascism.

Britain and France had no shred of legal right to invade; the Soviet armed forces were legally in Hungary in terms of the Warsaw pact.

Most important of all - the issue in Egypt is between imperialism and national liberation; the issue in Hungary is between socialism and reaction as is made clear on our foreign news page.

The people of South Africa have already demonstrated through their spokesmen, the Congress movement, and at mass meetings that they are fully aware of the issues at stake in Suez. There must be no victory for imperialism. The United Nations force must not be permitted to become the thin end of the Anglo-French wedge. Egypt must be free and independent."

Page 7, My Lord, a long article, headline caption "The Smoke Clears in Hungary". I read the opening paragraph :  
"As the smoke cleared in Hungary last week, it became easier to see the true pattern of the tragic events in that country.

What the daily press has done its utmost to conceal - the fact that the Hungarian revolt underwent a complete change of character from its starting-point as a workers' protest at the slowness of the pace of government reform, into a completely counter-revolutionary mob frenzy led and exploited by the worst enemies of progress - has now emerged clearly."

On the same page there is a continuation of the article by President Sukarno to which reference was made in the previous issue.

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 3, No. 5, November 29th, 1956, page 2, a news item, headline caption "Peace Council Statement on Egypt and Hungary" :

"Cape Town -: An end to the fighting in both 'danger spots' Egypt and Hungary, is demanded in a statement 5 issued this week by the Cape Town Peace Council.

'We also demand that all governments recognise the right of all peoples for sovereignty and independence', the statement continues.

'In the Middle East negotiations must take place 10 and the differences be settled to the satisfaction of all parties. Any further interference might well lead to a world war with the use of atomic weapons.

'In Europe we demand the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the withdrawal of all foreign 15 troops. It is only by ending the cold war that the peoples of Europe will be free to exercise their right to independence and genuinely settle their own affairs. It is only in this way that there will be a guarantee of peace. 20

All over the world..."

Then the article concludes with a call by the Peace Council on the South African Government to take no action which may involve this country in an unnecessary and unjust war, and calling for a ban on the use, manufacture and testing 25 of atomic, hydrogen and other nuclear weapons. On page 3, My Lords, there is an article, headline caption "This is a time for Action". "A Review of Current Affairs by Moses Kotane", together with photograph. My Lord, this is a long article, insofar as portions of it are similar in 30 terms to what has been said about Hungary, I shall cut it down to the minimum. It begins :



"As we near the end of 1956, the dreadful shadow of a general world war threatens humanity more menacingly than at any time since Korea and General MacArthur's threat to invade China."

Then follows a review of the contemporary scene, and then 5  
under the caption "Fifth Column", the author continues :

"We are not living in the Nineteenth Century, and the attempt by Britain and France, aided and abetted by their accomplice Israel (whose Government's action in this crisis has confirmed all the Arab suspicions and 10 charges that Israeli plays the part of a Fifth Column for Imperialism in the Arab world), cannot succeed in reviving and prolonging the life of the doomed system of colonialism.

African, Asians and all democratic people of the world, rejoice that this wicked colonialism, with all its robbery, exploitation and contempt for national aspirations and human dignity, is approaching its inevitable end. It cannot survive in the world of today, when (as we saw at Bandung last year) vast areas of 20 Asia and Africa embracing over 1,000 million people have already thrown off the chains of alien rule, and there is no stopping their brothers in these continents - inspired by their example and aided by their moral support - from following in their footsteps. 25

The danger is that the imperialists, in a desperate gamble to turn back the clock of history, will attempt to embroil mankind in all the horrors of nuclear warfare. The peoples - including the people of Britain, France and America, must now allow this 30 tragedy to occur. "

Then there is a portion under the heading "Hungary" :

"It is not surprising that the imperialists and their propaganda organs should have seized upon the regrettable events in Hungary in order to distract world opinion."

The author then analysis the regrettable events, and I 5  
quote only one portion in heavy print :

"Nevertheless, certain factors are clear. Rampant counter-revolution aided and instigated by imperialism, took advantage of widespread grievances which hureau- 10  
cratic rule and mistakes had created, in a all-out attempt to overthrow the people's republic and turn Hungary into a battlefield of the Third World War."

Then under the heading "Focal Point" there is a considera-  
tion of the Middle East Problem, and finally in the con-  
cluding paragraph of the article the author says : 15

"None of these big goals are inpossible to realise in the near future. But to gain them, we must be up and doing now. Now, with rapidly rising living costs, arising out of the big flow of shipping to the ports, is the time for a big advance of activity and organisa-20  
tion of the trade unions - an advance which every Congressman and woman can play a part in. Now is the time to make great efforts and sacrifices to develop a mass 'Quit Egypt' campaign and a support for the 'Aid for Egypt' fund. 25

Now is the time when every leader and member of the liberation and progressive movements, at every leve, must be seeing to the grievances of the people, rally-  
ing them in tens of thousands of meetings, big and small, up and down the country, against the attacks 30  
of apartheid and the persecution of their leaders.

Wake up! Let us be up and doing!"

The My Lords, on page 5, headline caption "Hungarian Government Acted to Save Peace - Interview with Premier Kadar. Another Statement That Has Been Ignored By The South African Press":

"The intervention of Soviet troops in Hungary was 5  
 necessary not only for the defence of Socialism, but  
 of world peace, said Hungary's Premier Janos Kadar  
 in an interview with foreign press correspondents  
 last week."

The balance of the article is then a summary of what the 10  
 Hungarian Premier said.

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 3, No. 6, December 6th,  
 1956, pages 5 and 4, an article, headline caption "The  
 New Constitution - Multi-racial conference in 1957 - sus-  
 pension of the boycott decision - the anti-pass campaign - 15  
 Bantu Education. These are some of the crucial issues facing  
 the South African people which will be discussed at The  
 Queenstown A.N.C. Conference." The opening portions of  
 the article compalins about the whipping up of intense  
 anti-Soviet hysteria on the Hungarian question, and says 20  
 that Congress can be expected to endorse the firm stand  
 taken by the Congresses on the invasion of Egypt. It says  
 Conference will also review the progress made in Africa's  
 march towards independence, and the struggles of the  
 peoples in various countries, especially the heroic strug- 25  
 gles of the people of Algeria and Kenya. On the same  
 page 5, My Lords, a further article, headline captio n  
 "Hungary Clash Caused by Big Power Politics. Peace  
 Council Warns Against New War Hysteria". This is a news  
 item from Johannesburg. The opening portion says : 30

"The world is now living through the most dangerous  
 emergence since 1939, says a statement issued by the



the South African Peace Council. The greatest danger arising from the tragic events in Hungary is the new war hysteria, for events in that country are being used by the warmongers to create a war atmosphere and to whip up the type of hatred and hysteria which has so often brought the world to the brink of war."

The next issue, Volume 3, No. 7, December 13th, 1956, page 2, My Lord, in the space normally allotted to the editorial article, there occurs the headline caption, "A Message to Our Readers from the Fort". Then occurs a reproduction of a manuscript article from several people, and it is reproduced in print below. It is from all members of the New Age Staff now in jail, and "all the arrested Congressmen and women send their best wishes to our paper". They ask for further financial support for the paper, and the message comes apparently from Lionel Forman, Fred Carneson, Alex la Guma, Tennyson Makiwane, Sonia Bunting.

That My Lords, concludes the reading of extracts from the New Age.

MR. TERBLANCHE NOW TAKES OVER AS PROSECUTOR.

MR. PLEWMAN READS CERTAIN PORTIONS OF CERTAIN EXHIBITS  
INTO THE RECORD :

The first Exhibit, My Lords, is B.S. 2, handed in by the witness Davis. I just wish to draw attention to the reference in it - perhaps I should say My Lords, that this purports to be a resolution by a Conference called by the Johannesburg Western Areas Anti-Group Areas Joint Committee. There is nothing to indicate what that body is. It is not on any form of letterhead, and the third paragraph of the first resolution expresses appreciation to the City Council of Johannesburg for

for the interest shown in the plight of the Non-Europeans. The next Exhibit which I wish to deal with, My Lord, is F.M.M. 25 . That My Lord was handed in by the witness Roberts. It is headed - it is a roneod document, headed "African National Congress Provincial Secretarial Report, 15 January-November, 1955". There are on page 3, My Lord, two paragraphs which I would wish to draw attention to. Under the heading "Activities of Branches", the next sub-heading is (a), Membership :

"Present statistics show very low membership, that 10 is of course comparatively speaking."

The next one is on page 4, under the same heading "(e), Western Cape Region", and it complains that the Region has not co-operated with the Provincial Executive, and on page 5 there is a conclusion that the Report does not present a 15 very rosy picture.

The next, My Lord, is Exhibit F.M.M. 3 which was handed in by the witness Vosloo. It is a roneod document, headed "South African Women's Federation" dated the 28th May, 1954, and it is an invitation to a conference. The Crown, My Lord, 20 read in under the numerals 1, 6, 7, and 8, which deals with the object of the organisation. I would just like to read the remaining, that is 2, 3, 4, and 5.

"2. The right to full opportunities for employment with equal pay, the possibility of promotion in all 25 spheres of work.

3. Equal rights for men - equal rights with men in relation to property and marriage and children and the removal of all laws and customs that deny women such equal rights. 30

4. For the development of every child to free and compulsory education", and then it refers to clinics

welfare movements, creches, nurseries and so on.

"5. The removal of all laws that restrict movement  
and prevent or hinder the right of free association."

These are all said to be what this organisation strives for.

The next, My Lord, is Exhibit A.A.N. 12. That My Lord, was 5  
handed in by the witness Venter. The Crown read portions  
of page 3, the roneod document "Struggle for Culture" and  
concluded its reading with the sentence "We have shed a  
great deal of blood to create the new nation, and we must  
be prepared to sacrifice and preserve our African nationality."  
That was the last paragraph read by the Crown. I just wish  
to read the next sentence :

"We say that sacrifice is called for by the A.N.C. in  
the struggle against the Bantu Education, Do not lie 15  
in the removal of children from Verwoerd's poison  
Vats. No, the sacrifice lies in the provision of  
alternative methods in educating the children."

The next, My Lord, is A.A.N. 4, handed in by the same wit-  
ness. It is a manuscript document entitled "Opening  
Speech" and it has different writing on it. I just wish 20  
to record that it is undated, unsigned and from the first  
paragraph appears to have been a C.O.P. Conference called  
by the Local Branch. That is the only evidence of  
identity of the document.

The next, My Lord, is the Exhibit T.A.N. 3 handed in by 25  
the witness Erasmus. It is a carbon copy of a document  
headed "Suggested Programme", from which the Crown read  
certain portions. We wish to place on record that it  
is undated and unsigned, but there is a reference on page  
4 to the method of this campaign. The paragraph commen- 30  
cing on page 4 :

"In order to be effective our campaign must rely on



persuasion and logic plus any other weapons that can be employed by largely on these."

Then My Lords, for reasons previously indicated there are two other passages I wish to read. On page 6, under the heading "Organisational", there is a statement that : 5

"The fact must be faced that for an organisation of its size and tremendous influence the A.N.C. is very badly and inefficiently run."

There is a statement lower down :

"The power of an oppressed people lies in their organisation and firm discipline" 10

and on page 10 of the same document there is a complaint about the chronic state of the finances of the A.N.C. and a lighthearted attitude towards finance.

The next, My Lord, is Exhibit V.M. 15, handed in by the witness Malherbe. The Crown read various portions, but the Crown omitted the paragraph under "Immediate Tasks and Duties of Branch", and I would just like to read the fourth paragraph under that : 15

"Each member must see that order and discipline prevail at all meetings" 20

My Lord, the next is V.M. 13, a roneod document, "Address of the Secretary-General of the African National Congress, W.M. Sisulu". The Crown read the first five paragraphs on page 1. I would like to refer to the paragraphs which follow that: 25

"6. Some of us hope and believe that African Nationalism shall remain broad democratic and progressive in keeping with the declared policy of the African National Congress." 30

I then omit a sentence and the next paragraph reads :

"The first item in the Bill of Rights in the 'demand

for the abolition of political discrimination based on race and the extension to all adults regardless of race, of the right to vote and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and other Representative Institutions'. We accept the principle of Brotherhood of mankind irrespective of colour or creed." 5

Then there is a reference to the correctness of a report in the Bantu World. On page 2, the Crown read the first paragraph under the heading "Let me deal with Organisational Machinery". The second paragraph commences with this sentence : 10

"The National Conference of the African National Congress is the Supreme Policy making body which gives directives to all its organs and all its leaders working through machinery known as Executive and Officials who carry on the work of the National Conference between sessions of Conferences". 15

The final paragraph on that page refers to the inadequate organisation of the body :

"Our campaigns are taken very lightly by many of our members, e.g. the M-Plan has not been dealt with in a satisfactory manner. In some provinces the campaign for membership has been very disappointing." 20

Repeated instructions are not followed, and there are other failures to the same effect. 25

Finally, My Lord, the document V.M. 2, which is a typed document, undated and unsigned, from which the Crown read the preamble. I would like to read paragraphs 3 and 4. The preamble was "We Call for a great nationwide campaign to rouse the people against apartheid". The third paragraph reads : 30

"Volunteers must carry throughout the country the

message of the coming Congress of the People, and must gather in demands of our people for the Freedom Charter which will be adopted at the Congress of the People. Our Volunteers must meet the reckless violence and reliance on force of the Nationalist Government with discipline, refusal to be provoked and determination to carry on their struggle until our liberty is won." 5

The document then calls for Volunteers. Those are the only documents I wish to deal with, My Lord. 10

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GLADWILL MGCAI, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

You are a member of the South African Police, and where are you stationed? --- At They Grey's, Johannesburg. 15

Do you know Sophiatown? --- Yes.

Do you know it well? --- Yes, My Lord.

Did you attend the Preparatory Examination of this case? --- Yes, My Lord.

Do you know a person by the name of Ngwendu? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

By what name do you know him? --- By William Samba Bob Ngwendu.

What do you mean, is he known by all three those names separately or together? --- He is called by any 25  
- I have heard him being called by any or all those names.

During December, 1956, do you know where he was living at that time? --- Yes, My Lord.

Where was he living then? --- 48 Edith Street, Sophiatown, Johannesburg.



Were there other people living with him in the same house? --- He and his wife and his daughter.

Did you see this person William Ngwendu at the Preparatory Examination? --- Yes, he was there, My Lord.

As what was he there? --- He was one of the 5 people who were arrested.

Was he an accused at the Preparatory? --- He was one of the Accused.

Do you also know a person by the name of Pieter Nthithe? --- Yes. 10

Do you know where he lives - do you know where he was living during September, 1955? --- He was then staying at No. 98 Meyer Street, Sophiatown.

Were there other persons living with him in the same house? --- Yes. 15

Who? --- His father and his mother and his wife were staying with him.

Did you also see him at the Preparatory Examination? --- Yes, I did.

As what? --- Also an Accused. 20

Do you know whether his father took part in activities of the African National Congress? --- Not to my knowledge, I never saw him take part.

And Peter Nthithe, did he take part? --- Yes.

Do you also know a person by the name of Henry 25 Tshabalala? --- I do.

Where did he live during September, 1955? --- No. 46, Willy Street, Sophiatown.

Did you also see him at the Preparatory Examination? --- Yes. 30

As what? --- Also an accused.

Were there other people staying with him at

this address? ---He stayed there with his wife and his  
brother. His brother died since.

This brother of his, did he take part in the  
activities of the African National Congress? --- Yes, his  
brother took part. 5

And Henry Tshabala, did he also take part? ---  
He also, My Lord.

Do you know a person by the name of Robert  
Resha? --- Yes, My Lord.

Where did he live during September, 1955? --- 10  
41 Bertha Street, Sophiatown.

Can you identify this person Robert Resha? ---  
Yes, My Lord.

Will you just step down and if you see him in  
Court, point him out? --- (WITNESS IDENTIFIES ACCUSED 15  
NO. 17)

Do you know who stayed with him at this  
address? --- His wife and a young girl.

Do you also know a person by the name of  
Bennet Seitchiro? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

During December, 1956, do you know where he  
stayed? --- He was living at Stand No. 577 Hamilton Road,  
Newclare, Johannesburg.

Did you see him at the Preparatory Examination?  
--- Yes, My Lord. 25

As what? --- He was an accused.

Did you also know a person by the name of  
F. Keitsing? --- Yes, My Lord, I knew him.

As what? --- He was also an accused.

How did you know him? --- Fish Keitsing. 30

Do you know where he lived during December,  
1956? --- 35 Dowling Street, Newclare.

4028.  
4128.

(G. MGCAI)

Did you also see him at the Preparatory  
examination? --- Yes, My Lord.

As what? --- Also an Accused.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

NO QUESTIONS BY THE DEFENCE.

5

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MARTHINUS LAUBSCHER BURGHER, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

You are a Detective Sergeant in the South  
African Police, and where are you stationed at present?

--- At Springs.

10

On the 27th of September, 1955, did you conduct  
a search at 98 Meyer Street, Sophiatown? --- Yes, My Lord.

At that time, did you know whose house it was?

--- No, My Lord.

Was anybody present when you conducted your  
search? --- There were European and Bantu Detectives with  
me.

15

Inmates of the house? --- There was a Bantu  
woman.

Did you then seize certain documents? --- Yes,  
My Lord.

20

From what portion of the house did you seize  
the documents? --- In a room. As far as I can remember,  
a bedroom.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

25

Are you refreshing your memory from a document?

--- It is only the addresses of the places that I visited  
on that date.

On that piece of paper? --- Yes.

When was that written down? --- These are extracts



that I made at that time. These are extracts that I made from documents that I made at that time.

Is this a copy that you have made subsequently?

--- Yes.

Do you say that copy which you have contains 5  
addresses? --- Yes.

Did you personally have a search warrant? ---  
Yes, My Lord.

On that day? ---mYes.

And did the address appear on the search 10  
warrant? --- It did, My Lord.

From which documents did you make that copy?  
--- From statements that I handed in.

Do you know where the statements are now? ---  
As far as I remember, My Lord, it ought to be with the 15  
documents.

Did you seize certain documents at this address?  
--- Yes.

Did you make a note on the document? --- Yes.

Did you also put the address on the document? 20  
--- The address and date, My Lord.

EXAMINATION BY MR. TERBLANCHE RESUMED :

Now will you look at P.P.N. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7,  
9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24? --- Yes, My  
Lord. 25

Are those some of the documents that you  
seized there that day? --- They are some of the documents.

What is the address? --- 98 Meyer Street,  
Sophiatown.

In your handwriting? --- In my handwriting. 30

And did you make those entires on the same  
day? --- The same date, My Lord, the 27th September, 1955.

4130.

4030.

(M.L. BURGHER)

You hand in those documents? --- Yes, My Lord.

Will you just have a look at this warrant. Is that the warrant you had that day? --Yes, this is the warrant.

Now on the same day, - I am now dealing with the H.T. series, My Lord - On the same day, did you also go to 46 Willy Street, Sophiatown? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

Were the same persons from the Police present? --- Yes, My Lord.

Did you also have a search warrant to search these premises? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

Did you know who the occupier of these premises was? From your own knowledge? --- No, My Lord.

And you conducted a search there? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

Will you look at the documents H.T. 1, 1(a), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15? --- Yes, My Lord.

Are those some of the documents that you seized there that day? --- Yes, My Lord.

The address on those documents? --- 46 Willy Street, Sophiatown. 20

You made those notes on the documents on the same day? --- Yes, My Lord.

Were any of the inmates of the house present? --- As far as I can remember there was also a Bantu woman. I hand in these documents. 25

Now on the same day, did you also go to 41 Bertha Street, Sophiatown? --- Yes, My Lord.

Were the same members of the Police force accompanying you? --- Yes, My Lord. 30

Did you have a warrant to search these premises? --- I had.

4131.

4031.

(M.L. BURGHER)

And did you conduct a search there? --- Yes.

And did you seize certain documents there? ---

Yes, My Lord.

Will you look at the documents marked R.R. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 58, 60, 62, 63, 65, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 82 and 83? --- Yes, My Lord.

Are those some of the documents that you seized at this address on that day? --- Yes, My Lord.

The address on those documents endorsed by you? --- Yes, My Lord.

The address? --- 41 Bertha Street, Sophiatown.

Did you put the date on those documents the same day? --- Yes, My Lord.

You hand in those documents? --- I hand them in.

CASE REMANDED TO TUESDAY, the 6TH OCTOBER, 1959.

COURT ADJOURNS.



COURT RESUMES ON THE 6TH OCTOBER, 1959.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

Accused Absent : No. 11, M. Moolla.  
Accused No. 27 is back in Court.

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MARTHINUS LAUBSCHER BURGHER, under former oath;

EXAMINATION BY MR. TERBLANCHE CONTINUED :

My Lord, I start reading the F.F.N. series of documents. P.F.N. 2, My Lords, is a handwritten document, "Bantu Education and What It Is". Portion of the document is also in a Native language. I read only the portion that is in English. It says :

"We are to remain in slavery. We are to return to barbarism. Our own graves we are to dig. This is what is meant by Bantu Education. The white colour must be feared, it must be respected. Baas and kaffir must forever remain to be two different things. Things as they are now. This is Verwoerd's message in Bantu Education. Surely you have had enough of the burdens piled on you.  
To Unbelievers.

It may not be now, but in the very near future, which will be too late to realise :

1. The imminent danger;
2. The devil that has been spoken of so much;
3. The gall that has been poured down our throats, Bantu Education.

To the Nation.

Are you to take it lying down? Remember, it is not the individual, but the nation that is in danger. The future of the nation lies in your hands. So

4133.

4033.

(M.L. BURGHER)  
(F.F.N. 2)

awake Africans! Awake! Withdraw the children now  
and not tomorrow. The murder of the African is here  
and can't it be stopped. Listen. This is its fatal  
wound. Withdraw, withdraw, withdraw the children."

Then follows the portion in Native language, My Lord. 5

F.F.N. 3 is the bulletin "New Youth", Volume 1, No. 6, May,  
1955 and it is the same as M.M. 67.

F.F.N. 4 is a roneod document, and it says "Parent Stand  
Firm, Boycott Bantu Education, Withdraw Your Children  
From Verwoerd's Schools. Withdraw them Today." 10

F.F.N. 5 is a press communique from the World Federation  
of Democratic Youth.

F.F.N. 6 is an Information Service of the World Federation  
of Democratic Youth. It is undated - no, the date is February  
15th, 1955. 15

F.F.N. 7 My Lords is a letter from the Transvaal Indian  
Youth Congress, 37 West Street, Johannesburg. It is undated,  
and it is addressed to the Secretary, African National  
Congress Youth League, c/o Box 9207, Johannesburg, and it  
is signed by M. Moolla and S. Esakjee, Joint Secretaries, 20  
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. It says that on the 15th  
May, 1955 the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the  
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress will take place in Johannes-  
burg. It says further :

"We are making an appeal to you to send a message 25  
of greetings to our conference in order to enable  
us to include your message."

F.F.N. 9 is a booklet, by Leo Shallchee (?), on "Inner  
Party Struggle". It is a Foreign Languages Press, Peking,  
China. 30

F.F.N. 10 is the Constitution of the People's Republic  
of China, and it says :

"This Constitution was adopted on September 20th, 1954, by the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its first Session."

F.I.N. 11 is an Information Service bulletin of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and it is undated. 5

F.P.N. 12 is another bulletin of the World Federation of Youth, a letter, and a statement, dated April 29th, 1955.

F.P.N. 13 is a typed list, headed "Volunteer List". It gives the names of persons, the streets and the numbers.

F.P.N. 15 is an African National Congress circular, dated the 18th June, 1955, addressed to All Branches of the A.N.C. and it is signed by E.F. Moretsele, President African National Congress. Attached to that, My Lord, is Instructions and Duties for Volunteers at the Congress of the People, which has been read in as B. 34. 15

F.P.N. 19 is a revised Constitution of the African National Congress Youth League. From this I read three paragraphs, My Lord. It is a revised one and has not yet been handed in. Under 2, Aims and Objects, (b) says :

"To prepare African Youth for responsibility and leadership in the struggle for freedom, democracy and social progress." 20

"(d) To study the political, economic and social problems of Africa and the world;

(e) To assist, support, reinforce and strengthen the African National Congress in its fight for the National and the national liberation of the African people." 25

F.P.N. 20 is a booklet, Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, Tenth Anniversary, 1945-1955, and it is the same as B.2. 30

F.I.N. 22 is the bulletin of the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the Congress of the People, "Forward to



Freedom", 1st March, 1955, and it is the same as A.141.  
 F.F.N. 23 is dated the 21st February, and it is a special  
 newspaper for the 21st February International Day of  
 Struggle against Colonialism and Solidarity with the Youth  
 of Colonial countries, issued by the World Federation of  
 Democratic Youth, Budapest. 5  
 F.F.N. 24 is "Programme for the Building of a Mass Youth  
 League" and it is the same as A.54.

That completes the F.F.N. series, My Lord. I  
 now deal with the H.T. series. 10

H.T. 1 is a letter dated the 18th April, 1955, from the  
 Working Committee, A.N.C., Sophiatown Branch, Johannesburg,  
 18th April, 1955. It is addressed to Mr. Mohapo, and it  
 is signed by H. T. Tshabalala, Secretary. It says :

"The struggle of the Liberation of the Black man has 15  
 definitely taken another bold phase. Hence supporters  
 of freedom must be mobilised. In view of this you  
 are hereby invited to attend a meeting of the above-  
 mentioned committee",

and it then says when it will take place, on the 19th April, 20  
 1955.

"It is remarkable to say that this invitation is  
 extended to you as a unit leader."

H.T. 1(a) is a letter in the same terms - a copy this time,  
 addressed to Mr. Magoli. 9 25

H.T. 9 is a Workers' Unity, bulletin of the South African  
 Congress of Trade Unions, Volume 1, No. 3, July, 1955, and  
 it is the same as E. 28(a).

H.T. 10 My Lords, is the bulletin of the Transvaal Commit-  
 tee of the Congress of the People, "Forward to Freedom", 30  
 17th May, 1955, and it is the same as A. 130.

H.T. 11 is the same bulletin for the 1st March, 1955, and

is the same as A. 141.

H.T. 12 is the African Lodestar, Volume 6, No. 1, January, 1954, and it is the same as A. 205.

H.T. 13 is a roneod document, and it is headed "A Populace never Rebels from lassion for Attack, but from Impatience of Suffering", a quotation from Bourke, and it further says "1955, A Year of Decision". It is a portion of a Lodestar, My Lord, or rather the same article appeared in the Lodestar, which is the same as A.206. 5

H.T. 14 is South Africa's Way Forward, by Moses Kotane, and it is the same as B.79. 10

H.T. 15 is a book, "Revolution in Eastern Europe" by a person Doreen Warriner.

That completes the H.T. series, My Lord.

R.R. 2 My Lords, is a book "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", Short Course. And it is a Foreign Languages Publishing House issue, Moscow, 1948. 15

R.R. 3 is a booklet "The U.S.S.R. 100 Questions and Answers" published by Soviet News, London, 1954.

R.R. 4 is a pamphlet "Why Friendship with Russia", issued by the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. It is undated, and it is the same as L.L.M. 133. 20

R.R. 5, My Lords, is the Report of the First National Conference of Women, and this document appears in the Policy Schedule, page 126, item 2, and page 1 and page 3 are the pages quoted in the Policy Schedule, but this has already been read in, My Lord, as E.172. 25

R.R. 7 is a handwritten document, headed "C.O.F." and it says : 30

"As the President has already said, the C.O.F. is the idea of this Conference. The National accepted

4137. 4037.

(M.L. BURGHER)  
(R.R. 7)

the idea and made it its own. It has made it the property of the people of South Africa of all races, irrespective of religions, faith or colour or political affiliation. The C.O.F. is an answer to the needs of the people of South Africa. The C.O.F. is to correct 5 the mistakes made in 1909, when the white people decided to meet at Vereeniging to found a Union of South Africa, a union of White people, the minority group. This therefore was not a union of the people of South Africa, seeing that the majority.." and it 10

ends there, My Lord.

R.R. 8 is the resolutions of the African National Congress Annual Conference, 1954, and it is the same as a portion of A.15.

R.R. 9 is the African Lodestar, Volume 6, No. 1, January, 1954, and it is the same as A.205. 25

R.R. 10 is a letter dated the 12th June, 1954, a typed letter, addressed to "My dear Robby", from - there is an initial "J" and then typed in the name "Biko"(?). It deals with a forthcoming Conference, and it says "all is ready 20 down here, accommodation has been booked", and that is for the Conference at Uitenhage where this hall has been booked. It deals with the position of a certain person Maseko, and also one Labollo, with whose actions the writer doesn't seem to be satisfied. It then said - it 25 then says : "This Conference to consider the Maseko appeal should take a decision on that too, and appeal to other Province for support. Also urge the A.N.C. to start a genuine people's paper in vernacular, to counter anti- African, anti-liberation propaganda. Such a resolution 30 would get support. Newspapers are not being asked to have the same views as Congress, but they must not conduct



campaigns against Congress and encourage the dissemination of disrespectful attitudes towards the A.N.C. leadership, or gross, cheap, lying propaganda and call it freedom of the press or freedom of speech. Within a month the boycott would be at least 60% successful, and that is enough." 5

It then says :

"So Makgoti is president. Who are the others? Is Nokwe ready with the draft constitution of the League? Please let me have all the material for cyclostyling etc."...."Centuries of imperialism in Africa by the West, including the decimation of our population through the slave trade, etc. affords ample ammunition for such a campaign. I am going to start it honestly." 10

R.R. 11 is Congress of the People, and it is a Delegates' Report of the Congress of the People Conference held at Kliptown on the 25th and 26th June, 1955. It first deals with the organisation of electing delegates, at Sophiatown, it says it had to be divided into seven zones, and in the election campaign street and block meetings were organised since May, and about 200 delegates were elected. It then deals with finance, transport, and then with the Conference. 15 20

It says :

"Saturday, 25th. The Conference started very late at 3.30 p.m. and was officially opened by Dr. Conco, who presided on the First Session. Mr. E.F. Moretsele, Provincial President of the Transvaal welcomed the delegates and friends. Because of Chief A. Luthul's inability to attend the Conference, Dr. Letele was asked to read the opening address of Chief Luthuli. Dr. R. E. Fress of the Congress of Democrats read 25 30

messages from Chou-en-Lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China; Yuen Deba (?) President of the Indian National Congress in India; Mr. Ismail L. Aza, Prime Minister of Sudan; Iaul Robeson; World Federation of Trade Unions, and many others from 5  
America and Europe which because of space and time cannot be included in this report".

It then deals with certain medals that were presented, Isitwalandwe, medals which were presented to Chief Albert John Luthuli, who was represented by his daughter and Dr. 10  
Conco, Father Trevor Huddleston who appeared in person, and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, who was also represented by his mother.

"Mr. A. E. Fatel was asked to give a report of the National Council of the Congress of the People".

"Second Session : Mr. Hurbands presided in the Second 15  
Session. The Freedom Charter was then read in Zulu, Sotho and English, after which the Conference was adjourned until Sunday, 26th, and supper was served to the delegates.

Sunday 26th. The Conference was opened by the same 20  
Chairman, Mr. Hurbans. The preamble was moved by Mr. A. Hutchinson, after which Mr. M. F. Naicker moved the first clause of the Freedom Charter, 'The People shall Govern'. Some delegates from the floor supported the clause. Dr. Letele followed Mr. Naicker, and 25  
moved the Second Clause, 'All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights'. The motion was supported by the delegates. This brought the second session to an end.

Third Session. Mr. George Feake presided in the third 30  
session. Mr. B. Turok was called upon to move the third clause dealing with 'The People shall Share in

the Country's Wealth". This was seconded by the delegates from the floor. Mr. T.E. Tshunungwa moved the fourth clause."

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Haven't we got all this down already? 5

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

My Lord, Your Lordships may have the Agenda...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

We have got the issue of the medals, and all that, the names that you mentioned. Does that differ in any way from some of the documents that we have heard? 10

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

My Lord, as far as I know this is the first Report from a person who attended.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF : 15

And if we know from other evidence, other documents what happened, why must we hear that report? Why can't you say that is the report, it states what the Court already knows in the following document, and then give us the document. 20

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

My Lord, as far as I know, this has not yet been put before the Court, how the Congress of the People was actually conducted, who spoke on the different clauses, and.... 25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

We have. You must keep pace with the evidence. You must check that.

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

I'll check it, My Lord. 30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

What more do you want to read from that?

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

My Lords, I'll leave this over - I might return to it, but when I prepared this list I can assure Your Lordships that it hadn't been read. It is possible that as this had to stand over for some time, that it has 5 been read now. I'll check on that and may return to it later.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

I am not suggesting the identical document, I am suggesting the information contained in the document, 10 about what happened at the Congress of the People.

BY MR. TERBLANCHE :

I appreciate that, My Lord.

R.R. 12, My Lord, is the Freedom Charter, a roneod one, which is the same as A.10, and attached to it, My Lord, is 15 the resolution adopted at the Congress of the People, 25th of June.

R.R. 14, My Lords, is "The Call", bulletin of the Transvaal Indian Congress. This is No. 2, mid-March, 1955, and is the same as A.119, My Lord. 20

R.R. 15 is the circular, "Your Signature for the Freedom Charter", which is the same as A.2,

R.R. 16 is "One Million Signatures for the Freedom Charter", also the same as A.2.

R.R.18 is a roneod document "Economics and Politics in 25 South Africa", and is the same as A.M.K. 32.

R.R. 19 is a printed circular, issued by the South African Congress of Democrats. "This is an invitation to the Congress of the People".

R.R. 20 is a "Workers' Unity", bulletin of the South 30 African Congress of Trade Unions, Volume 1, No. 3, July, 1955 and is the same as D.28(c).



R.R. 21, My Lords, - this appears in the Policy Schedule, page 48, item 6, and also page 56, item 4. It is a letter from the South African Indian Congress, Johannesburg dated the 7th June, 1954. It is addressed to Mr. R. Resha, President African National Congress Youth League, and it comes from Yusuf Cachalia, signed, and also typed in Yusuf Cachalia and D.U. Mistry, Joint Hon. Secretaries, South African Indian Congress. It says :

"Dear Sir,

The 21st Conference of the South African Indian Congress will be held on the 9th, 10th and 11th of July, 1954 to consider important issues that confront the Indian community; will also deliberate and decide upon methods that will enable it, in co-operation with the different sections of the South African People to embark upon a programme of action for the achievement of democratic rights for all. Since the adoption of the report of the Joint Planning Council of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, which devised ways and means of conducting an active struggle, and which laid the basis for consolidating and broadening the liberatory movement, important and far reaching developments have taken place on the freedom front in South Africa. In this direction the African National Congress which represents the overwhelming majority of the people through its wise and able leadership, has made it possible for all South Africans, both White and non-White, to co-operate in the common struggle for right and justice. We therefore look to the future with confidence. The South African Indian Congress are pledged to do everything within its power in co-operation with the democratic

forces in the country, to defeat racialism and  
 oppression. With the unity of the people of South  
 Africa, united in a common bond of brotherhood,  
 without regard to race or colour, we are determined  
 to march forward for the establishment of a true 5  
 democracy in South Africa. We do so in the knowledge  
 that this idea is right and that there is no force  
 strong enough to stop an idea whose time has come.  
 May we on the eve of our conference approach you as  
 a champion of right and justice to send us a message 10  
 of support and good wishes."

R.R. 22, My Lord, is a bulletin of the South African Society  
 for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, advertising  
 a public meeting in the Trades Hall, on the 11th September,

R.R. 23 is a bulletin of the South African Society for 15  
 Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, September-  
 October, 1955 and it is the same as N.R.M. 15.

R.R. 23 is a circular of the Transvaal Peace Council,  
 typed in, Leon Levy, Secretary, dated the 10th April, 1954.  
 It advises that the next meeting of the Executive Committee 20  
 of the above Council will be held on Wednesday the 21st  
 April, 1954

R.R. 25 is "Novelle " (?), a bulletin of the Women's  
 International Democratic Federation, My Lords, dated the  
 1st November, 1952. 25

R.R. 27 is the weekly bulletin of the W.F.D.Y. and it  
 is "Towards the Third World Youth Congress". It is dated  
 the 25th - 30th July, 1953, Bucharest.

R.R. 28 is the Presidential Address of the African  
 National Congress, Transvaal, submitted the 42nd Annual 30  
 Provincial Conference held on the 9th-11th October, 1954.  
 There is written in in pencil "Delivered by Mr. E.P.

4144.

4044.

(M.L. BURGHER)  
(R.R. 28)

Moretsele, and it is the same as A.40.

R.R. 29 is the Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held on the 16th-19th December, 1954, and it is the same as A.37.

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R.R. 58 is a circular, African National Congress, Cape Province, from the Cape Head Office, Queenstown, dated the 30th June, 1955. It is signed by Enoch Tshunungwa, typed in T.E. Tshunungwa, Provincial Secretary. It gives amongst others, information, the names of Provincial Officials, and amongst the names appears that of Professor Z.K. Matthews, T.E. Tshunungwa, C.J. Mayekiso, E. Mfafa and Mrs. F. Matomela.

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R.R. 60 is African National Congress, Transvaal Conference, Agenda, for the Conference held on the 9th-11th October, 1954.

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R.R. 62 is a handbill, "Western Areas Must Remain, Verwoerd Must Go". It advertises a mass meeting in this connection on Sunday, 7th November, 1954. On the back of this there is a portion written in pencil, which appears to be notes for a speech, and it says :

20

"I am happy that today I stand on this platform as this appears to be the soul of my race... but stand to salute the people of the Soviet Union on occasion of their 57th Anniversary. We are assembled here today to show our appreciation on what they have achieved since 1917 Revolution."

25

It goes on in that vein My Lords, in connection with the anniversary of the Soviet Union.

R.R. 63 is a handbill "Congress Conference replied to Verwoerd on Removal of Western Areas, Bantu Education, Higher Rentals" and it advertises a meeting to be held

30



at Sophiatown on Sunday the 10th October. Issued by the  
A.N.C. Transvaal.

R.R. 65 is a South Africans for Peace and Friendship  
bulletin, "The H-Bomb".

R.R. 66 is Transvaal Peace Council roneod letter, undated, 5  
and it says :

"Kindly be advised of a meeting of the members of the  
above Council will be held on Saturday, June 12th,  
1954".

The typed in signature is Leon Levy, Secretary. 10

R.R. 69 is a letter from the Federation of South African  
Women, dated the 12th June, 1954, typed in signature  
Ida Mtwana, National President. It informs the person to  
whom it is addressed, "Dear Friend", that a meeting will  
be held on July 4th, 1954 and it says "as a result of the 15  
outstanding success of the National Women's Conference  
it is important that we meet together to elect a Regional  
Committee", and it says "All women are welcome as delegates,  
as members of an organisation and as individuals."

R.R. 70 is a pamphlet of the Federation of South African 20  
Women, "A Call to All Mothers", and it is the same as A.195.

R.R. 72 is Congress of the People bulletin, Natal bulletin  
No. 2. It deals, amongst other things, with the banish-  
ment of Yengwa and M.P. Naicker, and then it advertises a  
protest meeting on Sunday the 7th November, 1954. It 25  
says "Speakers include Dr. Conco".

R.R. 73 is a Counter Attack, November - No. 1, November  
1953. This is the same as C. 160.

R.R. 74 is a Counter Attack, No. 4, mid-April, 1954, and  
it is the same as C. 752. 30

R.R. 75 is another Counter Attack, No. 3, mid-March, 1954,  
and it is the same as C. 161.



4146. 4046.

(M.L. BURGHER)  
(R.R. 76)

R.R. 76 is National Action Council, Congress of the People circular, dated the 26th July, 1955, addressed to "All Delegates to the Congress of the People". It is signed by Moolla on behalf of the National Action Council.

R.R. 79 is a letter dated the 13th May, 1954, a copy of a letter from R. Resha to "Dear Son of Afrika". It seems to have been sent to a person "Joe", although it says "Dear Son of Afrika". It says in the second line, "Well, Joe, I was at Jimmy last weekend and we discussed the Conference". It then deals further with the Conference, a conference to be held that year on the 10th, 11th and 12th July in Port Elizabeth. I don't know, My Lords, what conference it was. I am only dealing with this portion to show to whom it was addressed. I read from page 2 :

Another matter on which I would like to get your immediate reply is the co-ordinating committee for the W.F.D.Y. and I.U.S. work. Already we have a lot of correspondence demanding representatives and we are not in a position to reply owing to the position and the present set-up. If the conference takes place on those days, I wish to suggest a joint sitting with the other organisations at the same venue. I have already sounded their opinions, and they are willing. Give a light on this matter immediately (?). With regard to our conference, please also suggest an agenda."

This only shows the connection with the W.F.D.Y. and I.U.S.

R.R. 82 is a document, "Facing Kenya" by H. Makgothi, and it is the same as A.M.K. 66.

R.R. 83, a part of R.R. 82, My Lords, is also deleted. I am not handing in the other portion of it, it has already

been handed in, My Lord.

R.R. 83 is the booklet "Viewpoints and Perspectives",  
February, 1954, which is the same as I.J.M. 52.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

CROSS-EXAMINATION RESERVED.

5

MR. VAN NIEKERK TAKES OVER AS PROSECUTOR.

AUGUST WILLIAM FREDERICK HEUER, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY MR. VAN NIEKERK :

Are you a Detective Sergeant, South African  
Police, stationed at Berea, Durban? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

On the 27th September, 1955, did you under the  
authority of a search warrant search a house of one  
- premises occupied by one Stephen Dhlamini? --- I did,  
My Lord.

Where were those premises situated? --- At 15  
33 Madras Road, Durban.

What do the premises consist of? --- It is a  
residential house, and Stephen occupied one front room of  
this house.

Was he present when you conducted this search? 20  
--- He was present.

Do you know whether or not he was an accused  
at the Preparatory Examination? --- I do not know, My Lord.

This evidence will be led later on, My Lord.  
Under the authority of this search warrant, did you 25  
seize certain documents? --- I did, My Lord.

Was anybody with you? --- I was accompanied by  
a Native C.I.D.

Will you have a look at the following documents,  
S.D.M. 1, 2, 4, 7 to 14, 15 to 19, 21 to 23, 26, 28, 29, 30  
30 to 33, 35 to 39, 40 to 43, 47, 48, 50 to 55, 56 to 66,

**Collection: 1956 Treason Trial**  
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***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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