

it included various constitutions of various trade unions, it included booklets of various types, a booklet on the Gold Coast, for example. Do you agree to all that? --- Yes, My Lord.

It included a statement of the All African Ministers' Interdenominational Conference on the Tomlinson Report. You can take it from me, it is in the balance of the documents, I don't wish to put it in, but it is there. Now I want to take and deal with them as one, if I may, My Lord, the Exhibits L.L.M. 48 and L.L.M. 55 to 71. All those Exhibits, My Lord, are various minutes of the African Laundry, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers' Union and have been handed in, and I want to put it to you, Sergeant, that those documents show that what this body is concerned with was the normal activity of a trade union, the sending of complaints to Industrial Councils, the establishment of sick funds, increases in wages, agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act, leave pay - all the normal activities of the trade unions, and that is the bulk of the matter dealt with. I might add, My Lord, that in regard to some of the extracts read by the Crown - I don't know what they seek to draw from it - there was an extract that this organisation was to keep its minutes where they couldn't be found by the police. Now L.L.M. 69 - if that is a sinister activity, shows that the members of the organisation thought that their documents had been incorrectly taken by the police, and there is a resolution to the effect that they will go to Court to get them back, if they are not returned by the police. It doesn't seem to me a matter of importance, My Lord, but that is what is found in the documents. The Crown also, My Lord, referred to

under the heading of correspondence, - correspondence they had received from the Consultative Committee. The documents disclose, and I leave it to the Crown to dispute it, My Lord, that there are also correspondence from the International - Interdenominational Ministers' Federation 5 and that a donation was made to them. I then leave those documents, My Lord. May I refer My Lord, to L.L.M. 74, which is a bulletin "Workers' Unity" put in by the Crown and read by the Crown was a passage on page 22 of this document about the Tenth Anniversary of the World Federa- 10 tion of Trade Unions. I just want to complete the sentence. The Crown, My Lord stopped - perhaps I should read it all to give the whole context. The Crown read :

"On the 10th Anniversary of the W.F.T.U. we greet this great organisation of the World Trade Unions 15 Movement by pledging to fight for its noble principles in our country".

That is the point at which the Crown stopped. The sentence continues :

"Where we will eliminate all discriminatory legis- 20 lation which debars any South African workers from being a trade unionist, from enjoying democratic rights, from playing a part in building up a decent life for all South Africans".

And then the Crown reading continues. My Lord, the next 25 document is L.L.M. 81. That is the Annual Report of the National Executive Committee, the 43rd Annual Conference of the African National Congress. Now the Crown, My Lord, read certain of the messages found in this Agenda book. On page 1(a) - I would just like to put it, there 30 is also a message from the Liberal Party and the Transvaal Division of the Liberal Party's message reads as

follows :

"On behalf of my organisation I send you good wishes for the success of your Conference, and express the hope that in the lifetime of your members and ours, we shall see in South Africa a society which is governed by the principles of respect for the individual as a person, irrespective of race and colour".

Now My Lord, this document also contains a Presidential Address not read by the Crown. It is unnecessary, My Lord, for me to read it to Your Lordships. It was dealt with by the Defence under the Exhibit no. E.T.M.15, which My Lord was read to this Court on the 9th September, and I don't propose to burden Your Lordships again. The Crown also read, My Lord, from the Executive Report, which is a document of some thirteen pages, and My Lord, while there are many passages which could be read, I don't propose to read them in. I merely wish to summarise it and give some illustrations. The document deals with Bandung, peace, apartheid, the question of the real opposition in this country, the Freedom Charter, the struggle against passes, campaign against Bantu Education, and under that heading it says on page 16 of the document :

"Education is essentially a slow process whose effects may take generations to become noticeable. An evil system of education therefore cannot be effectively attacked by means of a sensational, dramatic campaign of short duration, except..."

and it goes on to deal with how the matter should be opposed. And then, My Lord, there is on page 17, and I read this, although it has been read to Your Lordships

before, from another document. I read it here merely because the Crown has relied on this report in its policy of violence to give the context. At page 17, under the heading "Western Areas Removal Scheme" the following appears :

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"Thanks to the guidance of the A.N.C. leadership, a blood-bath was avoided which the government had intended to bring about by its provocative action. Despite the forces, out of 150 families, 40 families refused to go to Meadowlands. Great credit is due to the Sophiatown people and our beloved volunteers who remained calm whilst struggling against the evil forces at the same time."

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Then My Lord, the last portion which I wish to read to Your Lordships out of this document appears at page 19 under the heading of "Chief Luthuli". It refers to his illness and his recovery and treatment by the McCord Hospital, and then says :

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"Chief Luthuli is not just the President of the African National Congress, but is a symbol of unity whose leadership and ability is recognised and accepted by all sections - a man who basically cannot be replaced."

20

And it goes on to say he "continues to inspire and guide our organisation with his wisdom and foresight."

25

Those are the only passages I wish to read from that document. The next document, My Lord, is L.L.M. 88. Now in regard to this document, My Lord, the Crown read two paragraphs on page 12. I just want it on record that this is a twelve page document, "The South African Congress of Trade Unions, Minutes, National Executive Committee Meeting", and that the other pages, apart from these two small paragraphs on page 12, deal with

30

the normal everyday trade union activities. There is perhaps one other portion in the document to which I should refer Your Lordships, and that is on page 9, where the Chairman opening the second session dealt with the attitude of the S.A.C.T.U. towards the I.C. Act which is the Industrial Conciliation Act, My Lord. He talks there - he mentions there the methods to be used in opposing this act. 5

"We must continue to fight against this act, and we must do as the African women had done with regard to the issue of passes, namely we must continue to protest." 10

My Lord, the Crown also read from Exhibit L.L.M. 94, and sought to read passages about a training campaign. In this document under the heading "Arising out of Minutes", sub-paragraph (c) : 15

"The Secretary reported that the position of the school was very unsatisfactory" - that is the National Training Campaign.

And then, My Lord, there is one document which has not been put in by the Crown taken from this series, which is Exhibit L.L.M. 109. I'll ask the witness just to confirm that it was taken on the same date and at the same search? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

My Lord, this is a roneod document, headed "Why we should join Congress", and it is clear from the context that it is the African National Congress that is referred to. It is in several languages, and I just wish to read under the heading "What is Congress" some of the activities which this body apparently engages in : 25 30

"The African National Congress is spokesman of the African people for freedom.

It struggles for a better life for everybody, so

that all may live in decent houses and have good and interesting jobs which are well paid.

It struggles for our children, who need a good education, in order to grow up and become doctors, lawyers, dentists and skilled workers who will do great things for our country and its people. 5

Congress struggles for proper hospitals for the sick and clinics for those who require attention.

Congress struggles for the building of parks and halls where our people can enjoy themselves. 10

2. Congress is the Oldest of All African Organisations."

It then says that it was established in 1912, and ever since it has an unbroken record of fighting for freedom.

Then it gives "Joint Congress", some reasons why one should join Congress, to fight against apartheid, racialism, and it says as its final paragraph : 15

"You must join Congress in order to fight for the right to vote so that you too will be able to say which Government you want to rule this country".

I hand that document in, My Lord. 20

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

NORE-EXAMINATION.

MOTSEKI MATSELELA, duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY MR. VAN NIEKERK :

Are you a Detective, South African Police, stationed at Johannesburg? --- Yes.

Do you know Sergeant Coetzer, the gentleman who gave evidence now? --- I do, My Lord.

Do you recollect accompanying Sergeant Coetzer to a certain place in Dube Township? --- Yes.

Do you remember when it was? --- I cannot say what the day or date is now, My Lord, but if I look at my book then I will be able to say.

What book? --- My pocket book that I use in my work.

Do you remember what occasion it was? --- Yes.

What was the occasion? --- It was on the day when one of the accused was arrested.

Who was that? --- Leslie Masina.

Can you identify him? --- Yes, I can.

Please do so? --- (WITNESS IDENTIFIES
ACCUSEDNO. 7)

Was he arrested by Sergeant Coetzer? --- Yes.

Do you know whether or not his house was searched or the place was searched where he was...? ---
It was searched.

Where was he arrested? --- In his house.

Do you know what the address is? --- Yes.

What is the address? --- 508 Dube Village.

And you say the house was searched? --- Yes.

And certain documents were taken away? ---
Yes.

By whom? --- Sergeant Coetzer.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

NO QUESTIONS BY THE DEFENCE.

MR. HOEXTER NOW TAKES OVER AS PROSECUTOR.

BY MR. HOEXTER :

My Lord, the Crown now proposes to read brief extracts from documents handed in yesterday under Exhibit numbers G. 1150 and thereafter G. 1114. My Lord, these are all journals called "Liberation". I begin with the series G. 1150, the first issue being that of September, 5 1953. My Lords, I quote first from the Editorial articles. The first article is "Prospects for Peace", an article on pages 1 to 6 of the issue of September, 1953, and I read first from page 2, the first paragraph under the heading "Counter Offensive" : 10

"The same events that filled the people with hope, filled those who had gambled their future on continued war preparations with fear and dismay. The fascist and arms racketeers who today dictate the policy of the United States know that their power 15 and influence cannot survive the ending of war hysteria. America's gauleiters abroad - Rhee, Chiang, Adenauer - fear talk of a peace settlement as the devil is said to fear holy water. The end of the cold war means the end of them, and they know it. The 20 entire resources of this desperate gang of international pyromaniacs were thrown into an all-out counter offensive, to halt the 'threat' of peace and stoke up anew the fires of war."

Then I read, My Lords, the same article, pages 4 to 5 25 two paragraphs entitled "Beware of Illusions" and "Within our Grasp" :

"Two illusions should be avoided.

The first is that the rulers of the British Empire have suddenly be transformed into doves of peace. 30 Far from it. The cruel war on the villages continues

in Malaya; new reinforcements have been despatched to participate in the Kenya manhunt; and as we write fresh news comes of the opening of a new chapter of imperialist violence to force the Federation plan upon the unwilling Africans of Nyasaland. Britain's 5 rulers have not renounced war; but they have awakened to the harsh reality that American global war strategy and plans spell ruination to them - and so that under the cover of the loudmouthed slogans of 'containing Communism' American agencies 10 are quietly and steadily sapping British interests in every corner of the world. A vivid illustration is the neat double-cross which the Americans have jut put across their 'allies' in Iran.

The second illusion is to imagine that the megalomaniacs who plotted the 'cold war' will now capitulate to the massive demand for negotiations. On the contrary, faced with the bankruptcy and the impending collapse of the whole N.A.T.O. and E.D.C., Middle East Alliance edifice they have so painfully erected, 20 we must expect further desperate and dangerous manoeuvres from them.

When Mr. Malenkov made his dramatic announcement about the Soviet hydrogen bomb, the official American reaction was not, at least, to accept the Russian 25 proposals, reiterated since 1946, for the prohibition of atomic weapons under international supervision and control. Instead we had the same alarmist talk about 'stepping up defence expenditure' yet higher taxation, yet further measures to transfer the 30 American economy on to a full war basis.

But to millions in America and throughout the world

it is becoming daily clearer and more obvious that this line of policy is a counsel of doom,, that braggadocio and competition in developing yet more terrible engines of destruction can have only one ending. For the sake of human survival, another path must be found. The path of peaceful settlement, disarmament, international trade and co-operation.

Within our Grasp.

Never were the opportunities greater for the world peace movement to make a decisive impact on world history. Never was the need for urgent and crucial. In truth, as the convening call for the first South African Peace Congress announced, 'Peace is within our grasp'.

Against this world background, the Congress was a notable landmark in the development of the peace movement in this country, uniting the pioneer groups of the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal, in the new South African Peace Council; bringing together for the first time delegates from the national executives of the African and Indian Congress, the S.A. Labour Party, and a representative cross-section of progressive trade unions and people's organisations from different parts and different nationalities of the country in the sacred cause of peace."

Then in conclusion from this article, My Lords, I read from page 6 :

"To the Government, the movement for peace seems as 'dangerous' as the democratic and trade union movements. Within the same week Mr. Swart causes pro-scribing letters to be delivered..." and then various

people are mentioned, and then the article continues :

"By the same token, all who struggle against this Government for a democratic South Africa are, in their own way, striking a blow against war. A sign 5
of the maturity and development of the national liberation and labour movements in our country is precisely their growing awareness of the importance of the struggle for a negotiated settlement of international differences. 10

By giving organised and vocal expression to this consciousness the new South African Peace Council will be able to add fresh reinforcements to the world peace movement at a critical, indeed decisive period." 15

Then My Lords, on pages 7 to 9 of this same issue, there is an article entitled "Africa and World Peace" by Nelson Mandela. This appears at page 20 of the Policy Schedule, item 30, and it is also mentioned, My Lords, on page 2 of Schedule 3. This is a brief article, My Lords, and 20
I propose reading it in toto. It says :

"Events now taking place in Africa constitute the most serious threat to peace, and the freedom of the people of this Continent. Here in Africa the world may well face a major eruption of the worst type. 25
For years now, 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 and the loss of those vast countries as war bases and centres 30
for investment have forced the imperial powers to turn their eyes to Africa. It is here that we have

rich deposits of gold, diamonds and uranium. A few figures taken from the United Nations 'Review of Economic Conditions in Africa 1949-1950' reveal the following position in regard to Africa's share in world production of the undermentioned minerals": 5

Certain statistics are then given, and the article continues to mention further products of which Africa is a notable producer, and the article continues :

"Being without any strong trade union movement, the people of Africa are exposed to the most vicious 10 and cruel forms of colonial exploitation. It is this situation that makes the danger of war in Africa very real and close.

Here the imperial powers of Britain, Belgium, France, Holland, Portugal and Spain have either their 15 chief or their only colonial dependencies. The internal contradictions and conflicts within this imperial camp are broadening daily. In their drive for ever greater profits, these imperial nations vie fiercely with one another for monopoly control of raw 20 materials and markets. The intensification of the armaments drive and war preparations, and more and more interference by the United States of America in the affairs of its satellites, now arouse the dissatisfaction of the ruling circles of those coun- 25 tries. Under the guise of defence against Communism, the United States is in fact eliminating British influence from vast areas of the Pacific. The struggle between the United States and Britain is sharpening daily. The countries of the aggressive 30 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. In other words, the rivalries amongst these 5 colonial powers contain the seeds of an extremely dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa.

Africa as a War Base.

To protect their markets and investments, to crush the national liberation movements and forestall the 10 rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa, America and her satellites have established military bases all over the Continent. America has land, sea and air bases in Morocco, Libya and Saudi Arabia. There are British military bases in Egypt, East Africa, 15 Somaliland and the Sudan. Field Marshall Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean in 1944, writing in 'Optima' of June 1953, put the matter very clearly :

'... the spread of Communism to China and the 20 uncertain political situation in other countries in the Far East are bound to have the effect of contracting the sources of supply in certain raw materials necessary for the manufacture of armaments, which will result in the intensifi- 25 cation of prospecting and development in Africa.'

According to him the role of the two Rhodesias and Kenya should be to protect and develop sea communications; to be ready to send forces overseas; to develop its industries to maximum capacity for war 30 needs. To do this, he says, it would be necessary for the three colonies to come under one central

command. In 1946, The London 'Daily Mail' made the position equqllly clear".

Then there follows a quotation from that paper, and then the article continues :

"It is therefore clear that Africa has now become a war base for the imperial powers in their war preparations and schemes for war and world domination. 5

This is the true explanation of the callous determination by, and the indecent haste of the British Government to ram down the Federation Scheme in Central Africa in spite of the united opposition of the African population and those territories. This is the true explanation of the bitter conflict now raging in Kenya between imperial Britain, whose aim is to rob those people of their land and the people of Kenya who are fighting to save their country from being transformed into a military base. Here in Kenya we have a real war waging and, since this sordid affair has provoked the profound indignation of all patriots in Africa, there is a danger of the conflict spreading to all parts of the continent. This explains why Dr. Malan, the 'Republican', is forced to visit Britain for the Coronation and to hobnob with the British Queens. This explains why the British Government banishes Seretse from his country at the instance of the South African Government. This is the true explanation of the barbarous and cruial manner in which the liberation movements all over Africa are being suppressed : happenings which have shocked the right thinking people all over the world and aroused their deepest indignation. The people of Africa will be the first victim of a 10 15 20 25 30

future war. Their industries will produce armaments, their raw materials will be used, not to develop their own economies but to destroy those of others. The war danger in Africa is very close indeed.

The South African Peace Congress which met in 5
Johannesburg recently was convened at a time when
people in all countries have realised how urgent it
is for them to redouble their efforts to prevent
another war and to safeguard peace. People through-
out the world are coming to understand how closely 10
the struggle for peace and against the menace of war
is linked with the preservation of the right of the
nation and the individual to a peaceful existence.
This Conference shows that more and more people in
South Africa have come to understand the most serious 15
threat to the peace, security and freedom of the
people that exists at the present time and the urgent
necessity of rallying to remove this threat by joint
effort.

This mad lust for profits and markets in Africa, 20
the war preparations of the United States and its
satellite countries puts the national independence
of the people and the continent, and their very right
to live, in serious jeopardy. The threat to the
national liberation movements in Africa resulting 25
from the presence of foreign armies arouses the
deepest indignation of all patriots. The people
of Africa are being forced to realise that peace
is their most immediate concern. They demand the
withdrawal from the Continent of Africa of all 30
foreign troops and the end of colonial oppression
and exploitation".

The next, My Lord, is the issue of November, 1953, No. 6 of November, 1953. I begin with an article "The crises of Leadership" which occurs on pages 1 to 6 of this issue, and I read from page 5 of the editorial article, a paragraph entitled "A Brighter Side" :

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"At the same time, we should not like to give the impression that all is dark and gloomy on the South African scene. On the contrary, the very factors of oppression and danger which panicked the careerists into toenadering and disruption, have encouraged 'the fearless and the free' into more resolute resistance. An event of first rate political importance was the emergence during October of the South African Congress of Democrats, a body established at the instance of the African and Indian Congresses to unite those sections of the population which they themselves do not cater for, and draw them in as partners in the common struggle. The significance of this organisation is not in its numbers - for at this stage it has not many - but in the fact that it kills the idea that the issue in South Africa is a racial one of white versus non-white. It is nothing of the sort: and the addition of an organised body of white persons who stand four-square with the liberation movements for equal rights and opportunities to all, will serve to underline the truth: that this issue is of one principle. The new body has no set of principles of its own separate and distinct from those of the Congresses: it seems to complement and not to compete with them;..."

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Then I read from pages 10 to 14, an article entitled "The 'Constitutional' Fallacy" by Ruth First. This

article, My Lords, is mentioned in the Policy Schedule, page 25, item 21, and page 41, item 11(a). In addition, My Lord, the article is mentioned in Schedule 3, at page 21. I omit the first part of the article, and I begin reading, My Lord on page 11, some twelve lines from the top of the page :

"The Liberal Party may today provide some kind of satisfaction to European voters who have become too disillusioned with United Party betrayals of principle to tolerate remaining in that party and who hear from the Liberal Party happy-sounding phrases about upholding the essential dignity of every human being, irrespective of race and colour. In a South African political set-up where since Union and before every European political party has claimed to stand for democracy and yet has striven to preserve a closed monopoly of democratic rights for Europeans only, the advent of the Liberal Party pledged to the winning of a true, universal democracy and determined to accept as allies all South Africans, European and Non-European, who share these aims, could have been a cheering sign of a break with the old colour-bar approach. An uncompromising, non-racialist policy for such a party was the first requisite. Equally necessary was the recognition that South Africa is in danger just because it has been denied the majority and that it can be saved only by the joint political action of both European and Non-European forces, using what parliamentary pressures remain to the democrat and mobilising the extra-parliamentary support of the people as well.

From the earliest days the Liberals, with their talk of using only constitutional means, sought political

respectability and announced their intention of divorcing themselves from the mass movements of the Non-European people.

By doing so they closed their eyes even to the fact that the constitutional rights of the privileged 5
White citizen are fast diminishing. Democratic rights are being undermined by the Nationalist Government acting quite constitutionally and within the framework of laws they inherited from previous governments or within the terms of those new laws they 10
have placed on the statute book by their majority vote in Parliament. Apart from attempts, now abandoned in favour of more astute tactics, to take the Cape Coloured off the common voter's roll in defiance of the two-third majority vote required by 15
the entrenched clauses in the Constitution, the Nationalists have acted 'democratically' and 'constitutionally'. They were returned at the polls by a minority of the European population too, but even the electoral system which made that possible 20
cannot be challenged on constitutional grounds. A minority of representatives in Parliament today stand opposed to the creation of a Christian-National totalitarian state. So, according to the gentlemanly rules of political cricket, we must 25
stand aside for the juggernaut of Nationalist legislation to ground our liberties into the dust. That would indeed be turning the political struggle against the Nationalists into a sport.

But to revert to the argument of Mr. Mandela 30
which Mr. Price describes as a fine frenzy. Presuming even that Europeans who have the vote have the

vote have the means to assert their political claims constitutionally, what of the non-Europeans? They are unrepresented in the governing bodies of the country, except for a farcical system by which a handful of Europeans can register their protest at 5 laws which bear heavily upon them. Because the constitution permits this undemocratic system, must Non-Europeans acquiesce in the operation of these laws? There comes a time when the burden of discriminatory laws becomes intolerable and among the 10 Non-European people that time has been reached. To tell such a disfranchised people to campaign for redress only by constitutional means, when they have no such means, is to tell them to submit. This is Mr. Mandela's argument but it seems to escape 15 Mr. Price.

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 20 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 Parliament or the existing constitutional 25 authority is never the only, or the most important, fountainhead of political change, and that those who have political power in their hands are the watchdogs of the old order and not the group that advocates social change. Under the Nationalist policy 30 of white-anting democracy South Africa's Parliament has not only become incapable of defending 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 this is not so. But the Liberals must not delude themselves that faced with a serious challenge to their political majority the Nationalists will not subvert the Constitution to remain in power. They are capable to disfranchising Opposition voters who exhibit un-South African views, and using 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 public opinion. Oppression has become too painful for such never-ending patience. In any case to treat the Non-Europeans just as on-lookers at the sidelines of a White political game while a small sympathetic group tries to encourage greater tolerance and understanding of their plight is to give them a completely passive role and is presumptuous, condescending and impudent.

Mr. Price might reply that he doesn't counsel against African political action altogether, but only that there must be the certainty that a campaign 'can be carried out peaceably'. What species of political insurance agent is this Liberal who asks such a guarantee? Presumably he would have counselled against the Cromwell Uprising the War in Independence in the North American

Colonies, the Paris Commune, the 1926 General Strike in Britain, the resistance of the peoples of Europe to the invasion of their countries by Nazi armies - all because there was no guarantee that they could achieve their aims 'peaceably'. 5

This approach must delight the Minister of Justice. It accepts his version that any violence which has accompanied African political struggles has been caused by bloodthirsty agitators and not by his trigger-happy young policemen acting under shoot- 10 first and talk-afterwards orders. On May 1 1951, and June 26, 1952, Africans abstained peacefully from work in protest against laws they objected to. They were acting within the constitution. Police firing was ordered and innocent people shot down in their 15 locations and townships. Mr. Price puts the blame for the deaths of these people not on the Nationalist Government but the leaders of the Non-European people.

Every demonstration of the Non-European people 20 that has ended in some bloodshed has been as a result of vicious state action. In the 1946 African miners' strike is the guilt for the deaths of defenceless African miners that of their union asking for a living wage, or that of the mineowners and the state 25 who connived at bloody suppression of this strike?

The present system in South Africa means useless tragedy for hundreds of thousands, never mind hundreds of Africans. Mr. Price countenances the continuance of this system because he wants to save 30 some 'bewildered worker from being cudgelled in a city square'. And he has the temerity to suggest that

that it is African leaders and not the brutalities of the Nationalist Government and its police force who are erecting the 'tombstones' of those killed in the political struggle.

One can only conclude that he shares the terror of the Nationalists at Non-European political movements and feels they must at all costs be staved off. 5

He advises against 'storming of bastilles' (presumably a petition to the King of France would have been more constitutional?); against 'barricade mounting' and 'waving of tattered banners'. He wants no 'tombstones as milestones', but ceaseless constitutional action, argument and much organisation. He doesn't see that the largest tombstone of all is, under the Nationalists, being erected over the Constitution. 10 15

I doubt if anyone in the Non-European political movement believes that its aims will be achieved by 'one real good mass struggle'. The Non-European political movements do not scorn argument and organisation. They are daily engaged in these tasks. But there comes a time in the growth of every political movement when consistent organisation produces militant peoples' actions in defence of rights under attacks or for improvements in conditions. 20 25

There is the time when patient representations to authority go unheard and the argument has clearly failed. If workers are by law denied the right to strike that is presumably when Mr. Frice would counsel retreat rather than a strike. Or he would demand a guarantee that no striker be victimised and no picket clubbed by a policeman. And if an employer 30

does sack a worker or Mr. Swart does order teargas or the use of a sten gun, this would be the fault of the trade union.

Mr. Price's acquaintance with political campaigns seems acutely academic and remote. Political cam- 5
paigns are not carefully rehearsed theatrical performances in which the stage manager orders no 'concentration of demonstrations in the Eastern Province', 'no side-tracking by incidents or provocations'.
Provocateurs and the government don't take their 10
cues from the producer. But Liberals of his ilk need no great insight into methods of political organisation and struggle, since they believe they will bring the Nationalist regime crashing to the ground not by people's fights and mass struggles, but at the 15
sound of Liberal polemic and the weight of their argument; or by the threat of the Liberals to take the Nationalist Government before a Court packed with Nationalist judges if they try to infringe the
constitution." 20

Then next, My Lord, I read from pages 14 to 17, an article "Towards Democratic Unity" by Nelson Mandela. This article is mentioned, My Lords, in Schedule 3, at page 3, My Lords. I read, My Lords, first of all, a portion on pages 14 to 15, starting with the first 25
paragraph :

"The struggle for democracy in South Africa is growing stronger every day. The political organisations of the oppressed people are forging stronger ties between themselves and the masses. A high degree 30
of political understanding has been achieved. The people have become more conscious of their

strength and they cry defiance to the racial policies of the Government. In the past, we talked of the struggle of the African people, the Indian struggle and the struggle of the Coloured people. There was co-ordination neither among these groups nor with those whiteprogressives who fought for equality. But today the people have come to realise the urgent necessity of mobilising, through their respective organisations, all democrats, black and white, to resist and conquer reaction by united effort."

And then I read a portion on page 16 of the same article,

My Lord :

"The trend towards interracial unity in which members of all South African nationalities combine for a lofty purpose can also be seen outside the field of politics. The policy of the South African Peace Congress which was held in Johannesburg during the month of August this year, was conceived in a spirit of the unity of all men and women of goodwill. The striking feature of the struggle today is, therefore, the pressing need being felt for co-ordination and democratic unity.

Attempts are, however, being made by certain elements to undermine this progressive trend. These elements range from the futile lamentations and the mischievous frenzies of Mr. J.K. Ngubane, the reactionary provincial of Phoenix, to the antics of the political abstentionists of the so-called Unity Movement of Cape Town. Mr. Ngubane has repeatedly criticised this line in the columns of the Indian Opinion, a paper founded by the late Mahatma Ghandi

in 1903, and which was then a mouthpiece of the Indian people but which now expresses only Manilal Gandhi's opinions. The substance of his fantastic accusations is that the Defiance Campaign was forced on Congress by the Transvaal; that it was a disastrous 5 step, the biggest political fraud ever foisted on the people and accuses Mr. W. M. Sisulu for the alleged failure. That Dr. Dadoo and the 'Dadoo wing of the South African Indian Congress' wield an influence on events out of proportion to the Indian's 10 actual contribution to the joint struggle. He warns against what he styles 'underground leftists' and openly invites the secession of the other provinces of the A.N.C. from headquarters.

In making these vague and unsubstantiated generali- 15 sations, Mr. Ngubane has deliberately elected to forget the record attendance of delegates from all provinces at the A.N.C. Conference held in Bloemfontein in December, 1951, where it was unanimously resolved to launch defiance. In saying that the 20 Campaign was a disastrous failure he contradicts his own statement published in the Indian Opinion of the 6th February, 1953, that ('It (The Defiance Campaign) has won for them (Congress leaders) world-wide respect and admiration'. He is ignorant 25 of the tremendous impact the Campaign has had on the people, and the high degree of political consciousness that has been achieved, the change over from the vacillating policies of the past to the militant and uncompromising programmes of continued action 30 that are now being prosecuted...").

The next issue, My Lords, is that of February, 1954. This is No. 7 of February, 1954. On pages 1 to 4 of this issue, My Lord, there is an editorial article entitled "Drunk with Power", and I quote merely the second and third last paragraphs of this editorial. This is on page 5 4, My Lords :

"The real issue in South Africa today, however, is not whether a voter should have a Labour Party Std. 5 qualification or a Liberal Party Std. 6 one, but whether any sort of democratic rights at all can sur- 10 vive the onslaughts of the power-drunk Nationalists. And this real issue can be resolved in favour of democracy for those who understand that the major bastion of democratic freedom in our land is not the feeble opposition in our minority Parliament, but the 15 masses of oppressed non-white people outside it, as represented by their national Congresses and political and trade union movements.

The acid test for the Labour and Liberal leaders is whether they are sufficiently mature and eman- 20 cipated to accept this truth, and to accept the hand of partnership extended by the Congresses in the calling of an all-in interracial congress of the people."

I quote next, My Lords, an article on pages 5 to 9. The 25 article is entitled "I saw China" by Walter Sisulu. My Lords, this article is mentioned in Schedule 3, at page 7. The article begins on page 5 of this issue, and at page 9 I read the second, third and fourth paragraphs : 30

"In the first place, it is clear that the will and influence of the Chinese government and people is

directed towards world peace. China needs to carry out her great plans for construction and transformation. She wants peace because her people are civilised, cultured and humanitarian. No visitor to China can fail to be struck by the universal desire 5 of the people to abolish warfare as a means of settling disputes between nations, expressed by peace posters, peace slogans, peace meetings and spontaneous expressions of opinion through the length and breadth of the country. 10

Secondly, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the hopes of the imperialists to disrupt the friendship between China and the Soviet Union are idle and doomed to disappointment. The people of China say often enough that they could never have 15 succeeded in their great construction plans without the unselfish assistance of the Soviet Union. Soviet equipment and technical advice have contributed enormously to Chinese industrialisation and this process continues. Many Soviet technicians are helping in 20 the industrialisation of China. The friendship between the two countries, based on mutual respect for one another's independence, is steadily growing. Thirdly, the sooner the western world, and particularly the United States of America, realise that the 25 People's Democratic Republic of China has come to stay, that it will not tolerate infringements of its national sovereignty and territory, and that it must be given the place to which it is entitled in the United Nations, in the UN Security Council and 30 in all discussions of international importance concerning Asia and the world; the nearer the world

will be to securing a lasting peace."

I refer next, My Lords, to an article "The Teacher and the People" on pages 11 to 15 of this issue. "The Teacher and the People" by Mokgoanane. It is referred to, My Lords, in the Policy Schedule, page 20, item 29. I 5
begin reading, My Lords, on page 11, the third paragraph :

"What, then, should be the role of the African teacher? The primary aim of the African teacher should be to liberate his pupils from the clutches of mental enslavement. If this is well done, it must count 10
as his main contribution towards the liberatory movement.

How can this be carried out in practice? In South Africa this is very easy : 'And the truth shall save you'. Therefore the first absolute requirement is : 15
Teach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Let me for a moment assume the role of a pedagogue whose special function it is to instruct and train the new type of African teacher whose aim it is to contribute his own brick towards the 20
liberation of his people. My teacher must be pragmatic. His approach must be the practical one in which he is - in which he not only seeks to expand on theories of liberation or how others served as tools of the masters, but how the present day 25
teacher, as a member of a subject people, can play his part towards the liberation of his people. Such a teacher must be - must first and foremost have a vision - the vision of a new Africa, free in every respect. He must have implicit faith in 30
himself; faith in the African people; faith in the mass struggle; and faith in the leaders of the

struggle. He must be loyal to the cause. He must be well acquainted with the efforts of the National Liberation Movement in South Africa and always seek to present these efforts in a salutary manner to his pupils. Where he is critical he must be careful not to criticise the National Liberatory Movement or its methods to the pupils or their parents, for that amounts to sabotage of the struggle. In the eyes of the Liberatory Movement such an action may quite justifiably be regarded as high treason. Rather he must seek to consult secretly and privately with the leaders of the people. More than that he must be prepared to bow down to their decisions even when he totally disagrees with them. Fools will say he is bowing down to dictatorship. Far from it. It is sound leadership and loyalty to the movement. After all the politician is nothing but a practical man in the sense that, not only does he preach certain ideas or cry out certain reforms but he tries to put what he preaches into practice. For instance, not only can he criticise a law openly, he can also defy it. On the other hand, the teacher, by reason of his occupation, cannot always do that. Therefore wherever and whenever a difference of opinion arises between the intellectuals and the politicians the benefit - the intellectuals must be ready and prepared to give the politicians the benefit of the doubt - or else come into the open and compete for the leadership of the struggle. In other words, I hate the type of teacher who makes use of his opportunity in class to criticise the leaders of the people when he knows the leaders

cannot reply. This applies primarily to the secondary school teacher."

The next issue, My Lord, is No. 8 of 1954 - no month is given. I refer first, My Lord, to the editorial,

"War - Against Whom?" which occurs on pages 1 to 4 of 5
 this issue. This editorial is mentioned in the Policy Schedule, My Lord, page 20, item 28(a). I begin reading, My Lord, on page 2 under the title "Who are the Aggressors?" !

"Did any Koreans invade the United States and drop 10
 bombs on New York? Has anyone heard of a Kikuyu army devastating the peaceful English countryside? Have the Vietnamese sent battleships to France?

Everyone knows that none of these things happened. And since they did not happen it is clear that the 15
 troops who are found thousands of miles away from home, killing and burning in someone else's country, are committing aggression. Everyone knows that if all the soldiers went home now there would be no more fighting. 20

Looked at in this light, and stripped of all the newspaper ballyhoo about the 'free world' fighting 'Soviet aggression' and so on, the broad outline and general character of the present war we are in the middle of is pretty clear. It's not a war against 25
 'the Kremlin' - the Soviet Union is too tough a nut for Mr. Dulles and his friends to crack, and they know it. It's not a war against 'Communism'. Broadly, it's an aggressive war of the imperialists, led and directed from the U.S.A., against the 30
 colonial people of Asia, Africa and South America.

Of course, this is not the whole of the picture

of the current international political situation - a large and complicated situation, with many cross-currents and conflicting factors. The imperialists' camp is not united. Its members are torn in conflict and rivalry. Its leaders, too, are not free agents. They have to reckon with their own people, who do not wish to fight the Russians or the Asians or the Africans. Witness the case of Mr. Mendes-France..." 5

And then My Lords, I read from pages 3 to 4, from the top of page 3 : 10

"But the aspect we have emphasised, though not the whole picture, is a very important one for us in South Africa. When Mr. Erasmus travels to London for secret talks about 'defence' it is not some Russians somewhere in Siberia they are thinking of fighting. It is not even in the Middle East (what has happened, by the way to that famous Treaty). Let those Africans who still fail to regard the peace movement in its true importance ponder the lesson. Just as Churchill and Dulles have been 'defending' Asia against the Asians, so Malan and Huggins are out to 'defend' Africa against the Africans. When Sir Godfrey Huggins starts preparing the ground for the 'discovery' of a so-called 'Mau-Mau conspiracy' and warning the 'so-called African intellectualurs' that their aims are 'completely beyond the bounds of realisation', he is getting ready for war. When Brigadier Rademeyer, following the lead of the New York Times, starts hinting about sedition and high treason and heaven knows what else, and Minister Swart begins a new round of bannings, raids, threats to suppress 'Advance' and 15 20 25 30

deportations - these are preparations for war.

Land and Labour.

"War", that is, in the Kenya manner, the ruthless massacre of thousands of innocent unarmed folk, the deliberate attempt to grind a nation into the dust 5
of trembling fear and servile submission. That is what war means here in Africa. We know these people. We have met them before, and our fathers and our grandfathers have met them. We know their contempt for humanity and their disregard for human 10
life. We know that they will stop at nothing, that they will spill rivers of blood, that they will strip themselves of every vestige of the 'civilisation' they pretend to uphold, to retain their grasp on our land and our labour. 15

Land, natural resources, cheap colonial labour. These tangibles and not any altruistic urge to convert the heathen brought the imperialists to Asia, Africa and the Americas. These, not any fancy conceptions about 'defending the free world' and 'resisting Communism' have now sent 'Western' soldiers to 20
the jungle. It is not 'civilisation' they are defending but big profits based on colonial wealth and upon the poverty, suffering and lives of Asia and Africa. Where labour is cheap, life too, is 25
cheap.

But, for the imperialists, the writing is on the wall. The days have gone when a handful of silver could buy a colonial leader, or a party of marines quell a liberation movement. After seven long 30
years of bitter warfare the head of a great imperial power has been forced to sit at the conference table

with the representatives of the Vietnam resistance on equal terms and negotiate a treaty. We live in an era when white domination and colonialism are coming to an end.

It is against this background of the world-wide 5
struggle to substitute negotiation for force in
the settlement of disputes that we invite South
African patriots and democrats, Congressmen and
progressives to consider the urgency of building up
a wide and representative peace movement. The demo- 10
cratic leaders of this country have called the people
to prepare for the most important gathering ever
convened in this country: the Congress of the People
to frame the Charter of the people's demands for
Freedom. The breadth and vision of this undertaking, 15
its appeal to all sections of our people of all races
and colours, the immediate and inspiring response to
wherever the people have listened to the Call : All
these are potent signs that the country is ready to
advance to democracy, and that the Congress of the 20
People is indeed, as Moses Kotane has shown 'South
Africa's Way Forward'.

The Malanites will try to stifle the truth of the
Call to the Congress with lies, to strangle the
movement of the people with provocations, repres- 25
sions and violence. They shall not succeed.

They will fail because the movement of the
people of South Africa is united, conscious and
determined as never before, and because we live in
a world where the people are vigilantly on guard 30
for peace. 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 participation of the South African people in defence of peace can avert the massacre that is being plotted. No task before us is more urgent." 5

Then My Lords, the same issue, pages 9 to 11, an article "Western Areas" by Moses Kotane. This article, My Lords, is mentioned in Schedule 3, at page 15. I quote merely the very last paragraph on page 11 :

"All the South Africans must be made to realise that the Western Areas Removal Scheme is a matter of grave national importance. They must be made to understand that they are on trial; that they cannot with impunity allow the Government to get away with its criminal plan which the Western Areas Removal Scheme is but a part, and that it is their political responsibility and national duty to respond to the clarion call to halt the Government in its intentions." 10 15

Next, My Lord, in the same issue, pages 12 to 15, there is an article "Life in the Soviet Union" by Ruth First. It has the further descriptive title "Building, Building, Building", it is an account of building in the Soviet Union, and I do not quote from it further. The next article in this, My Lord, occurs at page 15 to 20, an article "Nusas and Student Unity" by Lionel Forman. It is mentioned in Schedule 3, My Lords, at page 23. I shall quote a few brief extracts from this article merely. First of all, on page 16, the last three paragraphs : 20 25 30

"Then came the Defiance Campaign and the face of South Africa changed.

Until the Defiance Campaign, Fort Hare and the other Non-European centres in NUSAS had been content with what NUSAS offered. But with the great upsurge of the liberatory movement NUSAS was seen to be blissfully unaware of the struggle for freedom, 5 and all absorbed in the affairs of students 'as such'.

The last straw came when NUSAS finally succumbed to world histeria and disaffiliated from what it described as the 'communist dominated' International Union of Students." 10

I quote next from page 17 of the same article, My Lords, the first four paragraphs and the last two paragraphs :

"In quick succession Fore Hare UN(NE) and Hewat left NUSAS.

There was an enthusiastic, but shortlived effort to 15 set up a new union - the South African Union of Democratic Students - but the difficulties were too great and SAUDS did not flourish.

This then was the background to the NUSAS Assembly which took place in Grahamstown this July. 20

The Main Decisions.

These were the main decisions..."

I quote from the foot of the page :

"A glance at these decisions reveals the importance of democratic students unity to ensure that some- 25 thing worthwhile comes of them.

In the international sphere, experience has shown that no matter how strong may be the Assembly decisions for co-operation, the implementation of the decision depends entirely on the inclinations of 30 the Executive. And strong student pressure on the present executive is the only means of ensuring

that the maximum benefit is obtained from our relations with the International Union of Students - to ensure the widest distribution of the excellent IUS publications, to participate in its efforts for world peace and its work for an end to colonialism and oppression. 5

Nationally, the decision to work together with the liberatory organisations in defence of university freedom can be made to lead to a deeper understanding among students of the nature of the struggle for democracy." 10

Then on page 18, My Lords, I quote the last paragraph, "Congress of the People" :

"The real test - and the testing-time will coincide roughly with the meeting at Wits - will be NUSAS willingness to participate in the Congress of the People. This should be the central demand of the disaffiliated centres and of all democrats." 15

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF :

How are we interested in this suggestion in regard to the students - NUSAS and so on? 20

BY MR. HOEXTER :

My Lord, the International Union of Students is one of the world front organisations mentioned in the particulars. Furthermore, the portion I have just read indicates that in the opinion of the writer, the acid test for the National Union of Students in this country will be determined when it gives an unequivocal answer to the Congress of the People. 25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF : 30

I am not interested in that, whether it is an acid test or not for the Students Organisation.

BY MR. HOEXTER :

As Your Lordship pleases. My Lord, the Crown too is indifferent, but it may be of importance...

BY MR. JUSTICE BENKER :

If it is indifferent, why worry about it? 5

BY MR. HOEXTER :

Because it is of importance to the Crown case, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFER :

Then you shouldn't be indifferent to it. 10

BY MR. HOEXTER :

My Lord, what the Crown is indifferent to, is the actual reaction. The Crown is not indifferent to the presence of this article in this journal. I abandon the rest of the article on NUSAS and the Liberation Movement, My Lord, and I turn to the next issue, which is No. 9 of 1954, My Lords. Pages 2 to 6 there is an article "The Police and the State". My Lords, I quote only on page 6 a paragraph entitled "The Pretorian Guards" : 15 20

"Where is it all going to end?

Tsarist Russia, Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy - history abounds in examples of police states: how they worked and how they ended. But there is another example we should like, at this time, to recall : 25

In the later days of the ancient Roman Empire, an armed body of palace guards, known, interestingly enough, as the Pretorian Guards, came to dominate the life of the State. They made and unmade - usually by assassination - the emperors. They sold the imperial office to the highest bidder. They 30

terrorised the population - the polulace, and every man was afraid to speak out his mind lest he should fall into their bad books.

What brought them into power was in the first place the apathy and passivity of the citizens. It took 5 a mighty explosion, involving the destruction of the empire itself, to dislodge them.

South Africa is not quite a police state - yet. But it is coming nearer and nearer to it every day. If we wish to save ourselves ~~the~~ unhappy fate of 10 Rome at the mercy of the lawless and all-powerful palace guards, we must gird ourselves and organise ourselves now to struggle against the imposition of a police dictatorship here.

Let us never learn to become accustomed to these 15 acts of tyranny and to tolerate them. Let us cry out and resist each new imposition, each departure from the rule of law. Let us so work for the Freedom Charter that it will become the shield of our liberties, like Magna Charter in Britain years ago, 20 and open up the road to a true democracy in our country, basing our liberties not on shadows but on the broad and effective expression of the will of the people."

And then, My Lords, in the same issue, pages 12 to 18, 25 there is an article "The Meaning of Bantu Education" by Duma Nokwe. I quote the last paragraph only on page 18, - this is an analysis of Bantu Education, and the last paragraph reads :

"Bantu Education is a reactionary scheme which very 30 nearly destroys education for the African in South Africa. It is reactionary because it is designed

to satisfy the needs of a reactionary and heartless class of exploiters. Whilst the Nationalists disregard the needs and interests of the masses of the people, and subject the people to a more ruthless oppression and exploitation in the interests of solving the contradictions of their society they do not take into account the sharpening conflict they are creating between themselves and the people, which will ultimately break their artificial political and economic structure." 5 10

The next issue, My Lord, is No. 10 of 1954. On pages 20 to 24 there is an article "Concerning Peasants" by Marutle Mokgohlwa. I quote first from page 20, the first paragraph only :

"Congress organisation in South Africa exists mainly in the towns. Sometimes it is forgotten that most of the African people live in the country. They are living in the Reserves, or on trust lands, or as agricultural labourers and labour tenants on farms owned by Europeans. Taken as a whole, the six million Non-Europeans engaged in agriculture are the most poverty-stricken and oppressed people in South Africa. The liberation movement cannot hope for victory without organising these people and winning them as allies. This has become an urgent, practical issue." 15 20 25

The same article, My Lords, I quote from page 23, the fourth and fifth paragraphs :

"New peasants are growing up in our countryside: Peasants who took part in the mine workers strike in 1946, May Day of 1950 and other struggles in the towns. Peasants like these are passing on their 30

knowledge among their brothers, and they are a thorn in the flesh of the powers that be.

With such material as this, the time is long overdue for the building of a mighty peasants' movement in our country. It will prove to be not only a 5
worthy member - a worthy partner in the liberation struggle, but an indispensable one. For it must not be forgotten that if, in the present struggle for national emancipation, Non-European workers and petty bourgeoisie are the head, the peasants are 10
the backbone, without which no victory is conceivable."

From the same article, My Lord, I read on page 24, the whole of page 24 :

"These are some of the demands which peasants are 15
ready to fight for. 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 and stand up for their 20
right to live?"

Urban Africans have close links with the countryside. Surely there is not one of us who does not long to see the unbearable burden of suffering lifted from our parents and our brothers and sisters in the 25
platteland. Effective organisation of the peasantry into a genuine peasants' movement will not only serve to improve their lot but will raise to a higher level the entire struggle for national liberation and true democracy in our country. 30

Of course, difficulties stand in the road of the formation of a peasants' organisation. These are

not only material difficulties and difficulties placed in the way by the Government and the Native Commissioners, but also the shortage of experienced personnel to guide and assist the peasants in organising themselves. At a time when repressive State action has imposed a critical shortage of experienced and tried leaders on our movements in the towns, this is a serious problem. 5

The solution of this difficulty does not lie in a policy of 'waitn and see', but in a bold determination to go to the people. The people, as in the past, will produce many leaders who are hidden among them. No solution is easy to get. All are, like our struggle, difficult, But have we any alternative? The best allies of the workers and intellectuals in the towns are the peasants, but we must go to them and win them. Otherwise it will be found to our bitter regret that they have been misled and won over to the enemies of freedom. 15

The forthcoming Congress of the People provides the occasion for the building of firm ties between town and country; ties that can if consciously directed, lay a firm foundation for the mass organisation of peasants and the joint struggle of the millions of toilers of field and factory for land and bread, peace and freedom." 20 25

Then in the same issue, My Lords, from pages 25 to 28 there is an article "The Congress of the People", by J. Slovo. This is mentioned in the policy schedule, My Lord, page 10, item 54, and also in Schedule 3, page 21. This article has been read in, My Lord, under A. 11. The next issue, My Lords, is No. 11 of 1955. I refer 30

first to the - or only to the editorial, headed "On the Eve". I read at page 2, the last three paragraphs :

"That is all very fine,' we can imagine some readers saying. 'But, after all, what will your Freedom Charter be worth? Won't it just be another piece of paper, which Strijdom and his Government will ignore, just as they ignore all the wishes of the people?'

It is true enough that in order for the people to win freedom, they must do more than writer a charter of rights. Once the Charter is written it will yet have to be won; and to wrest freedom from the rulers of South Africa: greedy to preserve big profits and cheap labour, cruel and ruthless to submit the minds and bodies of the people to servitude, jealous to keep and concentrate power in their hands, inflamed with racial arrogance and contempt for all dark-skinned people - this will be no easy task, to be accomplished in a day.

But the true question to be answered is not whether the Charter will itself win the battle, for no one has any illuions about that. The real question is whether or not the Freedom Charter will help the people towards the fulfilment of their aspirations." I am reading now from page 3, the whole of page 3 - "And to that question there can be only one answer: to gather together all the hopes, strivings and needs of the millions of toilers - millions of toiling and suffering humans of our land, to give a voice to the voiceless, - this in itself is a great and important

step towards the achievement of those aims.

The Freedom Charter, then, will be no ordinary document. It will hold up before South Africa and before the world a picture of how the true will of the people desires to shape our country, a picture against which we can judge the reality of South Africa as she is under the Nationalist Party, a standard against which we can measure the Nationalists' programme, conceived in fear and compounded of greed and racial insanity. 5 10

The Congress of the People must be seen not as the end, but as the beginning of a road.

For the people's freedom charter, once adopted, will cease to be an aim in itself: it will become the programme to which every patriot will be bound to dedicate his life; the banner which will rally every section and every organisation of democratic South Africans to it. 15

Before we can unite, we must know for what purpose we have come together. Before we can enrol our soldiers of emancipation and send them into political struggle for freedom's cause, we must tell them clearly the aims for which they are called to suffer, to sacrifice, perhaps to die. 20

The Freedom Charter, precisely because it will crystallise and sum up the views of thousands of anonymous co-authors, will serve as a basis for bringing together all the democratic forces and organisations in South Africa. It will not be the programme or the property of the African National Congress, or the S.A.I.C. or the Liberal Party of the SACFO or the Congress of Democrats. 25 30

It will be the common Charter of all who seek a democratic alternative to baasskap.

It will also be the standard by which the people will judge the genuineness of the claims to democracy of any Party or individual seeking to lead the people: forcing them to take sides for or against the Charter. 5

But the Congress of the People should not limit itself to formulating the Freedom Charter, and then vanish from the face of the earth. It must, if it is serious, decide upon the broad main lines of a campaign to make the terms of the charter known to every man, woman in the land; ...". 10

And then on page 4, I read the two concluding paragraphs, My Lords : 15

"For the first time since 1948, the entire democratic movement has taken the initiative, not merely resisting the evil acts of the Government, and defending the people's rights against new offensives, but actively coming forward to shape the free South Africa of the future. 20

Once they have grasped the vital significance of this fact, there is no doubt that Congressmen and Congresswomen throughout the country, trade unionists, and freedom-loving individuals of all races will throw their full energies into making the Congress of the People an event which will fill a stirring chapter in the history books of the future". 25

My Lord, this article is mentioned in the Policy Schedule, page 10, item 53, My Lord. The next issue in this batch, My Lord, is No. 22 of November, 1956. I refer 30

first, My Lords, to the editorial article, which is called "The International Scene". My Lords, this article is mentioned in the Policy Schedule, page 20, item 27(a). I read first, My Lords, from the first portion on page 2 :

"By hook or by crook, even though illegally, by 5
threats and aggression, in defiance of the United Nations, and at the risk of touching off all the horrors of World War III, the imperialists aim :
to seize the canal,
to overthrow the Nasser Government and re-occupy 10
Egypt as a colony,
to teach the peoples of the colonies and former colonies of Africa, Asia and the Middle East
'a lesson'.

That lesson is brutally plain. The British and 15
French ruling classes are serving notice that the territories and resources which they seized by force, they intend to hold by force. The peoples of the French colonies of North Africa, urgently demanding their rights to freedom and independence; the Arab 20
States of the Middle East insistently claiming the profits of their rich oilfields, profits which, like the oil itself, are nearly all piped off to Britain, America and France; the awakening millions of
Britain's African empire - all of us, indeed, who 25
seek freedom from imperialism and the return of our stolen national resources are intended to 'learn'
that if we challenge the Europeans' ill-gotten gains, the penalty is invasion, death and destruction. 30

Such is the basic reasoning behind this desperate military adventure. It is reasoning that is funda-

mentally false and unrealistic. The English Tory Government and the French so-called 'Socialist' Government are living in the past. Instead of frightening the colonial world, they have raised against themselves a storm of mass solidarity, indignation and determination that can only hasten the doom of imperialism and colonialism throughout the world. Already the miserable plan has misfired. Even the United States, in the throes of a Presidential election, was forced to make token gestures of disapproval. In the whole of the United Nations only the Dominion Governments of Australia and New Zealand could be found to approve of the dastardly aggression. The British working class movement showed a militancy and determination against its ruling class that has not been seen for the past thirty years. The plot to conquer Egypt has failed, the 'lesson' has turned out to be the greatest fiasco in modern history. As we write, the aggressors' armies are still in Egypt, but we cannot doubt that the massive reaction of the peace-loving people of the whole world will compel them to withdraw unconditionally, and to compensate the innocent Egyptian people for the damage and suffering that they have caused."

I read from page 2, My Lord, the first three paragraphs under the heading "The Newspaper War" :

"As we pointed out above, when war comes, the total propaganda resources are mobilised and the wireless and the newspaper become weapons in the military machine, for hurling verbal bombshells against the enemy. But in this respect, the war

that began at the end of October has displayed some deeply significant differences to any wars of the past. Officially, Britain was attacking Egypt. Officially, America was protesting against the attack.

5

But in fact the entire propaganda resources of both countries, together with those of the entire capitalist world, were harnessed to an incredibly virulent/^{hate}campaign of fantastic dimensions, directed against - the Soviet Union.

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Ostensibly, the pre-text for this campaign has been the happenings in Hungary."

Then the article considers the happenings in Hungary, and at the top of page 4 the following paragraph occurs :

"Now violence is an ugly and pathetic thing, which brings human tragedy and suffering in its wake wherever it may occur. But the whole approach and behaviour of the capitalist newspapers during the critical period exposes their alleged concern for the sufferings of the Hungarians as nothing but cynical hypocrisy. Where was their sympathy for bereaved wives and mothers, when British troops opened fire on unarmed crowds in Singapore the week before? What about the widows of Port Said and Port Faud and Sinai? What, for that matter, about those who lost husbands and sons when the police opened fire at Vlakfontein and Lichtenburg? The newspapers have no sympathy for these victims of brutal violence.; no order has gone forth from the Vatican to mourn these dead throughout the world. These are crocodile tears. Their object is not to awaken sympathy for the Hungarians, but hatred for Soviet Russia."

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I quote next from page 5, My Lord, from the third paragraph to the end of the page. This is still a review of the Hungarian situation :

"Secondly, we may remind our readers that the Soviet troops only intervened in Hungary when called upon 5
by the former Hungarian Government - the very
Government of Imre Nagy who is now so much praised
by the capitalist newspapers - to restore order.
Moreover, when the same Nagy Government requested
the Soviet troops to withdraw from Budapest, they 10
did so. In the meantime Nagy announced his resignation
from the Hungarian Working People's Party
which had placed him in office, and the formation
of a new Government composed of reactionary figures
from the old regime, in circumstances that spoke 15
clearly of a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.
But it was only when he unilaterally denounced the
Warsaw Treaty and openly called for military aid
from the West that Soviet troops again moved into
action, in support of a new, revolutionary workers' 20
and peasants' government set up to depose the illegal
Nagy regime and safeguard the fruits of twelve
years socialist construction. It seems almost
certain that had the Red Army not intervened, and
had Nagy's appeal for 'aid' succeeded, the result 25
would have been a serious war, with unhappy Hungary
as a battlefield, and incalculable consequences for
humanity.

These actions cannot properly be described as
'aggression'; much though it is to be regretted 30
that affairs in Hungary had reached a stage where
the Government found it necessary to call for outside

aid in maintaining order.

How did it happen?

In seeking for answer to the question of what had happened in Hungary that led to widespread disturbances and eventually to rampant counter-revolution, 5 we shall find that many factors are involved: heavily-financed campaigns of subversion directed from the U.S.A., special circumstances of Hungarian history. Vatican intrigues, grievous errors of policy and administration committed by the Hungarian 10 workers' leaders, incorrect policies arising from the Stalin cult on the part of the U.S.S.R.

It is notorious that both Government and private sources in the United States have spent and are spending millions of dollars on financing propaganda, 15 espionage, sabotage, terrorism, disaffection and rebellion in the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. In addition to the official Government 'Voice of America' radio, .." - I read now from page 6, My Lords - "... American capitalists have contri- 20 buted liberally to 'Radio Free Europe', which maintains thirteen transmitters in Munich, Frankfurt and Mannheim in West Germany and Lisbon in Portugal, and employs over a thousand people - mainly White-guard emigrés from Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulga- 25 ria, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. This sinister organisation, sponsored by Eisenhower, General Clay, former U.S. Military commander in Germany, Henry Ford, Spyros Skouras (who now owns most of the South African cinemas) and other leading Americans, 30 aims openly at the overthrow of the Governments of these East European countries. Associated with it

is the American National Committee for a Free Europe, which collected over 11 million dollars in one year. It is also sponsored by Eisenhower, together with a number of bankers and industrialists. Its first organiser was the same General Clay, who said publicly :

5

'The way to bring peace is to produce revolutions in the countries behind the iron curtain. The United States is the only country that can provide the necessary leadership'. (New York Times, June 29, 1952).

10

An equally sinister though less spectacular role has been played by the intrigues of the Roman church in Eastern Europe. It is - is it an accident that it is precisely in Catholic Hungary and Poland that peaceful demonstrations turn, somehow, into wild riots; that democratic reforms, initiated by working class leaders, are guided by invisible hands into anti-socialist and anti-Soviet channels?"

15

The next, My Lord, page 7, I read the last paragraph only. 20

It is headed "The Soviet Role" :

"Can the Soviet leaders be exonerated of blame for what has happened in Hungary? Are they guilty of intervention and 'colonialism' in Hungary? Should they now, as it is reported has been suggested by the Yugoslav representative at U.N, withdraw their forces and allow the Hungarians to settle their own problems?" I now go on to page 8, a continuation, the first two paragraphs. "We cannot answer these questions fully until we have been allowed to do what our newspapers and radio iron curtain prevents us from doing - namely to study what the

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