

production, we must use them for war. He said this means sacrifice, but surely you will make these sacrifices to preserve world peace. This is madness. There is only one way to preserve peace - by outlawing weapons of war. We should tell the people of the world that we do not think it necessary to build bases in Africa to defend America. We must go forward in peace to live a full, free and happy life. Africa, colonialism and war. At the next session Mr. Thieli (?) presided and Mr. Nelson Mandela, President of the Transvaal African National Congress and Mr. Debi Singh of Durban presented papers on the subject of Africa, colonialism and war. Mr. Mandela said : .... "

Do you know Mr. Mandela? --- Yes.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes (32).

And Debi Singh, is he one of the accused? --- Yes (149).

Read from the speech of Mandela? --- " Mandela said :  
The events now taking place in Africa constitute the most serious threat to the peace, security and the freedom of the people of this continent. For years now the capitalist countries have lived on the raw materials and cheap labour from Asia and Africa. The rise of the National Liberation Movement in Asia and the Pacific region and the loss of these vast countries as war bases and incentives for investment, has forced the imperial powers to turn their eyes on Africa, riches of Africa. It is here that we have rich deposits of gold, diamonds and uranium. Our continent produces palm-oil, cocoa, coffee and other products. It is in Africa that we have vast supplies of land and cheap labour, being without a strong trade union movement. The people of Africa are exposed to the most vicious 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 chief or

their only colonial dependencies. The internal contradictions and conflicts within this imperial camp are broadening daily, 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. The rivalries amongst these colonial powers contain the seeds of an extremely dangerous situation to peace and security in Africa. Military Bases. To protect their markets and investments, to curtail the national liberation movements and forestall the rise of revolutionary democracy in Africa and to ensure an abundant cheap labour supply, America and the satellites have established military bases all over the continent. America has land, sea and air bases in Morocco and Lybia. There are British military bases in Egypt, East Africa, Somaliland and the Sudan. Field-Marshal Wilson, the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean in 1954 put the matter very clearly. The spread of Communism to China and the uncertain political situation in other countries in the Far East are bound to have the effect of contracting the sources of supply of certain raw materials necessary for the manufacture of armaments, which will result in the intensification of prospects 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 needs. In 1946 the Daily Mail made positionnequally clear. The British decision to quit Palestine. Burmas's seccession from the Commonwealth. The weakening of ties with India and the uncertainty of Britain's tenure in Egypt has hastened the adoption for plans for a new Commonwealth defence system. Kenya is the new centre of Commonwealth defence and South Africa its arsenal. Africa is

a war base. Almost simultaneously the Daily Express wrote : East Africa is expected to become a main atomic age training ground of the British Army and the main support base in the Empire defence system. Africa has now become a war base for imperial powers in their war preparations and for their scheme of world domination. This is a true explanation of the callous determination and indecent haste of the British Government in running through the federation scheme in Central AFRICA. In spite of the united opposition of the African population of these territories. This is the true explanation of the bitter conflict in Kenya between imperial Britain, whose aim is to rob those people of their country and land, and the Kenya people who are fighting to save their land and country from being transferred into a military base to attack their people. Victims of a future war. People of Africa will be the first victims of a future war. Their industries will produce armaments, their raw materials will be used, not to develop their own economy, but to destroy those of others. The war danger in Africa is very close indeed. People throughout the world are coming to understand how close is the struggle for peace and against the menace of war is linked with the preservation of the rights of a nation and the individual for peaceful existence. This Conference shows that more and more people in South Africa have come to understand the most serious threat to the peace, security and freedom of the people that exist at the present time. Foreign Armies. The threat to the national liberation movement in Africa resulting 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 foreign troops and the end of colonial oppression and exploitation. Mr. Debi Singh from Durban.....

Will you hand me the document please. Then, Your

Worship, on page 10, there appears Mr. Debi Singh from Durban and the following Mr. Singh spoke of imperialism and then there appears what he said. Then on page 11 there is the following : Mr. Lawrence Nkosi. Do you know Lawrence Nkosi? --- Yes.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes (55).

S. Dhlamini? --- He is one of the accused (128).

And other names, with the notes 'also spoke'.: And then on the same page, in winding up the discussion, Miss Ruth First said.... Do you know Ruth First? --- Yes.

Is she one of the accused? --- Yes. (73).

And on page 12, there appears 'Speaking on the same subject, Miss Ida Mntwana, Secretary of the Women's League African National Congress said.. . Do you know her? --- Yes.

Is she one of the accused? --- Yes. (49).

Will you read what Ruth First said on page 11? ---

"In winding up the discussion, Miss Ruth First said : It is obvious there are some differences among us in regard to what the policy of the Peace Movement should be. It is simple enough to say our policy is to end war by negotiation. We are here because we hate war, because war means wholesale slaughter and the threat to the survival to the whole human race. We understand that whatever international differences there are, these must be settled peacefully, but then one delegate says there is no room in the Peace Movement for 'isms' and another says war is due to imperialism. What are the politics and policies of the Peace Movement. What is our attitude to the war in Malaya and Kenya. Do we say that Korea is our business, but Kenya is not. Do we say it is not the job of the Peace Movement to condemn colonialism. There is room in the Peace Movement for people who believe in all kinds of 'isms'. Some people think the United States think is to blame for world tension. Some think it is the Soviet

Union that is to blame. It is perfectly true, the Peace Movement does not pin the blame on one or another, does not condemn imperialism, nor support imperialism as such. But does not condemn, nor support, capitalism or socialism. That is not our job, but this is the essence : While we say that we do not support any one system, we do say that we cannot allow the maintenance of any system by force or by war. When foreign powers invade territories of Africa and try to enforce colonialism, that is the concern of the Peace Movement. We must have a policy towards such acts. We are opposed to colonialism because it is a breeding ground of war in Africa. What is the relation of the Peace Movement to the Liberation Movements, to the Trade Unions, to individuals who support one system or another. The Peace Movement is the common factor among them all. If we say that the Protectorates or Kenya are nor our business, we are failing in our duty towards peace." Then there is another paragraph marked near the bottom of page 12.

Did you read her whole speech, is that correct? --- Yes.

On the 3rd September, 1953, did you conduct another search? --- I did.

Under a search warrant? --- Yes.

In the flat of Mr. Allan Lipman? --- Yes. At 36 Waverley Court, Johannesburg.

Was he then the Secretary of the South African Peace Council? --- Yes.

And there did you seize certain documents? --- I did.

That you now hand in EXHIBIT E. 548 to E. 625. Is that correct? --- Yes.

I think, Your Worship the list should be handed in, marked as a separate Exhibit E. 741. I might add that the previous Exhibits, E. 533 to 547 are mentioned in this same list.

Union that is to blame. It is perfectly true, the Peace Movement does not pin the blame on one or another, does not condemn imperialism, nor support imperialism as such. But does not condemn, nor support, capitalism or socialism. That is not our job, but this is the essence : While we say that we do not support any one system, we do say that we cannot allow the maintenance of any system by force or by war. When foreign powers invade territories of Africa and try to enforce colonialism, that is the concern of the Peace Movement. We must have a policy towards such acts. We are opposed to colonialism because it is a breeding ground of war in Africa. What is the relation of the Peace Movement to the Liberation Movements, to the Trade Unions, to individuals who support one system or another. The Peace Movement is the common factor among them all. If we say that the Protectorates or Kenya are nor our business, we are failing in our duty towards peace." Then there is another paragraph marked near the bottom of page 12.

Did you read her whole speech, is that correct? ---

Yes.

On the 3rd September, 1953, did you conduct another search? --- I did.

Under a search warrant? --- Yes.

In the flat of Mr. Allan Lipman? --- Yes. At 36 Waverley Court, Johannesburg.

Was he then the Secretary of the South African Peace Council? --- Yes.

And there did you seize certain documents? --- I did.

That you now hand in EXHIBIT E. 548 to E. 625. Is that correct? --- Yes.

I think, Your Worship the list should be handed in, marked as a separate Exhibit E. 741. I might add that the previous Exhibits, E. 533 to 547 are mentioned in this same list.

(15.11.53)

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTINUED :

Did you make notes of a meeting held on the 15th November, 1953? --- Yes.

You have your notes now before you? --- Yes.

What meeting was it? --- It was a Word Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship.

Where was it held? --- In the Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

About what time did the meeting commence? --- 2 p.m.

Until when? --- Adjourned 6 p.m.

Who was the Chairman? --- Robert Resha.

One of the accused? --- Yes (63).

Will you read your notes from the beginning, starting from 'Pictures in the hall above and in front...'? --- There was a pamphlet distributed, 'Back from Bucharest'. I have got three names, A. M. Kathrada, Percy Cohen, Leon Levy.

A. M. Kathrada? --- One of the accused. (18).

Leon Levy? --- One of the accused (20).

Were they present there? --- "Pictures in hall above and in front platform of Joseph Stalin and Youth Festival at Bucharest. Slogans 'Freedom in our Lifetime' 'For Peace, Friendship and Racial Harmony'. 'Down with Capitalism and Fascist Governments'. 'Our Youth the Rulers of Tomorrow'. 'We want full democracy'. Large red flag on one side of hall. Females discuss weakness of Britain and that it is almost about to lose all its colonies.

Did you then buy certain books, pamphlets at the hall? Is that correct? --- Yes.

Robert Resha, the Chairman. Did he address the meeting? --- Yes.

Will you read what he said? --- "Robert Resha, Chairman. We do not have many places where we can meet irrespective of race and colour but we will meet and are determined to celebrate this day. We shall have - we should have met on 10.11.53 (Interpreted by Ben Kenosi). The greatness of this

day will continue until the youth of the world achieved their wish. The World Federation of Democratic Youth is responsible for us celebrating this day in 84 countries. You need not be clever or a lawyer to interpret the aims of our meeting. All communities are represented here. We welcome all speaking the same language. The Government realise that there is a search for freedom." There is a piece in Afrikaans. Resha lees boodskap uit van W. M. Sisulu tot die effek dat hy nou in Moskou is. Resha reads message from W. Sisulu to the effect that he is now in Moscow. En daar beraadslaag met leiers. He is consulting with leaders there. Continued - He will return to us nevermind what the Government is going to do to him. The masses of South Africa can no longer be bluffed. We might fight for our freedom. We must get rid of this ruling clique of frightened men. We are looking forward to the golden day that we will entertain visitors from the countries mentioned. I now request the Modern Youth Choir to sing 'The Red Flag'. The people's flag is deepest red. It shrouded oft our martyred dead, etc."

The next speaker? --- Albert Kuschlick.

Read what he said? --- English, interpreted into Bantu.

"It is my job to give you some of the impressions we got at Warsaw where we went two weeks after the World Federation of Democratic Youth Festival at Bucharest and the International Union of Students. We saw hundreds of newly built houses for the workers. This was the first sign of the spirit of the people at home. At the Congress there were representatives from 99 countries. We were a true South African delegation, as we were Europeans, Africans and Indians. Delegates were treated by Polish workers and children. Students in Africa and Asia told us how British and French imperialism affect their struggle. Before 90% of the People's - in People's Democratic China could not read or write. They are now taught.



In Eastern Europe students do not pay for their studies in Universities. We told the Congress that our present Government in South Africa is a friend of the Nazis. They promised to stand with us in our struggle for liberation." Then the next speaker was N. Thandray.

Will you omit what he said. The next speaker? ---  
Lindiwe Ngakane.

Will you omit what she said. The next speaker? ---  
Lionel Bernstein.

One of the Accused? --- Yes (5). He spoke in English and it was interpreted into Bantu.

Read? -- "We only heard of British Guiana a few weeks ago. Like the Fascist Government here the British Government is desperate to keep control of Guiana. Most of the people having work today came from Africa and were taken there as slaves by their European oppressors to work in plantations. Others came from India and Europe. Conditions there is so close to that in Africa. Like the South Africa, the country is rich of sugar and gold and there is also only a small white population who like in South Africa are ruling the people. The British imperialists are using arms, destroyers and troops. Great profits came back from Guiana to capitalists in Britain. The country does not belong to the people who live there. Before Africans from Africa were sold as slaves to the capitalists. Here in South Africa we have the same experience. The wages offered to the workers are insufficient. After 200 years of British rule over Guiana only 400 out of 8,000 houses are capable of human habitation. The roofs of their houses are made of banana leaves. Like the people in South Africa they say that the country is not governed in their interest. Like South Africa Guiana demands the right to be free and govern themselves. In Africa we are going to govern ourselves. All over the capitalists employ their goodboys to bluff the people to think

they are governing themselves. Britain allowed Guiana elections for their own Parliament, but Britain appointed and nominated the Senate. All laws not in favour of the capitalists are not approved by the Senate. The Governor has the power to veto the discussion of the Parliament. In 1953 the National Liberation Movement created the People's Progressive Party. This party is exactly similar to the Congresses in South Africa. They demanded constitutional reforms and launched widespread campaigns. For imperialism and capitalism the crisis had begun. Workers went on strike. Employers were forced to negotiate. Capitalists said that a Communist plot had been formed. The British Government suspended the constitution and the Government with dictatorial powers. Dismissed the Ministers. The progress of the people were subdued by armed might. The sugar bosses decided to take back British Guiana. They despatched warships and troops from Britain. The Government is making and breaking laws as he likes. The same thing is happening in South Africa, Kenya, Rhodesia, etc. In Africa the people never tasted freedom because they are not united. Britain will have the battleships and arms but it will not have the young men to fire those arms. In South Africa the capitalist rulers will go the same way as Hitler. The day is coming closer. We will leave the imperialist rulers sitting with their gold and battleships for themselves. The World Youth Movement speaks to everybody in the colonial and is - in the colonies and is inspiring them with international brotherhood. The free people of the world will be with you in your struggle against British imperialism and fascism in South Africa."

Another speaker, then. R. H. Desai.

Read what he said? --- English interpreted into Bantu. "Comrades, let us install a Congress Government. Let us fight for peace and freedom in South Africa. We must demonstrate our solidarity with the Defiance Campaign leaders. We will get

a free Government, a People's Government in our country".

The next speaker? --- Charles Feinstein.

Omit that. The next speaker? --- Alfred Hutchinson.

Is he one of the Accused? --- Yes. (11). Speaking English, interpreted into Bantu. "Begin te praat in Duits. He commenced by speaking German. We were taken across the Danube to the Grestoff Hotel and the Alexandra Pontoffe. We travelled to Jur-ju on the Rumanian border. We travelled by plane to Port Stalin on the Black Sea. Education is free for all in Russia. We were drinking Mastika, everything was free. We left to Gurgas where we visited a rubber factory. The peasants are simple white people like the African people here. Vorgano of Cape Town was represented with a pig in the collective farm we visited, and I with a sheep. We went to Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria. We went to see the Revolutionary museum. I saw how the Bulgarian people achieved freedom from oppression by the Turks, the same freedom we are struggling for in South Africa. I saw Samionka and Dora the heroes of labour. Our glorious past will be overshadowed by our great future. It is good to live in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania but it is still better to live in the Soviet Union. Peace is aggressively sought. When we left the Indonesian song was sung. I slept in the beautiful Ambassador Hotel where Mr. Walter Sisulu slept on his way to Russia and China. I remember the stadions at Budapest and Prague. I achieved world citizenship. This is the freedom we must achieve here in South Africa." Then the Chairman again spoke, Robert Resha.

Read? --- He read out a message from W. M. Sisulu. Said it was received from the Soviet Union where he is visiting. (Interpreted into Bantu). I send my heartiest greetings from the Fourth World Youth Festival. I visited every country in Eastern Europe and China. I saw the social reconstruction, capitalism is completely eradicated. Racial discrimination vanished

in Russia and people are living together and united into a common desire for peace and independence of colonial oppression and for national Democratic unity. There must be united action against racial discrimination and oppression for a united Africa." The next speaker was J. Kumalo.

Is he one of the Accused? --- There are two J. Kumalo's amongst the Accused. I am not sure which one was the speaker here.

Will you then read what he said? --- Reads second resolution. "We demand the immediate withdrawal of all British forces from British Guiana and to let the people have their own government and own way of life and that South Africa support the struggle of the People's Progressive Party in Guiana. "

And then the next speaker? --- The next speaker was again R. H. Dessai.

Will you omit what he said. Was he the last speaker? --- Yes.

Did you also make a list of names of persons who attended the meeting? --- Yes.

Will you go through the list and mention the names of Accused persons in the list? --- John Nkadimeng, (54); A. M. Kathrada, Dr. H. M. Moosa (45); Helen Joseph (13); Joe Slovo (72); Ruth First (73); A. E. Patel (58); Joseph Molefi (43); E. P. Moretsele (46); That is all.

You hand in your notes, EXHIBIT G. 742? --- Yes.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTINUED : (23.4.54)

Did you make notes at a meeting held on the 23rd April, 1954? --- Yes.

You have your notes now before you? --- Yes.

What meeting was it? --- A Transvaal Peace Council Meeting, in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg.

What time did the meeting commence? --- 7.45 p.m.

Until when? --- At 10.15 p.m.

Who was the Chairman at the meeting? --- N. Thandray.

Did he address the meeting? --- Yes. he did.

Omit what he said? The next speaker? --- Dr. Arthur Blekesley.

Omit what he said?

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I will in due course ask that that which Dr. Blekesley had to say at this meeting should be read into the record. It might be convenient to ask the witness to read it now.

BY THE P.P. :

I have no objection. Will you read Dr. Arthur Blekesley's speech? --- Dr. A. Blekesley. "I am not going to describe to you how the atomic bomb works but the extent of it. On 5.8.45 the atomic bomb killed 50,000 people at Hiroshime. Another 100,000 were injured, of which another 20,000 died. Four square miles of the city were missing. At Nagasaki the damage was not so wide because the city is built on a series of hill, like Johannesburg, but 40,000 were killed instantly. Yet the A. bomb is nothing to compare to the 12 Megatone Bomb which alone contains 10,000 tons of dynamite. The H. Bomb can only be made by those who possess the atomic bomb. He then discussed the H. Bomb extensively. The 1952 H. Bomb explosion was 520 times as great as the A. Bomb at Hiroshima and was exploded 31,000 feet up. It had the effect of more than 12,000,000 tons of high explosives piled together. Any nation in possession of A. Bomb also has H. Bomb. The atomic bomb serves as a detonator for the hydrogen bomb. Heat of H. bomb equal to heat of sun. There is no more such a thing as a front line, the front line will be here, there and everywhere where the wind blows. Dr. Blekesley answered certain questions. Uranium produced in South Africa istaken through a process of at least five years before used in atomic bombs. Uranium is the most important factor in the atomic age. Crude uranium oxide takes a considerable period before it can be used."

- 5198 -

The next speaker was Professor J. Gillman.

(Mr. Coaker asks leave for Accused 64, B. Seitshira, to arrive late tomorrow. Leave granted).

COURT REMANDED to 27.6.57.

COURT RESUMES 27.6.1957.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE :

Accused Absent : Same as on 26.6.1957.  
In addition : No. 98, L. Lee-Warden.  
Leave granted to No. 84, to be  
absent for a short while today.  
No. 42 P. Molaoa and No. 127,  
W. Conco back in Court.

GERHARDUS PAULUS VAN PAPENDORP, duly sworn;

(23.4.54)

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. (MR. VAN DER WALT):

Yesterday you were giving evidence of a meeting of the  
Transvaal Peace Council held on the 23rd April, 1954? --- Yes.

You read the speech of Dr. A. Blekesley? --- Yes.

You mentioned the next speaker was Professor J. Gillman?  
--- Yes.

Will you read what he said? --- Professor J. Gillman :  
"Just imagine the amount of destruction to art if the H. Bomb  
is exploded over Rome and the impact of such a bomb on our  
cultural career. Professor Bleksley explained to you the force  
of this devastating power which is now available to mankind.  
The first thought that crosses my mind is the possible destruc-  
tion of our heritage and what amount of destruction will be  
caused in great cities like New York and Chicago. The second  
thought, the effect on human beings, on the babies and the  
young. Everything which man has built in this world will be-  
come meaningless. Let us look back at the history of the  
medical science. 130 years two fifths of all babies being  
born died. We as Peace Organisers must do everything we can  
to acquaint our friends with the facts concerning these bombs  
so that we can stand together and bring about an enormous  
swing in public opinion so that the A. and H. bombs will never  
be used." Thandray introduced Miss Ruth First.

The next speaker? --- Miss Ruth First.

One of the Accused? --- Yes (73). Miss Ruth First :  
"Ladies and gentlemen. In the autumn of 1952, five years

after World War Two certain strange and warlike methods were introduced into classes of the American schools. Children began to learn how to crouch under their desks with their eyes tightly closed and their heads buried in their arms, stand breathlessly with their backs to the windows and their faces pressed against the walls, not allowed to talk and pieces of clothing covering their bodies. Children were told that these methods are to protect them against flying glass, falling debris and flesh burns in the case of an atomic attack. Children were divided into two main categories. Children were also told to bring to school a piece of sheet large enough for them to crawl under. School children in the U.S.A. are today wearing metal discs, identification discs. It is not necessary for us to hear an atomic explosion, but that is the atmosphere that is being created in the world, that such explosion is inevitable. Now it is the qualifying of the atomic bomb and the atmosphere of the cold war which resulted in the atomic explosion in 1950 and the hydrogen bomb explosion in 1952 and one next year. This atmosphere of the cold war is more boring than the actual hydrogen explosion in the Pacific. We often receive magazines like 'Colliers' telling in detail of how a push button war will destroy the Russian people. Millions of these comics are sold in U.S.A. such as atomic age, combats, atomic war, inter-world, the fronts, operation terror etc. and live to die. These are programmes of war methods, destruction, horror and brutality! One programme was called 'Fire' and .." - another word that is indistinct - "... and as a quiz it ran like this. Exorbitant drama about five people left alive after civilization was destroyed by a super bomb. They are educated to believe that war is common, inevitable and war is natural and that the United States of America must be the first to throw the bomb. Twenty-three Japanese fishermen were caught. The hydrogen bomb explosion as they were too close the experimental area in the Pacific. That is not only the result coming from



**Collection: 1956 Treason Trial**  
**Collection number: AD1812**

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2011

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

**Copyright Notice:** All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

**Disclaimer and Terms of Use:** Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.