

"Dice Loaded Against Nats". I refer to two or three paragraphs. The first paragraph says :

"Surveying the situation in the colonial and semi-colonial territories of Asia and Africa at the SABRA conference last week, Dr. A.L. Geyer, former High Commissioner for the Union in London, came to the conclusion that 'the dice are heavily loaded against democracy'."

Then this view is analysed, and later on the editorial says :

"And to bring the argument hearer home, because every blow struck against imperialism abroad is a blow struck against white domination in South Africa. The less the imperialists are able to load it in Asia and Africa, the less Dr. Geyer's and Mr. Strijdom's Nationalists will be able to load it in South Africa. The hotter the world becomes for the supremacists abroad, the more difficult it will become for the Nationalists to perpetuate white supremacy at home. The apartheid state is only able to survive because it is sheltered from the anger of the world's peoples behind the iron curtain maintained by British arms and American dollars in countries like Kenya and Malaya, Cyprus and the other outposts of Western 'democracy' (a la Geyer).

To quote Dr. Geyer again, if Communist China were to lead the peoples of Asia out of their age-old poverty into a new life 'I need not emphasise how exceedingly grave the situation would be for the west', i.e. 'for amongst others, us Nationalists in South Africa'."

Then the past paragraph of the editorial says :

"In the new South Africa which will be built on the basis of the Freedom Charter, those who foment racialism, like the SABRA delegates, will offend against the constitution of their country and render themselves

liable to the severest penalties of the law."

Page 4, My Lord, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Britain's Puppets in Malaya Listen to Liberation Tune". I read the opening portion only :

"The recent peace discussions between the representa- 5
tives of the joint delegation of the Malayan Libera-
tion Army and the Malayan Communist Party on the
one hand and the 'Chief Ministers' of Malaya and
Singapore on the other mark the beginning of the
end of the British Imperialist occupation of Malaya. 10

But for the spineless obedience of the British
puppet 'Chief Ministers', Malaya could already be
at peace.

A fortnight ago Chin Feng, Malayan Liberatory
Army leader came out of the jungle where his army 15
has its headquarters, to head the joint delegation.
(Although promised a free passage by the British,
Chin Feng thought it wise to come with a bodyguard
of forty armed men)."

Then on page 5 there is an article, headline caption 20
"Thousands hear Lilian Ngoyi in F.E." and the opening
sentence is :

"That the year 1956 was going to be one of planned
political activity was reflected at the first
meeting of the year held on the 8th January under 25
the auspices of the Congress of Mothers. Over 4,000
people listened with rapt attention to Mrs. Lilian
Ngoyi, the National President of the A.N.C. Women's
League and a member of the National Executive of
the A.N.C. as she related her experiences overseas. 30

My Lords, the next issue, is Volume 2, No 13, January 26th,
1956. I refer only to page 8 an article "Parliamentary

Survey" by Peter Meyer. Headline caption, "Is there really nothing to talk about in Parliament?". This article is a critical appreciation of what goes on in parliament, and the concluding paragraph reads :

"The real opposition in South Africa are the working masses. For a few years, after the Nationalists came to power, the U.F. pretended to be the champion of these masses, but it is shedding this role as fast as it can. Its new disguise is as the champion of the down-trodden Nationalists, who supposedly are looking for someone to lead them in revolt against Strijdom. As the U.F. and the other opposition groups drift further and further away from the realities of the political situation, so the Parliamentary struggle becomes more and more pitiful. Outside Parliament, however, the issues are clearer and the people more conscious of their task. And they will not fail, the way the Parliamentary Opposition has failed."

The next issue, My Lord, is Volume 2, No. 14, February 2nd, 1956. At page 2, editorial article, headline caption "Workers' Unity". I refer to the opening and concluding portion of the article :

"Workers' Unity! What a wealth of meaning, of fighting of sacrificing and of winning - lie behind those two words. With all the cards stacked in favour of the bosses - with their power to victimise, to sack, to call in scabs and police, unity is the one weapon the workers have with which to defend themselves."

Victimise our leaders and not one of us will work;
give us a decent wage or we'll all go on strike;

bring your scabs and we'll stand together and picket your gates! These have been the replies countless trade unionists in countries right across the world, have thrown back at the bosses whenever the need has arisen.

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To break the unity of the workers has always been the dearest ambition of the exploiters of labour. And that is the aim of the Industrial Conciliation Bill which the Nats are now pushing through Parliament."

The article then analyses the Bill, and concludes : 10

"The South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only national trade union body which is open to all workers and which has stood uncompromisingly against the Bill since it was first announced, is holding its conference in Cape Town next month.

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Every worker and democrat, whether a SACTU member or not will certainly do everything possible - by means of local trade union conferences, petitions, mass meetings, leaflets - to bring the campaign against the Industrial Conciliation Bill to a great and victorious climax." 20

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 15, 9th February, 1956. On page 1, My Lord, there is an article, headline caption, "Louw's Action Condemned. 'We have no Quarrel with the Soviet People'." This is a protest against the Government's action in ordering the closing of the Soviet Consulate in Pretoria, and referring to various criticisms of this action. Under the caption "People's Demand", it says :

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"The Rev. D. C. Thompson, Chairman of the Society for Peace and Friendship, points out that the Consulate was opened in response to the demands of 30

tens of thousands of South Africans, to cement the alliance between the two countries which was sealed by blood and sacrifice in the common struggle against the enemy - Nazi Germany."

Under the caption "Hostile Blocs" the article says : 5

"Mr. P. Beyleveld, national chairman of the Congress of Democrats, describes the Government's action as 'part of the reactionary diplomatic manoeuvres being carried on in several countries to perpetuate and strengthen the division of the world into hostile blocs". 10

On page 2, My Lord, the editorial article "A Blow to Peace".

I quote the first and last paragraphs only :

"The decision of the South African Government...."

The first paragraph complains against the decision of the Government to close the Consulates in - the Soviet Consulates in Cape Town and Pretoria, and that it won't contribute to a relaxation of International tension. Thereafter it analyses the position as it sees it, and concludes : 15

"Thus, the closing of the Soviet Consulates is not just the outcome of a petty dispute between Mr. Louw and Mr. Ivanoc, It is a deliberate blow to the peaceful relations between states, a blow delivered with a view to preserving Africa as a happy hunting ground for the imperialists, a blow to the aspirations of the African peoples for national independence. 20 25

With the exception of the handful of white supremacists and their hangers-on, the majority of the South African people cherish feelings of the warmest friendship towards the Soviet people, and do not intend to allow themselves to become the victims of Mr. Louw's plot. Those who fight for the realisation 30

of the Freedom Charter in South Africa must recognise that Louw's move is in essence an attack on themselves, and should without hesitation demand that normal diplomatic and consular relations with the Soviet Union should be restored without delay." 5

On page 8 of this issue, My Lords, an article "Parliamentary Survey" by Peter Meyer, headline caption "Strindom's Vote Bill Came as an Anti-Climax".

I quote one paragraph from the article only, and it says :

"Strindom is not going to relent. The continual retreat by nearly all sections of the Parliamentary Opposition has given him confidence. He sees weaklings all around, who meekly accepted the Senate Act and who doubt will just as meekly accept the new bill once it becomes law. But Strindom makes the mistake of thinking that Strauss is the pattern for the people outside. No, Mr. Strindom, outside Parliament there are strong arms and brave hearts, millions of them." 10 15

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 16, February 16th, 1956. Page 5, an article, framed, caption "Meeting Protests Against Closing of Soviet Consulate". It refers to an angry meeting of workers which condemned the scandalous action of the Government. It says that the meeting was called by the S.A.C.T.U. and was addressed by representatives of the A.N.C, S.A.I.C., S.A.C.C.D. and the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. And it says that Dr. H. M. Moosa 'Joint Secretary of the South African Indian Congress challenged Louw to produce any evidence in support of the allegation that the Soviet Consulate was inciting people against the Government.' It further mentions that the Rev. Thompson, 20 25 30

Chairman of the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union regarded the closing of the Consulate as a highly retrogressive step." Then My Lords, on page 7, there is an article, together with photograph. Headline caption, "Round half the world on a scrap of paper - his birth certificate - meeting Nehru and Nasser; seeing the new world in the East and Asia growing into independence; watching the old colonial system snap apart: these have been the experiences of Moses Kotane, veteran leader of the South African people now among us again. Here in an interview with New Age is the story of a South African Statesman Overseas". This is an account of world travels and meetings with various statesmen, more particularly Nehru and Nasser.

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 17, February 23rd, 1956. I refer first to the editorial article, headline caption "A Job to be Done". I quote the opening and closing portions only. It says :

"A strange air of unreality hangs over the Parliamentary debate on the South Africa Act Amendment Bill, now before the joint session. Not even a sensation-mongering press can rouse the life the hoary old arguments now being trotted out by both sides for the umpteenth time. Even the black roses of the Black Sash appear a little faded and wilted - inevitably one wonders what the fashionably-dressed mourners would do if a black woman asked to join their ranks in protest against Nationalist dictatorship.

Is this really a dead issue, this rape of the Coloured vote which is being perpetrated before our eyes? Can it be that the South African people are indifferent to the murder of democratic rights of a

of a national minority? Does nobody care?"

Then the concluding portion says :

"No, it is not because the people do not care that they are silent today. It is because no one has issued a clarion call to give battle to the enemy, 5
no one has roused them to take part in the crusade for freedom.

The people do care, deeply and passionately, for their rights. The Coloured man is not content to see his right to remain on the common roll taken away; nor 10
the African to remain forever without the franchise. Even the Europeans are not all happy at what is being done to South Africa in the name of white supremacy. The real longings and aspirations of the vast majority of our people are recorded in the 15
Freedom Charter adopted last year at the great Congress of the People in Kliptown - as moving a declaration of human rights as was ever adopted by any assembly in the history of mankind.

Turning from the sorry spectacle in Parliament, it 20
is time now for the people to call upon their leaders to give them a lead. If Strauss has failed, how would we succeed?

The duty rests on all in the liberation movement to devise ways and means of implementing the Freedom 25
Charter forthwith. We must not become mesmerised with its honeyed words, but must seek daily, hourly, in all our work, to put the Charter into practical effect and build a mighty people's front which can sweep the Nationalist tyranny into oblivion". 30

On page 3, My Lords, there is an article, headline caption "South African people Want Friendship with Soviet Union".

This is a plea for good - in fact better relations - between South Africa and the U.S.S.R., commenting on the closing of the Consulate in this country, and criticising the action of the Government in closing the Consulates. Page 4, My Lord, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, 5 headline caption "The Sixth Soviet Five-Year Plan", and that is in fact an accurate summary of what the article contains. It is devoted to an analysis of the Five-Year Plan, and the - and a description of what it involves. Page, 3, - no, that is all from this issue, My Lord. 10 The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 18, March 1st, 1956. On page 1, and continued on page 7, is an article on the S.A.C.T.U. Conference. The headline says : "Workers Met to Fight I.C. Bill. SACTU Conference Opens Today". There is a photograph, and a caption underneath, "S.A.C.T.U. 15 President, Pieter Beyleveld." On page 7, there is a photograph described as "General Secretary, Leslie Masina", and "Treasurer.." - a further photograph, described as "Treasurer, Leon Levy". On page 8, an article "Parliamentary Survey" by Peter Meyer, headline caption "What Happened 20 in the Joint Sitting", the article suggests that very little happened in the joint sitting, and concluding :

"From February 13 to 27 this wordy battle went on, while the Black Sash women looked down at their shoes. Now that the joint sitting is over, there 25 is only one card left: the courts. If that card fails, the Parliamentary Opposition will be plunged into utter despair. But the term Parliamentary Opposition is not the same as Opposition. The one comes from a corrupted ruling class, who are in- 30 spired only by self-gain. The other comes from the ordinary people of South Africa, who are inspired by

the ideal of a better life for everyone, of work, wealth and happiness for all. This source of inspiration never dries up."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 19, March 8th, 1956. On page 1, an article, headline caption "S.A.C.T.U. 5
Calls for Struggle Against Nationalist Laws. Militant Spirit at Historic Conference." This is a description of the S.A.C.T.U. Conference, and I quote a very brief portion of the article, at the foot of column 2, under the heading "New Executive" : 10

"We want to express our appreciation to Mr. Beyleveld for the very good job of work he has done in helping to build up SACTU', Mr. Leon Levy said when he was unanimously elected national president in the place of Mr. F. Beyleveld who did not stand for re-election, 15
Vice-presidents, Mrs. L. Mvubelo and Mr. C. Sibande were unanimously re-elected, as was general secretary, Mr. Leslie Masine."

On page 4, My Lord, the article "World Stage", by Spectator, an article headline caption "World Interest in 20
Soviet Congress". The first paragraph says :

"The World press has been giving extensive coverage to the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. which ended last week. It has been very widely suggested in the anti-Soviet press that the 25
whole of Soviet policy has been changed. As Pieter Lessing,...."

Then a little lower down it says :

"It is natural that there should be so great an interest in the Congress, and in particular in the 30
opening report of the first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Nikita Kruschov.

Kruschov opened his report with a review of the international position of the Soviet Union."

The balance of this article then analyses that review, My Lord, and that review was inflicted upon Your Lordships under G. 1132, as part of a Fighting Talk for March, 1956. 5
It is substantially the same.

Next My Lord, on page 6, there is an article, headline caption "The South African Congress of Trade Unions must be an example and inspiration to the workers and people of South Africa as to what can be achieved by unity, irrespective of race, colour or creed", Mr. P. Beyleveld, national president, said at the SACTU Conference in Cape Town last week when he introduced the statement of policy drawn up by the national executive committee." And then under the headline "SACTU Unites All Workers", there is a longish 15
article which concludes thus :

"Whilst SACTU will thus pursue its own independent struggle for the workers' rights, it pledges full support and co-operation to all movements and organisations genuinely struggling for the removal of Fascist 20
tyranny, for the elimination of all restrictive and oppressive legislation, for the achievement of complete political liberation. In particular, SACTU declares its adherence to and support of the programmes of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.O.D. and 25
the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation, as the organisations jointly responsible with us to struggle for the achievements of the aims and the objectives of the Freedom Charter."

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 20, March 15th, 1956
I refer to page 7, an article with the headline caption, "Congress appeal to Government : Heal Breach with Soviet

Union". This refers to a leaflet issued jointly by the Congress movement containing a plea for the healing of the breach with the Soviet Union, and it says the Congresses express their opposition to the war plans and foreign policy of the Government. Then the article concludes :

"The Non-European people of South Africa and the European democrats will not be parties to war plans and aggression against fraternal peoples and countries with whom we have no quarrel.

We demand that the Government give effect to the people's will for peace."

On page 2, My Lord, in the correspondence column, there is a letter by one Paul Joseph to the editor, complaining against this humiliating and scandalous treatment of a great power, under the title "Scandalous Treatment of Soviet Consul".

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 21, March 22nd, 1956 - I beg Your Lordship's pardon, this issue is omitted. I quote next from Volume 2, No. 22, March 29th, 1956.

Page 1, there is an article, headline caption, "Ratify Freedom Charter. A.N.C. Special Conference Call." I read the first sentence only :

"We are satisfied that the overwhelming majority of delegates from all provinces will ratify the Freedom Charter which they have worked so hard to bring about. This document is the most fundamental statement of principles ever produced in our country and the only alternative to apartheid", said Mr. Oliver Tambo, General Secretary of the African National Congress, in an exclusive interview to New Age on the eve of the special conference in this

v:
city this week-end."

Page 4, My Lord, the article "World Stage" by S ectator, headline caption "Britain's Crises due to Cold War Policies", an analysis of Britain's economic position today, and considering the amount of money allocated to National Defence in the Budget and it concludes as follows :

"For all these reasons, says Martin, the £1,500 million pounds that Britain is spending each year on military equipment should be drastically reduced to - so that the money can be found which will be needed as the result of 'the loss of our Middle Eastern oil empire'.

The Implications.

Limited as this proposal is, and incapable as it is of alone overcoming Britain's crisis, it has most important implications, for any drastic reduction in armaments expenditure, would mean :

An end to the military subjugation of such colonies as Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus;

A break-away from the U.S. 'brink of war' policy;

It must also lead to support for peaceful co-existence and the growth of trade with the huge markets which the U.S. is denying to Britain - the socialist third of the world.

And it will lead to a growing realisation that the capitalist form of society in which imperialist domination of other peoples has its roots, depends for its existence on the reduction of wages, on reservoirs of unemployed and the exploitation of man by man. When that realisation grows in Britain ... but that is another story."

Then on page 3, My Lords, there is an article in the correspondence column, a letter rather, by Moses Kotane, a letter to the editor with the descriptive caption "Why have we failed to defend the Coloured Vote?". That is a Schedule 3, article, and I shall not quote from it. 5

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 23, April 5th, 1956.

On page 1, and continued on page 3, there is an article headline caption, "Freedom Charter Adopted by A.N.C.

'Africanists' Routed at Special Conference." From Ruth

First :

10

"Cheers and spontaneous singing greeted the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the A.N.C. Special Conference in Johannesburg last week-end, with the only opposition coming from a tiny group of 16 'Africanists' who were discredited and completely routed by their own disruptive tactics." 15

Then on page 4, My Lord, there is an article "Collective Leadership in the Soviet Union" by Michael Harmel, which is devoted in part to the report of the Central Committee present by Mr. Kruschov to which attention has already been paid, and which also devotes attention to a concept known as "The Cult of the Individual and its Dangers". I quote a brief paragraph from the article :

"The Soviet leaders boldly faced the difficult and far from pleasant task of uprooting the myth of the miracle-working hero, which is alien to the spirit of scientific socialism. The real heroes and makers of history are the masses of the people, led by their vanguard organisation. The hero myth obscures this truth. In elevating an individual on a pedestal, all others are cast into the shadow. This can only discourage and suffocate the development 25 30

of creative thought and endeavour."

Then on page 6 of this issue, My Lords, there is a small news item, headline caption "Do You Want To Read Kruschov's Speech?" and mentioning that the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union has published a special information bulletin containing a summary of Kruschov's Report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, and also containing the text of the speech delivered by Mikoyan. The article says from what source in Johannesburg the bulletin is to be obtained. 5 10

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 24, April 12th, 1956. On page 1, My Lord, there are certain photographs and the caption to the photograph on the left says :

"At the funeral of Nangoza Jebe, shot by the police in New Brighton recently: Top picture, Volunteers carry the coffin, draped in African National Congress colours, on their shoulders all along the route to the cemetery." 15

And the Volunteers appear to be uniformly dressed. On page 4, My Lord, there is an article, headline caption, "In Fraternal Greetings to the Recent Conference of the Congress of Democrats in Johannesburg, A.N.C. leader, Chief Luthuli, discusses how White South Africans Can Help the Liberation Struggle." In his message, Luthuli poses the question "What is the Task of the C.O.D. in South Africa", and he says they 'have a special mission to convert white South Africans to your viewpoint'. He says further that it will not pay White South Africa to live by the jungle law of might and right, and that the lesson of history is that those who rule by an iron hand eventually suffer an ignominious end. He points out that their motive will be suspect 20 25 30

- their motives will not be appreciated by the people they are trying to liberate and that this should not divert them from the struggle for freedom. On page 5, My Lord, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Soviet Press Comment on Stalin". This is a collection of various press reports on Stalin, and the opening sentence of the article says :

"The world press is still persisting in its tremendous effort to confuse progressives with the false story that the Soviet leaders have completely rejected Stalin and everything he stood for."

The article is at pains to make the point that in fact the Soviet leaders have only rejected Stalin in part. The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 25, 19th April, 1956, page 1, and continued on page 5, there is an article, headline caption "Winburg Women Burn Their Pass Books. We have been Tricked" :

"Winburg is a little Free State town chosen by the Government for the first issue of pass books to African women, and Winburg is also the first place where the women have hit back - and hard."

Then the article goes on to describe a procession of several hundred women from the location to the Magistrate's Court, an interview with the Magistrate, his refusal to take back Pass Books issued, and then the article says :

"When he saw he was getting nowhere, he.." that is the Magistrate.." turn on his heel and went back to the Court. Then the women placed the pile of pass books on the ground before the Court, poured a bottle of paraffin over them and set the pile alight."

On page 5 - I beg Your Lordship's pardon, it is not a continuation, it is a separate article, headline caption,

"We will not Carry Passes", "Klerksdorp Women Tell Native Commissioner". The concluding paragraph of this news item says :

"A meeting was then held in the road. The A.N.C. Women's League of Klerksdorp handed over a letter to be transmitted to Verwoerd. It said they were not prepared to carry any kind of slave paper in their pockets. 'If you force us to take pass books we shall burn them in front of your eyes'."

On page 4, My Lord, "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Can Capitalism Cure Itself of Slumps?". And the conclusion at which the article arrives is that capitalism cannot cure itself of slumps. 10

The next issue, My Lords, is Volume 2, No. 26, of the 26th of April, 1956, page 2, an article headline caption, "Indian Youth Back New Age". I read the opening portion only. It is in connexion with raising funds for the paper, and says : 15

"New Age Must Live!" That is the resounding slogan which the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress has adopted in their campaign on behalf of our National Fund." 20

The article then says what they propose doing. On page 3, My Lord, there is an article, headline caption, "Build a United Front, says Moses Kotane", together with photograph. I quote two paragraphs from this article : 25

"Fraternal greetings to all workers, oppressed people and democrats in South Africa on this May Day, 1956. May Day is the traditional international workers' day, a day on which workers in every country throughout the world come together to review their forces and their achievements and failures for the past year, and to rededicate themselves to 30

to the cause of the peoples' freedom, human progress and happiness. We too must look back and assess our achievements and shortcomings for the May Day year, 1955-1956."

Then certain facts are considered, and the article ends : 5

"However, in spite of the many setbacks suffered during the year, there were some achievements, the most outstanding of which was the Congress of the People, which produced the world-renowned document which today serves as a beacon to the Congress 10 movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa: the historic Freedom Charter. We must learn to follow up our successes.

We have a big task before us; the ending of oppression, racial discrimination and injustices in this 15 country. For this we need an organised force capable and ready at all times to frustrate the plans and intentions of the ruling class, and which constantly presses forward the demands of the people.

It is therefore the duty of every worker, every 20 democrat and every true South African to work actively for the building of a powerful progressive movement - a progressive united front movement which will, in the spirit of the Freedom Charter, work and fight for the abolition of political oppression, economic 25 exploitation and social discrimination and injustices in South Africa."

Then My Lord, on the same page 3 there are various May 30
 Day messages. I refer to a few of them only. One says :
 "C.O.D. Fledges Aid to New Age", and it says :

"The South African Congress of Democrats greets New Age on this May Day, 1956, which marks the increased influence...." and assures New Age of

its support. A similar message under the caption, "Forward to a New Life" comes by way of a May Day message from S.A.C.F.O. President, Alex la Guma. Then there are also messages from the African National Congress Head Office, and the Transvaal Region of the Federation of South African Women, and Mr. D. N. Fritt, Q.C. Then on pages 4 to 5 there is an article, headline caption, "The Story of May Day in South Africa. The Workers' History is Written in Hood", by E. R. Braverman. This article traces the history of the working class movement in South Africa from the days of Mann and Andrews, and I read the concluding portion only :

"Liberatory Movement.

May Day has been written into the history of both the national and working-class liberatory movement. It was on May 1st, 1951, that African, Indian and Coloured workers observed their freedom day and brought the factories to a standstill in the big cities, but, above all, in the Witwatersrand. It was here that the police ran amok, stabbing with fixed bayonets in Benoni, Alexandra and Sophiatown. This Year.

This year we celebrate May Day in the midst of the greatest attack any South African government has yet ever carried out on the workers' and progressive movement. We shall mourn and protest furiously against the enslavement of our trade unions by the new Industrial Conciliation Act and the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act.

We shall condemn the hateful Suppression of Communism Act, Criminal Laws Amendment Act, Riotous Assemblies Act, Public Safety Act and other tyrannical laws passed to take away our right to speak freely

to organise freely and struggle for citizenship rights.

We shall demand with all the strength we have the right to govern ourselves, knowing that the workers cannot achieve economic security until they have gained political freedom. 5

Time and the world are with us and against the oppressors! That is our message for May Day 1956." Then also on page 5, under the headline caption "African Women Reject Senator Cowley's Advice - 'We will not carry passes'". There is an account of a meeting at the - of the Durban Branch of the A.N.C. Women's League, where one Mrs. Ostrich is said to have explained to Senator Cowley in no uncertain terms that passes were unacceptable to the Durban Branch of the A.N.C.W.L. The article mentions too that "Opponents to the Freedom Charter were soundly defeated, ..." at the Conference. "Mr. Steven Dhlamini, Provincial Organising Secretary of the A.N.C. moved a resolution for the adoption of the Charter", which resolution was duly passed. The article concludes by saying that in support of the Charter there were various speakers, including Mr. F. H. (Stalwart) Simelane. On page 7, My Lord, there are more May Day messages. One is from the A.N.C. Cape Town Branch, and the other is from the South African Congress of Democrats National Executive Committee. It says :

"On this memorable day the N.E.C. wishes to express its solidarity with that section of organised labour" and the message concludes :

"By their united resistance to these fascist onslaughts on the trade union movements, these workers are honouring the cause for which men fought and died over 30

a hundred years ago. To the workers standing outside this great brotherhood we extend the hope that they will unite before it is too late."

There are further messages from the Natal Peace Council, and the South African Peace Council and the Natal Indian Congress. 5

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 27, page 2, - I am sorry, the date is May 3rd, 1956, My Lord. On page 2, My Lord, in the correspondence column there is a letter by J.J. Hadebe under the headline "Wonderful Spirit Among P.E. Africans". The letter says : 10

"Recent Bannings of meetings, the shooting of Volunteer Nangoza Jebe and the imprisonment of shot and wounded freedom lovers in the P.E. area, have heightened the spirit of resistance, raised the level of political consciousness and hardened the determination of freedom fighters in this area. People are not passively 'waiting' for liberation, but are eagerly and actively 'working' to achieve it themselves, speedily, in their own time. Not only this did I observe on a recent visit, I also noted with inspiration and gratitude, the Africans in this area have a remarkable strong 'faith' in the A.N.C. They - Their unity is heartening, their determination is unequalled, their perseverance is admirable, - their confidence in their leaders moves one with pride, and above all their courage is magnificent. 15 20 25

Let the oppressors know that every drop of innocent blood of the suffering Africans goes far and deep in bringing and welding together the souls of the oppressed masses. Our tears and indeed the blood of our blameless fellow men shed by the oppressors 30

for the sake of upholding the bitterly hated White supremacy ideology in this country, will be taken into account on the day of reckoning which is fast drawing nigh.

I was also moved by the Volunteer Corps' diligence, 5
sense of responsibility and the way they respond to instructions from their leaders. Without question decisions are carried out at once. It was they who organised the national funeral of the late Volunteer Jebe - within a matter of hours 30,000 people were 10
brought together at the most impressive funeral ever seen or heard of in the Union.

To the volunteers the interests of the movement take top priority and personal convenience and interest come last. So devoted are the Cape Eastern Volunteers 15
of the A.N.C. How I wish Volunteers in other centres of the Union could acquire these qualities and thus speed up the day of release from the police concentration camp in which we are suffering and being strangled." Also on page 2, My Lord, there is an article headline cap- 20
tion - an editorial article, "Swart's Treason Trial Threat".

I quote the first paragraph and the third last paragraph only :

"The pieces of the Nationalist jigsaw are beginning to fit together. We have always maintained that in 25
order to be able to continue their rule, the Nationalists but create an atmosphere of fear and terror among all sections of the population. In no other way could they hope to get the people of this country to tolerate their infamous apartheid policy. 30

Now the long series of assaults upon the democratic liberties of the people is moving to a climax.

Last March the Soviet consulates were closed by order of Mr. Louw, and their staff expelled from the country. On Tuesday morning of this week, screaming newspaper headlines inform us that 'Brutal Communist Forces Invade Free State' - a reference to the army manoeuvres being conducted this week, in which the 'enemy' is clearly indicated to be the Soviet Union. 5

Finally, Mr. Swart announces in the House of Assembly last Monday night that as a result of the Union-wide police raids last September, 200 people are to be prosecuted for treason breaches of the Suppression of Communism Act and other offences. The charges would be based on documentary evidence seized in the raids, said the Minister. The documents were still being correlated." 10 15

Then there is an account of the Parliamentary debate which followed upon this communication, and then towards the end the article says :

"A handful of farmers, Broederbonders, wine kings and politicians have prospered exceedingly since 1948, but the overall picture is one of deepening crisis, tension and conflict. And it is to distract attention from their accumulating failures that the Nationalist now plan a super Reichstag fire trial, hoping to give the people blood when they are crying for bread." 25

On page 5 of this issue, My Lord, there is a photograph of Mr. Leon Levy "S.A.C.T.U. President, addresses the gathering". This is an account of a meeting. On page 7, My Lord, there are more May Day messages, and there is one from the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress which refers to the whole system of exploitation which is crumbling, and sees the Freedom Charter as the mirror of the future, and 30

the threat to fascism. Then there is a further message from D. Tloome, J.B. Marks, W.M. Sisulu, D.W. Bopape, G. Maeka and L.C. Joffe which says :

"On May 1, 1956, we greet the international working-class and oppressed peoples throughout the world. 5

United of the workers and oppressed people of our country will achieve the defeat of the fascist Nationalist Government and contribute to the struggle for peace against the imperialist warmongers."

On page 6 of this issue, My Lords, there is an article, 10 headline caption, "By Splitting on Racial Lines, the Garment Union Surrenders to Apartheid", by Moses Kotane. It is a Schedule 3 article, and I shall not quote further from it.

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 28, May 10th, 1956. 15 I refer only to the editorial article, headline caption, "Government should make peace, not war". The first paragraph says :

"The whole South African people should voice their most emphatic protest at the manner in which the 20 recent army manoeuvres were conducted in the Free State.

No attempt was made to hide the fact that the so-called Stallanders, the 'enemy' were intended to represent the Russians. They were dressed in Russian- 25 style uniforms, and the press was full of headlines about 'brutal Communist forces invading the Free State', 'Red prisoners' being captured and Red atom bombs being dropped on South African targets."

The article then proceeds to say that these descriptions 30 are unhappy, and it goes on to say :

"But to say even so much is to assume that the Soviet

Union in any way constitutes a threat to the people of South Africa. And that is simply not true. Despite all the ravings of Mr. Swart and his colleagues, no evidence has been produced by anybody to show that the Soviet Union has any desire but to maintain friendly relations with South Africa and to promote trade and cultural relations to the fullest extent possible. 5

The South African people do not need this war talk. The vast majority of them have feelings only of the warmest friendship towards the Soviet peoples and will not allow themselves to be deceived by the Government's clumsy anti-Soviet tactics. On the contrary, the foolish display which was presented last week can only reinforce their demand that our Government take steps immediately (a) to assist in reaching an international agreement for the outlawing of war and for disarmament; and (b) to establish full diplomatic trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Union as soon as possible." 10 15 20

The next issue, My Lords, Volume ", No. 29, May 17th, 1956. On page 2, My Lord, the editorial article, "Cyprus and the Nats". I propose reading this editorial, it is very short, My Lords :

"Many a South African has lost his life in the struggle against British imperialism. Jope Fourie is a Nationalist hero, and the martyre of Slachter's Nek occupy an honoured place in certain history books. For long, anti-British feelings were the motive power behind the Nationalist drive for a republic. 25 30

But since coming to power, the Nationalists have become less and less keen on breaking the ties with

with the Commonwealth. Dr. Malan passed a Bill establishing the Queen's Royal style and titles in South Africa, while Mr. Strijdom, who is reported by Mr. Havenga to be 'closer to Britain than either Hertzog or I ever were', confirmed the British stake 5 in South Africa with the Simonstown agreement. Party hacks will mouth republican phrases in front of platteland audiences, but for all practical purposes republicanism is a dead issue with the Nat. Leadership. 10

Further proof of this has been provided by the Nat. reaction to the struggle of the Cypriots for freedom. Or rather lack of reaction. No Nat paper or politician has endorsed the Cypriot freedom-struggle, in spite of the fact that it is on all fours with the freedom 15 struggle of the Afrikaners in the past. On the other hand, both Mr. Erasmus and Mr. Louw have stressed they have a vital interest in preserving Cyprus as an anti-Communist bastion of the West in the Middle East, and there - and are therefore in favour of Britain's 20 retaining control if the alternative is to be a leftist or neutralist Cypriot people's government.

And it is in Nationalist South Africa that the tribute of the local Greek community to the two patriots who were executed in Cyprus last week is described 25 as 'desecration' and 'sacrilege', while the Johannesburg Town Clerk orders their wreaths removed from the Johannesburg Cenotaph.

Thus do these Nationalists betray the revolutionary struggles of the Afrikaner people, in whose name they 30 pretend to speak.

The only true nationalist is the internationalist,

who demands for other peoples the same degree of freedom as he wants for himself. The Nationalists, on the other hand, have attempted to base their own privileged position on the refusal of rights to the other peoples of this country, and have ended up by 5 destroying the freedom of all sections of the population.

The republican banner, which has been besmirched by the Nationalists, is still borne proudly aloft by the people's liberation movement and their allies in 10 South Africa. Unlike the Nats, they have guaranteed, in the Freedom Charter, to extend the freedom for which they are fighting to all South Africans, irrespective of race and colour.

And not only will they fight for the complete inde- 15 pendence of their own country, but they will likewise support the aspirations of other peoples, like the Cypriots, the people of Kenya and Malaya, for freedom from imperialism.

For freedom is indivisible. It belongs to all or 20 it belongs to none. This is the lesson of all history."

On page 3, My Lord, a brief new item, headline caption, "Malayan C.F.'s Peace Call". It says :

"If the Malayan war continues, not only will our country's fraternal nationalities kill each other 25 and the suffering of our people be intensified, but the colonialists will be able to utilise the continuation of the war and internal divisions to strengthen control of Malaya, delay her independence, and wipe out the concessions we have forced from Britain, 30 says a new appeal issued by the Malayan Communist Party for peace in Malaya.

The conditions the Party suggests are: the granting of freedom to organise political parties, including the right of the Communists to organise, and the assurance that reprisals will not be taken against members of the Liberation Army who lay down their arms." 5

Page 4, My Lords, an article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "India - Emergence of a Great Nation".

The article says that in a book called "India Today and Tomorrow" published by Lawrence and Weichart, London, 10 Falme Dutt has traces that history from - the history of India from the British conquest to the Bandung Conference. And the concluding paragraph of the review, under the caption "Independence Struggle", says :

"Dutt traces the enlightening story of the struggle of 15 the Indian people for independence - the rise of the national movement, the role of the Communist Party in mobilising the workers and peasants, the rise of the working class and the ultimate expulsion of the British. 20

He lays bare the hollow British bluff that Attlee gave India her independence voluntarily and shows how Britain held on until she knew that she could not hold on a moment longer without being driven out ignominiously - her weakened army powerless against 25 the great might of the Indian people - and then got out on terms which divided India and left Britain with great advantages.

Dutt closes the book with a quotation from Chinese leader Mao-Tse-tung in a message to India in November, 30 1949, immediately following the final victory of the Chinese people's revolution : 'Like free China, a free

India will one day emerge in the world as a member of the Socialist and people's democratic family; that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind'. Nehru has already declared that India's road is the Socialist one, and the part which his great country is playing in the world struggle against colonialism and for peace is striking evidence of the accuracy of the Chinese leader's prediction." 5

The next issue, My Lords, is Volume 2, No. 30, May 24th, 1956. I refer only to the editorial article, headline caption "They put Cattle Before People". The concluding paragraphs say : 10

"An ox standing in mud up to its ankles can wring the bowels of a Nat M.P. with pity and compassion. But a Non-European family living in desperate poverty leaves him unmoved. For that is politics, that is apartheid, that is the price which the people must pay for the privilege of having a Nationalist Government at all. 15

The people of Cape Town, of the rest of South Africa, the whole world in fact, have repeatedly been disgusted by the inhumanity of the Nationalists towards the Non-Europeans. It is the very callousness of politicians who put cattle before people that has roused the conscience of mankind against them. Only the implementation of the Freedom Charter can cleanse South Africa of this evil and restore our political life to sanity." 25

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 31, June - sorry, May 31st, 1956, I refer again only to the editorial article, headline caption "How Greedy Can You Get". It then suggests that the Nationalist Party can get very greedy, and the article concludes : 30

"Yet in an orgy of unprincipled selfishness, the Parliamentary parties, adopting the attitude of ' --- you, Jack, I'm all right', are proposing to benefit themselves while remaining indifferent to the sufferings of the whole people. 5

The increase they propose to give themselves for one 6 month session of Parliament is equivalent to the total cash wage of an African mineworker for 7 years of back-breaking labour. It is hardly necessary to add that of course the African mineworkers 10 are not represented in Parliament.

The South African people are not going to endure this sort of callous profiteering by the ruling class and its Parliamentary representatives for much longer. The very arrogance with which the Nationalists and 15 their friends in Parliament propose to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest of the community can only redouble the determination of all to put an end to Nat rule and implement the Freedom Charter as soon as possible." 20

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 32, June 7th, 1956, on page 1 there is an article, headline caption "One Year of the Freedom Charter, - Congress Call".

The first paragraph says :

"One year of the Freedom Charter is to be observed 25 by the Congress movement in all centres, says a statement issued by the National Consultative Committee of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. The Congress of Democrats, S.A.C.F.O. and the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions. 30

On the Witwatersrand all roads will once again lead to the Kliptown Square where the Congress of

the People was held and the Charter adopted." Then I quote a brief portion from the article only. It says :

"In Moroka Special Branch Detectives confiscated a bundle of Freedom Charter forms. Over 1,000 gathered at this meeting and as the churches ended their sermons more and more joined the crowd. 5

The town meeting was attended by domestic workers, factory workers and some businessmen. Speakers were Dr. R. Fress, Mr. A. E. Latel, Miss Bertha Mashaba, Mrs. M. Rantha, Mr. S. Lollan, Mrs. H. Joseph and the Chairman Mr. N. C. Nshabaleng." 10

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 33, June 14th, 1956. On page 6 there is an article, headline caption "In People's China I saw Science in the Service of Man", says Dr. R. Fress. Then there is also a photograph below the description of the author. The article says that Dr. Fress represented the South African Peace Council at a Special Session of the World Peace Council in Stockholm and from Sweden he travelled to Moscow, and from there to China. 15
The article described the technical advances devoted to peace which were seen by Dr. Fress in China. 20

The next issue, My Lord, is Volume 2, No. 34, June 21st, 1956. On page 1, an article headline caption "Chief Luthuli's Call for Freedom Charter Day". It says : 25

"In his national Freedom Day call, A.N.C. President-General Chief Albert Luthuli calls on all lovers of freedom in our land to commemorate the past deeds for freedom and to rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom." 30

Then certain devices such as the lighting of candles and lanterns and fires were all read into the record in a

different context, My Lords, are recorded. This article continues on page 6. The message ends :

"We should at this ceremony of fellowship recount the noble deeds done in the cause of freedom and sing the songs of freedom. It is at this ceremony that we should 5 rededicate ourselves by repeating : 'Until freedom becomes a possession of all in our dear land of South Africa, I pledge myself to count no cost too great to gain this freedom'."

Pages 4 to 5, My Lords, there is an article, together with 10 a photograph. The photograph is part of the immense crowd gathered at Kliptown when the Freedom Charter was adopted, and the headline caption says "The People Must Organise for Victory" :

"June 26 is a historic day in South Africa, and it 15 has now become the national day on which the national liberation organisations examine the progress made and the setbacks suffered during the year, and on which they review the state of preparedness of their forces, and rededicate themselves to the cause of freedom, 20 national harmony, peace and happiness."

The article is described as being a review of one year of the Freedom Charter, by Moses Kotane. It says, under the caption "Organise, Organise," :

"The main task and responsibility of the national 25 liberation and progressive movements, as well as all those true South Africans who love and believe in the progress of their country and its people, is to find an answer to the ruinous policies of the Nationalist Government. They must be checked and 30 frustrated.

This can be done through organisation and united action.

Organisation is the major problem for the Congress movement, and it is precisely on this question that all its plans and undertakings fail or correspondingly become less successful. From the propaganda point of view the Freedom Charter is an adequate answer. However, the Charter by itself without strong organisational backing will be of no avail. It is a political document which must be used effectively in rallying the forces of freedom and liberation. 5

It is imperative and essential that each of the organisations of the people go into this very important question immediately and steps should be taken immediately to : 10

1. Energetically organise the people into well-knit and active units and branches throughout the country; 15
2. Organisationally and technically overcome the difficulties arising from the actions of the Government;
3. Popularise the principles and wonderful ideas of the Freedom Charter.

While not in any way neglecting or minimising the pressing and important question of organisation, the liberation movement as a whole should actively campaign for the policies laid down in the Freedom Charter, the policy of democratising and humanising South Africa." 20 25

On page 5, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Eisenhower and Adenauer : Two Sick Old Men Decide to Get Tough". The first paragraph says :

"President Eisenhower's illness and the possibility that he will be forced to move out of the spotlight on the world stage must be the cause of considerable distress among progressive West German song-writers. 30

They turn out a steady flow of uncomplimentary lyrics about their Chancellor and it may be difficult to find another appropriate word that rhymes to nicely with Adenauer.

The U.S. President and his West German counterpart 5
 who met in Washington last week have more than a rhyme
 in common. Both are the firm choice of the biggest
 imperialist monopolies in their countries. Both
 preside over 'millionaire cabinets' composed of rep-
 resentatives of the wealthiest of these monopolies. 10
 Both are very sick men who would normally be allowed
 - or forced - to make way for younger men. Both are
 propped up to stay on the job until they're carried
 off because their bosses are afraid that the people
 may elect someone who represents the people instead 15
 of the bosses if they have to make a new choice."

The concluding paragraph of the article says :

"Everywhere in the world there is talk of peace and
 friendship - only the Syngman Rhees, Chiangs, Ngo
 Dinh Diems, Strijdoms, Dulleses and Adenauers are 20
 still talking hate. In the new world climate there
 is no reason at all why the problem of German
 reunification should not be solved by discussion
 rather than war."

Page - The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 35, 28th 25
 June, 1956, on page 1, an article, headline caption,
 "Freedom Charter is Only Alternative to Slavery - 2,000
 at Kliptown Meeting Pledge to Carry on the Struggle".
 This is an account of a meeting at the Kliptown Square,
 a Freedom Rally meeting, which says that again Special 30
 Branch Detectives turned out en masse and that the meeting
 was called upon to prepare ourselves for freedom. On page

4, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "More on Stalin". This is simply an article on Stalin, his good points and his bad points and his methods. Page 4 to 5, headline caption, "Let the Freedom Charter be Our Inspiration - Stirring Call from N.I.C. Conference." 5 This is a news item from M.D. Naicker. It starts :

"Durban - 'May your deliberations during this conference further commit you, and all those who share in this struggle for national liberation, to unswerving loyalty to your organisation and its leadership. May scores....' said Dr. Arthur E. Letele, Treasurer-General of the African National Congress, opening the Ninth Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress last Friday." 10

The text of this speech, My Lord, has already been read into the record under N.I.C. 130. 15

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 36, 5th July, 1956. On the first page, headline caption "P.E. Shows The Way - Police Powerless to Halt Freedom Day Celebration". The opening sentence says + this is from Govan Mbeki of Port-Elizabeth : 20

"For seven days before June 26 the educational campaign to enlighten the public on historical events during the course of the National Struggle for Liberation was intensified. Thousands upon thousands of leaflets reached many homes. On the streets, in the buses and local trains the Africa salute was given so often that one involuntarily jerked one's arm on being greeted by anybody, while he in turn was infected and responded similarly. 25 30

On Sunday the 24th the highlights of the Freedom Week were the day's activities. The A.N.C. Youth

League held a meeting at Uitenhage. The women in Congress uniform marched for miles to Veeplaats where they held a party.

Early in the afternoon men and women Volunteers, in khaki uniform, started arriving in town. Bus after bus..." 5

Then there is a photograph, with the caption :

"The young Volunteer walks briskly towards the docks in Port Elizabeth's Freedom Day demonstration.

Behind him follow others." 10

The article is continued on page 6, My Lord. On page 4, of this issue, there is an article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Yugoslavia and the U.S.S.R.: The Breach is Healed". This is an article suggesting that the breach between these two countries is healed, and expressing satisfaction that that is so. 15

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 37, the 12th July, 1956. On page 1 there is an article, headline caption "Cape Roused Against Passes for Women - Inspiring Visit by Congress Leaders". Then there is a photograph, and the caption to the photograph says "Transvaal Congress leaders photographed in Cape Town last week. From the left : Mrs. Helen Joseph, Mr. Robert Resha, Mr. Norman Levy and Miss Bertha Mashaba". And then the article proceeds to describe meetings of the four national leaders of the Congress movement from the Transvaal, meeting - a big mass meeting at Langa. The article also says in the body of it who the Congress visitors were. 25

On page 4, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Soviet Reply to Criticisms". This article is devoted to the - to analysing the situation which arose in the Soviet Union after it was discovered that 30

Stalin was not in every respect a perfect leader, and the article concludes :

"Not Inherent in System.

It would be a great mistake to consider that the Stalin cult was something inherent in the nature of the Soviet social system or that the social system had in some way changed because of the Stalin cult. 5

No cult of the individual could change the nature of the Socialist state which is based on social ownership of the means of production, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and friendship between the peoples, through this cult did cause serious harm to the development of Socialist democracy and the promotion of the creative initiative of millions of people. 15

The supreme aim and daily endeavour of the Soviet state is the utmost advancement of the living standards of the population, ensuring peaceful existence for its people".

The next issue, My Lords, Volume 2, No. 38, July 19th, 1956, at page 3 by Govan Mbeki, headline caption "The Farmers Still Want Slaves". The opening paragraph says :

"Di cussing a resolution that the Government should enact new legislation to prevent the movement of African labour from the farms to the urban areas, delegates to the conference of the Eastern Province Coastal Agricultural Union held here early last week implored the Government to endorse Reference Books : 'Not to be employed in an urban area'." 25

At page 4, My Lord, there is an article, "Strijdom Dances to Capital's Tune". I quote two paragraphs from it, the opening paragraph says :

"The big newspapers throughout the British Empire pretend to find the ties which bind the members of the Commonwealth intangible, mysterious, soulful, almost awe-inspiring. But the biggest tie is nothing intangible at all - it is money. 5

When in South Africa European and Indian students have a cup of tea together, Mr. Strijdom's Party nearly bursts a collective blood vessel. But at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers Mr. Strijdom posed without hesitation for a photograph 10 standing right next to an Indian, and, no doubt, drank tea and even lunched at the same table with him. To this conference the republican lion went meek as a lamb to sit at the feet of a foreign queen.

For money he did it. Because British capital is 15 still what makes things tick here, just as it does in India. And the Nats are free to play about with apartheid and to be baas of the Non-European people - just as long as they don't muck about with the profits of the London capitalists who want big 20 profits on the £1,000 million invested here.

Mr. Strijdom knows it and Pandit Nehru knows it too, and that is why they must face the mutual embarrassment of membership of the same club.

A Big Difference. 25

The difference is that Nehru with the backing of the people of great India, is re-shaping the economy of his country so that it will be able to achieve the complete independence which is an ever-nearer goal. But Strijdom can never do that. 30

He has no understanding, but only fear, of the of the great wealth of South Africa - the gigantic

achievements which are possible for a free people working for the good of their own country and their own children.

Our independence cannot be won by Strijdom - it will be won by the ordinary people of our country, 5 headed by those who inspired the Freedom Charter and its guarantee that 'The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people'. Until then, on the big issues, our Prime Ministers will continue to toe the 10 line set by foreign capital."

There is one other part, one other paragraph in this article :

"But Africa's march to freedom is by no means an easy march. 15

With a limited future for their super-profits from Asia, and imperialist countries are desperate for Africa. Africa's wealth must flow to them or capitalism is doomed.

That is why the French rulers are fighting to - 20 are fighting so bitterly to prevent Algeria from being free - in spite of the wish of the majority of Frenchmen, as expressed in the last elections, for an end to this dirty war. That is why the British rulers are determined to make Kenya a 25 warning to Africans who challenge the white man's interests."

On pages 4 to 5, under the headline caption "The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth" there is the appropriate extract from the Freedom Charter. 30

On page 7, My Lords, there is a World Peace Council Statement, headline caption "Profound Transformation in

Approach to Peace is necessary says Peace Council":

"The World Council of Peace considers that the new situation calls not only for new efforts but also for a profound transformation of approach, and means of action for peace', declared the Bureau of the council after its meeting here."

Then the article goes on to consider the relaxation of world tension and the more propitious conditions for establishing peace.

CASE REMANDED TO THE 1ST OCTOBER, 1959.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES ON THE 1ST OCTOBER, 1959.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

Accused Absent : Accused No. 27, F. Ntsangani.

BY MR. HOEXTER :

May it please Your Lordships. My Lord, the next issue of New Age, Volume 2, No. 39, July 26th, 1956. I refer only to the second page, there is an article, headline caption "Recent Developments in the Soviet Union", "Statement by the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union." This article begins by saying that world-wide interest has been awakened by the recent developments in Soviet Russia following in the wake of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party held in February. Some attention is devoted to the Congress and the Proceedings thereat, and then the concluding part of the article - there some attention is devoted to the function - the alleged functions of the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union and the article says :

"It has never been a part of the function or purpose of this Society to advocate or defend the ideology of the Soviet leaders, nor have we ever done so. Our sole aim has been to work for peace, friendship and understanding between the peoples of South Africa and the U.S.S.R. We are convinced that had our policy been adopted by the rest of the world towards the Soviet Union, those negative features of Soviet life which are being condemned could never have developed.

Instead of peace and friendship, the governments

of other countries displayed consistent enmity, ranging from outright military intervention, to the allocation of vast funds for espionage, subversion and sabotage in the U.S.S.R. Inevitably, in such circumstances, the security services came to play an 5 important and indispensable role; and it was this factor which made possible the abuses which the Soviet leaders themselves have condemned. It is no condonation of those abuses to point out that without powerful and efficient security forces, their State - 10 a beleaguered fortress, as it were, in a hostile world - could never have survived."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 40, August 2nd, 1956.

On page 1 there is an article, headline caption, "Freedom Struggle must go on - Luthuli Backs Call for All-inn 15 Conference". The opening part of the article says :

"The struggle for Freedom must go on no matter how hard the struggle might be! It must go on because Freedom is the noblest human attainment for which man throughout the ages has willingly paid the supreme sacrifice, 20 declared Chief Albert J. Luthuli in his presidential address to the annual provincial conference of the Natal African National Congress, held last week-end!"

The reference to the necessity for the supreme sacrifice is again stressed in heavy print in the body of the 25 article below the photograph of the resident-General of the A.N.C. Next I refer to the editorial article My

Lords, on page 2. This article is devoted to a criticism of a place called Frenchdale, and the doctrine of apartheid, and it concludes :

"We want to live proud and free like human beings, in

peace and amity with one another, not quarrelling like the beasts the Nationalist Government is turning us into. The only foundation on which a brave new South African can be built is that laid down in the Freedom Charter; daily events are proving that we must build quick if we are to spare ourselves the worst excesses of fascism." 5

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 41, August 9th, 1956. I refer to the editorial on page 2, which is called "Stop the Evaton War!" It criticises an alleged reign of terror which exists in Evaton, and which is observed by the Police, while the Police do nothing about it. The concluding paragraphs of the editorial says : 10

"The shocking allegation by one of the 'Russian' leaders last Sunday that it is the police themselves who are behind the activities of his gang cannot be passed over in silence. Mr. Swart must acceded to the request of the Bishop of Johannesburg, and the people as a whole, that a commission of inquiry be appointed and the truth of the matter brought to light. 20

Further, the people must insist that the police take action immediately to bring this lawlessness at Evaton to an end. Continued failure to do so can only lead to the conclusion that it is deliberate policy on the part of the authorities to encourage these outbreaks of violence as a means of keeping the people divided and therefore less able to resist the Government's apartheid policies." 25

Page 5 of this issue, My Lord, there is an article framed, headline caption "Luthuli looks Ahead", and I quote the opening portion only : 30

"In his first public appearance since his banning two

years ago, Chief A.J. Luthuli rejected any suggestion that he had any reservations whatsoever in regard to the Freedom Charter. Speaking at the Natal Provincial Conference of the A.N.C. held at Pietermaritzburg recently, he said : " I charge you to go back to your locality and translate your pledge and resolve 'that the Struggle Must Go On!' into action by seeing to it that you mobilise your area to the cause of our Liberatory Movement. Attend to the local needs of your people." 5 10

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 42, August 16th, 1956.

I beg Your Lordship's pardon. This one is omitted.

I read next from Volume 2, No. 43, August, 23rd, 1956.

On page 4, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "Adenauer Bans C.F. - And Seals His Doom". 15

The opening paragraph says :

"After five full years of bitter court-room battling Adenauer's Supreme Court has declared that West Germany's Communist Party, which polled over 600,000 votes in the last elections is 'unconstitutional'. 20

The effect of the decision is to place a virtual ban on the party. The hundreds of Communist deputies who have been elected to town councils and the six Communist M.P.'s in the state parliaments will be forced to give up their seats. 25

The court also ordered the confiscation of all the party's property, which included its printing presses.

At a time when there is international - an international relaxation of tension and a general tendency to greater freedom of political expression, Adenauer's court action, which commenced in the heart of the cold war and was modelled on the similar (but swifter) U.S. 30

actions against Communists, strikes a jarring note.

The Social-Democrats, who are cashing in on the overwhelming anti-Adenauer public feeling have declared themselves strongly opposed to any ban on the Communist Party, and the probabilities are great 5 that Adenauer's final court triumph will cost him very dear. It puts the brand of the dictator on him more clearly than ever and will rouse to action those who remember how Hitlerism was based on the outlawing of the Communists." 10

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 44 is omitted.

I read next from Volume 2, No. 45, 6th September, 1956.

I read from page 4, My Lords, "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "German Communists Defy Adenauer Ban - Decide to Continue their Organisation". I read the first 15 paragraph only, which says :

"The Adenauer government, completely true to the Hitler tradition, has followed up the verdict of its puppet Court that the Communist Party of Germany is 'unconstitutional', with mass raids on party offices and 20 arrests of party members.

The party itself met the announcement of the court decision with a huge red banner across the front of its three-storey headquarters : 'Despite the ban the Communist Party will carry on!' The banner drew big 25 crowds and was on display for several hours before the police arrived to remove it."

The next issue, My Lord, Volume 2, No. 46, page 8, there is an article - I beg Your Lordship's pardon, the date of the issue is the 13th September, 1956. On page 8, there 30 is an article, headline caption, "A.N.C. Conference Calls for United Front". I read the opening paragraph only :

"Speaker after speaker at the continuation annual national conference of the Natal African National Congress which met at Edendale recently, supported wholeheartedly the present policy of the A.N.C. of militancy and co-operation with political national organisations of other racial groups. 5

They stressed the need to create a broad front to form the liberatory movement in South Africa.

In a resolution adopted, conference noted with much satisfaction the growth and broadening of such a truly democratic front and the increasing moral support the liberatory movement is getting from freedom loving people, and groups in many parts of the world." 10

The next issue, My Lord, No. 47, Volume, 2 is omitted. 15
I read next, My Lord, from Volume 2, No. 48, 27th September, 1956. I refer to page 4, the article "World Stage" by Spectator, headline caption "How Dulles' Law Firm Organised the Theft of the Panama Canal". It says :

"Influenced by the action of Egypt in nationalising the Suez Canal the government of Panama, through which runs the U.S.-controlled Panama Canal, has issued a statement declaring that although the U.S. has been given certain rights with regard to the canal, 'titular sovereignty' remains with Panama. 20 25

The government points out that Mr. Dulles' declaration that it is impermissible for one country alone - Egypt - to control so important a waterway as Suez has equal application to Panama, where one country alone - the U.S. - has full control of the canal. 30

Unlike Egypt which, because of recent developments in the Middle East and particularly because of the backing she has from the Asian-Africa Conference and

socialist countries is too strong to be intimidated by western threats, Panama is in no position at present to do more than make statements. When Dulles was asked by a reporter what the U.S. would do if anyone suggested international control of the Panama Canal, he snorted contemptuously 'Let them try!'. 5

But it is not very many years since the idea of Egypt standing up to Britain - and succeeding - would have sounded as far-fetched as the idea today of Panama throwing the Yanks out. 10

U.S. Nightmare.

The nightmare which the U.S. must already have troubling it is the very real likelihood that the backward nations of South America will in time, throw off U.S. colonial rule and assert their independence, 15 just as the far weaker and more backward Middle East nations are already doing.

For, like Suez, the Panama Canal zone is stolen property. It was stolen from the little South American republic of Colombia by a U.S. military force." 20

Page 5, My Lord, there is an article, headline caption, "The Minister's conference in Bloemfontein next week can lay the basis for African unity, writes Walter Sisulu in this stimulating article, exclusive to New Age." The 25 title of the article is "Build a United Front Against Apartheid." It deals with the conference convened for Bloemfontein by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association, and the proceedings thereat, a discussion of the Tomlinson Report, and then under the caption "Lessons 30 of 1935" there occurs the following portion in heavy print - the penultimate paragraph of the article :

"The conference must lay the foundations for broad unity in principle. But the task of building the co-ordination and co-operation for action does not fall within the province of such an ad hoc conference, which by its very nature cannot do more than produce 5 a declaration and programme for unity. Rather is it the task of the national liberation movement, embracing within its folds not only the African people but all anti-apartheid forces, to build such a united front." 10

Next, on page 7, My Lords, an article, headline caption, together with a photograph of President Nasser, "Egypt - a Major Defeat for Imperialism". The opening portion of the article says :

"Egypt's president, Gamal Abdul Nasser, whose 15 nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company has proved to be a landmark in the history of the struggle of colonial peoples for national liberation.

The sabre-rattling, blustering, impotence of the imperialist powers in the face of the solid front 20 presented by the Asia-Africa conference countries and the socialist bloc, has been clearly shown by the announcement last week that in spite of the withdrawal of the company's pilots, Egyptian pilots, aided by others from the Soviet Union and elsewhere 25 have made a full resumption of the normal flow of traffic possible."

On the same page, My Lord, page 7, there is an article under the heading "China Maps Her Road to Socialism - Eighth Party Congress is Held". I quote two brief 30 paragraphs from this article merely, one under the caption "Support for Liberation Movements". This says :

"Welcoming the trend towards the relaxation of international tensions, Mao said that among the things which his country would do to achieve a lasting peace in the world was 'to give active support to the national independence and liberation movement in 5 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America'. China firmly supported Egypt in her action in taking back the Suez Canal Company."

Towards the end of the article, under the caption "Relationship between Socialism, National Liberation" there occurs 10 the following :

"Turning to the relations existing between the socialist camp and the national liberatory movements of all colonial countries, Liu said : 'There can be no doubt that the existence of the socialist coun- 15 tries and their sympathy and support for the national independence movement have greatly facilitated the development and victory of this movement. 'At the same time, the upsurge of the national independence movement has likewise weakened the imperialis- 20 forces of aggression and war. This is favourable to the cause of world peace and therefore favourable to the peaceful construction of countries.'

On the party itself, Liu said that as far as China was concerned, that country 'cannot do without the 25 dictatorship of the proletariat'."

The next issue, My Lords, is Volume 2, No. 49, October 4th, 1956. Page 1 there is an article "Congress Movement Backs Egypt's Canal Stand. Message of Support Delivered to Consul in Pretoria". Then I quote a portion of the 30 article which says :

"The five Congresses sent a deputation to the

Egyptian Consulate in Iretoa last week to carry this message of support to the Egyptian people.

In resisting imperialist intrigues...." Then the article continues :

"The Congress spokesmen were Mr. Robert Resha (African National Congress); Dr. H. Moosa (South African Indian Congress); Mr. L. Levy (South African Congress of Trade Unions); Mrs. Helen Joseph (South African Congress of Democrats); and Miss Sophia Williams (South African Coloured People's Organisation. 10

The Congress statement said : 'We pledge our solidarity with the Egyptian people and are confident that the people of Africa, throughout the continent, will not allow themselves to be used against their fellow Africans or in any predatory war'. 15

Last week the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress sends 'its warm fraternal greetings to the youth and people of Egypt in their glorious struggle against imperialist machinations to maintain a foothold on Egypt's sovereign soil.' 20

This article is accompanied by a photograph, My Lords, of certain five people, and the caption under the photograph says :

"The Congress delegation of support to the Egyptian Consulate in Pretoria last week consisted of Mr. Robert Resha, Dr. H. Moosa, Mr. L. Levy, Mrs. Helen Joseph and Miss Sophia Williams." 25

On page 7, of this issue, My Lord, under the headline caption "Although our Local Press Ignores It, China's Congress Makes World News", and this is devoted to a description of China in the fourth year of her first five-year plan, and suggesting that all in all the 30

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