

Korea during the war and Pan-Mun-Jong and Geneva during peace. The ranks of the running dogs are growing thin. In Korea it was possible to muster a line-up which masqueraded as the United Nations. Now only Chiang and Rhee are left. In typical ham-handed (5 fashion U.S. delegates presented UNO with a list of 38 warlike acts committed by China. It was a faint Chinese fire-cracker against the thunder of American 1,000 lb. bombs dropped on the Chinese mainland and coastal islands from Marshal Aid planes. This was (10 the real threat to world peace and the whole world knows it. The democrats, Eisenhower's alleged opposition, could try to laugh it off. The unleashing of Nationalist forces they claimed is a phoney designed for domestic applause. The domestic applause (15 might grow a little if the phoney were reversed, as Dulles hopes it will be, in a Chinese retaliation against the Seventh Fleet. Or perhaps Long Island.

Next page 3, an article "Licensed for Murder," with a further descriptive title "The Return of the Wehrmacht." (20 And this is an article which can be summed up by saying that it expresses very considerable dissatisfaction at the rearmament of Western Germany. I quote next from pages, 4, 5, "Let us Speak Together of Freedom. In the name of our beloved Afrika I greet you all, Congress (25 President Chief Albert R. Luthuli's address to the Natal Congress of the People Conference." This will be dealt with under N.I.C. 23. Page 16 of this issue says that the political matter unless otherwise stated is by L. Bernstein, Box 1355, and that it is published by the (30 Fighting Talk Committee, Box 1355, Johannesburg.

Milords, that concludes the G.1131 series, but the next in order of time, is NA.25, also Fighting Talk. . . Your Lordships will recollect that the witness Sloots was able to identify this one as well. This is the issue of November, 1954, and it is the same as H.2, (5 which has already been dealt with. Save that I should draw attention to the statement on page 16 of this issue that unless otherwise stated L. Bernstein is responsible for the political matter, and again the statement that it is published by Fighting Talk.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES.BY MR. HOEXTER :

My Lords, I shall now deal with the series G. 1132 involving all the issues of Fighting Talk that were handed in yesterday, from March, 1955 to February, 1957. The first issue is that of March 1955. I read from page 2, the Editorial comment entitled "The Protection Racket". I read a single paragraph entitled "Closing Down" :

"Every day there is something new. Another step taken to cement in place another stone in the cell which fascism is closing on the people of South Africa. Yesterday it was a commission to investigate how best to censor what is printed and written in this country. Tomorrow it is legislation to prevent people leavint the country without the Government rubber-stamp of political acceptability. The whole hated history of Hitlerism in slow motion. The mass deportations are starting, and the exiling of political opponents to remote places, citual concentration camps, has come, and gone almost unopposed. The bans and prohibitions issued under the Suppression of Communism Act have spread far beyond the list of members of the former Communist Party, and still it grows. The length of the bans - first one year, then two years, has stretched out in recent months to five years. The restrictions on the right of entry of the police are to be abolished; the voters' rolls are to be made still more exclusive and restricted; education is to be carefully tailored to the ideology of the herrenvolk.

Yet in the midst of it all, there stand many self-styled democrats and liberals with their heads buried

deep in the sands. Their objection to the whole process is not that their own necks are coming perilously close to the chopping block, that the dark night of fascism falls for them too, but that Government policy 'plays into the hands of the Communists'. This was the burden of much of the wailing against the Government policy at the recent Institute of Race Relations Conference. Are they merely finding debating points to cover the poverty of their own opposition? Or are they happy with the process so long as 'Communists' can make no capital out of the excesses of fascism? Commonsense demands that they discard this tinpot playing with words. Nero, it is true, fiddled while Rome burned; but not when the flames were scorching the seat of his own toga."

I read next on pages 3 to 4 "The Target : War" by L. Bernstein, mentioned on Page 12 of Schedule 3, My Lords. I read the first two paragraphs in the first column. There is a descriptive title as well, which reads "Do the Red Chinese, without a navy, really intend to challenge the American control of the Formosa Straits?" Rand Daily Mail. And another descriptive title "But how can the Chinese Communists attack Formosa? ... As attack on Formosa would mean retaliation by the most powerful nation on earth", being from The Star. I read the first two paragraphs in column 1 :

"Truth is, as usual, the first casualty of war. The picture of 'Red Chinese' fanatically plunging the East into a suicidal war is an attractive one to the pundits of the daily press. But it is a lying picture, taken over intact from the deliberately

distorted propaganda pictures of American reaction.
Part of China.

The truth is different. Formosa is, and always
will be part of China; its destiny lies with the
destiny of the Chinese mainland; and any attempt
to deny that basic truth can be accomplished only by
war. Such an attempt is now being made by the
United States, at deliberate risk of large-scale
war."

Then I read from the concluding portion on page 3,
which is continued on page 4 under the heading "The
Target" :

"Ostensibly the U.S. Congress has authorized Eisen-
hower to 'assure the security of Formosa and the
Peascadores'. There have been illusions in the past
as to where American policy was heading; let there
be none now. 'The danger of armed attack against
that area compels us to take into account closely
related localities and actions which, under cur-
rent circumstances, might determine the failure or
the success of such an act' runs the gobbledygook of
Eisenhower's message to Congress. United Press put
it more tersely. 'United States officials said
today that the United States might attack Communist
Chinese troop concentrations on the Asian mainland
- if they appeared directed to an attack on
Formosa'. (SAFA-UP). The target is not the
security of Formosa; the target is China. The
target is war.

In Korea too, the target was war. Twentieth
century war, dressed up as a crusade of peace,
as a United Nations police action against aggres-
sion. The Korean devices are being pressed back

into service."

Then some attention is devoted to what is called the "Korean devices", and then the concluding paragraph on page 4 reads :

"In an atmosphere prepared long in advance by McCarthyism, black-listing and hysteria, the United States Congress voted 'war' - only three members daring to vote for peace. The plot had matured. Only the peoples, and the pressure they can exert in the next few weeks, stand between the plotters and their fulfilment." 10

I read next from pages 5 to 6, My Lord, an article "Tempering the Steel" by a correspondent, and being the Conference of the African National Congress Reviewed. I read paragraph I and II. It says :

"Only the most superficial observers still imagine 15 that the real Opposition to the Nationalist Government is constituted by the United Party or any other Parliamentary Party. The very pretence that important issues are seriously debated and decided in the House of Assembly is falling away, as the Nationalists go 20 through the boring farce of Parliamentary procedure with more and more obvious contempt. Long before the Speech from the Throne, all the important Bills have long been announced by Swart, Verwoerd or Donges, or even by Rademeyer; nobody imagines that the debate 25 in the House or the Senate will defeat or substantially change them. The U.P. will go through its usual agonising routine of deciding which way to vote, as if anybody cared any more. There will be some trenchant criticism from the handful of Liberals and labourites, 30 a devastating exposure by whoever happens to be representing the Cape Western seat at the moment.

Then the well drilled Nat. caucus will march into the division and it will be all over; another piece of poisonous law in the statute book.

When Strauss proposed his routine vote of no confidence, Strijdom didn't even bother to answer his charges of nepotism. 'The lion does not fight the mouse!' he said. His admirers were enchanted with this piece of bucolic wit, and indeed it does not express badly the sort of affectionate contempt in which the Nats have come to regard the 'loyal opposition' in the House. 5 10

It is a very different matter when it comes to the real opposition in the country - the anti-fascist liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. Then the wild beast of prey bares its claws and its fangs. Swart's Gestapo of the Special Branch are busy night and day at their work of spying, hounding, intimidation and persecution. Daily the vicious banning notices go out, condemning the victims to eternal solitude. An era of Tsarist banishments has begun. This is war. All these are signs that the Government itself has given de facto recognition to the Congress movement as its principal antagonist on the road to the totalitarian slave state. 15 20 25

II. By the same token, the Congress movement itself is the main bastion and hope of that great majority of South Africans, and their hundreds of millions of sympathisers the world over, who repudiate and detest the Strijdomites and all their works. It is natural, then, that the proceedings and decisions of the Congresses, and in the first place of the 30

African National Congress, should evoke the keenest interest both at home and abroad. At - The few days occupied by the annual conference of the A.N.C. are of far more ultimate significance and moment than the routine pattern followed by the various political 5 parties of the country: they are days filled with the awareness that history is being made. We have come to expect great things from the A.N.C. Conference, - the assembly that has in the past initiated the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress 10 of the People.

The December, 1953, A.N.C. conference did not disappoint us. The report to the conference is a striking document, notable for its very clear formulation of the A.N.C. attitude towards democratic 15 unity. There was a time when Congress suffered from European 'sympathisers' of the 'Race Relations' type, who (no doubt themselves afflicted by unconscious chauvinism) took upon themselves the role of 'advisers' and would-be directors of A.N.C. policy 20 and organisation. Their 'advice' was invariably in the unfortunate direction of counselling 'moderation' compromise and concession, and opposing outspoken demands for equality and militant forms of struggle. It is not difficult to understand how the new, 25 vigorous leadership of Congress, which has come to the fore in these years of Nationalist repression, in a powerful reaction against these unwanted 'advisers', may have tended at times to swing to the other extreme, and to follow an almost isolation- 30 ist 'ourselves alone' policy. But, since then the sincere and unconditional co-operation of the South

African Indian Congress, and later of the new Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation, has fully convinced the A.N.C. leaders of the possibility and necessity of a genuine alliance of democrats of all races, based upon complete equality and mutual confidence, in the common struggle for democracy. President Luthuli expressed this attitude unequivocally in his opening address :

'While the African National Congress must naturally work for its growth, yet it is equally committed to the policy of forming a multi-racial united democratic front to challenge the forces of reaction in this country'.

The same note is struck in the Executive Committee's 'Report to the Conference' :

(The policy of the African National Congress ... is inter-racial co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and equality In the fight against fascism we must see to it that more and more of the other groups are part and parcel of the struggle'.

The most important practical step taken this far in the implementation of this policy has been the initiative taken by the A.N.C. in calling the Congress of the People. For there can be no doubt that practical political work, undertaken together for a great common ideal, is the surest way of hastening and cementing that alliance in which the Congress leaders believe. Moreover, it should not only be co-operation 'at the top' between the national executives of the various bodies. To become a really united force, the peoples' alliance must carry the concept of working together down to

provincial and to branch level.

Another direction in which Congress shows a marked development is the clear-cut statement in the executives' report on the question of foreign policy. Recognising the definite link between the policy 5 followed by reaction at home and abroad, the A.N.C. sharply distinguishes its foreign policy from that of the Government 'who represent less than 20 per cent. of the country's population'.

'The cardinal points of our foreign policy are 10 opposition to war and an uncompromising stand for world peace, and opposition to colonialism and White domination'.

Perhaps the greatest mark of the steadily advancing maturity and seriousness of Congress is its highly 15 self-critical approach to its own organisational failings. Section Four of the Report...."

Then it deals with these failings, and that paragraph ends :

"An organisation which can show such a spirit, in 20 times of the fiercest repression, breathing confidence in itself and the masses, is a source of great pride and strength to the African people."

I read next, My Lord, from page 10, an article "The Atomic Bomb against History", with the following descrip- 25 tive title : "This is a speech made by Jan Paul Sartre at a conference of the World Peace Council. The people's army and the bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time, he says.'

The article says : 30

"If the atomic bomb were dropped it would inflict on men a danger we know only too well. But even when it is only a threat, it constitutes a radical change

in the relations between nations. It is the atomic bomb that characterises what we call the cold war.

The appearance of national armies had the effect of enormously increasing the massacre of human beings, but all the same they could, to a certain extent, restrain the leaders. But yesterday, you needed millions of men to kill millions of men and to get the masses to accept death and to inflict it, the conflict had to reflect, it not their interests, at least their passions to a certain extent, and it had to avoid shocking their sense of justice. It is the entry of the masses into the national army which has obliged the governments to distinguish between wars of aggression and defensive wars - wars of aggression being those waged by others, and defensive wars being those waged by ourselves. Thus, even in the bourgeois democracies, at a time of national war, opinion exercised a control. But especially during the Second World War and after, in occupied Europe, in the Soviet Union, then in China and in Indo-China we have seen the appearance of popular armies which live among the people and not on the people, which take to the people, as the Chinese say, as a fish takes to water. In this instance, the people take over complete control of the war they are supporting, and immediately they win peace. A people's war is conducted against an aggressor, an occupying power or a colonial power. The people's army is formed on the spot, and sometimes it takes the place of a national army which is retreating or being routed. A people's war can only be a war of defence or of liberation; a people's army defends itself on its own soil, and it could not attack

another nation nor cross its borders without losing its character. This was made quite clear when attempts were made to enlist our resistance fighters for the war in Indo-China.

But the people's army has found its exact counter- 5
part in the nuclear weapon; the people's army and the atomic bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time. At a time when the participation of the whole people in a war has been finally seen to be a factor making for peace, a terrible power enables 10
the leaders of the West to make war without the people. At a time when the people's army is becoming a political organism living in complete harmony with the workers and often helping them to work, a handful of men, an instant of time, and an 15
order given far away by a bureaucracy which is cut off from the nation are all that is needed to blow up a capital. War becomes detached from mankind, it is no longer restrained by the masses who fought it and suffered in it. But yesterday, there was 20
class conflict inside the army; today atomic war is in the hands of a few wealthy men and their mercenaries. An American journalist said to me frankly one day : 'In the United States, people are to peaceful that they would prefer to drop atomic bombs 25
on their enemies rather than mobilise the infantry'.

That, of course, is unjust and the American people as a whole want peace. But the more they are persuaded that they are not needed to make war, the less action they exert on events. Because of fatalism 30
which is inculcated into them, atomic war is getting out of control, it could be launched tomorrow by a

a few Cabinet Ministers against the will and interests of the nation. That is perhaps the greatest danger,

Violence is always abstract, it ignores the natural course of things, their normal development, their affinities, and their organisation. It wants to 5
force things and smashes everything. In this sense, the nuclear weapon is the most naked image of violence and makes of war the most abstract of abstractions. For this very reason, the atomic bomb is the only weapon suitable for oppressive minorities. Without 10
it, their task would be impossible. Their task is the maintenance of abstract barriers between the nations and between people inside each country, and to govern against the necessities of history and political economy. But it is becoming more and more 15
difficult to use men against their will and interests. How can one hope for long to use the Germans themselves to keep Germany torn in two? How can one use Frenchmen to set up a European army which would destroy them? How can one use Europeans to continue 20
the cold war, since they are its first victims? Today, the oppressors are finding fewer and fewer accomplices among the oppressed. Diplomacy, propaganda and even money are losing their potency. When the American government sent dollars and arms to Chiang 25
Kai Shek, did that prevent the Kuomintang soldiers from going over to the Communist people's army? Today the die is cast, German unity must be achieved, the sovereignty of Viet-Nam must be recognised, Chiang Kai Shek must return to obscurity and 30
Communist China must be recognised. All this must be done because it is in conformity if the movement

of history, that is to say, with the interest of the people who make history. It must be done because it will be done, because it is already done. Our soldiers are lacking neither in courage, discipline nor intelligence. We have lost Indo-China because it was contrary to the necessity of history that a professional army, thousands of miles away from its bases, should defeat a people's army. There remains but one way out - the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is a weapon against history.

Though brutal and violent, the ultimatums of the past were challenges and provocations. An ultimatum meant : if you don't give in, we shall fight, and if we have to fight, it is we who shall win. But the atomic bomb is a permanent ultimatum and it has nothing whatever to do with the ancient custom of the challenge. Those who try to intimidate us with the Bikini experiments do not speak of victory, because they know that other nations have split the atom and could also use it for destructive purposes if provoked. Because they also know that a hydrogen bomb can wipe out a people's army, but that no national army can defeat them. In fact, it is blackmail on the destruction of the human race. They try to stop history as Joshua stopped the sun, by threatening to blow up the world. 'We will drop the bomb if the French lose the war, and it is just too bad for man, we will drop them on Indo-Chinese, on the Chinese or on the Russians, it does not matter'.

In order to stop the world turning round they are threatening to suppress history by liquidating those who make history. It is all they can do : wipe out man in case he changes. The bomb is in itself

the basis and the total of a policy completely hostile to the true development of humanity which wants to impose this alternative: the status quo or total destruction. It is this dream of collective death which makes us realise that the atom bomb is in itself reactionary. 5

Fortunately, the warmongers are defeated by their very power; the catastrophe which they are preparing for us is too complete: it threatens every of us, but they do not dare unleash it. Can one wipe out the whole of humanity because of the retreat of a regiment of Marines in Korea or the loss of Dien Bien Phu? The weapon is too horrible, it cannot be controlled, every day it deviates further from concrete reality; too sure of their power, those who have this weapon have forgotten even the most elementary diplomacy; they confine themselves to threats, but do not turn their threats into action. But meanwhile, barriers are falling, more contacts are made, the people cease to put fear in the hearts of their neighbours, new unity in Europe and indeed in the world, a new association of European states is maybe developing and there are no means of stopping it. Because it wishes to fly in the face of history, the atomic bomb thereby risks falling out of history altogether. 10 15 20 25

Up till now, anger, blundering, wrong calculations, stood in collective history as unimportant accidents; at present, they can become formidable. The moods, of the - the moods of a leader can become historical factors. History must remove the warhead from the atom bomb, or else the bomb will blow up the world. 30

The peoples have a double task, they must unite against the bomb, instead of war impose peace, replace abstract opposition by definite alliances, win victories for peace, without ever giving the nuclear weapon the time or the pretext for being exploded. 5
 Peace must be preserved, we must bring about German unity, in the face of the unshakeable unity of the peoples the abstract character of atomic blackmail must show itself in its true colours. And then, we must fight against atomic terror. The peoples have 10
 demanded and still demand that the representatives of the Five Great Powers should unite to prohibit the manufacture and use of the nuclear weapon. These two tasks are also ours, those of the World Peace Movement. We must redouble our efforts; in the past history 15
 was often made by war but today since war would mean the end of the world, peace alone can make history.¶

My Lords, on page 16 :

"Unless otherwise stated, Ruth First of P. O. Box 1355 is responsible for all political matter in this issue." 20
 It also says that this issue is published by the "Fighting Talk" Committee.

My Lords, the next is the issue of April, 1955, and I read from page 3, an article entitled "J.B. Marks analyses victories and weaknesses in Western Areas Resistance". I 25
 read first of all the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh paragraphs in the first column :

"For the last 18 months the Western Areas Anti-Removal Campaign has been the focal point of agitation against apartheid. The country has seen that 30
 this is what the nationalists would inflict upon one Non-White community after another: their

forcible removal to more remote and isolated spots; the loss of their freehold rights; their uprooting from established suburbs well served with shopping centres, hospitals and clinics, churches, halls, cinemas and other community amenities; the ruin of their trade and businesses, and total disregard of their wishes. 5

The Government was clearly badly shaken by the volume of opposition to the removal scheme, both in South Africa and abroad. The way in which the removal was carried out and the declaration of the state of emergency in Johannesburg and on the Reef was the most startling admission that this was no voluntary removal scheme and that the government trembled at the hostility of the people. 15

The show of police force during the first early morning removals was unprecedented, even in this police-dominated state; and the first families were trundled off to Meadowlands under the guns of the police force and the army. 20

Here is proof, if proof were needed, that this was a brutal forced removal scheme."

Then I read in the second column on page 3, some seven lines from the top of the page :

"The February events were only the beginning of the long fight. The people must learn from the mistakes of this beginning, and plan for the next round. The struggle in the Western Areas will be a protracted one, and it has barely started. 25

Certainly, mistakes were made. 30

Major weakness was a confusion as to the aims of the campaign. The slogan 'We will not move' laid itself open to a literal interpretation that the

people would physically resist removal. Yet again and again Congress leaders called for restraint and non-violence. It is clear now that the slogan implied really 'We will not move voluntarily'.

'This is a forced scheme - you take us against our wills'. As Dr. Dadoo said in his New Age interview (February 24, 1955) many gave the slogan a meaning which it was not intended to bear. 'Some gave the impression that it was possible by local action alone to defeat the removal scheme right at the beginning.'

Press publicity about Congress plans prior to the removals added to the difficulties. The people were given the impression that some last-minute instructions on resistance would be issued. Those on whom resistance depended were in doubt as to what exactly they were expected to do.

Certain types of action broached at various times demanded a far greater state of preparation among the people than there was. Methods of campaign must not only sound fiery and militant; they must be related to the readiness of the people to use these methods of struggle.

Whatever methods of struggle were to be used in the Western Areas, sound organisation was an indispensable basis."

Then I read My Lords, still on the same page, the last two paragraphs - I beg Your Lordship's Pardon, the last two paragraphs on page 11 :

"The opposition to removal is as strong as ever. It will grow stronger, not weaker as the people in Meadowlands see what the scheme really means, as the Government intensifies its attacks on the people's

rights, as unity against apartheid and tyranny grow. The Government has taken only the first steps on the long road towards the total removal of the people of the Western Areas. The first steps of the people have been hesitant, but their legs are strong and their spirit good. 5

No purely local fight against removal can fell apartheid at one stroke but the growing resistance of the people, ever-greater consciousness and militancy, the considered use of which means of struggle to bring into play in a given situation - all these will carry the movement to new heights of achievement, which will begin to turn the tide in the struggle for democracy." 10

Then on page 16 of this issue, My Lords : 15

"Unless otherwise stated, Ruth First of P. O. Box 1355 is responsible for all political matter in this issue".

And the statement that this was published by the Fighting Talk Committee. 20

The next issue, My Lord, is that of May, 1955. I read first from pages 3 to 4, an article "Charting the course of Struggle against Bantu Education" by L. Bernstein. My Lords, this is reflected in the Policy Schedule, page 33, item 14 and it is also mentioned on page 13 of Schedule 3, My Lord. I read from page 4, My Lord, the second paragraph under the title "Shifting Ground" : 25

"Doubtless the A.N.C. reappraisal of its position was 'agonising'. Carefully - and the action could have been quicker - the Working Committee caught up with the people it seeks to lead and called on all areas everywhere to follow Benoni in boycotting 30

Bantu schools. At the time of writing, it is still too early to judge whether this right step has come too late for the right moment, or whether it has started new chain reactions in the struggle which has opened.

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Yet still there are mistakes being made, and errors being persisted in. In the places which are boycotting, there have been some cases - but not nearly so many cases as the daily press and Government spokesmen have made out - where threats and intimidation have 10 have been allowed to replace persuasion and explanations, in urging parents and children to boycott the schools. Those who threaten, no doubt mean well; they aim at making the boycott a success. But their methods are mistaken and must be curbed, for they 15 will lead to enmity between organisers and the people, and open the way to disunity, antagonism and finally to the disruption of the whole boycott. The trade union movement has learnt through many years of bitter struggle, that workers cannot be coerced into 20 striking. They must be convinced, persuaded and won over; and only when that has been done is it possible to strike successfully; threats and physical force are reserved for last resort action against strike-breakers who use the protecting arm of the 25 police to break up and disrupt what the majority of the workers have freely decided upon. The liberation movement must take that experience to heart."

Then I read, My Lord, pages 8 to 9 under the title "The 30 Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung - Without Peace Our Independence means Little, said President Soekarno of

of Indonesia, opening the conference". On the same page, there is a further article "Chou En-Lai on Seeking Common Ground for Peace." My Lord, I don't propose quoting from those articles. Then on page 16 of this issue, My Lord :

"Unless otherwise stated, Ruth First of P. O. Box 1355, is responsible for all political matter in this issue". 5

And "Published by Fighting Talk Committee, Johannesburg". The next issue, My Lords, is that of June, 1955. I read first from page 2, the editorial comment headed "Not yet too late". I read the third and fourth paragraphs, My Lord : 10

"It is argued that - by some that this Parliament of White men only is the concern of the Europeans, and not the non-Europeans. Let the Europeans protest and fight the Senate Bill. The argument is false. Parliament is under attack because, within limits, it obstructs the completion of Strydom's fascist state. And fascism's worst excesses will be borne, as all South African tyranny is borne, mainly on the shoulders of the non-Europeans. The Congress movement has come of age. It is the real spearhead of the anti-fascist opposition in the land today. It must act as the leader and inspirer of anti-fascist action, or lose its place. At times like these, when the main European political bodies are abdicating from the struggle, the Congresses should address themselves not only to the non-European people, but also and equally, directly to the European citizens, urging them to action in defence of their own threatened liberties, preaching to them the need for black-white unity in action to beat back fascism. 15 20 25 30

It is still not too late."

Then I read from pages 3 to 4, My Lord, and article "Comrades for the Charter". I propose reading the descriptive title merely. The descriptive title says :

"The Congress of the People, convened at the call of 5
the African National Congress, the South African
Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisa-
tion and the S.A. Congress of Democrats, will meet
at Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on June 25 and 26.
This assembly will proclaim the needs and aspira- 10
tions of the great mass of South Africans in the
Freedom Charter. Here L. Bernstein writes on the
stirrings of the people for the Assembly."

Also on page 4 there occurs "The Congress of the People
Call" which has already been read, My Lord, under A.89. 15
I refer next, still in the same issue, My Lord, to an
article "Atomic Death - or Peace" "Cecil Williams writes
on the use of atomic bombs as 'conventional weapons'".

I read a portion from page 9 of the article, My Lord :

"The most insidious and deadly dangerous process yet 20
set in motion in connection with thermo-nuclear
weapons is the wicked assumption of the United States
military and political leaders that these weapons of
mass-destruction are to be regarded as 'conventional'
weapons of war. The terror in this assumption must 25
be exposed. It has never been conceded that weapons
which can be used indiscriminately against civilian
population are 'conventional'. Since the early
years of this century there has been an increasing
desire on the part of mankind to put a limit on the 30
horrors of war. One prohibition to which most
nations have subscribed has been the prohibition

against the mass destruction of civilian populations. There has been a prohibition against any weapon of war whose fatal effects are uncontrollable, e.g. gas, bacteria, poison, etc. Now, however, the Americans, without reference to any international tribunal, talk openly of using atomic weapons. In fact, such weapons have already been distributed to American bases and allies round the world. 5

If you remain silent, you are acquiescing in these appalling manaces. You do not even query your own death warrants. 10

At the end of the last year the NATO powers, meeting in Paris, decided that they would use atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in warfare, in fact, that they would even use them first (a complete reversal, this, of previous decisions that such weapons would be used only for purposes of 'massive retaliation'). 'We shall not hesitate to use the bomb (i.e. the hydrogen bomb) - if necessary, to be the first to use it if we are attacked'. (R.A.F. Marshall Sir John Slessor, broadcast January 27, 1955). But the NATO powers agreed that the decision to use or not to use the bombs would be a 'political' one, to be taken by the governments of the NATO powers. But what a safeguard? Everyone knows that a general staff does not improvise its strategy within a few hours. It is prepared over years, hence the general staff at Fontainebleau. If the planned NATO strategy is based on thermo-nuclear war, then in the moment of declaration of war, that strategy comes into effect. The 'schoide' of the political representatives of the 14 countries is entirely fictitious. 25 30

It was the Belgian representative to NATO, Monsieur

F.H. Spaak who summed up the outcome :

'The decisions of the NATO Council give the military men exactly what they want. They asked for authorisation to prepare atomic war. They have got it'.

We forget so often why there is this threat of world destruction. It is because the majority of mankind is rallying to the cause of peace. The imperialists are more and more exposed as a tiny minority placing all their hopes in horror weapons because they have no hopes in the support of the people. This is the measure of their desperation.

The people cannot passively allow themselves to be led to collective suicide. For that is what is involved. Peace is in grave danger, but the people can reverse the trend to war and destruction. Remember the words of Professor Joliot-Curie, the French atomic physicist, and president of the World Peace Council :

'Tell yourself that nowhere will you be safe and that effective civil defence is an illusion. Understand that the nuclear bombing of any target in the world will sow immediate or delayed death even in places very far away. The problem is : ..."

I omit the rest of the extract from his speech. Then I read, My Lord, pages 5 to 6 of the same issue, the title only, and reference was made to it on page 37 of Schedule 3, an article "Rise like Lions" by Hilda Watts, and the descriptive title says :

"Just over 100 years ago the people of Britain, struggling for a Charter of Rights, sowed the seeds that later won them the universal franchise."

And again, My Lord, on page 16 of this issue :

"Unless otherwise stated, Ruth First of P. O. Box 1355 is responsible for all political matter in this issue"

And "Published by Fighting Talk Committee".

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The next, My Lord, is the issue of July, 1955. I read first pages 3 to 4, an article "A New World Unfolds..." with the descriptive title "Alfred Hutchinson reports on the historic Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter". My Lords, this is referred to on page 14 of Schedule 3 in respect of Hutchinson. Then My Lords, on page 7 of this issue, in the second column there is a framed portion, and I read that only. It says :

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"An English schoolmaster from the Kikuyu country told the Royal African Society that the Mau Mau is more than sheer gangsterism. It is a national resistance movement which many Africans deplore but would never betray to a white man Mr. Francis claims that it is just as important that the battle be 'clean as victorious'. Unfortunately, the battle now being waged by the Colony's security forces is not always 'clean'. Confessions from African suspects, he said, are often obtained by acts of deliberate brutality which no Christian would approve of. Such tactics would not destroy the Mau Mau movement. It had to be destroyed by removing things like the European's attitude of superiority, the shortage of farming land in the highlands, low wages and poor housing conditions. -

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'The Manchester Guardian', April 1, 1955."

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Next My Lord, on pages 8 to 9, there is a reprint of the Freedom Charter, which has already been read in under A.10.

And again on page 16 of this issue, :

"Unless otherwise stated Ruth First is responsible for all political matter in this issue", and "Published by the Fighting Talk Committee".

The next issue, My Lord, is that of August, 1955. I refer first to pages 3 to 4, an article, "Don't Look Now, But" by Hilda Watts. My Lords, this is reflected firstly in the Policy Schedule, page 20 item 26, and also Schedule 3 at page 37. I begin reading at the foot of page 3, some five lines from the bottom of the page :

"Where is all this leading? What is it for?"

We know it is directed against the liberatory movement of the Non-White people of our country. But there is more to it than that. It is directed against all progressive organisations. More still. It is directed against all who are in opposition to the government and their police state. In the words of our own rulers, when a law has been passed, to oppose it, to organise others against it, is treason!

There are many warning parallels from the past to prove the intentions of the present government, even if the banning of opposition newspapers, banning of literature, 'phone-tapping, ostentatious police terror and the rest were not warning enough. Nevertheless, many have not learned the lessons of the past.

The Holy Crusade.

When the police state came to Germany, the Nazis were planning war. Everything they did, every internal atrocity and external aggression, was done in the name of the crusade against Communism. This made it all permissible, and silenced many who might have protested. The pattern was simple - first silence

all forms of opposition within the country, in the name of the fight against communism; then build the war machine for the armed crusade against the symbol of communism - the U.S.S.R.

But when Germany had been armed and made strong, the war machine was turned west, not east, turned against those who had built it. 5

Can people be so deceived twice over?

South Africa, we know, is not Germany. We are not a major industrial power. We lack the position, manpower and development of Germany of those years. 10

But South Africa is an indispensable part of the war-machine today. Today America leads the crusade against communism (and how closely the American attack on civil liberties is followed in our country!) 15
With our uranium mines, our gold, and our position as the most advanced country in Africa, we fit in completely as part of this so-called crusade. Even more so because the real intentions are concealed.

While today the war-cry is still against the Soviet Union, every military act of the past ten years has been not against the U.S.S.R, but against the people of the colonial countries. Against Korea, Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana, Guatemala. The menace of aggression, so loudly proclaimed, is now tacitly 25
admitted to be the menace of popular movements advancing within countries, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries. Let the lessons of British Guiana and Guatemala illustrate this new definition of 'communist aggression'. The world preparations 30
for war and the restriction of civil liberties in this and other countries go hand in hand. They are

preparing the military machine for use against us,
the people.

Look Out!

Freedom and peace are bound together.

Did you notice that car parked outside your house 5
the other night? Remember the armed police who came
to that meeting the other day? Behind those men are
other men with guns in their hands. Behind them are
the shadowy outlines of maniacs with deadly atom
bombs, prepared to destroy the world to keep their 10
power, Look out! The deprivation of civil liberties
in South Africa has world significance.

And with this in mind we must fight back, with all
our power, to prevent the loss of more liberties, to
regain what have already been lost, and to lay the 15
foundations of a truly democratic state - one in which
such acts can no longer take place, one that will
safeguard not only our personal liberties but the
peace and security of all mankind."

Then My Lord, on page 5n an article "From Helsinki, Cecil 20
Williams writes a first-hand account of the World Peace
Assembly, held in June. People for Peace". I read the
title and the author merely, My Lord. Then on pages 10
to 11, an article, "A Piece of Ground and a Privy" by
Helen Joseph. The title and authoress only, My Lord, 25
because reference is made to this on page 1 of Schedule
3. This is a criticism of the site and service scheme.
Again, My Lords, on this issue on page 16, :

"Unless otherwise stated Ruth First is responsible
for all political matter" 30
and "Published by Fighting Talk Committee, Johannesburg".
The next, My Lord, is the issue of September, 1955. I
first first, My Lord, from pages 3 to 4, an article

"Geneva and After", by Brian Bunting. I read first the second column on page 3 :

"In the last five years the world has several times been on the brink of atomic war - during the Korean war, during the Indo-China fighting in April 1954, 5 during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis earlier this year. The nightmare uncertainties and tensions of the cold war have led the nations of the world into a ruinous armaments race, have resulted in the thwarting of social progress and the abrogation of civil rights 10 in countries preparing for war under the banner of anti-Communism. The division of the world into military blocs separated by the so-called iron curtain made friendly relations between nations, as well as peaceful trade, practically impossible. Hatred 15 and suspicion reigned, fanned by a sensational and cenal press whose guiding principle for ten years has been to condition its readers to the necessity, inevitability, even in some cases desirability of an anti-Soviet war. 20

Why the Cold War?

What was the source and origin of the cold war? We need look no further than Churchill's notorious Fulton speech and the Truman Doctrine to find the answer. It has been the attempts of the imperialist 25 powers to prevent the destruction of the capitalist market in the social revolution of the 20th century. In the space of little more than a generation, one third of the human race has been removed from the capitalist society - from the capitalist orbit and 30 is today busy building a new type of society in which the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated.

The frantic military and political struggle of the Western powers in the last ten years has been designed to prevent any further development of this social revolution, and if possible, to win back some of the territory lost to socialism during and immediately 5
after the last war.

The simplest and most blatant example of Western imperialist intervention to prevent social change was provided last year in Guatemala, whose democratically elected Government was overthrown by means of 10
an armed revolt instigated, financed and equipped by the United States for the sole reason that it had embarked on a moderate programme of reform. Such things as land reform are not allowed in Latin America, which is a sphere of enormous and expanding 15
investment by the United States monopolists. But since it is difficult to justify to Americans, who owe the birth of their own republic to an act of revolution against imperialism, such naked repression of another people's freedom and independence, 20
the Big Lie has had to be created that all peoples everywhere who are fighting for their rights are merely the agents of a foreign power - the Soviet Union.

In Eastern Europe, Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, 25
Kenya and North Africa - look where you will - the freedom struggle of the people is denounced by the imperialists, resisted with every weapon and calculated brutality in their armoury. 'The first important truth of the international situation', 30
said President Eisenhower in August 1954, 'is that the Communist dictatorship - ruthless, strong,

insatiable - is determined to establish its sway over all the world. This truth requires no elaboration: all Americans recognise it to be a fact'.

Facts or Lies?

Yet it is a 'fact' which has never been proved true, 5
which, in fact, the imperialists have found it more
and more difficult to establish. Strange that this
ruthless, strong and insatiable dictatorship, aiming
at world conquest, should yet be the only world power
whose troops have not been involved in fighting since 10
the end of World War II - while the troops of the
'peace-loving democracies' have been engaged almost
non-stop in one or other type of war ever since!
Yet this has been the 'fact' - let us rather call it
a lie - which has been advanced to justify their whole 15
international and foreign policy, their whole conduct
of the cold war, their anti-Communism, their assaults
on democratic rights, their subversion of the labour
movement, their outright murder of thousands, nay
millions of human beings in their series of colonial 20
wars."

Then My Lord, on page 4, the concluding paragraph entitled
"People for Peace" - it is still part of the article :

"It was their own people's, and the world's people's,
desire - and hard work - for peace which drove them 25
to the talks and helped save the peace. Now it is
the task of the South African people to draw
courage and inspiration from the achievement of
Geneva, and work for the relaxation of political
tensions here, now. If, as the Big Four have pled- 30
ged, there is to be no war; if, as Eisenhower has
conceded, the Russians want peace - then the

justification for the Suppression of Communism Act, for the bannings and exilings, for the shutting down of newspapers, for the thousand and one invasions of the democratic rights of our people which have been perpetuated by Swart - the justification for all this disappears. 5

Not only must the direct work for peace be intensified - for the threat of war may still be renewed if the people's vigilance is relaxed; but Swart's Little lies - about poisoned wells and bush fires, about conspiracies and treason and sedition - all these Little Lies which have been advanced to justify the police terror under which we live must be nailed once and for all. For they are all part of the same Big Lie which Eisenhower disavowed at Geneva; and they have the same purpose - to hold down the freedom struggle of the people. 10 15

Let us learn the lesson of Geneva, then, and forward, confidence in the justice of our cause, in the strength of our people, to win peace, freedom and equality for all in our own country." 20

Then, My Lords, on pages 7 to 8, an article "Forward with the Freedom Charter" written by someone whose initials are "W.S." I read from page 7, the paragraph - the last paragraph in the second column : 25

"The "Freedom Charter" is the basic law of our liberatory movement, a declaration of principles uniting all the people in our land, except for the few reactionaries, who see in the Charter the end of their long established domination and exploitation. The Charter is the picture of future South Africa, in which oppression and exploitation shall be no more. It is a document to be treasured by all 30

who love freedom, for generations to come."

Then My Lord, pages 8 to 9 of the same issue, an article which is mentioned on page 21 of Schedule 3 "No return to 1908" by Ruth First, being an article on the Covenanters, and the Women's Black Sash Movement. Then My Lord, on pages 10 to 11, an article "Cecil Williams writes on Meeting Soviet People". It is a long article, My Lord, I read the very last portion only on page 11, the third column, five lines from the foot of the page :

"In the U.S.S.R. I knew there was a strong peace movement, but sometimes I wondered whether it was an 'organised' perhaps a phoney thing. I know now it isn't. These people passionately want peace. The evidence is everywhere, in posters and placards, all over the place; the dove, symbol of the World Peace movement everywhere, even on the matchboxes; in the conversation of the people; and especially, of course in the reconstruction and replanning that is going on everywhere - work that has no meaning if they expect it to be destroyed all over again by an H-bomb. But their work, they are determined, shall have meaning because of their confidence that their own will and the will of the peoples of the world for lasting peace will prevail."

Then My Lord, on page 11, an article "Atoms for Peace" by Dr. R. Press. This is mentioned on page 20 of Schedule 3. I quote the - I read from the last two paragraphs of this article merely :

"There is a genie in the yellow powder, but selfish madmen have stolen the lamp from the people and they are rubbing it furiously to rob mankind of life. They mutilate Japanese fishermen, poison the

atmosphere, and terrorise the colonial peoples.

But the yellow powder belongs by right to all the people, and when, as the Freedom Charter says 'The people shall share the country's wealth', uranium will work for peace and for the people." 5

Then in this issue on page 2, the following appears :

"Fighting Talk is published monthly by the Fighting Talk Committee. Editor : Ruth First".

My Lords, I omitted to mention that the article "Forward to the Freedom Charter", a portion of which was read by me, 10 appears in the Policy Schedule, page 9, item 48.

Next My Lord, in the issue of October, 1955, page 2, there appears the following at the top of the page :

"Fighting Talk is published monthly by the Fighting Talk Committee. Editor : Ruth First". 15

I refer firstly to pages 3 to 4, an article "Violence" by Hilda Watts. The descriptive title says :

"Violence is a political weapon. It is the weapon of desperate, fearful, frightened men. The extent to which it is increasing in our land is ... a 20 measure of the despair of those who, made not one whit wiser by history, believe that with violence they can stem the surging flood-tide of freedom".

This article is referred to My Lord, in Schedule 3, page 37 in respect of Hilda Watts. 25

Then My Lords, I refer to pages 10 to 11, an article by Spectator, "The Turning of the Peace Tide", and it is described as being a review of the Helsinki Peace Conference. I read on page 11, the second paragraph : 30

"There were also questions on which there was no debate. There were none in that vast gathering

of 1640 delegates who would oppose Peoples' China being admitted to its legitimate place in the United Nations. There were none who would speak in defence of America's occupation of Taiwan, or in defence of the colonial system which denies the people their rights of self-determination and their basic liberties. 'It is extremely interesting', writes one commentator on the Assembly 'that the colonial system, in this day and age, has reached the company of the 'indefensibles'.' The Peace movement has recognised that colonialism has no longer any moral or logical defence; it makes -- it depends only on the supremacy of naked force; and though the peace movement issues no call for the overthrow of imperialism, it leaves no doubt that violence and force and armed aggression are called into being to uphold it."

And then - that is all from that article, My Lord. The next, My Lord, is the issue of November, 1955. Page 2 :

"Fighting Talk is published by the Fighting Talk Committee. Editor : Ruth First"

I refer first to page 3. This is an article "The Gestapo at the Gate" by L. Bernstein, a critical appreciation of the activities of the Special Branch of the South African Police Force, which is mentioned in Schedule 3, at page 3. I refer next, My Lords, to pages 13 to 14, an article "Which way liberalism" by Peter Meyer. This is referred to in the Policy Schedule, My Lord, page 9, item 49. My Lord, I read from page 14, and I am reading a little more than is included in the Policy Schedule at page 9. In the middle of the page, under the title "Relations with Other organisations". This article, My Lords, is an

analysis of a booklet called "Policies of the Liberal Party". The author says :

"In their aspirations towards economic, social, educational and political advancement and in their desire for liberation from restrictions and humiliations which should be suffered by no human being, the non-European peoples have the profound sympathy of the Liberal Party'. Have you ever read anything more detached, more aloof? It shows that the Liberal Party does not want to be regarded as part and parcel of the non-Europeans, that it is a White Party willing only to 'represent' the non-Whites. I suggest the heading of this section should be changed to 'Foreign Affairs'.

Under 'External Affairs' there is no mention of the struggle for peace. The Liberal Party turns to the Declaration of Human Rights for the answer to many of its problems. It declares that South Africa should be kept in the Commonwealth.

There are further chapters (Health, Housing, Education etc.) but they don't take one much further. The points made in the booklet are often quite good, but a lot of things are left unsaid.

The Flaw.

This is the fundamental flaw in 'The Policies of the Liberal Party'. This is what makes it almost an academic document compared with the approach - compared with the precise language and realistic approach of the Freedom Charter. The Charter covers the whole field - of wrongs and injustices, of aspirations and endeavours. It does not mince words. It says what is wrong with present-day conditions and presents the alternatives. The Liberal

Party document merely rambles on, touching on some matters and ignoring others.

The reason for this vivid contrast is that the Freedom Charter is a basis for a New South Africa in which everyone will share equally, whereas the Liberal Party wants to work within the existing framework, bringing in changes that do not strike at the root of the system which divides South Africa into two camps, the exploiters and the exploited. The Liberal Party wants a few reforms. The Freedom Charter proposes a New Life." 5 10

The next issue, My Lord, is that of December, 1955, and I pause merely to say that on page 2 there is the same legend about Fighting Talk being published by the Fighting Talk Committee and that Ruth First is still the Editor. The next issue, My Lord, is that of January, 1956, and page 2 again says that it is published by the Fighting Talk Committee and that Ruth First is the editor. Page 2, My Lord, Editorial comment, "Our New Age", the second paragraph which is entitled, "Last Ditch Disaster". 15 20

"But this is the year 1956. The colonial people have learnt the science of the struggle for liberty. And the weapons of the past are proving ineffective against the movements of the present. Against their oppressors, the people of Cyprus presented a national united front in which all classes, groups and parties of the island joined to conduct a peaceful, political campaign. When that campaign became irresistible by other methods, the British Government answered it with a military dictatorship. The United Front held, despite every attempt to buy off sections of it with constitutional plans 25 30

for a share in the spoils of exploitation. From political agitation, the people have moved to mass civil disobedience, marked by a unity and discipline which comes only from profound consciousness of the aims of the struggle. Where military and semi-
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military action has become necessary against the military dictatorship, it has been taken with discipline and courage, inspired by a great revolutionary spirit and tradition. There has been no sporadic, individual terror. There has been no
10
sectarian running in advance of the people, which could have cut the Communists and the left wing off from Archbishop Makarios and the middle class. Against such a movement as this, all the arsenal of imperialism is proving itself impotent. Its last-
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ditch is becoming a grave of its own digging."

X I refer next, My Lord, to pages 3 to 4, an Article, "Women against Passes" by Helen Joseph. The descriptive title said : "The question is not : 'Shall we carry
20
passes or not?', but 'What action shall we take when we are told to take out passes?', says Helen Joseph, writing about the campaign of African women against passes today and in the past". My Lord, I read from page 4 of this article, a portion of which is set forth in Schedule D of the Indictment :
25

"Facing this new threat, the African men and women have determined that the indignity of the pass system shall not be extended to African women. In every part of the country, in every town and village the determination is clear. The question is not
30
'Shall we carry passes or not?', but "What action shall we take when we are told to take out passes?"

What shall we do in January, 1956?'. And this question demands an answer from the liberatory movement. This struggle against the pass laws is not a matter for African women alone, not a matter for the African people alone. It is part and parcel of the struggle for liberation. The extension of the pass laws to African women is a flagrant, vicious violation of the principles of the Freedom Charter, the cornerstone of the Congress movement. It is for the Congress movement as a whole to oppose passes for women, to oppose the whole Population Registration Act, the identity cards, the inhuman re-classifications. 5 10

But time is passing and January is upon us. The Government has announced that an immediate start will be made with the issuing of passes to African women. The people must be prepared and ready for action. The women need no convincing; they need only guidance and a courageous lead. The African National Congress Women's League blazed the trail at the Bloemfontein Conference 'We will not carry passes'. The A.N.C. Conference followed with the appointment of a National Action Council and proclaimed the total rejection of passes for women. This may well prove to be the turning point in South African history, for a vigorous active, courageous campaign against passes for women can sweep the country, bringing in all African women, both in and out of Congress. Just as the Pretoria protest drew all women together from the churches, the congresses, the trade unions, the 'stokvelde', the homes, the professions, offices and factories, because they were determined to make their protest, as an initial step, against oppressive laws, so can the struggle against passes 15 20 25 30

for women, on a national scale, widen the whole scope of the Congress movement and set the stage for the most truly national campaign that the country has yet seen.

The women are waiting for the Congress lead. In 5
 their present mood hundreds of thousands are likely
 to reject the passes totally. Their spirit is high,
 their anger deep. This is no defiance campaign against
 unjust laws which already exist; it is the determina-
 tion of the women, the mothers of South Africa, that 10
 neither they nor their daughters shall accept this
 added humiliation. On this they take their stand. The
 coming year will be a vital one for the liberation
 movement, for it should see the translation of the
 mighty Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter 15
 into action to defend the freedom of the individual;
 carefully planned, decisive action which can translate
 at least one section of the Freedom Charter into
 reality. 'The pass laws shall be abolished'. For
 if this campaign is courageous and determined, not 20
 only can the passes for women be made inoperable,
 but the whole pass system, the whole Population
 Registration Act can be dealt a mortal blow." X

This also is reflected in the Policy Schedule, My Lord,
 page 33, item 15. 25

The next issue, My Lord is that of February, 1956. On
 page two, it is stated that this issue is published by
 the Fighting Talk Committee, and that the editor is
 Ruth First. On pages 6 to 7, My Lord, there is an
 article, "The Forgotten Millions" on The High Commis- 30
 sion Territories and South Africa, by Alan Doyle. It is
 a longish article, I read the last two paragraphs only

My Lord, on page 7. The author says - the article deals with "developments in the Protectorates and the Union claim to the Protectorates, and then says in the last two paragraphs :

"The only real protector of the people of the High Commission Territories against rapacious South African imperialism is NOT the treacherous British ruling class. It is the sound and militant organisation of the people themselves - closely allied with their brothers and sisters: the oppressed Non-European people of the Union and further North. 5 10

To those who believe that such organisation is not possible among the peasants and migrant labourers of these territories, the formation of the Basutoland African National Congress is sufficient answer." 15

The next issue, My Lord, is that of March, 1956. Again, My Lords, on page 2 it is stated that Fighting Talk is published by the Fighting Talk Committee, and that the editor is Ruth First. I refer first to page 2, My Lord, the editorial comment, "Taking up the Fight". I read merely the last paragraph, which is entitled "Diplomatic Cold War" : 20

"No one could treat seriously, Mr. Louw's reasons for closing the Soviet Consulate. It was a scratch collection of all the slimiest, unsubstantiated allegations made over the years at Nationalist Party Conferences, by rabble-rousers who are more at home in the field of smear and slander than diplomacy. But the timing of the decision to break off what has always been a one-sided relationship - Soviet representation here, but no South African representative in Moscow - the timing is worth consideration. 25 30

It has been suggested that the move was a sort of "bread-and-circuses" affair, designed to distract public attention from the dirty work being done in Parliament. Maybe so. But there is more to it than that.

5

The Nationalist Government has become the most die-hard representative of the most die-hard imperialists. Faithfully it has echoed and bolstered every move of the most reactionary, war-mongers of the imperialist world. When the order goes out from Washington for strenuous reaction, no one can be more anti-Communist than the Nationalist Government. When Wall Street orders aggressive military pacts, no one beats the drums more loudly for an African 'Defence' Pact than Eric Louw. And when Dulles orders a counter-offensive against Geneva peaceful-co-existence spirit, no one reacts more promptly in his petty way than the South African Nationalist Cabinet minister. The closing of the Soviet Consulate is part of a wide conspiracy to undermine the advance of the spirit of peaceful co-existence. It is part of a plot to retrieve the cold war from the doldrums into which it had threatened to fall. And it is a reminder that the battle for peace is not yet won. It has still to be fought for, every inch of the way, against the Dulles, Eisenhowers, MacMillans and Louws. And part of that fight is the fight for friendly diplomatic relations between nations. South Africa, whose Government has isolated her from India, China and the U.S.S.R. is as good a place to - as good a place as any to take up that fight."

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Next, My Lord, pages 3 to 4, an article "Trade Unions for

Freedom", by E. R. Braverman. I quote a short portion on page 4, the paragraph entitled "The Fall of the T.U.C.". It says :

"Rutherford and Company, together with the Nationalists have struck a death blow at the old traditional pattern of South African trade unionism. 5

The essential feature of that pattern was multi-racial organisation under White leadership.

The only group of White trade unionists which consistently and without compromise fought for real and complete equality in trade union organisations and outside, were the Communists. They were driven out by the Nationalists with the aid and tacit approval of the rightwing bureaucrats. 10

When the Communists had been eliminated, the right-wing trade unionists were free to introduce their own apartheid by expelling the African trade unions. In doing this they deprived themselves of the right to fight the racialism of the Nationalists or any other variety. By representing the interests of only one section of the workers, the White artisans, they deprived themselves of the right to speak for the Coloured and Indian workers. 15 20

The logical end of the racist policy of the T.U.C. was its own destruction as a national trade union centre." 25

And then I read the concluding paragraph, My Lord, entitled "A New Trade Union Centre" :

"This does not mean the end of a national trade union centre embracing workers of all races. The need for working class unity is greater than before and it will find expression in renewed efforts to build 30

up such a centre.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.) fulfilled such a need and has the opportunity of developing into the most powerful workers' organisation in the country. For it alone carries on the earlier tradition of militant trade unionism and inter-racial unity that was established by Bill Andrews and the other founders of South African trade union movement. 5

The structure of SACTU will be very different from any previous trade union organisation. Its membership will be predominately African, Coloured and Indian, and its leadership will be in the hands of the exploited and oppressed people. 10

Not only will SACTU lead the struggle of the workers for the day to day economic demands, but it will play its full part in the political struggle of the South African workers for a free and democratic South Africa." 15

On pages 8 to 9, My Lords, an article "Kruschov on Soviet Policy". My Lord, this is reflected in the Policy Schedule, page 21, item 36. My Lord, this is a fairly long article, unfortunately I have to read the greater portion of it. I begin with the paragraph entitled "The Fight for Peace" - before I do so, I should read the descriptive title at the top of the page which says : 20 25

"Why should we want war? We don't want it. As a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war War is not fatalistically inevitable ...!30 These were the words of Nikita Kruschov first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in his opening speech to the 20th Congress of his party.

This speech, dealing with Soviet policy in the field of international relations, in the fields of Soviet and world economy, and in the field of Soviet living conditions, education and leisure, has not been published in our press. An authoritative expression of opinion and policy by a leader of the Soviet State is clearly of interest to all, and the views expressed here are of particular importance to all concerned with the preservation of world peace." 5

I begin then with the second paragraph headed "The Fight for Peace" : 10

"A vast zone of peace, including peace-loving states, both socialist and non-socialist, of Europe and Asia, has emerged in the world. This zone embraces vast areas inhabited by nearly 1,500 million people, - that is, the majority of the population of our planet. 15

The Communist Parties had proved to be the most active in the peace struggle in the capitalist countries, and had withstood many hardships and trials with credit. 20

At the same time, many other sections of society are also opposing war. The effectiveness of their activity would be greater if the various forces upholding peace overcame their disunity. The unity of the working class, of its trade unions, unity of its political parties - Communist, Socialist and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptional importance. 25

The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to find points of contact, and on these grounds lay the foundations for co-operation, 30

sweeping aside mutual recriminations.

Here, co-operation with those circles in the Socialist movement who have views on the transformation to Socialism differing from ours, is also possible and essential.

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The People of the Colonies.

The disintegration of the imperialist colonial system now taking place after the victorious revolution in China, and the winning of independence by India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Sudan and other former colonial territories is a post-war development of world historic significance.

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A big part of the African continent, some countries in Asia, Central and South America, still remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence.

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Contradictions and rivalry between colonial powers for spheres of influence and sources of raw material are growing.

To preserve and in some places re-establish their former domination, the colonial powers are resorting to the suppression of the colonial people by force of arms. They have also resorted to new forms of colonial enslavement under the guise of so-called 'aid to undeveloped countries', which brings colossal profits to the colonialists.

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For Peaceful Co-existence.

The leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems had always been, and remained, the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

30

Is there a single reason why a socialist state should want to unleash aggressive war? Do we have classes and groups that are interested in aggressive

war as a means of enrichment? We do not. We abolished them long ago.

Perhaps we don't have enough territory or natural wealth? Perhaps we lack sources of raw materials or markets for our goods? No. We have sufficient 5
of all these and to spare.

Why then should we want war? We don't want it. As a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war for the sake of the selfish interests of a hand- 10
ful of millionaires.

Do those who shout about the aggressive intentions of the U.S.S.R. know all this? Of course they do, Why then do they keep up the old monotonous refrain about some imaginary 'Communist aggression'? Only 15
to stir up mud to conceal their plans for world domination - for a so-called 'crusade' against peace, democracy and socialism.

Socialism Will Win.

When we say that the socialist system will win in 20
the competition between the two systems - capitalist and socialist - this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through the armed interference by socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries. 25

Our certainty of the victory of Communism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production.

Precisely because of this, the ideas of Marxism- 30
Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of broad masses of working people in capitalist countries.

We believe that all working men in the world, once they have become convinced of the advantages Communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of Socialist society.

Building Communism in our country, we are resolutely against war. We have always held, and continue to hold, that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned.

Capitalism and War.

As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of capitalist monopolies, will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression, and may try to unleash war.

But war is not fatalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans.

The Marxist-Leninist precept that wars and inevitable while imperialism exists, was evolved at a time when imperialism was all-embracing, and when the social and political forces against war were weak, poorly organised and unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

Now the situation has changed radically. There is a world camp of Socialism which has become a mighty force, and in this camp, peace forces find not only the moral but also the material means to

to prevent aggression.

The Change to Socialism.

With the radical changes in the world arena, new prospects are also opening up in respect of the transition of countries from capitalism to socialism. 5

It is probable that more forms of transition will appear. Moreover the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances.

Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True, we recognise the need for revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable. 15

But the forms of social revolution vary, and it is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society. 20

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence rather than on the proletariat. 25

In this connection the question arises whether it is possible to go over to socialism by using Parliamentary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transformation. 30

Since then, however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to this question. The forces of socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism, with its population of over 900 million, is growing and gaining strength. Ideas of socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all working humanity. 5

At the same time, the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership, and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people. 15

The Right Wing parties and their governments are becoming increasingly bankrupt. In these circumstances, the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing opportunist elements, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces, to win a stable majority in Parliament, and to transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event, this institution may become an organ of genuine democracy, of democracy for the working people. 20 25

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority, backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create, for the working class a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes. 30

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

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

Location:- Johannesburg

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