

Anthony Holiolay -

DRAFT STATEMENT

(1) May it please the Court to bear with me. I have a number of issues to raise, but I shall endeavour not to take up too much more of your Lordship's time.

At the outset of this trial, after much reflection, I pleaded "not guilty" to ~~charges~~^{ACTS} of which I now stand convicted. My reason for adopting this course was a fear that a plea to the contrary might be regarded as an admission on my part that I felt my actions to be morally reprehensible. I feel bound to inform the Court that I was and am convinced that, ~~ethically~~ speaking, I have done no wrong. I am a South African and would not have it said that I stand back for any man as far as my commitment to my country and all its peoples is concerned. The course of action I chose was the only one open to a patriot, who held my political beliefs.

(2) (A) Secondly, I wish to state that I am satisfied that your Lordship has spared no endeavour to accord me a fair trial in accordance with the law as it presently stands written and subject as you are to the strictures of that legal framework.

But the process of Justice, properly so called, cannot be said to begin only at the moment when an accused person appears before a Court of Law. It should commence from the time of that person's arrest.

(B) ~~Your~~¹⁹¹¹ Lordship, I was arrested at my home in Cape Town on the night of July 27th and taken to Caledon Square Police Station for an interrogation, which began in a civilised fashion but rapidly turned into a nightmare. I was questioned without respite until ~~the small hours~~^{WELL INTO} of the morning of July 28th.

During this first phase of the interrogation, my inter^{locu}locu

threatened that unless I answered their questions they would arrest a person very close to me, who, I knew, had no knowledge of my secret political activities. They went to the extent of enacting a charade outside the closed door of the office in which I was being questioned imitating the sounds attendant on someone being beaten and screaming with pain. I ^{WAS} ~~was~~ not deceived by this ruse, but believed that anyone capable of it might also be capable of carrying out the threatened arrest - and perhaps of turning the charade into a reality. Accordingly on the morning of the 28th, I made a short statement and was later allowed to sleep for a few hours.

The second phase of interrogation began in the afternoon. My questioners began working in teams and interrogation lasted without respite until the morning of July 29th. One of these teams - consisting of a Captain ^{FOURIE} and a more junior officer ^{WHOM THEY CALLED "TOMMY"} - began assaulting me at the instruction of the Captain. ^{THIS "TOMMY"} The other policeman choked me, rolled me about on the floor, knelt on my back and crushed me against a wall. The Captain joined in, striking me with great force across the left-hand side of my face, using one of my shoes to beat me on my head. My tormentors also resorted to twisting my arms and wrists, while battering my head and making me stand with a chair above my head while they questioned me or flung shoes at my groin. Chiefly their questions referred to matters of which I had no knowledge. I estimate that this treatment lasted for hours.

Two days later Major Van Tonder apologised to me for these assaults - which in my view deserve the name of "torture". He said the assaults were totally contrary to his instructions. I should like to be able to believe his

(C) It would be incorrect, however, to portray my treatment in detention as being comprised solely of torture and sleep denial. Following those first 48 hours, I was well treated. Major Van Tonder showed me a number of kindnesses as did Major Baker, who interrogated me in Pretoria. I believe it possible that, in different circumstances, we might have been friends - however, they have chosen their side and I mine. I should also mention that the warders at Pretoria local prison have ^{shown} ~~shown~~ me much friendship and kindness. I have no words to tell how grateful I am to them for this. It has given me fresh hope for the future of this country to find tolerance and humanity among ordinary decent people. ~~I am not unaware that some of these same warders may have friends or relatives serving on the border.~~

CONVICTIONS
+ 12/4/37 NO
DCTS IN SA.

MY LORD, IT IS OFTEN ASSUMED THAT PERSONS OF M'Y
Your Lordship, I was born in Cape Town on ¹¹ November 6th,

1940. On my mother's side of the family I can claim ancestry with Sir James Rose-Innes, whose concern for the future of race relations in South Africa is a matter of history. My maternal grandmother was a Cilliers. My paternal grandfather was an Englishman of working class ^{originally} ~~ori~~ who came to settle in South Africa at about the turn of the century. My parents are both retired and elderly. They are people to whom I owe a great deal. I learned many things from them. My mother imparted to me her own love, of beautiful things and fierce loyalty to South Africa.

From my father, I learned a belief in the power of reason, a sense of wonder at things, which gave me a taste for philosophy and speculation, and a firm conviction of the necessity for the rule of Law. Both my parents taught me

in that intensely subtle and untiring fashion in which parents teach - to have a reverence for persons and for life.

Another great influence on my childhood was that of a Malay woman, Gadija Abrahams, who came to work for us when I was 2 or 3 years old and she little more than a child. She stayed with us until I was about 13. She was part-mother, part-elder sister to me. I shall always remember her gentleness and loyalty. Her mother, Sonya, was a washerwoman. I visited her family as a child and remember being driven home by her brother in the family horse and cart. They were very poor, but proud and honest people. People of colour no longer inhabit the area of Cape Town where they lived. They have long since been driven out by the provisions of the Group Areas Act. The treatment of coloured people - their deprivation of the vote, the indignities they suffered through segregative legislation - weighed heavily on my conscience during my formative years.

My school years were difficult ones for me and, I daresay, doubly so for my parents. I failed to matriculate ^{matriculate} despite repeated attempts. In fact, the last examination I passed at school was standard six. This may partly have been due to an early tendency towards spasticity and a neuro-muscular defect which made handwriting and other learning tasks difficult.

After leaving school I worked as a shop assistant, as a clerk in a printing works, and as a library clerk. During this period my interest in politics grew and my views moved steadily to the left. Political activity gave meaning to my life at a time when a sense of purpose, an understanding of the world I lived in and a feeling

that I had a role to play in shaping that world were what I needed most. The National Liberation Movement and the example of some of its members gave me these things. No sacrifice of mine can repay the debt.

In 1965, I obtained work as a junior reporter on the Cape Times. In 1967, I joined the Rand Daily Mail. On both these newspapers I wrote editorials and interpretative articles in addition to my ordinary reporting work. In 1969 I went to London, where I found work as a sub-editor of foreign news on The Times. It was during that year that I was admitted to membership of the South African Communist Party. In 1970, shortly after my return to South Africa, I was appointed political reporter on the Rand Daily Mail - a post I held until late 1975 when I rejoined the Cape Times.

Of my journalistic work, I wish only to state firmly that I always endeavoured to report and interpret accurately and fairly and never abused any position I held by trying to turn a newspaper into a propaganda sheet. Some will believe that no Marxist could consistently try to uphold proper standards of truthfulness and perspective. This is because they have not understood that Marxism is the practice of a scientific theory which aims to grasp the history of "real living men" as it truly is, for a true Marxist there can be no synonymy between the adjective "communist" and the epithet "liar".

(4) I must now attempt to convey something of the political beliefs and aspirations which have formed the mainspring of my actions for many years. This is done, not in order to weary the Court with a propagandistic harangue but in order that your Lordship may be informed of the motivations which have had their effect in my appearance before you

to-day. For these beliefs have been powerful in their influence on me. I do not believe that I am a particularly brave man. Certainly I have no inclination for ~~my~~ ^{MARTYRDOM} freedom. Had it not been for my political convictions I could never have endured the experience of life as an underground worker. I shall not attempt to describe to the Court the unrelieved tension of such a life, ~~save to say that when my arrest came, as I had always known it must, it was almost in the nature of a relief.~~

- (a) There are many aspects of South Africa's politico-economic system which have never ceased to appal and anger me.

Despite all the Government's talk of change, life for the average Black South African is a long catalogue of iniquity in education, wages, housing and human rights. Apartheid has driven thousands from their homes purely because of their racial origin. The so-called resettlement camps at places like Limehill, Morsgat and Dimbaza have resulted in the deaths of many African ^{including} children. Black children have been forced to study school subjects in a language which - because of the system I am describing - is regarded by them as a foreign tongue. When they protested against this they were met by bullets.

To preserve the system, the Rulers have banned Black political organisations. They have passed legislation like the Terrorism Act's section six and the Internal Security Act which effectively set ~~the~~ Executive above the Courts. Until the present Government came to power in 1948 it might have been said that both Black and White had tried for more than a century to maintain a

tradition that their societies should be governed under a system where even the highest in the land was always subject to the Courts. Now, in 1976, the Rulers have made many laws but the nation is lawless - chaos rules.

MY LORD

But ~~your~~ ~~Worship~~, there is one effect of this system which has weighed with me above all others. I refer to the disruption of family and communal life occasioned by the system of Pass Laws and influx control. You have heard something of my own youth and family life. I know that I, a member of a privileged group, could never have supported the difficulties of my life without the love and support of my family. ~~Even in these times when the~~ ~~pseudo-sciences of psychology are so rampant, we~~ ~~understand far too little of the effect which intimate and familiar things -- or the denial thereof -- can have on the life of the human person.~~ ~~Be that as it may.~~ ^{It} has always seemed to me an iniquity that anyone should be wrenched away from things and people familiar and dear to serve as labour fodder so that others may profit. If there is hatred and violence in the minds and hearts of people of colour in South Africa, that system - which in one form or another has been in force well before 1948 - is at the root of it. I am reminded of the words of a poet of the 1930's, W.H. Auden:

"I and the public know
What all school children learn.
Those, to whom evil is done,
Do evil in return."

It might be objected that I could have opposed the Pass Laws by joining one of the legal White parties which so opposed them. To this I would reply that these parties only oppose the system so long as they do not have

to implement the measures of taxation of Whites to pay for housing and other amenities which would be needed if the Pass Laws were scrapped, and that in any case these parties represent a constituency which profits from the supply of cheap labour that these Laws ensure. I remember one Leader of an Opposition Party once ^{SAYING} ~~telling~~ me that if I wanted his Party ^{WERE} to immediately abolish the Pass Laws, he would simply have to "tighten-up" the vagrancy laws.

(b) Moreover, the central concept behind the implementation of these laws and practices was abhorrent to me. The attitude of the apologists for the Government's policies is that the complex problems of race and class in South Africa should be solved on the basis that people are to be kept apart, held separate from one another. The ^{CRITERIA} criteria used for the separating process is that of race. This notion of necessary separateness, of enforced isolation is a prescription for national and individual psychosis. It involves a denial of the humanity all men must hold in common or perish. Isolating men from one another, it seems to me, is in the end to isolate them from themselves. If the process continues, madness and anarchy will plague South Africa, for it is not good for men to be alone and they will commit any crimes rather than endure it.

(c) I hope I have said enough to intimate to the Court why the philosophy and theory of Marxist-Leninism attracted me. In fine, it was the stress communists lay on the community of mankind, on the necessity to work for a world in which things will be held in common. The Marx analysis of conditions in our country also helped me to understand how the system of apartheid served the ends of capitalism and how the brave and noble Afrikaner People have been used to implement it, so that the "free

entrepreneurs" can continue to ply their trade. The party, although working non-violently, was banned in 1950. This was followed in 1960 by the banning of the African National Congress. Since the time of Sharpeville, the A.N.C. and the Communist Party have seen no option open to them other than the use of force to oppose the violence, inherent in the system of apartheid, and to achieve change. But the Party has always used its influence to steer the National Liberation Movement away from doctrines of crude anti-Whitism and senseless acts of revenge. Its programme, "The Road to South African Freedom" specifically condemns these things. I do not know of one communist who does not regret that the banning of the movements and leaders we support has necessitated the use of force to achieve liberation.

Marxism is not - as its opponents conceive it - a closed system of rigid dogma. It is a scientific unity of theory and practice which is always growing in its endeavours to understand and change our world. I will not conceal from the Court that I had hopes of one day making some contribution to that understanding. In recent years, I have been much influenced by the writings of the French Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser, who makes a distinction between theory, which aims at knowledge, and philosophy, which operates more in the sphere of ideology or belief. It seemed to me that Marxist philosophy, although intimately linked to Marxist theory, had lagged behind it and that it needed, as it were, to "catch up". I believe that the South African experience will make a contribution - and a much needed one in this world of calculation and reification of things human - to Marxist philosophy. Perhaps through drawing more

attention to the African concept of Ubuntu and the African notion of menslikheid.

~~It seems to me fitting that Afrikaans should play a role alongside African thought and culture in building the new philosophy. — I have been meditating recently on the fact that the Afrikaner patriot, Jopie Fourie, was shot to death in the very prison yard in which I have been taking my exercise because he rebelled against participation in an Imperialist War.~~

(5) This brings me to the final point I wish to make to your Lordship. The Court will, perhaps, be wondering whether the experiences I have had - first as a detainee then as an awaiting-trial prisoner - have had any ^{effect} effect on my attitudes towards my political beliefs and the activities of which I now stand convicted. Certainly, this was a question put to me in one form or another during my detention by several members of the Security Police. In general, I must reply that my convictions remain unaltered. I am a communist and I stand firmly for the principles and policies of my party. But your Lordship, it would require a man totally devoid of sensibility to emerge from such an experience as I have been through with every one of his attitudes and preconceptions exactly as they were before and this has not happened in my case.

The Court has heard how during the first 48 hours of my detention, I made certain admissions to the Police because I feared that unless I did so they would arrest someone dear to me. There are many revolutionaries of the old school who would condemn my decision. What I ~~have~~ ^{did} in effect done was to value a person above a rule of our movement. It might be argued that if everyone behaved as I did, no General could sacrifice

a soldier to win a battle. It could be argued that I endangered revolutionary principles by putting my affections for a single human being above my loyalty to my comrades and the cause for which we commonly strive. There may be justice in these arguments. I do not know. I only know that I found it impossible to put a rule before a person I cared for; that this is an anomaly and a contradiction in my beliefs and that I have spent hours in my cell trying to resolve it. I am very far from having reached a solution. Marxism and the world need a new philosophy and I am in no position to provide it.

But in my ruminations on this problem I have come upon what may be at least a clue to the solution. It is summed up in a line written by the poet, Thomas Stearnes Elliot, in his "Four Quartets": "Who First Devised The Torment^o ~~of~~ Love: Love is the Unfamiliar Name".

I am glad that I have come far enough along the road to realise that if there is one single reason why our goals at present teeming with dissidents, why so much blood has been shed; why the history of our country is one so crowded with strife, sacrifice and struggle; then love is that reason. Love is at the bottom of it all.

It has been love - not shrewdness or cunning - which has allowed the South African Communist Party to withstand more than half-a-century of struggle and persecution. Love has been the motor force, driving the National Liberation Movement. This is the POWER and the STRENGTH we speak of. This is the true meaning behind the slogan of the Congress Movement: Strength is Ours - Amandla Negwethu.

I thank the Court for its indulgence.

Collection Number: AD1901

**SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, Security trials Court
Records 1958-1978**

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

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

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

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

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.