

page was stained with the blood of martyrs in the cause of liberation. They died so that South Africa may be freed. We think with pride of our achievements on the 26th June 1950 when as a protest the people of South Africa stayed at home. Our (5 thoughts go to the great and historic defiance campaign when more than 8,000 soldiers suffered the rigours of jail in the cause of freedom. Again on 26th June, but this time in 1955 the people of South Africa gathered at the historic Congress of the (10 People and adopted the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter is a mirror which reflects the true aims and aspirations of the people of our country. The people of South Africa want to be free, and it is the noble task of the liberation movement to lead the country (15 on the road of freedom until the people shall govern. We have witnessed mighty changes in the world in our own life time. In front of our very eyes citadels of oppression and tyranny have crumbled to pieces. We have seen the defeat of the fascists in Europe (20 and have witnessed the triumph of the people in many countries on the continents of Asia and Africa. Today our dark horizon is lit with the sparks of the struggles that go on in the various parts of Africa. Those who have already gained their freedom both (25 in Africa and Asia are already helping the rest of the subjugated world in freeing itself from bondage. A sound basis was laid in this direction at the historic Afro-Asian conference where the nations of these two continents pledged to help (30 one another in the struggle for freedom. Mighty countries like China and India are in the process

of becoming great world powers and it is the source of great satisfaction to us that the people of these countries are the closest friends of the struggling peoples of Africa and Asia. In this world which is undergoing tremendous changes you can see what (5 forces there are that stand shoulder to shoulder against the decaying forces of oppression. Our unequivocal stand on the invasion^{of Egypt} by foreign powers, i.e. Britain, France and Israel has brought just protest from the freedom loving peoples of South (10 Africa. We feel that the sovereignty of Egypt has been attacked, and we stand by her in every possible way. It is our feeling that an attack on any independent country in Africa or any part of the world is an attack on us, especially when (15 it concerns Africa. We therefore give the Egyptian people our wholehearted support in the struggle against imperialism. We state with the slightest hesitation that we fully support the Egyptian people in their struggle against aggression. (20

And then at page 4, the first paragraph -

"I am certain that you who have assembled here to deliberate on these important questions will do so with these points in view. May this conference be guided by the spirit of freedom which is pervading the air of the universe. May the delegates be the bearers of the torches that will light the whole of South Africa. May you take momentous decisions that will take the people of South Africa to yet greater heights of achievement. The S.A.I.C. (30 will walk with you in this difficult road shoulder to shoulder. We shall march forward together until

we achieve freedom in our lifetime."

You hand in Exhibit B.260 ?-- Yes.

My learned friend Mr. Trengrove will deal with Exhibits 261 and 267. I am now dealing with Exh. B.262.(5 Will you identify this document ?-- Yes.

What is it ?-- It is a pamphlet "Forward to Freedom" A bulletin of the Transvaal Consultative Committee of the A.N.C., S.A.C.P.O., T.I.C., C.O.D. and S.A.C.T.U. dated 18 h May, 1956. (10

I am referring to page 1, the first paragraph, editorial, steer the signature campaign, conferences on June 3rd -

"The Freedom Charter is our guide to a new South Africa. It is the map by which we direct our (15 steps from the present darkness of oppression and exploitation to the future light of land liberty and peace. If we are to reach our goal, we need the support of the mass of the people, the workers, the peasants and the traders and intellectuals. (20 Without the support of the masses we will not achieve Liberation -- with their support we will make the Freedom Charter a reality. But their support will not come by itself -- it must be won. We must explain and teach the masses of the people that the (25 Freedom Charter is our only hope of peace and happiness. We must demonstrate that the Congress movement is the organisation whereby we will achieve the Freedom Charter.

Page 2, paragraph "Join Hands with all allies." (30

"Workers in colonial countries are not alone in the task of trying to rid themselves of their oppression and to establish a democratic state, but

are supported by other sections of the people, peasants, small business men, traders, intellectuals, in fact all the other nationally oppressed people.

So the workers must join hands with them because they are the mass of the people and only the joint (5 actions of the masses can bring liberation. The trade unions must enter actively into the political life of the country, taking up the workers' political demands for freedom and participating equally in the National Liberation Movement in the struggle (10 to realise every clause in the Freedom Charter."

You hand in Exh. B.262 ?-- Yes.

The next is Exhibit B.264, this is a journal "Liberation" No. 21, September, 1956 -- you hand this in ?-- That is correct. (15

BY MR. FISCHER: Milord, I would like to know on what basis my learned friend handed in the last exhibit. He made reference to nothing in it at all.

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: I may indicate, Milord, all the journals "Liberation" will be dealt with under Exh. G.1150, (20 where they were handed in all together.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Is that where they were found at a different place?

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: No, Milord, the publishers will be called; they were all found at different places, and he (25 will deal with all of them together as he published them.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: This is merely to indicate that this document was found in these offices?

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: Yes, Milord, that is all.

EXAMINATION CONTD. BY MR. TRENGROVE: The next document (30 is B.261. It is a roneod document entitled "The Situation in Hungary." ?-- Yes.

You identify that document ?-- Yes.

Milord, I propose to read only certain portions of this document. Page 1 -- could you just tell the Court how many copies of this document you found ?-- Ten copies.

"The Situation in Hungary." It starts off - (5
"The recent events in Hungary have caused much concern to many people. They are asking how such things could have come about. The suffering and sacrifice of the Hungarian people to preserve their Socialist system has been great and must be seen against the (10
pre-war political background of Eastern Europe. Before the war these countries were fascist or semi-fascist with the working class movement hounded and persecuted. The Horthy fascist dictatorship was established by allied bayonets in 1919 when the flower (15
of the working class was annihilated in the white terror. Hungary was a predominantly peasant country with a strong political church and clergy. The "Times" wrote on August 4th, 1950 - 'The Catholic Church enjoyed unique political rights in Hungary which would (20
undoubtedly have been challenged in the mid 20th Century no matter what regime was in power. Fascists allied with Hitler. In fact, the first challenge to the church came while the Communists were a small minority in the first post war coalition Governments. (25
Cardinal Mindszenty and the Bench of Bishops strongly objected to the formal abolition of the monarchy and the setting up of a Republic. They objected to the coalition Government passing any decrees without the approval of the cardinal. Throughout the centu- (30
ries the Cardinal has held political powers scarcely inferior to the King....."

That is the end of the quotation from the "Times."

"Before the war the working class movements in Hungary and Poland were not strong enough to overcome by their own means the fascist regimes of Horthy and Pilsudski despite their heroic struggle. Their social liberation arose out of the war and the (5 struggle against German fascism and its allies and the advance of the Soviet army. Hungarian fascism and reaction allied itself with Hitler fascism right to the bitter end. While many Hungarians played a courageous role in the anti fascist resistance (10 movement during the war, it was above all at the hands of the Soviet army that Horthy fascism suffered its defeat. But reaction, defeated externally, remained strong internally after liberation. Even when peoples power came into the hands of the (15 working people and Peoples Democracy was established reaction was by no means defeated nor its influence ended."

Then there is a paragraph which starts: "Advances, Problems Unsolved." (20

"Hungarian Peoples Democracy still faced the difficult task of step by step overcoming reaction -- breaking its influence on the working people -- carrying through reconstruction, the mechanisation of agriculture and industrialisation, and winning (25 the people for the advance to socialism. It was a development -- social, political and industrial which had to be pressed forward with all the problems which that involved. The Hungarian Communist Party at the time of liberation was very small indeed. (30 The process of amalgamation with the social Democrats took place; the fight against reaction was started,

but the creation of a new state system had to go on and industrialisation proceed, and all this had to be compressed into the short period of a single decade.

.....

I omit the rest of that page, and on page, there is a (5 paragraph "Reaction seized opportunities."

"Bold initiative was taken after the Soviet Twentieth Congress to restore the State and party relations regarding the damage which had been done to Yugoslavia. Not the same speed or thought had been (10 applied to the question of the proper forms of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Peoples Democracies. In general, the politically autocratic attitude behind the cult of the individual led to the mistakes pointed out in the self critical Soviet (15 Government statement on the relations between the socialist states -- a statement since endorsed by the Chinese Communist party. Now there was a problem of the process of rectification of mistakes, and it was obvious therefore that in solving the (20 problem of overcoming the abuses of socialism, opportunities would open up for reaction. The crux of the problem has been the cohesion, unity and organisation of the party in carrying out the necessary steps of democratic economic and social develop- (25 ment after the Twentieth Congress. In Poland all kinds of demands were made by the workers, the students and the professional people, summed up under the slogan of "Democratisation."

Then there is a paragraph "Poland, Communists united." (30

Then there is a paragraph "Discontent, remedy too slow."

Then there is a paragraph "Right Wing plot well laid," on page 3, and on page 4 a further paragraph "Soviet Troops, memories are short, which reads -

"But one thing is clear: That no worker who took part in the rising wanted to go back to 1938, and (5 why? Because whatever the excesses and abuses in Hungary, it was a workers and peasants state. It gave land to the peasants. It brought social advances and power was taken out of the hands of the feudal landlord and exploiters of the masses. (10 Whatever mistakes were made, they could have been put right, given proper political handling. It is equally clear that the role of counter revolution was not that of clearing up the excesses, nor was its aim Hungarian national independence -- but the (15 restoration of capitalism and landlordism and the destruction of the People's power as such. From the first they seized the Western frontier with Austria. It was from there that more emigre forces crossed over; the Gyor Radio became their political(20 instrument in making their demands. Nagy, as Prime Minister, increasingly retreated before reaction. The security police were dissolved; the promise of the so-called 'free elections' was made; the revival of the old parties including capitalist parties, (25 took place; the demand for Soviet withdrawal from the whole of Hungary was made; the matter was raised with the United Nations; the proposal for a neutral Hungary under four power control was put forward. Even this did not satisfy the counter revolutionary(30 forces who called for full Western intervention and political and material help from the West. While all

this was going on reports were published of what can only be described as white terror against the working class forces. It is in the light of all these things that the question of the Soviet troops has to be judged. The Hungarian authorities called (5 on them in the first occasion. Nobody questions that, while Nagy might deny he was responsible. It is a tragedy that they had to be involved, because it placed them in the most difficult position. They certainly did not wish to protect anything wrong (10 in the Hungarian situation. Memories are too short. We must recall the suffering and agony caused because Hitler and fascism came into power. There is a tendency to forget how the Warsaw powers came into existence and why Soviet troops were stationed in (15 these countries. It was a collective defence answer of the Socialist states to the North Atlantic Treaty, to the plans of imperialist forces in Western Europe, and especially American organisation, and we must not forget the U.S.A. to "Liberate" Eastern Europe.(20

Then at page 5, there is a paragraph "Concessions demands increased." And at the bottom of the page, there is a paragraph "Class Issue, for us too, which starts as follows -

"Defend the power of the workers and peasants, (25 the gains of peoples democracy, let us establish order, security and calm in our country." Its programme is one of Socialism, democracy and peace. But the question of a bastion of fascism in Hungary is a class issue not only for the Hungarian working (30 class. It would have represented a decisive change in the balance of forces in every ...Central Europe...

..... then this line is indistinct at the top of page 6 -
"...and every Peoples Democracy, menacing the
peace of the world. It would have been an en-
couragement to Adenauer and every adventurer,
and would have gravely increased the danger of (5
war. These were the dangers which the Soviet
Government had to take into account when it made
the difficult decision to respond to the appeal of
the Kadar Government for help against counter-revolu-
tionaries. This is how we have to see this decisive (10
action. There was no alternative in this situation,
however much one would have wished that the counter
revolutionary forces could have been dealt with
differently. It has been decisive from two angles.
From the class angle of fascism or socialism, work- (15
ing class advance or counter revolution. It has been
decisive also from the point of view of peace. The
issue was whether there should be a spearhead of
reaction in Eastern Europe, a new hot bed of war
preparation, with probable American bases under (20
militant fascism; or a socialist state devoted to
the cause of peace. This has been the issue facing
everyone: The Hungarian working class, the Soviet
Union, and the British working class too. Should we
support a tactic which in fact would be support for (25
the restoration of Hungarian fascism, or should we
support those acting in the best interests of the
Hungarian people?"

Then "Independence not through reaction"

"We stand by the latter. It is a stand which has (30
been supported by every major Communist Party through-
out the world. Some would argue: Better risk the

danger of fascism than the danger of war. The answer to that is: It was not a risk of fascism -- it was the certainty of fascism, unless the Hungarian workers fought, arms in hand, had a Government capable of defeating counter revolution and receiving the (5 help of the Soviet Union. The success of counter revolution could have sparked off similar forces elsewhere in Eastern Europe, for which the West, and particularly the American secret service, has been preparing for and spending its money on for years. (10

Then, Milords, at the bottom of the paragraph -

"Socialism not imposed.(page 7) That it was a case of counter revolution subsidised and inspired from the outside trying to destroy Socialism by force. This is what every worker has got to (15 understand, and that is why we believe that the entire labour movement should stand by the Hungarian workers Government in this difficult hour, and support the efforts it is making with the help of the Soviet Union, to prevent the restoration (20 of fascism in Hungary. "

You hand in this document?-- Yes.

Then Exh. B.267 is a document "Hungary, Poland and the U.S.S.R." a document issued by the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, dated (25 Johannesburg, December 1956. You identify that document, and how many copies did you find?-- Yes, five copies.

I am not reading this document, it supports the stand by Soviet Russia in the Hungarian situation. (30

You hand in that document?-- Yes.

BY MR. FISCHER: Of course, that is not admitted, we don't

know what it contains.

BY MR. TRENGROVE: Milords, this concludes the evidence of this witness in regard to the B. documents. Just to round off this part of his evidence, the Crown wishes to refer to the Preparatory Examination record at page 7994, (5 where certain admissions were made in respect of signatures on documents, and the following admissions were made inas far as these documents are concerned. Page 7994 of the Preparatory Examination Record states:

"The Defence admits that the Accused mentioned in Column (10 1 signed the documents mentioned in Column 2, appearing against their names." The first one is Farrid Adams.

The documents which have been handed in and in respect of which signatures have been admitted, are B.63, B.212, and B.244. The next was H. Barsel, co-conspirator, the (15 documents in respect of which signatures were admitted are B.150, 165, 182. The next is Helen Joseph, Accused No. 2. B.102, B.112, and B.186. The next is T.X.

"akiwane, the signatures admitted are in respect of documents B.153. The next is L. Massina, the signature (20 admitted is in respect of document B.158. The next is J. Matlov, the signature admitted is in respect of document B.57.J. The next is Moosa Moolla, the signatures admitted are in respect of documents B.168, B.188, B.240, B.241. And then O. Motsabe, the signature admitted (25 in respect of document B.37.J, and then there is A.E. Patel; the signature which is admitted is that in respect of document B.47.

EXAMINATION CONTD. BY MR. VAN DER WALT: You have already told the Court that on the same day and at the same place (30 you took possession of documents from the table pointed out to you as that of the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation.

?-- Yes.

Now, some of the documents which you took are now before Court, is that correct ?-- Yes.

And they are marked as follows F.1 to 8, 11 - 13, 15 - 17, 19, 23 and 24. Is that correct ?-- Yes.

And did you find all those documents on the table (5 which you were told was the property of this organisation ?-- Yes, on the table and in the desk.

The evidence of this witness in respect of that search appears in Vol. V. page 853 of the Preparatory Examination. Will you look at Exh. F.1, what is it ?-- (10 "Liberation No. 20 of August 1956."

You hand that in ?-- I do.

Look at Exhs., F., 2, 3, and 4 ?-- Also "Liberations"

F.2 is Liberation ?-- No. 22 of November, 1956, F.3, Liberation No. 17, March, 1956; F.4, Liberation No. (15 21, September 1956.

You hand them in ?-- Yes.

Exh. F.5, what is it ?-- It is a pamphlet "Federation of South African Women (Transvaal) Calling all Women of the Transvaal." (20

You hand that in -- that is the same as B.96 ?-- Yes.

Exhibit F.6, what is it ?-- It is "New Youth" No. 4 October, 1956.

You hand that in ?-- Yes. (25

BY MR. FISCHER: Milord, this is something different again. Is my learned friend relying merely on possession?

BY MR. VANDER WALT: Which is that?

BY MR. FISCHER: "New Youth"

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: Exhibit F.6 -- merely for possession.(30

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT CONTD.: And Exhibit F.7...

Exh. F.6 is the same as Exh. B.100. Now, Exhibit F.7.

What is it?-- It is a letter from the S.A.Coloured Peoples Organisation, signed by L.E. Morrison, from the Secretary, S.A. Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg, (5 dated 4th December, 1956.

The letter reads as follows:

"A very important National Conference of the S.A.C.P.O. will take place in Cape Town on the 20th to 22nd December, 1956. A fraternal delegate (10 or message will be highly appreciated by my executive from your organisation. As this will be the first national conference of S.A.C.P.O. where very important decisions will be taken, and where the role of the Coloured people in the liberatory (15 will receive serious attention, we invite a message of solidarity from your organisation....."

You hand that in?-- Yes.

Exh. F.8 is a roneod document "One Million Signatures for the Freedom Charter." Its wording is the same (20 as that of A.2, page 3, and on this document also appears a number of signatures. You hand in this document?-- I do.

Exh. F.10, what is it?-- It is a draft programme and constitution of the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation.

Referring to page 1, paragraphs 4, 6, 7 and 8..... (25
BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: F.10 was not included in the documents you mentioned just now.

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: I am sorry, I was under the impression it had been mentioned. It should be F.10 to 13.

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT CONTD.: I am reading from (30 page 1, paragraphs 4 -

"The mine owners, big farmers, industrial capitalists

and foreign imperialists who comprise the ruling class order to facilitate the exploitation of the working masses and to prevent the development of competition from among the non-European peoples have employed the classic method of divide and (5 rule, instituting a system of colour oppression and racial prejudice in South Africa, based upon the fictitious superiority of white people and the so-called inferiority of non-whites. Within the social structure, the coloured people have place. (10 The ruling class do not intend to permit us to rise to equality without white compatriots. Laws bar our access to economic upliftment, trade and commerce. Colour prejudice strangles our aspirations to culture. Inferior education stifles the future (15 of our children, herded into slums and crushed by poverty, prematurely aged, prey to germs and disease.....

Without bread, franchise and equality of opportunity, there can be no freedom. After a century we must (20 still fight for the freedom which could rightly have been ours since 1834. Our non-white brothers are little worse off than we are. Pass laws and slave education strangle their desire for progress. Laws deny recognition of their trade unions. Robbed (25 of land, franchise and all human rights, herded into location and ghettos, denied the right to free trade and commerce to travel freely, they are inflicted with the stigma of inferiority and burdened with every form of oppression. The oppressors controlling (30 the political and economic life of South Africa shows no signs of conceding any democratic rights within

the present framework of society to the non-Europeans and peoples. There is no indication of them acceding to the just demands of the people. Instead they are continually burdening the people of South Africa with new oppressive laws. The South African Coloured Peoples Organisation is of the opinion that the continued oppression of the coloured people is no longer tolerable; that^{it}/is no longer desirable to limit themselves to passive acquiescence under the increasing burden of discrimination and oppression; that a determined struggle in alliance with other oppressed and progressive people must be carried out. In the Freedom Charter adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 25th and 26th, 1955, (5) (10) (15) The South African Coloured Peoples organisation pledges itself to work unwaveringly until the changes set out in the Freedom Charter have been won.

And then on page 2, there is a paragraph - "2. Aims and Objects of S.A.C.P.O. - (20

"(a) To organise and unite and lead the Coloured people of South Africa in the struggle for attainment of democratic rights proclaimed in the Freedom Charter. (b) To co-operate with and seek co-operation of all other organisations who are in agreement (25 with, or are not in conflict with its programme. (c) In pursuance of democratic aims set out in its programme, to contest, and rally the coloured people against any attack upon their political, economic and social rights. (d) to support all other sections (30 of South African people in their struggle against oppression.""4. Constitution of S.A.C.P.O.

S.A.C.P.O. shall consist of and be constituted as follows: (a) A National Executive Committee; (b) Regional Executive Committee. (c) Regional Councils, (d) Branches....

Page 3, paragraph 6, "National Executive Committee" (5

(a) Shall be elected at each National Conference and serve for the period between conferences.

(b) shall consist of the national chairman (and in ink President 2 vice) Secretary, National Treasurer, all of whom shall reside in Cape Town or (10 in its immediate vicinity...."

You hand in Exhibit F.10. ?-- Yes.

Where did you find Exhibit F.10 ?-- On or in the desk of S.A.C.P.O.

Exhibit F.11 is the Constitution, one name, the (15 "name of the organisation shall be "The Federation of South African women...."

You hand this in ?-- I do.

BY MR. FISCHER: My Lord, I would like to suggest to my learned friend that if he is relying merely on possession (20 as appears to be the case here, that the evidence is merely recorded that the constitution was found. If that is not done, the record is going to be enormous.

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: Yes, I will do that Milord.

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT (CONTD.): The next exhibit (25 is Exh. F.12, what is it -- this document is also mentioned in the policy schedule, page 105. ?-- "This May be You" issued by the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, 37 West Street, Johannesburg.

I am reading from page 2, the undeleted portion - (30 "Up to now the Nationalist have relied on our weakness. But that weakness is of our own making. All

people -- alone -- singly -- are weak in a fight against tyrants. But only fools and martyrs will fight alone! We are many. We victims of the Nationalist tyrants, we enemies of appression. We are many, if we fight together. This is the message (5 to you from the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation. S.A.C.P.O. calls on all the Coloured men and women of South Africa. Stand Together! Fight Together! Don't co-operate with the Nationalists! For in the end they will destroy you! S.A.C.P.O. unites the (10 Coloured people for the defence of their interests and for the improvement of their condition of life. But more than that! S.A.C.P.O. in the name of the Coloured people, allies itself with all the oppressed people of South Africa -- with the Africans and the (15 Indians, with all the democrats among white south Africans -- with the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Democrats, and the Congress of Trade Unions. S.A.C.P.O. fights with the Congress movement, for the Freedom, the (20 happiness and the welfare of all South Africans -- for the defeat of Nationalism, for the destruction of race oppression. For the Unity in Freedom of all the people of South Africa -- for the Freedom Charter! Stand Together! Fight together! Join (25 S.A.C.P.O. today." Issued by the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, 37 West Street, Johannesburg.

You hand in Exh. F.12 ?-- Yes.

Exhibit F.13. Minutes of Consultative Committee (30 meeting held on 26th November, 1956. Present, A.N.C.10, S.A.C.P.O. 1, C.O.D.2, W.F.2. and the first paragraph reads:

"1. Anti Pass Campaign meeting....

You hand in Exhibit F.13 ?-- Yes.

What is Exhibit F.15 ?-- From the African National Congress, Johannesburg, a letter.

I am reading paragraphs 1 and 4 - (5

Dear Sirs, the Pass Laws have been the cause of difficulties for both and the population at large. Under the Nationalist Government these difficulties have been intensified. The prospects of the African population are the continued appli- (10 cation of these laws is perhaps best shown by some of the articles of Fighting Talk copy of which is enclosed"

You hand in Exh. F.15. The signature of P. Mathole is admitted ?-- Yes. (15

The next document is F.16, what is it ?-- Also a letter from P. Mathole, Secretary African National Congress, and merely addressed to "Dear Sir/Madam."

It deals with passes, is that correct ?-- Yes. It discusses pass laws, and is dated 6th November, 1956. (20

You hand that in ?-- I do.

It is handed in for signature, possession and association between African National Congress and S.A.C.P.O. and also in connection with the pass campaign.

Look at Exhibit F.17, what is it ?-- It is a letter (25 from Helen Joseph, addressed to the Secretary, Transvaal Consultative Committee, 37 West Street, Ferreirastown, Johannesburg, dated 14th November, 1956.

You hand that in ?-- Yes.

This is also to show association between the Fed- (30 eration of S.A. Women and the Transvaal Consultative

Committee and to indicate that Helen Joseph is the regional secretary of the Federation of South African Women.

F.19 is a letter from the T.V.C. Committee, Johannesburg, dated 27th November, 1956, to the Secretary, National Consultative Committee, Johannesburg. Addressed - (5

"Dear Sir/Madam, We have been informed that Mr. R. Resha has been appointed as chief volunteer. Could you please inform us as to whether this is correct and also as to his exact position. Is he - (a) chief volunteer of all the volunteers of all the (10 Congresses at a national level. (b) Of all the congresses in the Transvaal only. (c) Only of the A.N.C. National in the Transvaal... ."

You hand that in -- this indicates the position of R. Resha? -- Yes. (Exh. F.23 omitted) (15

Then Exhibit F.24, is the roneod document, Presidential address delivered by Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, the President of the African National Congress Women's League, Transvaal, at Johannesburg on Sunday the 11th November, 1956. I read from page 1, the last paragraph. (20

"The Presidential address delivered at the Annual Conference of the Transvaal Branch of the African National Congress in Pretoria last week, as well as the executive report, discussed several issues of vital importance to the liberatory movement. (25 The savage attacks that are being made by the Nationalist Government on the democratic movement, the deportation of leaders, the disastrous effects of the Group Areas Act on the economic and progress of the non-European people, the wholesale removals (30 of vast numbers of Africans all over the country, the urgent and vital need for a broad united front

of the oppressive people and other democratic
against the Nationalist Government are all matters
that are specifically dealt with at that conference
and I suggest that you read the conference the
report most carefully so that you should be fully (5
informed on these matters. In the address I
propose to deal very briefly with and to emphasise
only those issues which primarily affect the African
women.

I omit the rest of page 2, and reading from the top of (10
page 3 -

"It is a device to ensure cheap labour for the
mines and the farms. It is a badge of slavery
in terms whereof all sorts of insults and humilia-
tion may be committed on Africans by members of (15
the ruling class. It is because of these reasons
that the Congress has always regarded the pass laws
as the principal target of the struggle for freedom.
It is because of these reasons that African leaders;
progressives, Liberals and even Government Com- (20
missions have repeatedly condemned the system as the
source of dangerous, explosive and racial tensions.
It is also because of this fact that the Congress
has chosen the extension of the pass laws to African
women as a major issue of national importance. The (25
issue is perfectly clear; the Government has decided
that we shall carry passes. Must we accept this
deception? Definitely not! To do so, would be to
expose the African women to all the evils that we have
referred to above. We would lose our honour, betray (30
our comrades at Winburg, Lichtenburg and in numerous
other towns and villages throughout the country where

the daughters of Africa are putting up a glorious struggle in defence of their rights. When the rights of a people are taken away from them and even liberties are being crushed, the only way that is open to them is to mobilise the masses of the people affected to stand up and fight those injustices. The immediate issue facing us, therefore, is to organise all the various organisations of African women and individuals against this inhuman and wicked decision of the Government.(ealy) direct mass action (10 will deter the Government and stop it from proceeding with its cruel laws. It is in recognition of these women of South Africa who have launched a national campaign against the extension of the pass laws. Numerous local and national demonstrations have (15 already been staged with amazing success. In the face of numerous difficulties more than 50,000 women of all races from town and village took part in these demonstrations. The remarkable successes we have gained and the victories that we have (20 achieved so far and the extent in which the women have entered the campaign, reveal that the democratic forces in this country can stop and even defeat the forces of reaction if we work hard enough. We have made an excellent start. The historic (25 Pretoria demonstrations of October last year, including 30,000 women constitute an important landmark in our struggle against injustice and will remain the source of tremendous inspiration for many years to come. Strydom stop and think for you(30 have aroused the wrath of the women of South Africa and that wrath might put you and your evil deeds

out of action sooner than you expect. In spite of the remarkable victories that we have won, there are still some serious weaknesses in our movement. 50,000 women is still a very small number in a population of 12½ million. More women must be brought (5 into the anti-pass movement in order that the fight should be organised and concerted. The movement against the passes is still primarily centered in the big cities and sufficient work has not been done on the country dorps, on the farms and in the Re- (10 serves. In these places the organisations is comparatively weak and the Government has taken advantage of the situation and is busy issuing reference books. The aim is to isolate the stronger areas and thereafter to concentrate all its resources to crush (15 opposition in the cities. We must immediately deal with this situation, I would suggest the appointment in each province of a number of full-time organisers who will visit various areas, talk to women, establish committees and bring out mass opposition to (20 the scheme. We strongly condemn and reject the passes and we shall fight it with all the resources at our disposal to the bitter end, at the same time we must as far as possible avoid reckless and isolated action. Action taken in one isolated place (25 and without sufficient work being done and without proper co-ordination may be disastrous to the movement. It may give the Government the opportunity to concentrate all its resources in crushing resistance in that local place in the victimisation of the (30 active fighters in that area and the crushing of resistance before it begins in other areas. We must

learn to place and to co-ordinate beforehand so that we might strike fatal blows at the enemy when the time comes. To ensure the defeat of the Nationalist Government we must work for greater unity amongst the African people and the (broadest) possible alliance embracing the congress movement, the non-congressites and all those who oppose apartheid. The Manyano women, the national council of African women, the mothers welfare organisation, religious, sporting political and otherwise, should be invited to enter the campaign against the Nationalist Government. In this way our movement will become a mighty movement for the defeat of the nationalist Government during our lifetime.....

And on page 5, the last paragraph - (15

"We have in momentous times we have at a time when oppressed people all (over) the world are rebelling against colonialism and oppression. We are going through a period when some of these people have bravely fought and won their independence. But there are also hours of serious danger. The imperialist, reading that their days are numbered, are becoming more desperate and restless. The ... unlawful aggression in Egypt by the English, French and Israelite armies is an act of aggression and brings the danger of fear very close to our shores.

.....

Page 6 , the last paragraph -

"It is fitting that I should close this address by rendering our heartiest congratulations to the brave daughters of Winburg who put up such a united and gallant fight against the passes early this year. (30

It was in Winburg that the passes for women were introduced. It was also in this place that the direct maction was taken for the first time against passes for women. The whole of South Africa was impressed by the herosm of the women of Winburg.(5

You hand in this document, Exh. F.24 ?-- Yes.

Now, on the 25th June, 1956, were you at the Congress of the People meeting at Kliptown ?-- Yes, I was.

I'm sorry, 25th June, 1955 ?-- Yes.

Did you take possession of documents there ?-- I did.(10

From whom ?-- From S. Masimula and Phineas Nene, amongst others.

Do you know Phineas Nene ?-- I do.

Can you identify him ?-- Yes. (Witness identifies Accused No. 13) (15

Will you look at Exh. P.N. 9 and P.N.10 ?-- Yes.

Where did you get those documents ?-- From Phineas Nene.

What is Exh. P.N. 9 ?-- It is a booklet "South Africans in the Soviet Union." (20

You hand that in ?-- Yes.

It is handed in merely for possession....

BY MR. FISCHER: Milord, can't my learned friend leave this out. The evidence is on record that it was found in the possession of the Accused, and it is the same as a previous exhibit. (25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: It is the same as what?

BY MR. FISCHER: A.197.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Well, by consent this is left out.

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT CONTD.: And Exh. P.N.10, (30
what is it ?-- It is an agenda dated Saturday June 25th,
First Session 2 p.m."

"Agenda Saturday June 25th, First Session 2 p.m., Chairman, Dr. Conco." And item 2(a) "Welcome to Delegates: Mr. E.P. Moretsele."

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Have we had this?

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: This is the agenda of the C.O.P. (5 meeting at Kliptown.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: What date?

BY MR. VAN DER WALT: 25th June, 1955.

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT CONTD.:

"(3) Opening Address, Chief A.J. Luthuli. (4) (10 Explanation of Agenda and Procedure, Chairman.. (5) Messages, Dr. R.E. Press. (8) Report of National Council of Congress of the People, Mr. A.E. Patel. Second Session, 3.15 p.m., Chairman Mr. Hurbans. Preamble moved by Mr. A.S. Hutchinson.(15 (11) The people shall govern, moved by Mr. N.T. Naicker. (12) All national groups shall have equal rights moved by Dr. Letele. Third Session, Sunday 26th, 9 a.m. Chairman Mr. George Peake, (11 to 13) The people shall share in the country's wealth (20 moved by Mr. B. Trok. (14) The land shall be shared amongst those who work it, moved by Mr. T.E. Tshungwa. (15) All shall be equal before the law. Moved by Dr. A. Sader. (16) All shall enjoy equal human rights, moved by Mrs. S. Bunting. (17) There (25 shall be work and security moved by Mr. L.S. Massina. Lunch Break.....Fourth Session, 1.20 p.m., Chairman Mr. P. Beyleveld.

BY MR. KENTRIDGE: Milord, for Your Lordship's information, this was the document which was put in as C.M.42, by Sgt. Moeller, taken from C. Mayekiso.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Yes, I thought I remembered the agenda

EXAMINATION BY MR. VAN DER WALT CONTD.: Youhand in Exh. P.N.10 ?-- I do.

And did you take a booklet identical to Exh. 197 from Sam Masimula ?-- Yes.

That is South Africans in the Soviet Union ?--Yes. (5

EXAMINATION BY MR. TRENGROVE CONTD.: Milord, in respect of the F. documents, in terms of the Preparatory Examination record two signatures were admitted, page 7995 of the Preparatory Examination record. The signature of P. Mathole on exhibit F.15 was admitted to be his signature, and the signature of Helen Joseph on Exh. F.17 was admitted to be her signature. We propose now to deal with the exhibits found in connection with an Accused F. Adams. Now, Sgt. Strachan, did you conduct a search on the 5th December, 1956, at 30B, 18th Street, Vrededorp ?-- I did. (15

Now, when you searched the premises at that address.....?-- I did.

Who occupies those premises ?-- Farrid Adams with his parents. (20

And you have identified Farrid Addams as Accused No. 1 ?-- Yes.

And you took possession of certain documents ?--Yes.

Included in the documents which you took possession of are the following exhibit numbers: F.A.1 - 7; 9 to 10; 12 to 16; 18 to 19, 22, 24 to 27, 29, 31 to 34, 36, 38, 42 to 45, 47 to 52, 54 to 56, 59 to 70, 74, 76, to 78, 84 - 86, 88, 89, 91, 96 and 97A. You have examined the exhibits bearing these exhibit numbers, and you found them at these premises on that date ?-- That is correct. (30

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES.

CORNELIUS JACOBUS STRACHAN, under former oath;

EXAMINATION BY MR. TRENGOVE CONTINUED :

You have stated that on the 5th of December, 1956, you carried out this search at 30b Eighteenth Street, Vrededorp? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

When you arrived there, who were present at the premises? --- Accused No. 1.

And did you present your search warrant? --- I did, My Lord. 10

And were any documents pointed out to you? --- Yes, My Lord.

By whom? --- By the Accused.

Did anybody claim ownership of the documents? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

Who was that? --- That was Accused No. 1.

Now these documents that you refer to, do they include the documents, the numbers of which have been read out to the Court, just before the adjournment? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

My Lord, I would like to refer to Schedule 4. It would perhaps be convenient to deal with the documents in Columns 1, 2 and 3 in separate groups, With Your Lordship's permission, I beg leave to deal firstly with the documents set forth under Column 2. 30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFFF :

What does that Schedule say?

BY MR. TRENGOVE :

My Lord, this is the Schedule of documents found in possession of the various accused, and the documents have been specified in three columns. Column 2 are the documents in which the Crown relies merely

as showing possession by the respective Accused of documents containing Communist matter or propaganda. Column 3 are the documents which show association with Communist sponsored organisations.

EXAMINATION BY MR. TRENGOVE RESUMED :

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Exhibit F.A.1. Will you have a look at Exhibit F.A.1. It consists of nine volumes, entitled "J. Stalin - Works", Volumes I to IX. It is published by the - the inscription says "The Russian Edition published by decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Bolsheviki", and on the first page, "J. Stalin - Works. Volume I, 1901-1907. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952. Published in Great Britain by Lawrence Wichardt, London W.C.2, 1953". Did you find those nine volumes? --- Yes, My Lord.

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Exhibit F.A.2 is "Selected Works of Mao-Tse-Tung, Volume I, published by Lawrence and Weichardt, London, 1954". Do you identify that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.3 "Selected Works of Mao-Tse-Tung, Volume IV, published 1956, Lawrence and Weichardt, Limited". Do you identify that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

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F. A. 5 is "Marx-Engels, Selected Works, Volume I, Karel Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works in Two Volumes, Volume I, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951, Published in Great Britain by Lawrence and Weichardt, London". You hand in Volume I? --- Yes, My Lord.

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And F.A. 6 is Volume 2 of the Karl Marx and Frederick Engels Selected Works? --- Yes, My Lord.

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F.A. 7 is Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

on Britain, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1953, Published in Great Britain by Lawrence and Weichardt, A.D.1, Chancery Lane, London, 1954". You identify that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.9 is "The Red Star Over China by Edgar 5
Snow, published in London, Victor Gallance, Limited, 1937".
You identify that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.10 is "The History of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union, Bolsheviks, Short Course,
edited, A Commission of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. 10
authorised by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. 1938, Foreign
Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1941". You identify
that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.13 is "Mac-Tse-Tung, Strategic Problems
of China's Revolutionary War, published by the Foreign 15
Languages Press, Peking, 1954"? --- Yes, My Lord.

The next document is F.A. 12, "Notes on Ten
Years of Civil War, 1926-1936 published by the Foreign
Languages Press, Peking, 1954." It contains a publisher's
note : "Notes on Ten Years' Civil War, by Chen-Po-Tang, 20
shows how Mac-Tese-Tung used the theory of Leninism - of
Marxism-Leninism to solve the key problems of Chinese
Revolution during the Second Revolutionary Civil War",
"Printed in the People's Republic of China". You hand
in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 25

F.A.14, is a book entitled "Soviet Demo-
cracy" by Pat Sloane, published by Victor Gallance,
London, 1937"? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.19 is a book entitled "V.I. Lenin,
Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic 30
Revolution, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing
House, Moscow". The publisher's note states : "That this

translation of V.I. Lenin's Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution has been made of Volume IX of V.I.Lenin's Works, Fourth Russian Edition, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the Central Committee, C.P.S.U." You hand in F.A.19? 5

--- Yes, My Lord.

F.A. 24 is a booklet "N.S.Krushov, Report of the Central Committee, Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 14th, 1956, Soviet News Booklet No. 4, published in London, February, 10 1956". You hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.25, "Directives of the Sixth Fifth Year Plan of the U.S.S.R. 1956-1960 and Report by N.A. Bulganin to the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. Soviet News Booklet No. 5. published in March, 1956, London". You 15 identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.26 "Rumanian Review, No. 1 of 1956, published in Bucharest, Rumania". You hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.27, "Visit to Britain of Soviet Leaders, 20 N.A. Bulganin and N.S. Krushov, April 18th-27th, 1956, Speeches, Statements, Trade Programme. Soviet News Booklet No. 16". You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A. 29, "V.I. Lenin, Lecture on the 1905 25 Revolution, published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951". Publisher's note : "This is a translation of V.I. Lenin's Lecture on the 1905 Revolution has been made from the text given in V.I. Lenin's Collective Works, Fourth Edition, - Fourth Russian 30 Edition, Volume 23, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institute, Gospolizdat, Moscow, 1949". You hand in

this document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.31, it is a booklet, "Vietnam, Fight for Freedom, by J. Starovine, The Record of a Visit to the Liberated Areas of Vietnam in March, 1953, published in London, Lawrence and Weichardt". You hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A.32 "V.I.Lenin, A Letter To American Workers, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, also a translation from the Collective Works of Lenin"? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

F.A.33 - "V.I. Lenin, The April Theses, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1951." It is a translation of Lenin's April Theses from a Russian pamphlet published in Moscow in 1950. You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

F.A.34 "V.I. Lenin, Differences in the Working Class Movement of Europe", published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1954. It is a translation of V.I. Lenin's Differences in the Working Class Movement, made from Lenin's Works, Volume XVI, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U." --- Yes, My Lord. 20

F.A.36, booklet "Little Lenin Library, Volume XIX, The Deception of the People by the Slogans of Equality and Freedom by V.I. Lenin, published in London by Lawrence and Weichardt, Limited"? You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 25

F.A.44, "Little Stalin Library, No. 2, Notes of a Delegate and Class and Party, J. Stalin", published by Lawrence and Weichardt, Limited, London. You identify and hand in this booklet? -- Yes, My Lord. 30

F.A.45 "The Outstanding Success of

Agrarian Reform Movement in China" by Ten Chi Huey, Director of the Department of Rural Work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1954. You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A. 47. "Mao-Tse-Tung, Introductory Remarks to 'The Communist' published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953". You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.52 "Policy towards Nationalities of the Peoples' Republic of China" published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1953 and printed in the Peoples' Republic of China. You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

F.A.54, "The Nation can Live in Peace, the Soviet View by Arcady Losev, a Soviet News Booklet, No. 12, published by Soviet News, London". You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

F.A.55, "V.I.Lenin, The Task of the Youth Leagues," published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and said to be a speech delivered at the Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League, October 2nd, 1920. You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

The next is F.A.56, "Speech by D.T.Shepilov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February, 16th, 1956. Soviet News Booklet No. 10, published by Soviet News, London". You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 30

F.A.59, it is an Illustrated Monthly, "Rumania Today", No. 12, December, 1955. Published in

Bucharest? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.60, is an illustrated monthly, entitled "Soviet Union" dated May, 1956. Printed at the J.V. Stalin Pravda Printing Plant, Order of Lenin, Moscow.

You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A.61, a document, a brochure entitled "Vietnam's Resistance to Foreign Aggression", and it is published by the Vietnam Central Information Service, in 1953. You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

F.A.62, it is a brochure entitled "News", 3. 1956 February, "A Soviet Review of World Events", the editor-in-chief being E. Kosminsky, Member of U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, and published by Trud, Moscow. You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

F.A.63, it is a brochure entitled "Peoples' China", 9, May, 1956. Published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking, China. You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

The next is "News", - that is F.A. 65, "News - a Soviet Review of World Events, No. 6, March, 1956". You identify and hand in this document? --- Yes, My Lord.

Similarly F.A.66, is "News - a Soviet Review of World Events, 13 of 1956," which includes a supplement, No. 13 of July 1956, containing a joint statement of the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Federal Peoples' Republic of Yugoslavia in connection with the state visit to the Soviet Union of the President, Jossip Broz Tito of the F.P.R.Y. Declaration on the relations between 25 30

Yugoslav League of Communists and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, printed in the U.S.S.R." You hand in F.A. 66? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.68, "Britain's Guests, Nicolai Bulganin and Nkita Krushov, Their Lives and Work, illustrated Soviet News Booklet, April, 1956." You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A.70 is "News, Soviet Review of World Events, No. 4, February 1956". You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

F.A. 96 is a newspaper entitled "Festival", a newspaper of the "International Preparatory Committee of the Sixth World Youth and Students Festival to be held in Moscow, 1957." You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

My Lord, that concludes the Exhibits under Column 2 of Schedule 4. I now deal, My Lords, with the Exhibits in Column 3 of the Schedule. These are the associations with world organisations, Column 3. F.A.4 is a book entitled "World Assemblies of Peace, Helsinki, June 22nd to 29th, 1955" and it is published by the Secretariat of the World Peace Council. My Lord, it sets forth speeches, documents and decisions taken at the World Assembly for Peace at Helsinki, June 1955. You hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 20 25

The next is F.A.15, it is a book entitled "For Peace and Friendship," the work of the Third World Youth Congress, Bucharest, July, 1953, and it is published by the World Youth Magazine, organ of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. You hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 30

The next is F.A.16, which is a booklet

entitled "World Peace Movement, Resolutions and Documents" it is published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace on the Fifth Anniversary of the World Peace Movement, 1949, and it contains Resolutions and documents relating to that conference. You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A.38 is a brochure entitled "World Assembly for Peace, Helsinki, June 22nd-29th 1955, Disarmament and Atomic Weapons," extracts from speeches, published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace? --- Yes, My Lord. 10

The next is F.A. 43, a document entitled Ku- Mo Yo, speech delivered at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace, Berlin, May 1954, published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace? --- Yes, My Lord. 15

F.A.48, "World Assembly for Peace, Helsinki, 1955, National Independence and Peace," extracts from speeches published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace. You hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 20

F.A.50, "World Assembly for Peace, Helsinki, June 1955, Co-operation and Action of the Forces for Peace", extracts from speeches published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.51(a), "World Assembly for Peace, Helsinki, 1955, Age and Security", extracts from speeches published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, and F.A.51(b), "World Assembly for Peace, Helsinki, 1955, Disarmament and Atomic Weapons", published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace? --- Yes, My Lord. 30

F.A. 64 is a brochure entitled "Council of the

World Federation of Democratic Youth, Peking, August 1954" dealing with the Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and - that was held in Peking from the 9th August to the 15th August, 1954. You identify and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

F.A.567 is a publication entitled "World Student News", published by the International Union of Students, No. 10, Volume 9, 1955? --- Yes, My Lord.

F.A.74 consists of two bulletins, 74(a) and 74(a), "Bulletin of the World Council of Peace", 10 October 15th, 1956 and November 15th, 1956. You identify and hand in these documents? --- Yes, My Lord.

My Lord, that concludes the documents set forth in Column 3 of Schedule 4 under the name of F. Adams. I now deal with the documents in Column 1. They 15 are of a general nature - falling under local documents. The first is F.A.18, which is the same as document B.11 already before the Court, "The 21st Conference of the South African Indian Congress held at Durban on the 9th, 10th and 11th July, 1954". You identify that 20 document? --- Yes, My Lord.

The next, My Lord, is F.A. 22. It is a document entitled "The Threatened People - the Case for a South African Democracy", published by the South African Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg, and it is 25 referred to in paragraph 3(a) of the Schedule of policy under the Congress of Democrats' Schedule. My Lords, under the Exhibit No. C.268, at page 94 of the violent schedule, Your Lordship would find reference to a booklet "The Threatened People". The evidence will 30 be that this is a similar document. My Lord, at the bottom of page 7 there is a paragraph under the

heading "Like Kenya" which reads as follows :

"Or can we persist in the belief that we can barricade ourselves with a bastion of white supremacy. We can ignore the tide of events everywhere in the world where the underprivileged and backward are advancing towards the acquisition of universally recognised human rights. We can await the prospect of South Africa having to shoot out the issue as in Kenya. The day is past when a thinking South African could believe that white supremacy would endure forever or even last another fifty years, long enough for our own lifetime. The issues have now presented themselves for our decision. Can a limited democracy survive? Can open conflict be averted? These are the issues which loom above all else. These are the issues which overlies the post-election searchings of the democrat and the question of why the Nationalists won."

Then My Lords, there is a chapter "Can the Nationalists be Defeated at the Polls?", and there are sub-paragraphs, "Undermining Parliament", "Ensuring a Majority" and "Ein Volk- Ein Volkswil", and then My Lords, at page 10, the last paragraph of that chapter reads as follows :

"By a series of adroit manoeuvres to increase their Parliamentary majority and weaken the opposition and supercede its decisions, the Nationalists have reduced Parliament to the status of a machine to endorse Nationalist party decisions. The Defence of Democracy must be conducted outside Parliament. Despite this patent fact, the opposition has become more and more

faltering in its efforts to counter Nationalist legislation. It has remained with its eyes fixed on Parliament alone as the only possible arena in which the political change can be brought about.

It has ignored the great potential forces of progress 5
and democracy that could be mobilised outside Parliament from among the voters, and the dis-franchised, all determined to halt the Nationalist assault on their rights."

Then My Lords, there is a paragraph dealing with "The 10
Record of the Parliamentary Opposition", and as a sub-paragraph on page 10 it deals with the United Party, and on page 11 it deals with Election Compromise, which states as follows :

"On countless issues the apparent conflict between 15
the Nationalists and the United Party has grown more superficial. The tragic end results of this policy of compromise were demonstrated in a pre-election Parliamentary session when the United Party did not fight the principles of the Public Safety 20
and Criminal Law Amendment Bills, but accepted the Nationalist pattern for the imposition of fascism by constitutional means. For this betrayal of the hopes of all democrats, the United PARTY offered the ludicrous justification that theirs was a 25
technique to divest the Nationalist of any election advantage on these measures. The Nationalists on this argument would not be able to go to the country with the story that the United Party was opposing stern measures to deal with lawlessness. 30
The grim import of these measures was waived aside in the interests of election tactics."

Then My Lords, there is a paragraph on page 13 dealing with the Torch Commando. That paragraph reads as follows :

"Many of the grave errors and weaknesses of the United Party were inherited by the Torch Commando. 5
 The formation of the Commando, designed to rouse the people in extra-parliamentary action against the Nationalist threats, to violate the constitution, sent a surge of hope through the ranks of democrats. In the first weeks of Commando activity, 10
 public feeling against the outrage committed by the Nationalists was at its height. The early Torch Commando rallies became gigantic demonstrations of the will of a large section of the electorate to take part in actions to salvage democracy 15
 to get away from the slow and devious methods of the party machine, and the steam roller of the caucus room were were expedient, not principled solutions to crises were sought (?). But as the support for the Commando grew up for the Commando, 20
 its leadership nurtured in the tradition of the United Party parliamentary opposition, grew apprehensive of the militant spirit it was evoking throughout the country. Early on it sowed the seeds of its future collapse by undertaking to 25
 defend the Coloured vote, not on the principle of guarding a democratic right, precious both to European and non-European, but only because the Government was resorting to unconstitutional means to get its Coloured franchise measure 30
 through the house. Next the Torch Commando faltered through the opposition of its own internal Colour bar, Formed to uphold the rights of the

Coloured people, it excluded from its ranks - it excluded them from its ranks and torchlight demonstrations. Then followed slavish imitations of the Nationalist and United Party attacks on Communism. Gradually it dampened the spirit and courage of its rank and file supporters, by the rejection of the proposed action against the Nationalist as the calling of a general strike."

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Then My Lords, at page 15 there is a paragraph dealing with the Labour Party :

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"Similarly the Labour Party for years proved itself unable to make a complete break with the tradition of regarding the white man as the trustee of civilization. This Party was formed by the skilled white workers protecting themselves from the challenge of Black labour, in a country where artificial barriers in industry were erected to the advantage, not only of the industrialists, but also of the privileged white artisan. As a major political party the Labour Party declined years ago, until today it is a splinter group with some very limited connections with the European Trade Movement and with its representation in Parliament dependent on electoral pacts with the United Party. Pressure of events have brought about the adaptation of this party's non-European policy until today its programme is much akin to that of the Liberals. In Parliament the representatives of the party have of late taken a courageous stand against Nationalists in the fight to preserve democratic rights. But thus far the party has proved incapable of breaking the long tradition of complete concentration on parliamentary

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elections and parliamentary struggle, and as a result tends to discount the struggles of non-European Movement against the Nationalists, or neglect to work vigourously to rouse the people to political action outside parliament." 5

Then My Lords, there is a paragraph on page 16, dealing with the Liberal Party, which reads as follows :

"The formation of the Liberal Party came into being when the opposition had shown itself singularly ineffective in finding an alternative to Nationalist Party principles, and at a time when the non-European people had launched the political campaign for the repeal of unjust laws and for human rights. Its formation was a recognition of the need to strike away from the old Native policies which held out the prospect only of disaster, and it was a recognition that the non-Europeans must be included in political calculations in South Africa. But the liberalism of 1953, though far ahead of the policies of the parties which are today losing some of their supporters to the new party, is based on several illusions. The Liberal Party stipulates that it will campaign only by parliamentary and "constitutional" means. But the Nationalists are steadily whittling away parliament's power, and the constitutional rights of the individual. How then to campaign with any prospect of making headway and effecting changes when the opposition in parliament is outnumbered and outmanouvred, and parliament's very powers are increasingly being reduced and controlled by ministerial and cabinet decree. To talk of using only "parliamentary" methods is to

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treat the movement for political rights in this country as one of whites alone, for this community alone has parliamentary power. What of the bulk of the people who have no constitutional rights, and cannot campaign through parliament from participation in which they are debarred by the constitution. They turn to extra-parliamentary campaigns for their rights precisely because other forms of political action are denied them. There can be no political future for a party which sets itself readily against extra-parliamentary activity and thus withdraws itself from the entire political life of fourth-fifths of the people in the country. Liberals have broken the tradition of former parliamentary parties by inviting non-European members, but this gesture is nullified by the party's self-imposed ban on extra-parliamentary activities. Instead of being able to participate fully in the work of the party, non-Europeans who do join it are relegated to the status of onlookers, while white liberals engaged in the mission of converting more whites to the idea that non-whites should have some share in citizenship."

Then My Lords, at pages 24 to 25 there is a paragraph dealing with "Freedom by their own Efforts", which reads as follows :

"South African Liberals must shed any illusions that the Europeans will bring liberty to the non-Europeans. The non-Europeans will emancipate themselves by their own political activity. Any preaching to them of patience while the whites are given lessons in tolerance, any urge that non-

Europeans restrain their activities and take no precipitate action, which the white electorate might not favour, is conceding to the Nationalists again that whites are the masters of the country and that the non-Europeans have rights only by their generous concession. Above all, this approach ignores the history of every single struggle for progress and political rights in any part of the world at any time. If the Liberals believe that it is wrong at this stage in South Africa - of South African developments to campaign for the universal suffrage, to challenge the constitution which entrenches the colour bar, and to champion the extra-parliamentary activities of non-European organisations, is it not inevitable that in time they will begin to pose their policy to Europeans and non-Europeans alike as the wiser alternative to that of the non-European organisations. From there it would be a short step to suggesting that not only is the policy of the immediate universal suffrage not the correct one, but a body like the African National Congress, which advocates this policy is not acting in the real interests of African people. Arguments would have to be found to urge non-Europeans to join and work with Liberals rather than the African National Congress. That would set off a process of undermining the influence of the African National Congress, which would only divide instead of strengthen African political forces. This process has already begun. Professor T.W. Price, writing on behalf of the Liberal Party, in "Liberation", September

1953, strongly attacked the conduct of the Defiance Campaign by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress."

Then apparently an extract from his article :

"The whole tactical conception of the campaign was 5
ill-advised, and the concentration of their demon-
strations into the Cape area, East Cape area,
shows no grasp of realities. It was remarkable
that the African people showed up so well, acting
under the hazy, romantic and over ambitious plans 10
of their leaders. A good idea was ruined by poor
administrative execution, and 'when mob murder
became however unjustifiably associated with the
campaign in the public mind' the campaign became a
debacle. The present shaky control which African 15
leaders have over their followers is no guarantee
that any campaign of this sort in the future can
be carried out peacefully. No constitutional party
however sympathetic to Africans, can in any way
encourage or contemplate a movement which it seems 20
inevitable will end in useless tragedy for hundreds
of Africans or, for that matter, for Europeans."

Then the booklet continues :

"The Liberals are fated to be a minority marginal
party. They themselves recognise that their 25
policies will at present be unacceptable to any-
thing but the fringe of the white electorate.
By a policy of compromise concessions to Europeans,
the Liberals are at the same time alienating the
support of the non-Europeans. To deign to offer 30
to the non-Europeans the political rights which
the latter consider only half measures, and an

attempt to dilute their political demands, will
 achieve no race bridge building. Trying to water
 down the content of non-European aspirations will
 on the contrary creast deep schisms between European
 democrats who wish to co-operate and non-European 5
 political organisations. Twenty or thirty years
 ago the offer of the hand of friendship to the white
 man and the creation of joint committees to meet
 the non-European on the same equal footing was a
 timely and even revolutionary advance towards race 10
 co-operation. South African has changed since then.
 The non-Europeans have built political organisations,
 have tested the temper of battle for political rights
 in a sharpened form not seen before, and are facing
 in their present adversary, the Nationalist Government, 15
 the issue of their survival. Race relations have
 reached an inflammable and explosive stage in South
 Africa, because of - because the opinion of non-
 European majority is repeatedly disregarded, and
 Nationalist policy is framed on the basis of 20
 interest and the needs of the white minority, the
 electorate alone. Today if Europeans talk to non-
 Europeans of co-operation, it must not be on terms
 deemed adequate by the Europeans alone, but on
 realities of the aspirations of the articulate non- 25
 European political movement."

Then, My Lords, on page 26 there is a sub-paragraph

"No White Man's Burden" which reads :

"To thinking South Africa it must daily become
 more evident that South Africa's problems cannot 30
 be solved by the voter, the white man alone. The
 pretence that the non-European can be ignored as

as a political force and treated just as a problem,
 possible of solution without his full participation,
 must be abandoned. To talk of taking the Native
 question out of the party political arena is a con-
 tradiction in itself. The crucial question - the 5
 crucial political question in South Africa is the
 treatment of the non-Europeans in relation between
 black and white, and has always been. Removing the
 whole question from the realm of party political
 disagreement does not make it in any way less con- 10
 tentious or easier of solution. It means only that
 the European political party should drop their
 quibbling and build a solid white front against
 non-European aspirations. Such a united front can
 only be on the basis of Nationalist policy of re- 15
 pressions, for obviously their predominant position
 in the camp will ensure them the bigger hand in
 declaring the terms of the bargain. It will create
 more and more dangerous problems in the future. It
 will mean a future of open colour conflict. It 20
 would mean turning South Africa into an armed camp,
 based on permanent police rule of the millions of
 non-Europeans and on fascist policies."

Then My Lords, at page 29 there is a sub-paragraph,

"For all South Africans" : 25

"The African and Indian Congresses have made it
 clear that their movements are not anti-white, or
 in any way racialist. They want democratic rights
 for all and not a substitution of black supremacy
 for white domination. In announcing the start 30
 of the Defiance Campaign, Dr. Moroka, the President
 of the A.N.C. stated clearly that the principles

which were the kernel of their political demands in their struggle for freedom".

Then the passage from Dr. Moroka :

"All people irrespective of national groups to which they belong and irrespective of the colour of their skins are entitled to live a full and free life on the basis of the fullest equality. Full democratic rights with a direct say in the affairs of the Government are the inalienable rights of every South African, a right which must be realised now if the country is to be saved from social chaos and tyranny and from the evils arising out of the existing denial of the franchise for the vast mass of the population on the grounds of race and colour. The struggle which the national organisations of the non-European people are conducting is not directed against any race or national group, but against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections of the population. It is for the creation of conditions which will restore human dignity, equality and freedom to South Africa."

Then it goes on again :

"The Congresses have condemned terrorism and violence. They have urged discipline and restraint on their followers, in their official constitutions and programmes they advocate race co-operation. By contrast the Nationalist Government has done everything in its power to encourage the growth of black racialism and to hinder the forces working for co-operation between black and white. They would like to see all Europeans ranged in one camp against the non-Europeans. Europeans of

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of democratic and liberal views would be failing in their duty to themselves and South Africa if they did not take immediate steps, firstly to demonstrate that there still exists many white people who are not hostile to the legitimate aims and aspirations of the non-European and who sympathise with them in their struggles. Secondly, to work for the overthrow of the present unjust and dangerous system which will ultimately bring disaster to this country."

And then finally, My Lords, there is a paragraph at page 31 to 32.

COURT ADJOURNS.

THE COURT RESUMES.BY MR. FISCHER :

My Lord, Your Lordships will be aware that we received a communication from the Crown some while ago about our admissions. That document which the Crown had prepared, was not put into Court, and I don't intend referring to its contents either. But it was, My Lord, a document which indicated in respects in which the Crown considered that our admissions fell short, and insofar as we have been able, we are endeavouring to meet the points made - the criticism made by the Crown. If, My Lord, I may now put in the further admissions. These then, My Lord, are the further admissions made by the Defence :-

- 1). That the Defiance Campaign was directed against the following laws, namely :- 15
 - (a) Pass Laws;
 - (b) Stock Limitation Regulations.
 - (c) Group Areas Act.
 - (d) The Separate Representation of Voters act.
 - (e) The Suppression of Communism Act. 20
 - (f) The Bantu Authorities Act.
- 2). That the S.A.I.C. and A.N.C. formed a National Volunteer Board as part of their activities in the Defiance Campaign.
- 3). That the Defiance Campaign was carried on in several parts of South Africa from the 26th June, 1952 to December 1952. 25
- 4). That N.A.C.C.O.P. established various provincial, Regional and local action councils, consisting of representatives of the constituent organisations, namely the following:- 30
 - (a) Natal Action Council.

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- (b) Transvaal Action Council.
 - (c) Johannesburg, Natal Midlands, Cape Eastern and Cape Western Regional Committees.
- 5). That the object of N.A.C.C.O.P. was the co-ordination of the activities of the organisations in their sponsorship and organisation of the C.O.P. 5
 - 6). That the provincial, regional or local councils of N.A.C.C.O.P. organised meetings at various places in South Africa in support of the C.O.P.
 - 7). That the C.O.P. campaign was conducted in many parts of South Africa. 10
 - 8). That various joint consultative provincial and regional committees were established by the organisations.
 - 9). That meetings of the N.C.C. or the provincial or regional committees were held to discuss: - 15
 - (a) Publicising the Freedom Charter,
 - (b) Passes.
 - 10). That the campaigns against the laws referred to in paragraph 6. of the first set of admissions, constituted part of the policy of extra-parliamentary activity. 20
 - 11). That the said campaigns were conducted in many parts of South Africa.
 - 12). That these campaigns were regarded as part of the general activity of the organisations. 25
 - 13). That the organisations advocated extra-parliamentary action as a means of achieving the change of government desired by them, as set out in paragraph 9. of the first set of admissions. 30
 - 14). That Chief A.J. Luthuli, on behalf of the A.N.C., called for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers and that the

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