

This is policy schedule page 21, item 40. And then on page 8 there is "Ray Alexanders Trade Union Column. Can Peace be Prosperous?" -

All must play part: The workers cannot avoid their responsibility for preserving peace by expecting (5 the socialist countries to keep the aggressive powers at bay. It is the duty of the workers in all countries to play their part in the peace movement. In the history of the working class movement, trade unionists and social democrats all over the world have had many (10 differences of opinion amongst themselves. But one thing on which they did agree over and over again was that they should not take part in imperialist wars. The whole idea of an international working class movement, after all, rests on the principle that the workers (15 of all countries had a unity of interests greater than anything which binds the workers of one country to its ruling class.....

You Pay ....I do not believe that capitalism can cure its economic weaknesses by perpetual war. But if this (20 were possible the only conclusion we can draw is that the sooner capitalism is replaced by socialism, which abhors war, the better it is for the human race.

Likewise on page 8 appears the note, "Unless otherwise stated, all political matter in Advance by Fred Carneson, 6 (25 Barrack Street, Cape Town." The next issue is that of 21st January, 1954, page 2 "Editorial, Attack is Best Defence." This appears in the policy schedule, page 13, item 88. -

No news is bad news. (30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Haven't we heard that?

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: I don't think so, Milord, because this is an editorial in Advance itself.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: I know, but I have heard that "No News is bad news."

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: Your Lordship might have heard that sentence. - (5

3 Scarcity of news of the campaign for democracy in South Africa is a sign of a lull in the work for freedom. Democracy cannot afford these lulls right now. All the times the Nats are consolidating and preparing (10 for their next onslaught. Too often the people of South Africa wait quietly until a new attack on their rights is under way before mobilising resistance. Defensive battles are not the best way of winning the fight for freedom. The decision of the African Nation- (15 al Congress to join with the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats in convening a Congress of the People to draw up a Freedom Charter gives all lovers of freedom a magnificent opportunity to go on to the attack. The (20 country can be swept by a clear and united call for freedom. A freedom charter can mobilise the people up and down our land if it expresses their most urgent needs and awakens an echo in their hearts. Let's put the Nats on the defensive! They seem strong, but think (25 how weak and puny they really are. Look around the streets, democrats! We are surrounded by allies. Of every ten men in our country eight nourish a real and burning hatred of the system of oppression foisted on our countries. But hatred of oppression and love of (30 freedom are not enough -- they must be combined with a consciousness of how oppression can be overcome and

what freedom will mean. The Freedom Charter must show the people what freedom will look like. It must inspire them to make any sacrifice for that freedom -- for themselves and for their children. Armed with that inspiration, the allies of all races in South (5 Africa, struggling together for democracy -- the overwhelming majority of our people -- are invincible. But the longer the people delay, the longer do the hate-makers in our country have time for arming to hamper the fight for freedom. It is true that they cannot (10 keep democracy from South Africa for ever, however hard they try and however weakly we fight for it. But if they fight hard and we fight badly they can delay freedom for a long time. And every day democracy is delayed and fascism is allowed to continue is a day (15 of misery for tens of thousands of South Africans. Let's not have the Nats one day longer than is necessary. Every day of inactivity is breathing time for oppression. The people of South Africa are already showing their enthusiasm for the inspiring lead of (20 the national conference of the African National Congress. Then on page 7, there is an article "Parliament vs. the People." "Listen for the U.P. Death Rattle." This is shown in policy schedule, page 26, item 27. I am only reading the last two paragraphs of the article - (25

The U.P. refuses to take the obvious course of opposing the Nationalists. It prefers to die a slow and lingering death. The next session will see it advance a further stage down the slippery path to its miserable end. Democratic South Africa can find its sole salva- (30 tion in determined and united resistance to the Nation-

alist attacks outside the walls of Parliament.

At the bottom of page 8 - "Unless otherwise stated, all political matter in Advance by Fred Carneson, 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town." I quote now from the Advance of 28th January, 1954. In column 5 of the first page - (5  
Legislation virtually converting the Union into a state of the Hitler Fascist Type is forecast in this remarkable preview of the forthcoming parliamentary session by our parliamentary correspondent.

And then follows the headline "Swart's Blueprint for (10  
Fascism." And lower down "Schoeman's Secret Plot. Fascist Trade Union Bill."

Workers of all races have been shocked by the disclosure that Minister of Labour Schoeman intends to introduce at the present parliamentary session, labour laws which are (15  
brutally and nakedly fascist.

And then on page 3 "24 Africans killed -- We are Proud,"  
"British Terrorism has Government Approval" -

The British public is becoming gradually aware that the methods employed in their name to smash the national (20  
liberation movement in the colonies include "scoreboard killings," blood money, flogging and torture of Africans and Asians. These methods are known and in many cases officially approved by the authorities, and are only disavowed by the Government when exposures become poli- (25  
tically embarrassing.

And then on page 7, "Clarion Call,"

A Rarity - The morals of our rulers, determined as they are by the grisly combination of capitalist "sur-  
vival of the most dishonest," and the racialist "sur- (30  
vival of the most brutal," make it very rare indeed

that one comes across an act of humanity by a member of the ruling class, although every day brings us more news of the heroism and unselfishness of the ordinary people. Anyway, just because it is so rare, we must note the action of farmer Sarel Naude, of the Northern (5 Cape. When an old Coloured labourer was seriously injured falling off a lorry while loading Mr. Naude's lucerne, the latter chartered an aircraft to get him to hospital. But then, of course, old men should not be balancing on lorries. They should be living on (10 their pensions. Still, that's not farmer Naude's fault -- that's the fault of the system. And the people will soon be changing the system.

And then on the same page "Ray Alexander's trade union column." Some Weaknesses in our unions. -- (15

I am convinced that if the work of organising the workers is carried out honestly the African and Indian unorganised workers in Durban will join their trade unions and thus become an important force in the struggle, not only for higher wages, better condi- (20 tions at work, for decent homes, but will be able to take their place in the struggle for real freedom in our life-time .

On page 8 "Unless otherwise stated all political matter in Advance by Fred Carneson, 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town." (25 The next issue is 4th February, 1954. An article "Peoples Congress -- First steps." -

The African National Congress has taken the first step towards implementing its conference resolution for a Congress of the People to draw up a Freedom Charter. (30 To plan the Congress a conference has been convened

by the executives of the A.N.C., the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation and the S.A. Congress of Democrats. The opening address of Mr. Walter Sisulu to the annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress, which opens in Durban today, declares (5 that the people's convention is the answer of the people in South Africa to the Government's drive towards fascism. "This convention will be based on a truly representative election of people from all strata -- in the big cities and in the smallest villages -- in all (10 parts of South Africa. You will see from the nature of the organisations (to work out details of the Congress of the People) that the plans are going to be worked out by the true representatives of all the sections of the community. The working out of a charter, for which (15 this conference is being called, is a very important step in the history of a people. It is this conference that has a right to shape the destiny of South Africa."

And on page 2, "Editorial, "No Army Without Leaders."

Before I come to that, the portion which I have read (20 appears in the policy schedule, page 12, item 75. I now read from page 2, "No Army Without Leaders -

As everyone foresaw, the Nats. terrified at the growth of the militance and understanding of the people and their demand for full democracy, are taking new, des- (25 perate measures in Parliament. Their plans are a sign of how helpless they are and how clearly they see that their days of repression are numbered. For it is always the very last line of defence of desperate rulers to try to take away every final trace of liberty. (30 A last ditch stand, because it draws into the struggle

against the Government every section of the liberty-loving people. It builds, as we have already seen in the past years, an unbreakable unity between all sections and classes of the repressed people. And at the same time it creates confusion, doubts and splits amongst (5 the ruling class, many of whose members fear fascism just because they know that it marks the very end of the road for the system of exploitation that they love so dearly. South Africa today is a country where all conditions are favourable for an unprecedented unity of (10 people of all races, of people with all sorts of grievances, of people with all sorts of hopes; people who might never have dreamed of working together, but who are now driven into the same camp because they are under attack from the same enemy....These are the millions (15 waiting to march together in an invincible army of freedom. But waiting. For there can be no army without leaders -- organised leaders working together as a team, guiding all the different people in this great army together, showing them the way, inspiring them with (20 confidence.....The peace movement should show how a Congress of the People can assist in the fight for peace and make their immediate target to get every lover of peace back to Congress; the youth festivals could become a gigantic preparation of youth for the Congress (25 of the People and the best performers should appear at shows in honour of the Congress, while the youth should re-prepare their own demands to be incorporated in the Freedom Charter. This does not mean that the peace movement, or the youth festivals would suffer at the expense of the (30 Congress of the People. On the contrary, the inspiration

and clear aim given by canalising activity on to something short-term and meaningful would assist them immensely in their own growth.

Then the issue of 11th February, 1954, page 1. (Policy Schedule page 12, item 76, and page 21, item 41.) I'm sorry, (5 I must return to the Advance of February 4th. On page 8 "Unless otherwise stated, all political matter in Advance by Lionel Forman." Page 1 of the issue of February 11th, 1954 -

Peoples Congress -- Step to Freedom. Sisula at Natal (10 Conference. A peoples Congress to enable all sections of the population to formulate a Freedom Charter and to work together for a free South Africa is an urgent need of the liberation movement today. Leaders of the non-European people who addressed the annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress considered this an important step on the way to freedom in South Africa. Mr. Walter M. Sisulu, general secretary of the African National Congress, said Parliament had assembled, not to deal with the national economy or with the welfare (20 of the people but to consider legislation to create further hardships for the people. He said .....

I omit the paragraph and read the following three paragraphs  
"We shall not only oppose every amendment to these laws, but we shall fight until they and others are removed (25 from the Statute Book. The people who believe that these oppressive laws are designed against the trade unions and for the non-Europeans only will realise only too late that they are also, in fact, designed against them. The financial houses will find that it is intended to (30 give control of them to the Nationalists. The Jewish



Board of Deputies will begin to see the danger of their opportunistic tendencies when they praise Malan's Administration. The South African Indian Organisation and the United Party will not escape, but they shall have to answer to the people for their treacherous role. (5 Many things which are now taking place were predicted by us long ago." Because of the critical situation the African National Congress had called upon the nation to hold the historic Congress of the People. The fundamental task of the liberation struggle will be the crea- (10 tion of a united democratic South Africa, he added. .... Dr. G.M. Naicker's presidential address was read to the conference, for he was unable to attend owing to Swart's banning orders. "No matter how many persons are banned, the noble work of liberation undertaken by the African (15 and Indian Congresses will go on until South Africa becomes free and takes her rightful place in the family of democratic nations," declared Naicker.

On page 2, the Editorial "Traitor to Hero." .....

For the rulers of South Africa have clung to the tattered shreds of democracy as long as they possibly could. Whenever the people have been eager for action the agents of the Government have been able to say - "Don't take unconstitutional action: ask your representatives in Parliament to convince the Government." The withdrawal (25 of this last pretence of democracy is no victory for the Nats. It is the recognition that they can no longer use Parliament to bluff the people. It is an open admission by the Nats. to the people: "It is only by your action outside Parliament that you will win freedom." .... (30 Advance is one of the most powerful weapons available in

the struggle for liberation. But a weapon which can only be effective if everyone in the army understands properly how to use it. Are you overlooking any of the uses to which your paper can be put?

And on page 7, "Transvaal Youth Organise" - (5

Over 1,000 young African men and women attended a mass conference convened by the African National Congress Youth League. In his opening address Mr. W.M.Sisulu said that youth had a right to enjoy sport and recreation; but it also had a duty to support the national liberation movement. After Mr. A. Kathrada had brought greetings from the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, and outlined plans for the forthcoming youth festival, and Albert Kushlik had spoken as a fraternal delegate from the Congress of Democrats, Duma Nokwe addressed the Conference on his recent overseas tour. He said the visits of South Africans overseas had helped to build friendship between young Africa and the youth of the world.

(20  
And on page 8 "Unless otherwise stated, all political matter in Advance by Lionel Forman, 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town. The next issue is February 18th, 1954. The headnote on page 1 "Police Raid Legal Meetings. Durban Audience not Intimidated" -

Long Live Dadoo -- Long Live Congress, came the full-throated shout of the entire Durban audience of several hundred people as police, acting under the Suppression Law, surrounded their meeting and an officer mounted the platform from which Dr. Dadoo was speaking. The meeting, convened by the Durban Study Circle, had just unanimously passed a resolution condemning the Government

for similar intimidating action in Johannesburg when they tried the stunt once more. But no-one at this meeting was frightened! After their names and addresses had been taken the people did not leave. They gathered outside the hall, and the police drove (5 away with wild cheering for Dadoo and Congress ringing in their ears. In a statement to Advance, Dr. Dadoo said that the purpose of the police action was to intimidate and terrorise the people in an attempt to crush all resistance and opposition to all new Nazi (10 laws which Minister Swart wished to pass. The people, he added, must not allow themselves to be intimidated. If they allowed themselves to be terrorised by the police the consequences would be the passing of harsher and harsher laws against them. "We must create a broad(15 democratic front of black and white to stop Mr. Swart and his Government from leading this country to terrible disaster." Shortly before, over 200 members of the public of all races who crowded a Johannesburg meeting of the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the(20 Soviet Union to hear Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe and Paul Joseph give vivid accounts of their recent visits to the Soviet Union, had found the doors barred by armed police at the end of the meeting. Detectives took the names of all who were present. (25

And page 3, editorial "House of Hate." -

Parliament loses importance: What goes on in Parliament is no longer very important. Swart's amendment takes away the last chance the people had of having a representative putting the policy of the liberation movement (30 there. Now the only importance of Parliament is that it

is a place where the repressive laws come from. And as the police attacks on democratic meetings in the past week show, the assault on the people can be heightened without reference to Parliament. As that body loses its value to the rulers as a way of bluffing the(5 people, that they have a choice in the making of policy, so Parliament also <sup>becomes</sup> of less interest to the Nats. The fascists don't need a Parliament. As long as they are in power Parliament will continue to fade away in importance. Already it is little more (10 than a yes-house for fascism. It will stay that way until the people create their new Parliament, as different from this one as white is from black.

And then on page 5, International Summary, Commentator goes to bioscope. I read the last paragraph only - (15

Are we Crazy? Yes, for them war is business. There are millions of us ordinary people and we let a handful of criminals sit at the top of this capitalist system and guide us to hell. Working people should own the factories they work in, and the things they produce (20 should go to making our lives easier and fuller. Instead we let this little lot line their pockets and send us to war. If we allow them to go on much longer we must be crazy!

The next issue is February 25th 1954. This is "Enthu- (25 siastic Colonial Youth Day Rally. Oppose Nat Tyranny! by Sisulu. I read a few paragraphs of this article -

We pledge and swear that no matter how bitter the struggle is, no matter what laws are passed, no matter what force is used against us, we will refuse to sur- (30 render, will determinedly oppose tyranny and fascism

in our motherland," Walter Sisulu....

This article appears in the policy schedule, page 22, item 42, and page 42, item 18 -

My visit to Europe and Asia was the result of an invitation from the World Federation of Democratic Youth (5 to be their guest at the World Youth Festival in Bucharest. I can find no words to express my gratitude to them....Dealing with world and African events, he denounced the threatened action against the people of Guatemala by the U.S.A. and drew a parallel with events (10 in British Guiana. He expressed solidarity with the suffering people of Kenya. "We, the people of South Africa will oppose the sending of South African troops to massacre innocent and defenceless people of Kenya.

Visit to Peoples Democracies. After reporting briefly (15 on his visit abroad ("I was convinced that the peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union and China stood firmly for peace and friendship with all democracy-loving people. I found them anti-imperialist and anti-oppression.") Mr. Sisulu went on to deal with the (20 'shockingly bad' situation in South Africa...."Many Africans will be removed from their homes in places such as the Western Areas and other places, to the bare veld.

Vicious and Ruthless. The amendment to the Suppression (25 of Communism and Riotous Assemblies Acts will make these laws even more vicious and ruthless. These are not the only laws which are being piloted through Parliament by Fascist leaders of the Nationalist Party. What shall be our answer to these things? Our answer shall be to (30 pledge and swear that, no matter how bitter the struggle

is, no matter what laws are passed, no matter what force is used against us, we shall refuse to surrender, and determinedly oppose tyranny and fascism in our motherland. Can there be any greater honour than to sacrifice all in defence of our motherland, so that (5 our people shall live a happy life? It is our sacred duty to do what we can now to mobilise all and to unite in the face of the danger that faces us.

Solidarity Pledged...

And I turn to page 4 "Tshisa-Tshisa" "Sisulu's Warning. (10

...There is no such thing as a thisa-tshisa army.

Either the thing is a complete intervention, or else it is the work of someone in the pay of the enemies of the people or a misguided lunatic. No responsible African would lend himself to such irresponsible adven-(15 turism. Our battlefields will not be chosen by our opponents, and our opponents, and our method of struggle, which is based on mass education and activity, will be chosen by us. We shall not be misled by this provocation. (20

And on page 7 "Fight these Bills -- A.N.C." -

The present session of Parliament is being devoted mainly to an attempt on the part of the Government to consolidate its fascist power by legislative means, declares a statement issued last week by the African (25 National Congress.

And on the same page "Integration - the last sigh of a dis-integrating jellyfish, by our Parliamentary Correspondent."

The United Party, in its sixth year out of office, is a classic example of how weak and corrupt a political (30 party can become if it caters only for the dominant

- 3615 -

section of the population. The United Party is the party of South Africa's White capitalists. It is unable to turn to the masses of the people for strength and inspiration in its fight with the Nationalists. Therefore it is decomposing, like a dead jelly-fish. (5

The issue of the 4th March, 1954, issue and I refer to page 2, the editorial "Laughing through Loopholes." This appears in the policy schedule page 22, item 43, and the headnote on the editorial is "Power through violence." -

It would hardly be possible to make a more incorrect (10 statement than that made by a writer to Advance Post that the African people do not agree with the stand Advance has taken in support of the people of Kenya against the invading British Imperialist Army. At meetings up and down our country the African people have made their (15 stand known, and only last week we reported the speech of A.N.C. Secretary-general Walter Sisulu at a mass rally, which unanimously expressed solidarity with the people of Kenya and condemned the aggressive war there.

Does this mean that we support violence? It means exactly (20 the opposite. The whole policy of Advance, like that of the entire liberatory movement, is one which hates violence and loves peace. Not only because we are morally opposed to the use of unnecessary force, but also because senseless violence has never been the means (25 of winning the struggle for freedom. It is precisely because of this firm hatred of violence and aggression that we back the people of Kenya. Our paper has given full documentation to the dreadful events there. Greedy imperialists stole the best land of the Kikuyu people. (30 In support of their just grievances the people organised

behind outstanding leaders like Jomo Kenyatta in a completely legal and peaceful manner. Fearing the strength of the people, the imperialists decided to use violence against them. The oppressors wished to break the laws -- to kill and intimidate. They looked for (5 an excuse. Just as in South Africa the oppressors create a fake "scare" every time they want to break old laws, so in Kenya the settlers blew up an unimportant secret society, Mau-Mau, into a big horror story. The oppressors used this as an excuse to do away with laws (10 that prevented them from using violence against the freedom movement in Kenya. They used it to put Kenyatta, the leader of the Kenya African Union, which had nothing to do with Mau-Mau, in prison for seven years. They used it to destroy the trade unions and every vestige (15 of democracy. They called in the British Army. Against unarmed people they used bombing aeroplanes, tanks, machine guns. They have killed thousands of innocent people. Violence! Cases of terror by the "uncivilised, savage Mau-Mau" though they are magnified 10,000 times (20 by our newspapers, are rare and are no part of the real struggle for freedom. But violence, torture, burnings by young civilised products of the advanced British Educational system are reported with grim regularity -- and are known and fostered by the leaders of the invad- (25 ing army. The writer of the letter remarks that the daily papers do not tell the truth in matters about the non-European people of South Africa. He must also know that he does his brothers in Kenya, fighting for existence, a great injustice by believing those same papers (30 when they describe them as terrorist. Advance stands



wholeheartedly with the African National Congress and all lovers of freedom in support of the struggle of the people of Kenya and all other colonial peoples for freedom.

And then on page 5, Missionaries of Reaction. An interview with M.R.A. by Lionel Forman. I content myself with the last paragraph only. -

It is the most advanced sections of the liberatory movement who, in South Africa, are practising the principles of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, (10 men and women who are prepared to sacrifice everything to win for their people a life of freedom and hope.

Sincere supporters of these principles will, therefore, find their home as active participants in the work of the liberatory organisations. (15

And then on page 7 "Refugee Camps for Displaced Africans" by our Parliamentary Correspondent. The last paragraph -

The lesson of the United Party's decay is that the people of South Africa must realise that they cannot look to it as an ally. Their salvation is in their (20 own hands, and only their own hands.

The next issue is March 11, 1954, and I refer to page 8

"S.A.C.P.O. established in Transvaal -

S.A.C.P.O., he said, stood for the attainment of full democratic rights for all South Africans in the (25 political, social, economic and cultural life of the country, for the organisation of the Coloured people to become a greater force in the country and for their own upliftment. The organisation would aim at co-operation with other democratic organisations for these (30 objectives.....

And then it refers to speakers from the African National Congress, the S.A. Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Democrats who brought fraternal greetings to this new organisation. And it further states that Mr. Stanley Lollan, divisional chairman of this new organisation. I come now to the issue of the 18th March, 1954, page 1: "Police Prevent Tombstone Unveiling: Tribute to a Defiance Heroine." This appears on page 12, item 76A of the policy schedule, as does the further article on the same page "Durban holds Stalin Memorial Meeting." The first article I mentioned also appears on page 22 of the policy schedule, item 44.

Police Prevent Tombstone Unveiling, Tribute to a Defiance Heroine, from J.G. Matthews." -

This week-end at a small village in the Peddie District (Jaja's location) there was to be a ceremony to unveil a tombstone to the memory of S. Mxokojeli, a woman volunteer in the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, who died whilst on active service. She was in one of the peasant batches from the reserves which were sent to serve their jail sentences at the notorious Fort Glamorgan gaol (KwaNongqongqo) in East London. Africans from all over the Eastern Cape, particularly from the reserves, were preparing to attend the ceremony, and all were determined that this was to be no only an unveiling ceremony but a clear indication and warning to the fascists to regard the people in the reserves as part and parcel of the growing army of liberation in South Africa. Top-ranking leaders of the A.N.C., including the president of the Cape A.N.C. Secretary-General W.M. Sisulu, and Dr. Njongwe, were

to be present at the unveiling ceremony. The obvious enthusiasm of the people caused alarm among the Government officials, who imagined that the masses had gone to sleep in the lull last year. They realised that the Verwoerd proclamation banning meetings of more than ten (5 persons in the reserves could not be used in this case, as this was clearly a bona fide religious gathering. They turned to the Riotous Assemblies Act, and under instructions from Mr. Swart, the Minister of Justice, notices were issued by the magistrate at Peddie banning (10 all gatherings on Sunday, March 14, at Jaja's Location in Peddie.

They are Mistaken: Throughout the Eastern, Border and North-Eastern Cape the political staff distributed these notices to officials of the A.N.C. Here in Port (15 Elizabeth the notices banning meetings at a village in Peddie were distributed like leaflets. All this was done today, 12th March, a day or two before the unveiling ceremony at Peddie. Fascism, not satisfied with having caused the death of this gallant volunteer (20 in its goals, had to reach beyond the grave and prevent the people paying their last respects to her. But they are mistaken....The cause for which she died, the struggle for democracy, happiness and peace, is invincible and will crush fascism in the not too distant (25 future. Then we will again go to Peddie to unveil a tombstone without interference this time.

And then "Durban holds Stalin Memorial Meeting" -

Over 100 people of all races met at the Gandhi Library Hall to commemorate the first anniversary of the death (30 of J.V. Stalin. The following resolution was passed

unanimously - This memorial meeting records its deepest sympathy with the people of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of this great and noble leader. Stalin is dead but his philosophy and work will live on for ever. Stalin was (5 the greatest exponent of peace, and we assembled at this meeting pledge to work and strive for permanent peace in the world. Remembering the memory of Stalin, we also declare that we will strive unflinchingly to work towards the establishment of a democratic South (10 Africa in which all racial groups will have full and equal rights. Speakers at the meeting were: Mr. Debi Singh, general secretary, Natal Indian Congress, Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, regional secretary, African National Congress; Mr. Cassim Amra and Mr. M.P. (15 Naicker, who presided.

And then on page 2 "Peace is Important." It is the editorial. -

The World Peace Council published a map a little while ago showing the strength of the peace movement all over (20 the world. South Africa's effort was shown to be by far the worst of any country of comparable development. The main reason why there is no clearly understood call for peace resounding among the people is because many of us have not clearly understood what the correct arguments (25 are for winning mass support for the peace movement. Our arguments for peace do not sufficiently link up with the demands of the people. There have been two tendencies in the past plaguing our work. On the one hand there are those whose actions imply that the struggle (30 for peace is separate from the struggle for national

national liberation (though they do not necessarily say so). And then there are those who say that the struggle for peace and the struggle for national liberation is the same thing. The link between the struggle for peace and the struggle for liberation (5 has been sought in a simple formula. Because this was not found the whole peace movement has been scandalously neglected. There is no simple formula. The struggle for peace and the struggle for liberation are not separate struggles. Nor are they identical. All who are (10 in the struggle for liberation must be drawn into the struggle for peace -- but some who can be won for the struggle for peace will not join in the struggle for freedom. Our fight for peace takes place under different conditions from those of the countries of Wes- (15 tern Europe. Our arguments cannot be the mechanical copying of Western European peace arguments.

And then the article continues in the same strain to the end. I proceed to the publication of March 25th, the editorial "No time to Waste." On February 4 we printed an (20 editorial that many of our readers reported they liked. It said that conditions in South Africa were ripe for an unprecedented unity between all sections of the population against the fascist attack, for full democracy. The theme of the editorial was this: These (25 are the millions waiting to march together in an invincible army of freedom. But waiting. For there can be no army without leaders -- organised leaders working together as a team, guiding all the different people in this great army together, showing them the (30 way, inspiring them with confidence. That was nearly

two months ago. A lot has happened in those two months. The people have shown themselves more determined than ever to fight fascism. Not only has this been the case on the non-European liberatory front, but also in the heightened activity of the trade union movement since (5 the Schoeman Bill was announced. But the failing which we criticised two months ago still exists today. We do not seem to have found an effective way of co-ordinating our campaigns, of uniting all who are fighting the same enemy on different fronts. A steady flow of reports of (10 the struggles of the people come to the people's newspaper. When there is not complete clarity on an issue Advance is the first to sense it. And on a number of matters today there is not complete clarity among the people on the correct manner of working on some issues. (15 The people are calling for leadership in the struggle -- for a vanguard of the people to give a lead on every issue. Such a vanguard must make their views public far and wide. And they must do so the moment the issue arises. There is, for example, an urgent need for (20 clarity on the present trade union struggle. There has long been the same need in the campaign for peace. Even the preparations for the Youth Festivals, which are going so splendidly, the young people complain that the old hands under-estimate the significance of the (25 Festivals and don't give the necessary support. Die Burger launches an attack on a Durban crowd for holding a Stalin memorial meeting, and the country is left wondering why Durban is the only place where such a meeting was held. And the Congress of the People -- (30 probably the most important activity of the year -- has

not been pushed as hard as the people had hoped. The forces of freedom have grown stronger since then, but the headline of our editorial two months ago is more pointed than ever. There can be no army without leaders. And then in the same issue, on page 8, there is an article (5 on "Fighting Talk" by L.F., and I merely read the last paragraph -

Fighting Talk deserves a very wide audience. Readers of Advance will find the 5s. subscription fee to this monthly magazine well worth while. (10

I now come to the issue of April 1st, 1954. I am reading from the first page, the headline and the first paragraph "Prevent Mass Murder!" A call to the people of South Africa to raise their voices against the American's insane and perilous experiments in hydrogen bombs is made in a (15 special statement to Advance by the South African Peace Council.

I content myself with that, and I refer to page 8, which is the continuation of a speech starting on page 5 -

Non-European Trade Union Conference. Brilliant Presidential address, and on page 6, Maeka's speech .... (20

We must as workers and as human beings be prepared to take our place in the world-wide struggle against war; for it is the workers who are the first to suffer. We must aim to strengthen our ties with the workers of (25 foreign countries through such a powerful and great body as the World Federation of Trade Unions, which unites over 88 million organised workers throughout the world.

Cannot Prevent us: It is wrong to imagine that the (30 Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, disgraceful

though it is, can prevent us organising and maintaining our unions. Unions based not on offices but on the workers in the factories cannot be killed by such legislation. Let our answer to this Act, which Mr. Schoeman intended to bleed our unions to death, be to accept the challenge. (5 Let us launch a great campaign to organise 100,000 new members in the African Trade unions. Our enemy's harsh acts are a sign not of his strength but of his weakness. Let us close our ranks and count no sacrifice too great in this noble fight. Let us work relentlessly at the point (10 of production so as to build great and powerful trade union organisations which can strike a great blow for the freedom of our people and the future of Africa.

FORWARD TO FREE TRADE UNIONISM. WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS. (15

The next issue, the 8th April, 1954, page 1 "General Election" "The Voteless will vote." This is a summary of the way the elections for the Congress of the People will be held. And then on page 2, the editorial "A New Parliament." This appears on page 12, item 77 of the policy schedule. (20

The Cape Town Parliament represents no one but the white minority in South Africa. Let's elect a new Parliament - a People's Parliament. This is the bold, imaginative decision of the leaders of the people which A.N.C. Secretary General, Walter Sisulu, tells about on our (25 front page. Everyone will vote, irrespective of nationality, sex or political belief. Even the Nats will be able to vote. Here is an opportunity for Dr. Malan. If he really believes that South Africa wants apartheid, let him stand for election to the People's Congress. (30 But the policy which the people's representatives will



draw up at a Congress of the People is unlikely to bear much resemblance to apartheid. It will be a just realistic programme supported by the people in the interests of the people. It will be the Freedom Charter. And then on page 4 - "Build Yet a Mightier Congress, Ex- (5 tracts from Walter Sisulu's P.E. Speech."

Here is a summary of the historic speech delivered by the A.N.C. Secretary-General, whose General Election Call we report on page one.

This is referred to on page 20, item 28. I do not intend (10 to read this. It was read, I think A.106. Perhaps Your Lordships will permit me to give the reference at a later stage. I am referring to the issue of April 15th, 1954, and page 6, "The Strength of our Peace Forces," by Alfred Hutchinson. The headnote: "In our editorial "Peace is Important," (March (15 18) we invited further discussion on the methods of increasing our work for peace. Here is an extract from a speech made to the South African Peace Council on the strength of our peace forces by Alfred Hutchinson . ---

....In order that the pace movement have any meaning to (20 the non-European people of this country it must have a real meaning to the liberatory movement. The campaign for peace must take into account the aspirations of the people. Thanks to enlightened leadership, the liberatory organisations of the non-European people -- the A.N.C. and the (25 S.A.I.C., are wedded to a policy of peace. These organisations stand up for the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world; these organisations condemn imperialism and the inhumanity of man to man. The organisations are edu- (30 cating the masses of the people in a spirit of international co-operation and international harmony.

What are the arguments for Peace? How can we win the support of the peoples who are fighting for freedom? The editorial of Advance puts forward two arguments in this respect. (1) It must be brought home to the people that the war by the U.S.A. is no ordinary war in which (5 South Africa would not be involved. It must be brought home too that the war is directed against peace and freedom-loving countries -- the real friends of the oppressed peoples of the world. (2) It must be brought home to the people that the U.S.A. Can no longer attack the Soviet (10 Government single-handed and that she is trying to mobilise the entire capitalist world against the Soviet Union. In one way or another the U.S.A. will attempt complete control of South Africa. It must be brought home to the people what control of South Africa by America would do (15 to the liberatory struggle of the people of this country. It must be brought home to the people that Mr. John Foster Dulles has concluded an agreement with the Union (20 Government to supply it with modern weapons for 'internal security.' The struggle for peace must be further strengthened by winning not only those sections who are engaged in the liberatory struggle. The peace movement is broader than that. It must win the support of all those people who are opposed to war. In other words, it must also (25 win the support of those sections of the people who are not committed to the liberatory struggle but who oppose war. In conclusion I wish to commend the inspiring work that is being done by the Festival Committees in the Cape Natal and the Transvaal. There is no doubt that these (30 Festivals of Youth for Peace, Friendship and Racial Harmony

are a great contribution to the cause of world peace. For by bringing together the various sections of our society, we learn to know each other and thus counteract the propaganda that divides our people against each other. It must never be said that South Africa betrayed the will (5 of the people of the world for peace. While our peace movement is weak today, let us not spare our efforts and energies for the creation of a peace movement so strong that the war mongers must tremble. Long live the struggles of the people of the world for peace. Long live the cause (10 of world peace and world friendship.

I come now to the issue of the 22nd April, 1954. Page 2, editorial "No Compromise on the Schoeman Bill. I am only reading three short paragraphs -

Because the bosses -- and always remember that Schoeman (15 is the bosses man -- know that the whole strength of the trade union struggle for better conditions is the unity of all the workers against the constant attempts of the bosses to worsen working conditions, the capitalist class always does everything in its power to break that unity. (20 The Bill is a further attempt to create trade union disunity, to create higher profits and lower wages. The Bill will prevent workers of different national groups from uniting together in the same trade union."

And on page 6, "Our Editorial 'Don't Spread Malan's Lie' (25 (April 1st aroused considerable controversy. Here a member of the Advance Staff (not necessarily expressing the views of the paper) answer some of the question raised in the Discussion of South Africa's National Question." ....

But the class struggle must not be blurred. Through (30 everything, before there can be complete understanding

must shine clearly and unmistakably the fact that basic to everything is not the national struggle, but the class struggle. The oppression of the people of South Africa and the whole framework of colour bar laws is the result not of racialism but of capitalism. (5 The laws designed to ensure a cheap labour supply to the big capitalists are capitalist laws. The laws designed to prevent the workers from organising effectively in trade unions are capitalist laws. The laws designed to divide the workers of different nationalities into hostile groups are capitalist laws. The laws designed to suppress the working class political vanguard are capitalist laws. Understanding of the nature of capitalism is essential to an effective national liberatory struggle. The national liberatory struggle must strike at the very (15 roots of capitalism. And it is essential to take to the people the fact that the entire system of national oppression is created by the capitalist class in their own interests; that the enemy is not the White worker, but the whole capitalist class, and that in a crisis (20 sections of the White workers may be won as allies against the common enemy. But clearly it is lunacy to argue that because national oppression is a facet of class oppression one should fight "only on the class front," and ignore and discourage a national struggle. We must get (25 over this weird idea -- the Lord knows where it came from -- that all national liberatory movements are "bourgeois-nationalist." They are not. Under working class leadership they become "profoundly popular, profoundly revolutionary," Such was, and is, the case in China. I agree (30 in full with the Eastern Province Youth Leaguer who wrote

"Progressives have been suspicious of Nationalism and tended to regard even the use of the expression by anyone as a mark of reaction. This gave a chance to reactionaries to pose as "nationalists" to get support from quarters which normally would not support reactionary ideas. Through your editorial and, I hope, others still to come, you have knocked the bottom out of the reactionary policies of these people. When nationalism is taken in hand by the working class, then reactionary nationalism is more easily distinguishable. By putting forward clearly and boldly People's Nationalism, it is possible for the people to see the opposite in its true light. No longer are reactionaries enabled to hide under the blanket term "nationalism." They must now come out either for People's Nationalism or reactionary nationalism. Yes, the progressives in South Africa must be taught not to be shy of progressive nationalism. They must be taught always to take up a class position with regard to every question, including nationalism. They must ask "which nationalism? What class does it serve? The history of the Soviet Union and now of China shows that progressives must and cannot be national nihilists. On the contrary, the system of People's Democracy is the one in which national cultures and languages flourish and reach full bloom as a prelude to the fusion of all cultures into one world culture, which can happen only when the whole world is Socialist." L.F.

This appears in the policy schedule, page 13 item 79, and also in schedule 3, page 23. And on page 8. .... that is all I am quoting from that issue. The next is 29th April, 1954, page 2, "A Real General Election." "Preparations for

the Congress of the People by Walter Sisulu. Secretary-General, African National Congress." -

In a world which is moving rapidly towards progress, the rulers of South Africa are determined to reverse the march of history and to take away from people the (5 little they have.

And on page 5, editorial "May Day, Freedom Day." I quote only the last two lines -

To the winning of a people's democratic South Africa, this May Day issue is dedicated. (10

And on page 9, appears the first contribution of "South Africa's Way Forward," by Moses Kotane, an Advance Study Document."

Moses Kotane, Executive Member of the A.N.C. until he was banned by Swart, has written specially for our May (15 Day issue this immensely important article pointing South Africa's Way Forward."

This article in the issue of April 29th, 6th May 1954, and the 30th May 1954, are the contents of the whole booklet which was read in as B.79. It is reflected in the policy (20 schedule page 11, item 64, as MK.7. It also appears on page 13, Item 80, and page 13 Item 81, page 13, item 82; page 32 item 8; also in schedule 3 on pages 14 and 15.

Now I quote from the issue of the 13th May, 1954. On page 1 "At the forthcoming Congress of the People, Let us speak (25 of Freedom." "Peoples Leaders call to South Africa." I content myself with the headnote. Then the issue of 20th May, 1954, is the editorial on page 2 -- it might be convenient to say at this stage that from February 4th, 1954, to May 6th 1954, Lionel Forman, of 6 Barrack Street, Cape Town (30 was responsible for political matter as endorsed on each issue.

Now, Advance, May 20th, 1954, page 2, the editorial,  
"Malan Budgets for War; People must fight for peace." -

But what emergency do we face today that justifies the enormous sums of money that are devoted to "defence?"

What armies threaten our shores, what foreign power has expressed an intention to invade us? Who can pretend the danger is so acute that we must be compelled, in peace time, to carry a financial burden as great as at the height of the war?

No justification: The justification given by the Malan Government is that South Africa is threatened by the Soviet Union, People's China, the Vietnam Democratic Republic, the North Koreans, Pandit Nehru, the Mau Mau and international Bolshevism in general. In the tension and hysteria of the cold war it has been necessary for our rulers to manufacture a monster, any monster, which will satisfy the public that more and more millions must be spent on defence. It is time for the people to state categorically that there is no danger to South Africa except that of our Government's own making. The danger flows from the Malan Government's association with American imperialism, which, in the pursuit of bigger and bigger profits (including those of the armaments manufacturers) and the maintenance of world capitalism, has ringed the countries of people's democracy and socialism with innumerable military bases and is trying to weld together an unholy alliance of the Western nations for outright war.

I go next Milords to the issue of the 10th June, 1954. On page 1 - "Remembering the Rosenbergs." -

Commemorating Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the tragic martyrs to McCarthyism, who were executed one year ago,

the Johannesburg Youth forum has called a memorial meeting at 4a Kort Street for Wednesday, June 16, at 8 p.m. Mr. Lionel Forman, who was himself in Europe at the time will speak on the way in which the trial was framed up, and the reaction of the people in Europe (5 and elsewhere. Other speakers will include Mr. L. Bernstein and Mr. A.M. Kathrada.

The issue of the 17th June, 1954, page 5 - "International summary by commentator. U.S. Wants to be Atom-Boss of the World." I content myself with the descriptive headnote. (10 The issue of the 24th June, 1954, "Chief Luthuli's June 26 message through Advance. -

On June 26, all fighters for freedom must resolve to fight and die together and never turn back until freedom is won. This is the inspiring message to the people (15 of South Africa from Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, in a statement to advance. The message says since 1950 June 26 has become a special day in the struggle of the Liberatory Movement of South Africa, and its significance will grow (20 until freedom is attained. The significance of June 26 is that it enshrines the determination of the oppressed people in the Union of South Africa to fight unitedly for their liberation from oppression; it enshrines their hope for the realisation of a Government of the (25 people, by the people and for the people, and not for Europeans only.

Remember those who died. We must call to mind all those men and women who at different times in our history have laid down their lives or made other sacrifices in the (30 struggle for our rights and our freedom. June 26 must



be a day of strengthening bonds of sympathy and determination to build a united front against oppression. Remembering the past and bearing in mind our duty for the future, we must on this day dedicate ourselves afresh to the cause of securing freedom in our land during (5 our life-time, and inspired by the supreme sacrifice already made by many, we must resolve afresh to speed ahead to democracy and freedom for all, concludes the message. ....

This appears in the policy schedule, page 26, item 29, (10 and page 42, item 19. Now, on page 2 of the issue, editorial "A farewell to Parliament," that is the descriptive headnote, and on page 6,

Ruth First at World Peace Meeting. Miss Ruth First, a member of the executive committee of the South African (15 Peace Council, attended the extraordinary meeting of the World Peace Council held recently in Berlin. The purpose of the meeting was to bring all the force of the peace movement into action to arouse public opinion for the success of the Geneva Conference in relaxing international (20 tension and bringing about disarmament.

I come now to the issue of July 1st, 1954. Page 1 "Waterloo of Apartheid." This appears in the policy schedule, page 32, item 9 - and it is an extract or quotation from Moses Kotane's book, that the Western Areas should be the Waterloo (25 of apartheid. This is quoted again by somebody else, by Yusuf Cachalia, and he says -

I see in the battle of the Western Areas the Waterloo of Apartheid, says Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, hon. joint secretary of the S.A.I.C., pledging support for Chief (30 Luthuli's call for 50,000 volunteers for the campaign

against apartheid. "The democratic alliance must come to grips with the forces of reaction. United action of the non-White people to the Western Areas scheme has great significance."

That is the whole article. And further down on page 1, (5  
"Freedom in Our time."

We must strengthen the forces of peace and strike out at those who want war and those who remain indifferent to the miseries of mankind, declared Dr. G.M. Naicker president of the Natal Indian Congress, when he addressed (10 the mass rally at the Gandhi Library last week. We must organise and strengthen our respective organisations and by our massive protest make known to the Government our desire for peace and freedom. We must fight back with all our resources to achieve freedom in our life-time. (15 Mr. Naicker emphasised the next step in the struggle for freedom was the Congress of the People, which would give expression to the hopes and desires of the oppressed people of South Africa.

And then on page 4 - (20

Durban people back W. Areas. -

This also appears on page 32, item 9 of the policy schedule.

A pledge not to rest until all races enjoy equal opportunities and segregation and apartheid are things of the past was taken at a June 26 Heroes Day meeting here that (25 packed the Gandhi Library to overflowing. After hearing speakers from the Congresses the people resolved to cherish the principles of democracy. A second resolution condemned the Nationalist Government's autocratic decision to remove the peoples of the Western Areas from their homes (30 and pledged the threatened people whole-hearted support

in their determined stand to defend their homes.

And then on page 5 "50,000 volunteers to prepare Freedom Congress -

A call for 50,000 voluntary organisers to propagate the plan for the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples was (5 issued in a joint declaration by the African National Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, the South African Indian Congress and the S.A. Congress of Democrats, made at the Cape Provincial conference of the A.N.C. held here over the weekend. The (10 statement announced the start of a new Union-wide campaign against apartheid, centred round the campaign to defeat Verwoerd's Western Areas removal scheme.

Mass Election....Purpose of the Congress was to draw up a Freedom Charter in which the freedom ideals of the South (15 African people would be embodied.

Page 5 "International Summary by Commentator. World Revolt Grows against American Domination." Only the descriptive title is mentioned. On page 6, "Trade Union column by Ray Alexander. What Liberal capitalists want." - (20

Verwoerd's policy leads to stagnation and vicious oppression. Oppenheimer's policy is dynamic and provides scope for expansion. I have no hesitation in saying that the Oppenheimer policy is the better.

No Friend of the Workers. Neither, however, is a friend (25 of the non-European or of the working class. When the depression comes Oppenheimer will have no compunction in following a policy of "lower pay packets and unemployment." There is a fundamental contradiction in the South African society which neither the Oppenheimers nor the (30 Verwoerds can solve. The contradiction exists between

the interests of the handful of exploiters whom they represent and the interests and needs of the working people of all races. The Liberal capitalist are just as much bound up with the system of White domination as (5 are the Nationalists. That is why the U.P. representative of the industrial and mining interests have accepted and perpetuated the colour bar. The Oppenheimers demand the unlimited right to exploit African workers; they do not demand the removal of apartheid laws that deny Africans freedom of occupation and democratic rights. (10

Then I go to the issue of the 8th July, 1954 - "Government Inciting Mood for Blood-bath. Fear of Plan for 50,000 volunteers."

Dangerous signs that the Nationalist Government is in a state bordering on hysteria over the plan to raise a (15 50,000 volunteer army for the mobilisation of opinion and action against the Western Areas Removal Scheme were shown last week in statements by the Minister of Justice and the chief of the S.A. Police threatening to shoot down the people and accusing the liberation Congresses (20 of "setting up a Communist-controlled master planning council." In an outspoken reply on behalf of the African National Congress, Mr. Walter Sisulu, the General Secretary, warned that the police were embarking on a campaign of terror and intimidation in order to frighten people (25 away from the national organisations and to create panic among the Europeans," This would create conditions which could lead to a blood-bath, he warned..... The only conclusion we can arrive at is that these methods are aimed at silencing all opposition to the ruling party and thereby (30 finally establishing a police state in South Africa.

Page 2, editorial "Freedom for all in South Africa," -

Magna Charta of Liberty - First the Western Areas removal scheme with its threatened chain reaction through the length and breadth of South Africa must be defeated. Ahead lies the Congress of the People, which will seal (5 and sign the Magna Charta of South African liberty.

Then on page 7 - "Trade Union Column by Ray Alexander.

African Workers must be organised" -

It seems to me that practical action along these lines wherever there is most need of trade unionism and oppor-(10 tunity for it to develop will provide the best basis for common understanding and solidarity between all sections of the working-class. Long Live the unity and solidarity of the workers of the whole world! Workers! Forward in the struggle to improve your wages, to raise(15 your living standards, to defend and win trade union rights, democracy, liberty and freedom for all!

And then on page 8, "Best A.N.C. Youth Conference yet." It refers to the opening address of W. Sisulu -

he emphasised the important role youth had to play in (20 the liberation movement, but he pointed out that as the Youth League was not a policy-making organ of the A.N.C. it had to carry into effect A.N.C. policy without reservation. .... The decision of the executive to affiliate to the World Federation of Democratic Youth was (25 endorsed by the conference, which saluted world youth and pledged full solidarity with them in the fight to end colonialism, fascism and war, and in the demand for national independence and freedom for all peoples, Mr. J.G. Matthews was re-elected national president, with (30 Mr. R. Resha as acting president; Mr D. Nokwe was

elected national secretary and Dr. W. Conco treasurer. The committee included Messrs. Tshume, Ntsangana, Makgothi, Stemel, Zondani, Letlaka, Tshehlana and Dr. Mji. Then I come to the issue of July 15th, 1954, page 4 only, "Forces of Reaction Doomed, Luthuli tells Indian Congress - (5 The history of humanity is one of moving from slavery to freedom -- up from slavery, and not back to slavery. Thus there is no hope for the forces of reaction, declared Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress when he opened the National (10 Conference of the S.A. Indian Congress here last week. This speech was read in as A.82, I think. I come to the issue of July 22nd, 1954, editorial on page 2, "A Warm wind blows from the east."

Something is happening "behind the Iron Curtain" that (15 is disturbing, frightening, alarming, causing anxiety and giving sleepless nights to all those whose vocation in life is to see that the cold war is kept up. Without knowing the exact cause of this anxiety, one would think at least that it constituted a deadly menace to life and (20 limb. But it is nothing of the kind. What, then, is this latest scare? It can be summed up in a word - friendship. Out of the Soviet Union and the lands allied to her are coming a stream of friendly ambassadors, chess players, sportsmen of every description, dancers, singers, artists (25 writers and musicians. There come new films, the musical scores of wonderful symphonies and operas; books, poems and works of art and fine craftsmanship. The spirit and the message of all these, though differing widely in their nature, have one common underlying unity: they speak (30 of peace and the shared desire of the human race to live

in happiness and security, tackling their own problems.  
And then on page 3 - "America alone and hated on World  
political front. Aggression and War-Mongering." -

United States tactics at the Geneva Conference, in the  
Far East and Middle East and in Guatemala during the past(5  
weeks have further alienated world opinion, and it is true  
to say that never before have so many people in so many  
countries hated the U.S. war-mongers so much. War in  
the Far East, leading to World War III, was averted by a  
hair's breadth in April, when the U.S. was ready to (10  
strat atom-bombing in Indo-China. Later the U.S. was  
trying every desperate manoeuvre to smash the Geneva  
talks.

And then on page 5, "Centre of Campaign."

But the centre of our campaign will be the threat to (15  
the Western Areas, since this is the battlefield the  
Nationalists have chosen on which to prove their unre-  
strained might to inflict unforgettable defeat on men  
who believe in human rights and liberties. We call on  
the citizens of South Africa to take part in the camp- (20  
aign launched. We call for 50,000 South Africans to  
volunteer for active, intensive work in our campaign,  
mobilising a spirit of resistance to apartheid and carry-  
ing to every corner of the country the message that we  
must stand and fight until apartheid is defeated." (25

From the Heroes Day call by the President of the African  
National Congress, Chief A.J. Luthuli.

I come now to the issue of the 29th July, 1954, page 2, the  
editorial, only the caption and first paragraph -

Education or slavery. Like some insidious disease whose(30  
symptoms cannot at first be felt, the operation of the

Bantu Education Act is creeping through South Africa. Warnings have been made by the African leadership, but the time has come for more practical and considered plans. The Act is a cornerstone of Malan's entire structure of apartheid. It is a blueprint for the enslavement of (5 the African people.

I am not reading from the issue of August 5th, 1953. The issue of August 12th, 1954, I read from page 2, "Congress of the People, an historical step forward." This is sponsoring the Congress of the People, and I content myself with (10 that summary and saying that the final two paragraphs are

Halt the march to a police state! Forward to the Congress of the People!

This appears in the policy schedule, page 15, item 107C -

Many readers of Advance will be playing their parts (15 in the Congress of the People -- by going to the Congress as delegates...

this is from the editor, and this article is shown as having been written by Dr. Y.M. Dadoo. Then the issue of the 19th August, 1954, page 1, "Protest Against police Raids. Same (20 kind of weapon Hitler used."

In a new wave of police action against the people two conferences in Durban and one in Cape Town were raided over the weekend, and a number of individuals were arrested. But the people refuse to be intimidated. "The ele- (25 ment of fear that the Nationalists are attempting to create by police raids is the same kind of weapon as Hitler used," said Father Trevor Huddleston at a Western Areas Protest meeting in Durban. "The mere fact that this meeting is being held is a great thing because it (30 demonstrates that we are not going to be intimidated by



fear," he added. At the National Action Council of the Congress of the People a resolution was passed unanimously condemning the Minister of Justice for using police "not as guardians of law and order but to further the political aims of the Nationalist Party." (5 And then the article goes on to speak of the National Action Council for the Congress of the People which was raided - The police found out where the meeting was being held by following Chief Luthuli's car. Representatives of the African and Indian Congresses, the S.A. Coloured (10 Peoples Organisation and the S.A. Congress of Democrats attended, and there were observers from the South African Liberal Party. Delegates had come from all parts of the country. The conference was held on the north coast of Natal .....The documents taken by the police (15 demonstrate our objectives clearly -- a peaceful campaign for the convening of a Congress of the People at which all the peoples of South Africa will have the opportunity of formulating a Freedom Charter."

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Now, what are you reading all this (20 for?

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: I'm not reading any more from this paragraph.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: No, what is the purpose of that? Exactly what is the purpose of that? (25

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: Well, firstly, Milord, the argument will be that this paper, follows the same trend as the organisations, saying that the police and the State are oppressing them.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Yes, there is a complaint that the (30 police oppressed them. Why must we hear about the police

having followed Luthuli's car, and pamphlets setting out what the real purpose was? Why must we listen to that if that is the only object?

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: Well, Milord, I won't quote any further from this article. The next is the editorial, page 2. (5 "Police State," in the middle of the article. -

South Africa has never been a democracy and acts of tyranny and oppression against the people have been perpetrated by all its governments. But never has South Africa so closely approximated to a police state (10 as now. ....

Time to Choose. South Africans who sit idly by while freedom is being murdered in this country will be judged in future as the Germans were judged who, whether from fear or indifference, remained silent under the Nazi terror. (15 More so now, in the shape of the Congress of the People, there is an opportunity for all, of whatever shade of opinion or colour, to come together and voice their unanimous protest against the continuation of the Nationalist terror, and their demand for the road to be (20 opened to freedom, equality and justice for all in a new South Africa. In the struggle which is being waged today there can be no neutrals. Those who are against the people are for Malan. And Those who are for the People must get up on their hind legs now and say so. (25 The choice between freedom and slavery cannot be postponed any longer.

On page 6, three paragraphs from Trade Union Column by Ray Alexander "Trade Unions must stand by basic principles -

The workers will never be able to defend their interests (30 adequately. If they base their actions on the principles laid down by the ruling class to express its own interests.

....The European, Coloured and Indian worker cannot afford to lose the goodwill of the African workers. He must never place himself in the position where he can be accused of being a tool of the ruling class and of applying apartheid against his fellow African workers. (5 He must keep his hands clean by keeping the door open to complete workers unity.

I am not quoting anything from the issue of August 26th, 1954. I quote from September 2nd, 1954, page 2, Editorial.

"A Call to the Coloured People." - (10

We have said before, and we say again now: the whole future of the Coloured people is at stake. What is more, they stand to lose whatever advantages they have hitherto enjoyed over other sections of the non-European population. from now on, clearly, there cannot be (15 freedom for the Coloured people unless there is equally freedom for the Africans and Indians, and, indeed for all South Africans without discrimination. This realisation need cause no despair among the Coloured people. Rather it should rouse them to a great effort to main- (20 tain and extend their rights and to build a South Africa in which the nightmare of fear and uncertainty which has beset the Coloured people in recent years should be dissipated for ever. In the struggle for survival there can be no appeasement. The Coloured people must throw aside (25 their hesitations, organise and fight back on every front. Above all, they must play their full part in the forthcoming Congress of the People, where tens of thousands of South Africans of all races and colours are to come together to draft a Freedom Charter. This Congress is (30 not going to be a congress of leaders -- it is going to

to be a congress of the rank and file, of the masses, in which no manor woman is too humble to take part. Let the Coloured people now join hands with their African, Indian and European fellow citizens who are determined not to let Malan have his way, and through (5 the Congress of the People strike a resounding blow for liberty in South Africa.

Then on page 6 "Fight Until the Dawn of Freedom." This is shown on the policy schedule, page 13, item 85;, and page 22, item 45, and also in schedule 3, page 7. This farewell(10 message has already been read to the Court. I shall give Your Lordships the reference later. On the 9th September, 1954, an issue, on the first page "Long Live Advance," and I read a portion of this article "Swift Response to Government Attack." - (15

Leading officials of the Congresses, Tambo of the A.N.C., and Cachalia of the S.A.I.C., have stated that the preservation of Advance is a matter of vital concern to the progressive movement. Advance performs an invaluable service to the entire democratic cause in South (20 Africa, declared a statement by the executive of the S.A. Congress of Democrats. We call upon every branch, every member and every supporter to rally to the defence of the people's fighting newspaper. We express fullest solidarity with Bunting and his editorial and adminis- (25 trative staff, now under fire for their gallant championship of the cause of the oppressed people...The Rev. D.C. Thompson also expressed keenest indignation. "I've always regarded Advance as the guardian of the people," he said. "It gives facts and information about the (30 lives of the people of South Africa that I have been unable

to find anywhere else. It is the duty of every man of goodwill to resist this latest attempt to encroach on people's liberties by a rampant police state." In a strong statement of protest the Cape Western Region of the S.A. Congress of Democrats declares: Advance has a (5 long record of courageous and uncompromising opposition to and exposure of the hated policies of White supremacy and apartheid; of whole-hearted support for the South African Democratic front led by the Congress Movement. We call upon every South African to regard the attack (10 on Advance as an attack on his own right freely to criticise the Government. Rally to the support of your newspaper! Deeds are required as well as words. Advance must be read in the house of every democrat, and financial support must be given as never before. Swart (15 must not be allowed to silence the people's newspaper. Long Live Advance. ....Mr. Leo Levy, general secretary of the National Union of Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing Workers, said - Advance has been singled out because of its unbroken record of outspokenly express-(20 ing the feelings and opinions of the working class and all true democrats."...

Page 3, an article "Colonial Youth Fights for Freedom."

In this exclusive report from Peking, Ruth First describes the opening of the Council meeting of the World(25 Federation of Democratic Youth last month. South Africa was represented by Miss First and Mr. Albert Sachs, extracts from whose speeches are reproduced below. In the magnificent hall in the old Imperial Palace in which the Republic of China was proclaimed five years (30 ago, youth delegates from all corners of the globe met

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lastmonth at the opening of the Council meeting of the  
World Federation of Democratic Youth.

That is the end of this document.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES 24/9/1959:APPEARANCES AS BEFORE:

BY MR. VAN NIEKERK: Milords, I now read from the issue of the 23rd September, 1954. I omit the issue of the 16th September, 1954. I read from the editorial on page 2, (5 "The Nats are Frightened," and on the same page "Luthuli protests at Attack on Advance." "Democrats Must Rally to Defend Freedom." -

In making this protest personally and also as leader of the liberation movement in the Union of South Africa (10 I earnestly invite all freedom-loving people to add to the volume of protest which I am confident will be made. Also in protest rally to our Liberation Movement through your national organisation....

I go then to the issue of the 7th October, 1954, on page 4, (15 "Life is Punishment for Colonial Youth, Call for Independence and freedom," from Ruth First. -

The Council of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which has concluded its session in this city, has been unanimous in its condemnation of the colonial system (20 and its effect on young people. In plenary sessions and on commissions 120 young people spoke on this agenda item, and, whether from Council members or observers from world or national youth bodies not affiliated to the W.F.D.Y., there was not a single speech in defence (25 of colonialism. This is the system, said the final declaration of the meeting, which dooms young people to a life of poverty, famine, unemployment, epidemics, illiteracy and race discrimination. It deprives people of the right to decide their own future, obstructs (30 their economic development and suppresses their national culture. The declaration called on the youth of colonial

countries to resist all repression, all intervention by foreign powers in the affairs of their countries and the dragging of colonial and dependent countries into war blocs.

And then on page 6, an article "Africans say No to War." (5 by Walter M. Sisulu. This also appears in schedule 3, page 7, I am reading three paragraphs of this article -

Africans and other colonial peoples are greatly concerned with the preparations and propaganda for war which are being made so intensively by certain countries, especially by America. Under the cloak of defending itself against Communism, the Government of the United States of America is devoting all its resources and its financial power to propagating war, mobilising its economy for war and producing frightful weapons of mass(15 destruction. It has war bases in five continents, and, particularly in South-East Asia and China -- it is actively and forcefully intervening in the internal affairs of other countries. Many Africans do not understand why oppressed people should be very much concerned(20 with peace movements. They think, perhaps, that the war preparations are being directed only against far-away countries like Russia and China. They do not realise that these wars are specifically directed against the colonial and semi-colonial countries and, therefore, (25 against the liberatory movement itself.

End Colonialism. The liberatory movement in Africa wants an end to colonialism and imperialism. At the Berlin Conference in 1884-5 European countries, including Britain and America, discussed and decided on the shar-(30 ing of the African continent, with complete disregard for



the people of Africa. The African people a hundred years later are coming forward to right that historic injustice and to claim their right to freedom, self-government and independence. They are opposed to war and must extend their friendship to other people who (5 have similar aims at home and abroad. They are opposed to the establishment of war bases on the African continent....

The Lesson. I am satisfied that our people have learnt the lesson and that they shall honour the declarations (10 made by our leaders from time to time, namely, that we shall never be parties to any aggressive imperialist war, that we do not want our country converted into a war theatre. Our youth has made a very important pronouncement, and that is -- we shall not lift a finger against (15 people with whom we have no quarrel for the benefit of outsiders. We must, once more, tell America with her satellites to lay their hands off China; the British to lay their hands off Kenya; the French off North Africa. People must be educated about these facts. (20 This is part and parcel of the struggle we are daily waging, and it must be intensified.

And then finally I am reading from the Advance of October 21st, 1954, the editorial, on page 2. "Malan Departs."

And then under the heading "Dictatorship" - (25

Under the Malan regime the complete structure of a dictatorship has been established by such legislation as the Suppression of Communism Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act, and Public Safety Act. The Bantu Education Act has slammed the door of learning in the face of the African (30 people. Unbridled racialism has been inflamed, finding

its legal expression in such measures as the Group Areas Act, and the Western Areas plan, the Population Registration Act, the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts. In implementing these Acts and taking action against the resistance of the people, the police have been assured by the Minister of Justice that they have his backing in anything they care to do. Dr. Malan's South Africa, as it has taken shape and shown its ugly face since 1948, is a vicious prison house for the people; an emergent police-state of the Hitler-type reaching out to crush the press the trade unions and every free institution. Why does the United Party and its newspaper press seek to conceal and cover up these facts, notorious throughout the world? Why instead do we get these ridiculous panegyrics about the model of courtesy and the beautiful friendship between Mrs. Malan and Mrs. Strauss? The answer is not difficult to find. The United Party and the big business interests behind it have made their deal with the Nationalists. Political controversy is bad for business and bad for foreign investments, and criticism of the Government also has an unsettling effect on labour and the non-European population. Best to come to terms.

Then yesterday I gave Your Lordships certain references, in the Advance of 15th July, 1954, the speech of Luthuli, the reference I gave is A.82. That is wrong, it is A.83. Then, in the Advance of the 2nd September, 1954, there is an article "Fight until the Dawn of Freedom." The correct reference here is A.101. I was under a misapprehension about the Advance of 8th April, 1954, the article "Build Yet a Mightier Congress." Extracts from Walter Sisulu's Port Elizabeth Speech This appears on page 2 of April 8th, which is reflected in policy schedule, item 28. This has not been read. And I

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