

The great interest which this Congress has aroused comes from the fact that three urgent questions figure on the agenda. The first point is the past activity of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the next tasks of the unions in strengthening unity of action of the workers in the struggle to raise the standard of living and in the defence of peace. In the second point will be figures the tasks of the unions for economic and social development, the struggle for national independence and democratic liberties in the capitalist and colonial countries. The third point will be devoted to the problems of developing the trade union movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

These questions which are vital to the mass of women workers of all countries will be discussed from the rostrum of the Congress by the representatives of men and women workers, and women workers are particularly interested in their being solved." You identify and hand in documents E.182, 183, 184, 185 and 186? --- Yes, My Lord.

My Lords, and then there is one document which is not on the list, although it is in Column 3, it is a letter 101(b) dated the 21st January, 1954, to the General Secretary, International Union of Students, from the Secretary of the South African Peace Council. Now the contents of this letter, apart from the organisation to which it was directed, is the same as E.100 which will still be handed in. You hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

My Lord, that disposes of the documents falling in Schedule 3 which were taken by this witness

on the occasion of the search on the 28th September, 1955. Now these documents that you have just handed in, Sergeant van Lapendorp, all these documents, they were all found at the offices of the South African Peace Council on the 28th September, 1955? --- Yes, My Lord. 5

Now My Lords, may we now deal with the documents set forth in Column 1 of the Schedule. The documents in this list are in a somewhat different position. We will endeavour, My Lords, to cut down the reading of the documents to the minimum. The first 10 document is E.1. It is a document dated the 28th April. "Minutes of the Committee Meeting, Organising Committee for National Peace Congress." :

"Present : Messrs. Cachalia and Kathrada (TIC); Jasset (TICYL), Mrs. Ngoyi and Mr. Seperepere 15 (ANC Tvl); Messrs. Cousins and Heyman (S.L.); Mrs. Bernstein (IC).

1. Delegates from African Territories.

It was agreed to invite fraternal delegates from organisations in neighbouring territories, and 20 also from North Africa and Egypt. Mr. Cachalia undertook to obtain names and addresses of the organisations..."

I am sorry, My Lord, we are not relying on paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 4. The next paragraph 5 we rely on : 25

"5. Officials.

Mr. M. Cachalia. - Chairman.

Joint Secretaries : Miss Watts and Kathrada."

The Minutes were read and accepted by Mr. I. A. Cachalia, Chairman. Do you know a man by the name of Kathrada? 30 of the T.I.C.? --- Yes, My Lord.

Can you identify him? --- Yes, My Lord.

1852.

(G.T. VAN PAPENDORF)  
(E.1)

Will you identify him? --- (WITNESS IDENTIFIES ACCUSED NO. 3)

Do you know a Mrs. Ngoyi? --- Yes, My Lord.

Can you identify her? --- Yes, My Lord.

(WITNESS IDENTIFIES ACCUSED NO. 14).

5

You identify and hand in this document E.1?

--- Yes, My Lord.

Will you just have a look at the exhibits numbered on this List No. 1, and up to 255. Now Mr. van Papendorp, with the documents in front of you - E.1 has gone in? --- Yes, My Lord.

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Have a look at E.2? --- Yes, My Lord.

E.4; E.5; E.6; E.8; E.9; E.10; E.11; E.12; E.13; E.14; E.16; E.18; E.19; E.20; E.21; E.23; E.24; E.25; E.26; E.26(a); E.27; E.30; E.30(a); E.31; E.35; E.35(a); E.36; E.37; E.38; E.39; E.40; E.42; E.44; E.47; E.48; E.49; E.51; E.53; E.54; E.55; E.56; E.57; E.60; E.62; E.70; E.76; E.77; E.78; E.79; E.80; E.80(a); E.82; E.85; - I am sorry, E.84; E.88; E.94; E.98; E.100; E.101(a), (b) and (c) - Those are in already, the E.101 (a), (b) and (c), I am sorry. E.102; E.106; E.109; E.114; E.122; E.123; E.124; E.125; E.128; E.130; E.131; E.132; E.133; E.135; E.134; E.136; E.137; E.138; E.142(a)? --- Yes, My Lord.

15

20

The numbers that have been read out and which you identified you all found on this occasion of the 28th November, 1955, at the S.A.F.C. offices? --- Yes, My Lord.

Now E.2, "Minutes of the Organising Committee for a National Peace Congress, Wednesday May 6th.

"Present : ... Kathrada, Cachalia, O'Dowd (Congress of Democrats), Mrs. Ngoyi, Miss Watts....."

30

"Confirmed, A. I. Cachalia, Chairman".

1853. (G.F. VAN FAENDORF)  
(E.2, E.4)

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

E.4 is also "Minutes of the Organising  
Committee for the National Peace Congress, 10th June,  
1953.

"Present : Messrs. Kathrada, Lipman, Watts, Ngoyi." 5

There is a paragraph "Agenda for Congress :

"Suggested agenda was discussed as follows :

1. Evening before Congress starts : Mr. Fischer  
to speak at public meeting on what Vienna achieved,  
how we can follow the same methods. 10

2. Saturday morning and afternoon, division into  
commissions :

(a) The World Today - Wars in Progress - Korea,  
Germ Warfare, the 5 Power Pact; 15

(b) Colonialism, Africa and Peace. Kenya, Federa-  
tion, Racialism. 15

(c) The People and Peace - Cost of Living, Armaments  
Race, the politics of war, Uranium production.

(d) The Peace Movement - what it is, what it should  
be and how it works." 20

Under the paragraph "Chairman for Congress" :

"Thompson, Nana Sita, Dr. Molema, Dr. Nhlapo and  
Mr. Fischer".

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

The next document, E.5 is "Minutes of the  
Organising Committee for National Peace Congress,". 25

The names of those present include Kathrada, Mrs. Ngoyi  
and Miss Watts. You identify and hand in that document?

--- Yes, My Lord.

The next document, E.6, "Minutes of Prepara- 30  
tory Committee for S.A. Peace Congress, July, 22nd, 1953"

Those present include Kathrada and Miss Watts. The



Minutes also state under "Friday Night's Meeting" :

"Speakers should be Mr. Fischer and speakers representing organisations connected with the Congress - Legion, ANC, TIC, Students, etc. Chairman : Rev. Thompson."

5

You identify and hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

E.8 are "Minutes of the Working Committee held on the 13th September, 1953, Johannesburg". According to the Minutes it appears to the the Working Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress. Then there is a paragraph "Banns" which reads as follows :

"This Working Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress held on the 13th September, 1953, protests against the banns placed on the leaders and officials of the Peace Council, S.A.I.C., A.N.C., the Trade Unions, the C.O.D. and the Springbok Legion. It considers this as a direct attack on the rights of the people of South Africa to freedom of association, freedom of speech, freedom to elect officials of their own choice, freedom to fight against mass removals of population, freedom of trade union rights, freedom of worship and freedom of movement. The elementary rights of the individual are being destroyed in an arbitrary manner. This Working Committee requests that peace and freedom loving people of South Africa work unceasingly for the lifting of the banns and to unite with all sections in the struggle against oppression in South Africa. It demands that the Minister of Justice lifts the banns placed on Drs. Dadoo and Naicker, Chief Luthuli, Messrs.

15

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Marks, Bopapi, Thlumi, Y. Cachalia and Hilda Watts, also Kotane and other members of the Trade Union Movements, National Liberation and Peace Movements." Then it has a paragraph on page 2, "Election to Vacancies":

"Dr. H. Moosa was elected to the Executive Committee." 5

You identify and hand in Exhibit E.8? --- I do, My Lord.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES :

BY MR. TRENGOVE : 10

My Lords, the next is Exhibit E.9, "Minutes of a Meeting of the South African Peace Council, held at Kholvad House, Johannesburg, 28th November, 1953":

"Present : Rev. D.C. Thompson (in the Chair).

Twenty members." 15

Then My Lord, there is a paragraph 3 dealing with the Secretary's Report. "The Secretary's Report was given:

"Mr. L. Levy reported on the activities of the Transvaal Peace Council.

A written report from the Natal Peace Council was read. 20

Mr. Levy suggested that monthly reports should be submitted by the Provincial Councils to the South African Peace Council. Agreed that this would be desirable." 25

And then the Minutes under paragraph 5 :

"Election of Executive :

Nominations : Miss Watts; Mr. Kathrada; Mr. Levy;

Mr. Thandray; Miss First; Mr. Moosa, Mrs. Joseph,

Mr. Moretsele, Mr. Oliver and Mr. Lipman. 30

Then it states :

"Mr. Levy withdrew, the remaining fifteen were declared elected. Election of Miss Watts to be conditional upon her legal position allowing her to accept; similarly Mr. Lipman."

My Lord, then the Report states that three Resolutions 5  
were accepted. The Resolutions appear on page 3 of  
Exhibit E.9 and the Resolutions include the following :

"(1) The Council instructs the incoming Executive  
(i) to launch a new and vigorous Peace Campaign  
early in the New Year, in which the question of 10  
peace will be linked as closely as possible with  
South African affairs, and in which the apathy and  
defeatism of the great masses of peace loving  
South Africans will be transformed into militant  
support for the peace movement." 15

Then under the same Resolution 1, subparagraph (iii) :

"(iii) to contact peace loving people and organisa-  
tions throughout Africa in order to mobilise the  
people of this Continent in the cause of Peace."

And then a second Resolution states : 20

"2. The South African Peace Council expresses its  
horror at the increasingly cruel and indiscriminate  
manner in which hostilities are being waged in  
Kenya. The Council calls upon the peoples of the  
whole of Africa to unite in an irresistible 25  
demand for the ending of this futile and barbaric  
war."

Do you know a Mr. Moosa? --- Yes, My Lord.

Do you know Mrs. Joseph? --- Yes, My Lord.

Can you identify her? --- Yes, My Lord. 30

(WITNESS IDENTIFIES ACCUSED NO. 2)

Mr. Moretsele? --- Yes, I know him, My Lord.

1857. (G.I. VAN PAENDORE)  
(E.9)

Will you identify him please? --- (WITNESS  
IDENTIFIES ACCUSED NO. 12)

You identify and hand in this Exhibit E.9?

--- Yes, My Lord.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 1858)



1858.

(G.I. VAN PAPENDORF)  
(E.10)

The next is a document headed "Minutes - 12/1"54", and under "Membership" there is a paragraph :

"Agreed to co-opt three members to replace those who have been banned. Messrs. Taul Joseph, Henry Mogoti and Salim Saleh proposed and accepted. 5

Then under the heading "Secretariat" :

"Agreed to appoint a secretariat to attend to work between executive meetings. Secretariat to consist of the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, Messrs. Szur, O'Dowd and Joseph and Mrs. Slovo." 10

And then under the paragraph "Further Activities" :

"The following suggestions were referred to the Secretariat...." then it deals with the launching of a Peace Campaign in Africa, with leaflets and public meetings, "to prepare a new exhibition, emphasising African questions (Kenya Committee and Daily Worker to be contacted for material); to issue speakers notes and other material for use by the Provincial Councils; ..... to make use of Mr. Sisulu's report-back meetings, if necessary to assist in the organisation of such meetings and to request Mr. Sisulu to write an article for use by the Peace Council; .... to obtain material on Viet-Nam from international organisations and French publications..." 15 20 25

You identify and hand in this document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next is E.11. "Minutes of the Meeting of the Secretariat of the South African Peace Council, held on Friday, January 15th". Under the Column "Correspondence" there is a paragraph :

"Letter from NIC inviting fraternal delegate to

1859.

(G.I. VAN PALENDORI)  
(E.11)

the Provincial Congress on February 5th.

Agreed that attempts be made to send a fraternal delegate from Johannesburg and failing this to depute a member of the Peace Movement in Natal to attend on behalf of the Council."

5

Under the paragraph "Arising from Executive Meeting", there is paragraph 1 :

"1. Peace in Africa Campaign.

(a) Campaign Notes.

Agreed to draw up a set of campaign notes to incorporate the following points...." 10

and then a number of matters are mentioned, such as :

"racial discrimination; Central African Federation; Dismissal of Kabaka; Kenya, Establishment of war bases in Africa; and uranium production....." 15

(b) Exhibition.

Agreed that an exhibition around the theme of the campaign be prepared.... and the following organisations ... to be written to for material :

The Kenya Committee, London; the Daily Workers, London; The W.F.T.U. - particularly re shooting of workers in Nigeria; WIDF; WFDY; IUS; L'Humaité - particularly re French North Africa and Viet-Nam....." 20

(f) Provincial Councils.

Agreed that the Councils be informed of the forthcoming campaign and that their suggestions be forwarded to the secretariat. Further, that it be recommended to the TFC that the new ballot form be linked up with the campaign...." 25

You identify and hand in Exhibit E.11? --- I do, My Lord. 30

Exhibit E.12, "Secretariat Meeting, January 22nd, Minutes". Under the paragraph "Matters arising

From the Minutes":

"1. NIC Congress.

Agreed that the Natal Peace Council be asked to  
organise a series of meetings during the weekend of  
the NIC Conference. That Messrs. Sisulu, Cohen and 5  
Kathrada be asked to speak at such meetings and to  
discuss peace problems with the Council. Further  
that Kathrada be asked to speak at the NIC conference  
on our behalf. And that the NIC be asked to pass  
resolutions on peace." 10

Then there is paragraph 2, which deals with the African  
Peace Campaign. You identify and hand in Exhibit 12?  
--- I do, My Lord.

Then there is Exhibit E.13, "Natal Peace  
Council. Minutes of An Executive Meeting held at 6 Fem- 15  
broke Chambers, West Street, Durban on Saturday, 27th  
November, 1954". Then My Lords, there is a paragraph  
dealing with correspondence with the South African Peace  
Council, and there is a paragraph "Organisation" in which  
it is stated : 20

"After a lengthy discussion under this item, the  
following decisions were taken :

(a) That peace literature be sent to local C.O.I.  
Committees as a means of linking peace work with  
the C.O.I. 25

(b) That a public meeting on the question of German  
rearmament be held in the basement of the City Hall  
during the first week of January and that certain  
public figures be invited to address the meeting".

Under "General" : 30

"Agreed that statements be made on the following  
issues :

1861.

(G.I. VAN PAENDORF)  
(E.13)

- (a) German Rearmament;
- (b) Admission of China to UNO;
- (c) The banning of Advance;
- (d) The banning of peace leaders."

You identify and hand in this document, Exhibit E.13? --- 5

Yes, My Lord.

Then there is a document, "Representatives of Organisations on the Peace Congress Committee", E.14. Under the name of "Springbok Legion" certain names are given. Under the name of the "Transvaal Council of Non- 10 European Trade Unions" certain names are given. Under "A.N.C. (Transvaal)" the names of Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi and Mr. Marupeng Seperepere appear. Under the "Transvaal Indian Congress" the names of Mr. M. Cachalia and Mr. A. Kathrada appear. Under the name "Transvaal Peace 15 Council" the names of Hilda Watts, Alan Lipman, Ruth First and MacDonald Maseko appear. Then there is the "South African Union of Democratic Students", under which a name appears. Then there are the letters N.U.D.W. with certain names. And then, "The Congress of Democrats", 20 is represented. That is all that we are interested in. You identify and hand in E.14? --- I do, My Lord.

The next is an Exhibit E.16. "Messages from Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress and Dr. G. M. Naicker, President, Natal 25 Indian Congress to the Natal Provincial Conference on Peace held on Sunday, 12th July, 1953 at Durban." The first statement is signed - typed in A.J. Luthuli :

"I am glad to learn that the Natal Peace Conference is meeting in Durban. In this uncertain and troubled 30 times we appreciate the efforts of peace loving people to come together to promote universal peace.



I am aware of the forces of reaction that seem intent on plunging the world into strife which might result in a conflict never before witnessed in human history. One is all the more grateful for men and women throughout the world who band themselves together to use all legitimate means to oppose these forces of evil. v5

I trust that the Peace Conference taking place in Durban will be another strong link in the chain that is being forged by peace loving peoples in the world to oppose these evil forces. 10

I regret that I cannot attend this Conference on account of the ban imposed on me. I am thankful, however, that the ban cannot dampen my spirit to work for the liberation of the oppressed people in the Union of South Africa. 15

I am determined more than ever to devote my life to this cause of Freedom and Peace."

Then there is a statement by Dr. Naicker :

"Mankind, if it is to survive must take effective steps to preserve the peace of the world. It is not only necessary for the common people throughout the world to pledge themselves to the cause of peace, but it is even more necessary for us to eliminate all those things which stand in the way of peaceful co-existence of the different nations and peoples who go to make the human race. 20 25

In our country, South Africa, those who believe in peace and peaceful methods of solving differences must realise that colour discrimination stands solidly in the path of better human relationship. 30  
In the international plane race discrimination has

1863.

(G.F. VAN PAPENDORF)  
(E.16)

within it the seeds of a global conflict. Onward  
to a South Africa free from race discrimination!  
Onward to a lasting peace in this troubled world!"  
You hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next is a document E.18. It is a roneod 5  
document "First South African Peace Congress" August  
22, 23, 1953, Draft Resolutions. Then there is a Resolu-  
tion dealing with the World Today. Then there is a  
Resolution dealing with "Africa, Colonialism and War".  
And there is a resolution "The Peace Movement in South 10  
African Today", which reads as follows :

"Conference resolves that the South African Peace  
Council be established :

To express and organise the aspirations of all  
sections of the South African people for world 15  
peace;

To represent the peace loving people of South Africa  
in building unity of the movements of the peoples  
for peace in all countries of the world.

We delegates from many organisations pledge our 20  
fullest support to the South African Peace Council  
and promise to work with our full might to broaden  
and strengthen it."

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

My Lord, I may just say that the Resolutions 25  
on Colonialism and Peace stresses that the cause of  
world peace would be strengthened by the participation  
of the peoples of Africa in the World Peace Movement.  
Then the following document is E.19, "Minutes of Secre-  
tariat Meeting, Friday the 28th", and under "Matters 30  
Arising" it is reported :

"That arrangements were in hand to send a represen-

tative to the Conference, the N.I.C. Conference,  
and it is agreed that the peace message to be sent  
for inclusion in the Agenda Book."

It deals with the "Africa for Peace Campaign", and it  
says :

5

"3. Copies of the World Peace Council documents  
on the atom bomb be obtained from the World Peace  
Council.

It is also agreed that the World Peace Council be  
asked to send all documents of this type to the  
Provincial Councils direct".

10

You hand in E.19? --- Yes, My Lord.

E.20, "Draft Rules for the Transvaal Peace  
Council", paragraph 1 of which reads :

"Transvaal Peace Council is a provincial body of the  
South African Peace Council, supporting its aims and  
objects".

15

You hand in document E.20? --- I do, My Lord.

Then My Lords, there is a document E.21,  
"Draft Constitution of the South African Peace Council",  
paragraph 1 of which sets out the name, paragraph 2 is  
"The Aims and Objects" :

20

"The Aims and Objects of the Council shall be to work  
for the cause of peace amongst all sections of the  
population of South Africa, (ii) to co-ordinate with  
other bodies interested in the cause of peace inside  
and outside South Africa, and to co-operate with the  
World Peace Council. (iii) To assist and co-ordi-  
nate the work of other bodies engaged in working  
for peace in Southern Africa, and (iv) to promote  
activities for peace by all possible means, to form  
provincial and local peace bodies in South Africa."

25

30

1865. (G.I. VAN LAEENDORI)  
(E.21)

Then My Lords, there is a paragraph (vi) which sets out the composition - paragraph (iv) which sets out the composition of the various Executive Bodies consisting of a General Council, and paragraph (vi) deals with the functions of the Executive Committee." You identify and hand in Exhibit E.21? --- I do, My Lord. 5

The next, My Lord, is a roneod document, the "Road to Liberty", with the name L. Bernstein printed on page 5, which is the same as Exhibit C.52. That is, E.23 is the same as C.52 which is already before the Court, and it is put in to the same extent. You identify and hand in this document? -- I do, My Lord. 10

The next, is a Roneod document, "The World We Live in", it is the same as Exhibit A.84. You identify and hand in E.24? --- I do, My Lord. 15

The next is Exhibit E.25, which is a roneod document "Change is Needed". It is the same as Exhibit A.86 which is already before the Court? --- I identify and hand in, My Lord.

Then My Lords, the next is E.26, a roneod document, "Transvaal Action Committee to the Congress of the People, 8 Somerset House, Fox Street, Johannesburg, 18th August, 1954". It is Addressed to "Dear Friend" : 20

"As a delegate to the inspiring conference to launch the Congress of the People held at the Trades Hall on July 25th, you are now fully aware of all the aims and objects of the campaign." 25

And then it deals with enrolment of Freedom Volunteers and other matters in connexion with the Freedom Charter, and the collection of demands. And then it is signed, "I. Mathole, A. Iatel, S. Lollan, D. Weinberg, for the Transvaal Action Committee for the Congress of the People". 30



1866. (G.I. VAN LATENDORI)  
(E.26A)

You identify and hand in this document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next document is E.26A, which is  
"South African Peace Council", a typed letter, dated the  
24th September, 1954 to the Transvaal, Natal and Cape  
Peace Councils. Under paragraph (b) there is a chapter 5  
dealing with the "Congress of the People" which states :

"As pointed out above we must utilise the preparations  
for the Congress in order to raise the level of  
peace work and to win the support of thousands for  
the peace movement. There are two ways of doing 10  
this.

In the first place, the numerous meetings which  
will be organised by the C.O.P. organisers will  
provide an opportunity for putting over peace policy.  
Thus in each province the local C.O.P. committees 15  
must be approached and asked to allow a member of  
the Peace Council to address all such meetings.  
Then it should be seen that articles on peace  
are contained in the various C.O.P. Bulletins.

..... In the second place we have to publish our own 20  
material dealing with these aspects. It will be  
our special task to see that peace becomes an  
integral of the Freedom Charter and in order to do  
this we will have to increase both our printed  
material and the number of meetings, conferences, 25  
etc. which we hold." Signed "For Secretariat".

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

E.27 is a document "Speaking Together,  
Congress of the People Bulletin, No. 2, End of August,  
1954." My Lord, this document was put in previously, 30  
a similar one, under B.32. And we put it in to the same  
extent and for the same purpose? --- I identify and hand

1867.

(G.I. VAN FAENDORI)  
(E.30)

in, My Lord.

The next document, My Lord, is E.30. E.30 consists, My Lord, firstly of a covering letter dated the 24th January, 1955, signed "For Secretariat, South African Peace Council, Johannesburg", and it is addressed 5 to "Dear Friend" :

"Enclosed please find the draft reports prepared by the South African Peace Council on questions of policy and organisation.

Please study these reports carefully and discuss 10 them fully. The Council attaches great importance to the setting up of Peace Circles, and we would like to know your suggestions for the formation of such circles.

During this week your Council will be informed of 15 the date of the forthcoming meeting of the South African Peace Council where these documents will be fully discussed."

Then attached to this letter are firstly the "Peace Movement and the Congress of the People," a rounded document 20 which is the same as the document handed in as Exhibit A.248. Also attached to this letter is a further document, document 2, "Problems of Organisation - Peace Circles must Strengthen the Peace Movement". That My Lords, is the same as Exhibit A.249 which is already 25 before the Court. These documents, My Lords, this Exhibit E.30 is also referred to in the Policy Schedule at page 136. You identify and hand in this document?

--- Yes, My Lord.

Then My Lords, Exhibit E.30A are five 30 copies of the covering letter to Exhibit E.30, the letter sending out - page 1 of Exhibit E.30. You also

1868.

(G.I. VAN IAFENDORI)  
(E.30A)

hand in that document and identify it? --- Yes, My Lord.

Then E.31 is a typed document, "The Peace Movement of the Congress of the People", the same as this A.248. You identify that? --- Yes, My Lord.

We are not handing that in. Then E.35 is a 5 typed document, dated the 13th of June, 1955, addressed to "The Secretariat, World Peace Council, Vienna", and typed in on page 2 "Yours for Peace, Leon Levy, Secretary". It acknowledges receipt of certain letters from the World Peace Council and it encloses copies - paragraph 10 6 reads :

"Enclosed please find copies of the Appeal which we have had printed.

The signature campaign is now underway and although it is impossible at this stage to inform you of the 15 total number of signatures collected, we can tell you the results obtained over the week. 3,000 signatures were collected in Johannesburg as follows :

300 at a conference organised by the Congress of the People; 20

100 at a meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress;

400 at a Conference of the African National Congress Youth League;

800 at tables situated in different parts of the 25 city, and approximately 1,500 from workers at factories. About 300 signatures were recently collected in Durban in similar ways.

In general we are finding a very good response to the campaign, and we hope to reach our target of 30 100,000. Enclosed you will also find details of Peace activities in Natal. A copy of the resolution

1869.

(G.I. VAN TALLENDORF)  
(E.35)

adopted by the Natal Indian Congress Conference is also enclosed together with an extract from the speech of the President of the Natal Indian Congress.

During May in the Cape some activities were :

A house meeting on Germany rearmament, which passed a resolution condemning the use of atomic weapons and German rearmament....

On the 25th and 26th of this month one of the most representative gatherings ever to be held in South Africa, the Congress of the People, will be held in Johannesburg. An observer of the Peace Movement will be present, leaflets will be distributed and a Peace exhibition will be displayed. It is hoped to get included in the Freedom Charter which will then be adopted, a section on peaceful co-existence and negotiation. and it is also hoped that a resolution supporting the Assembly and the Appeal will be passed..."

You identify and hand in this exhibit E.35? --- Yes, My Lord.

The next is E.35(a). Page 1 and 2 of which constitute a letter from the Cape Town Peace Council, dated the 20th February, 1954, to the Secretary of the South African Peace Council, Johannesburg, and it is signed Sonia Bunting, Secretary. On page 2 there is a paragraph which reads :

"We have also sent up articles to the Bulletin, kept press cuttings, we are represented on the C.O.P. Action Council, we are helping in the Youth Festival and we have also sent up some money from time to time."

Page 3 of Exhibit 35(a) is also a letter from the Cape



Town Peace Council to the South African Peace Council,  
dated the 9th November, 1954 and it is also signed  
Sonia Bunting. It says :

"With regard to peace and the Congress of the People,  
we are in general agreement with the principle  
that peace work be related to local problems and to  
the C.O.I. movement, which would also help us to  
carry our message of peace to the mass of the  
people. But in doing so we must be careful that we  
do not lose our own identity and become completely  
absorbed in other movements where peace is not the  
main target. We agree that we must use the opportu-  
nities created by the C.O.I. for spreading the idea  
of peace, but if we are going to send an official  
speaker to all C.O.I. meetings there is a danger  
that we will find time for little else. Perhaps  
we could rather approach our provincial C.O.I.  
committee and suggest to them that at every meeting  
they make sure that they raise the important ques-  
tion of peace."

Page 4 is a similar letter from the Cape Town Peace Council  
to the Secretary of the South African Peace Council,  
dated 11.1.55, signed Sonia Bunting, Secretary. Page 5,  
is a similar letter of the 28th February, 1955, signed  
Sonia Bunting only. Page 6 is a mimeographed document, headed  
"Cape Town Peace Council", 16th July, 1954." There is a  
written signature, also mimeographed "S. B. Bunting, Secretary".  
It reads :

"Dear Friend. World war is threatening all coun-  
tries because of the determination of imperialist  
states to suppress the attempts of colonial peoples  
to win self-government and national independence.

1871.

(G.F. VAN TAFENDORE)  
(E.35(a))

The agonies of Korea, the rape of Guatemala, the tragic events in Korea and Malaya, the heroism of the Vietnamese, cannot but impress on us the closeness of the link that exists between the struggle for National Liberation and the struggle for Peace. 5

In helping the peoples of other countries who are contending against the forces of imperialist aggression, we in South Africa, who are struggling for our own liberation, will help ourselves. We cannot afford to remain indifferent or adopt a neutral attitude towards the crucial problem of War or Peace. 10

The Cape Town Peace Council invites you/your delegates to attend a conference on War and National Liberation, to be held on August 8th at 10 a.m. in the City Hall (Robing Room). Please complete the attached form and return it as soon as possible. 15

Yours sincerely."

My Lords, this document is also referred to in the Policy Schedule at page 136. You identify document E.35(a) and hand it in? --- I do, My Lord. 20

There is an admission with regard to the signature in the Preparatory Examination Record at page 7996, My Lord. E.36, My Lord, is a roneod circular letter, "Transvaal Peace Council". Typed in at the bottom "Yours sincerely, Leon Levy, Secretary of the Transvaal Peace Council", and it is addressed to delegates who attended the Great Congress of the People, and who took part in the historic Freedom Charter. You identify this document? Can you say how many copies of that document did you find? --- 472 copies were found. 25 30

My Lord, this document is the same as

Exhibit C.120. You hand in this document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next, My Lord, is a typed document, E.37, "Colonial Youth Day Resolution, 21st February, 1955".

"We, the oppressed youth of South Africa meeting 5  
under the banner of the A.N.C. youth league on this  
international Day of solidarity with the Youth  
Fighting Colonialism, pledge our solidarity with  
the colonial youth movement in Africa and abroad.

Furthermore, we resolve to inscribe into the 10  
Freedom Charter to be compiled by the great and  
historic Congress of the People of South Africa  
the democratic rights and ideals enshrined in the  
commemoration of this International day.

We deprecate the unbearable provocation and 15  
interference of the Western powers under the direc-  
tion of the U.S.A. in the domestic affairs of the  
peace loving people of Asia, and demand the imme-  
diate retrocession of Formosa to the Peoples'  
Republic of China so as to lessen international 20  
tension.

Once again we demand the complete abolition of  
all thermonuclear weapons of destruction to enable  
the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes  
only." It is signed by somebody, "Secretary, 25  
New Brighton Branch, F.E." and a box number is  
given, Box 1294.

You identify and hand in that document? --- I do, My Lord.

The next Exhibit is E.38. It is a typed 30  
letter from the Secretariat of the South African Peace  
Council to the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

1873.

(G.F. VAN IAIENDORF)  
(E.38)

Vienna, dated the 9th September, 1955, congratulating the World Peace Assembly on organising the Helsinki Assembly, and thanking them for literature and documents relating to the Assembly already received. It also advises the World Peace Council of the Congress of the People in the following terms : 5

"On June 25th, 26th, 1955, the historic Congress of the People was held at Kliptown Johannesburg. The Congress was called by the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Congress of Democrats, and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, for the purpose of adopting a Freedom Charter. Three thousand delegates from all walks of life discussed and adopted every clause of the Freedom Charter in the most peaceful manner even in the face of police intimidation. Under the heading "There shall be Peace and Friendship", is the following clause : 15

'South Africa shall strive to maintain World Peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war.' 20

The South African Peace Council held an open-air exhibition at the Congress of the People. Many hundreds of people came into the Peace pavillion and signed the appeal against the preparation of an atomic war. Over two thousand leaflets issued by the South African Peace Council were sold, and a resolution proposed by a speaker in support of the Helsinki Assembly, and the Appeal was unanimously adopted." 25 30

And then the letter asks for pamphlets and material from the World Peace Council. You identify and hand in



1874. (G.I. VAN TAIENDORF)  
(E.39)

Exhibit E.38? --- I do, My Lord.

The next document, E.39, is a document, "The Imperialist Threat to Peace in Africa". In this document, My Lords, is set forth - is referred to at page 136 of the Policy Schedule. E.39 consists of this article "The Imperialist Threat to Peace in Africa" in type and also a manuscript document. My Lords, the document states :

"May 1945. The end of World War II was announced and acclaimed in Europe; and a few months later, after the destructive disasters of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, peace came to Asia. Amongst the common peoples of the countries of Europe and America, of Asia and of Africa, there was a feeling of tremendous, creative rejoicing. War was over and the warmongers were finally and irrevocably defeated. From now on they could look forward to peace and to a new life, to the building of homes and of schools, to the enjoyment of sport and culture.

Was this the approach of everyone in these countries? Unfortunately not. There were a small but powerful minority in certain of these countries for whom the prospects were less attractive. Eastern Europe had been occupied by the Communists, and even more serious, the colonial countries of Asia were threatening to break their bonds of oppression. The reservoirs of cheap labour, the extraction of fantastic 200% dividends, the markets for surplus goods and the supplies of raw materials - all these were now fast disappearing or likely to do so.

The years following the war served only to bear

1875.

(G.I. VAN TAFENDORF)  
(E.39)

out their worst fears. Most significant of the  
blows which struck at their system was the victory  
of the Chinese Communists led by Mao Tse-Tung.  
With the establishment of the Peoples' Republic of  
China over a third of the world was now firmly 5  
established as Socialist - a fact which, whatever  
its other implications good or bad, had one salient,  
unalterable consequence - foreign capital was now  
banned. The wealth of these countries was hence-  
forth to be the wealth of the inhabitants of the 10  
country, not of millionaire bankers and financiers  
in the far-away capitals of Europe. Peaceful trade -  
certainly; beneficial agreements for mutual co-  
existence - always! But no more investments, no  
more sugar profits! 15

Not only were Socialist Governments elected in  
China and in Poland, in North Korea and in Albania -  
all fields for pre-war looting of the most profit-  
able character; but in many other regions of the  
vast colonial Empire, capitalism was forced to fight 20  
desperately for its survival. In Malaya, Burma,  
Indonesia, the Phillipines, Persia, Indo-China -  
in all these and many more countries the surging  
tide of national liberation indicated that in these  
areas the days of colonial exploitation was rapidly 25  
drawing to an end. The cost of maintaining their  
domination by wars and punitive campaigns of terror  
almost exceeded the profits to be gained by  
imperialism when faced with these movements for  
independence and self-determination. The people of 30  
Asia had rejected Imperialism!

It was when they were faced with this crisis that

1876.

(G.I. VANERENDORE)  
(E.39)

the eyes of the Imperialists turned eagerly to Africa. There can be few who, whatever their political convictions, would deny that in its present stage capitalism depends on colonies and on colonial exploitation for its existence. Certainly the capitalists themselves do not deny it. Thus the Times editorial on March 1, 1949 :

'The disturbances in the Asian area .... have put in peril the rich supplies of raw materials which this country, France and the Netherlands desperately need. From the half million tons of rubber which Malaya produced yearly before the war and the 60,000 tons of tin, and from the Burmese rice, minerals and timber, this country gathered a large part of the sterling areas dollar surplus ... For Holland, success or failure in reaching agreement in Indonesia, with its oil, rubber, tin and coffee, will determine whether or not she is to remain a power'.

Or again, the New York Times on January 11, 1949 :

'The high living standards of Europe are certainly to a degree dependent upon the availability of raw materials and cheap labour in Asia and Africa. Although old fashioned colonial imperialism is considered out-moded, a recovering Europe cannot do without sources of wealth menaced by the new drive for 'popular democracy'.'

Driven out of Asia, the Imperialists turned to Africa. Here was untold wealth such as Rider Haggard could never have envisaged. Here were gold and cocoa, diamonds and coffee, uranium and sisal and, most important of all assets - millions of ignorant, seemingly unindoctrinated black peasants,

1877.

(G.F. VAN TAFENDORI)  
(E.39)

waiting only for the day when capitalism would bring  
to their villages the manifold advantages of labour  
in mines, fields and forests - the benefit of Wes-  
tern Civilisation. Here was a prospect which could  
provide compensation and more for all that had been 5  
lost in Asia; territories which could restore to  
their former eminence all the countries of Western  
Europe, the indispensable condition of which was a  
colonial Empire. England, France, Holland, Belgium,  
- even the great United States of America - all 10  
looked to Africa with a thought most eloquently  
expressed by a leader of the British Labour Party,  
Sir Stafford Cripps :

'The whole future of the sterling group and its  
ability to survive depends, in my view, upon a quick 15  
and extensive development of our African resources.'  
And lest, there be any doubt that the programme of  
'development' designed coldly to meet the needs of a  
decaying Western European economy, we have the  
revealing reassurance of a former Conservative 20  
Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Stanley :

'I agree that indirect benefit will flow to the  
colonies, but let us be frank about it.'  
Mr. Strachey, of Government fame, was even more  
emphatic when endeavouring to meet the criticism 25  
of his unsuccessful scheme :

'For us to make some sort of announcement ....  
that the scheme was no longer intended to produce  
oils and fats, but was to be turned into some  
sort of ?? object of raising the level of 30  
African life, would be the worst thing to do ....  
The scheme is thoroughly hardheaded .... it is



1879.

(G.I. VAN PAENDORI)  
(E.39)

not a philanthropic scheme started purely and solely for the Africans' benefit.'

The point is not that Imperialism is something new in Africa - it is not. It has existed ever since the notorious 'scramble for Africa' which followed 5  
the diamond discoveries of 1870. Modern Imperialism however, is characterised by the following features :

1. The crisis in the metropolitan countries is assuming constantly more serious proportions. These are the problems of shortages of raw materials, the 10  
balance of payments problem known as the 'dollar shortage'; the falling level of productivity and of consumption, and so on.

2. The area in which Imperialism can operate in an attempt to solve these problems is, as we have 15  
seen, very much restricted at precisely the time when the need for colonial expansion is greatest.

3. The effect of World War II both through direct participation in the struggle against the common enemy and the very fact of the defeat of the most 20  
reactionary of all Imperialists, together with the example of the successful struggles against Imperialism, particularly in Asia, have awakened to new and higher levels the understanding of the people of Africa. Their ideals and aspirations 25  
are being more clearly expressed than ever before, and are in direct conflict with the aims and policies of the Imperialists.

4. Not only is there this contradiction between Imperialism and the National Liberation Movements, 30  
but there is also the ever-sharpening conflict between America and the older-established

1880.

(G.I. VAN PAENDORE)  
(E.39)

Imperialisms. The Four-Point Development programme leads aggressive American Imperialism into spheres previously regarded by the British, French or Belgians as their exclusive domain.

Consequently, all the contradictions which Imperialism engenders are today emerging more sharply, the danger of war becomes accordingly greater. It is therefore necessary to consider the facts relating to the extent and nature of the wealth of Africa, the ways in which Imperialism seeks to capture this wealth, and the effects of this policy of Imperialism upon the people of Africa." 5 10

And then, My Lords, we omit pages 3 and 4, which give statistics, then at page 5 the article continues :

"Must all this necessarily lead to war? The answer is given not only by the essential logic of the process, the conflict between the direct and deepest interests of the African population, and the profits and supplies of the Imperialists, but also by both past history and current events. 15 20

The next direct proof of this is given by the arch-Imperialist Joseph Chamberlain in a confidential report of a Conference at the Colonial Office in June/July 1897 : 'If you will for a moment consider the history of this country during, say, the present century or, I would say, during the present reign, you will find that every war, great or small, in which we have been engaged has had at bottom a colonial interest, that is to say, either of a Colony or else a great dependency like India. This is absolutely true and is likely to be true at the end of the chapter'. 25 30

1881.

(G.F. VAN PAPENDORF)  
(E.39)

Here is the record of the war of only one capitalist country in the era of colonial expansion in Britain:

In the 16th Century, 34 armed conflicts with the peoples in conquered territories;

In the 17th Century, 29 wars with local peoples and rival colonial powers; 5

In the 18th Century, 119 conflicts for Empire;

In the 19th Century 46 wars.

A grand total of 230 wars in 400 years.

The wars of the 20th Century are too closely remembered to require enumeration. From the Boer War of 1902 to the War in Kenya in 1952, then Imperialists have never hesitated to break the peace in order to secure or to extend their investments. Herein lies the first and most serious danger to peace in Africa. 15

There is in Africa today a conflict more acute, more immediate, and more explosive than in almost any other centre. It is the insoluble conflict between the desire of the Imperialists for profits and the desire of the people for freedom and national 20

independence. And current history, as in Malaya, shows how easily this conflict can develop into the open devastations of war. Nobody pretends that the inhabitants of Malaya were preparing to enter their canoes and paddle across thousands of miles of intervening ocean in order to invade Britain and burn down British homes. But today British troops, guns, tanks and spitfires are destroying Malayan villages, terrorising the entire population. 25 30

There can be no doubt of the aggressive character of Imperialism - an aggression which can only

increase with the development of crisis within the economic system of the Imperialist powers. There can equally be little doubt as to the conclusions which all peace workers must draw from this analysis.

On the one hand every single person who is active 5  
in the struggle for National Independence must also be active in the Peace Movement. With the same insistence and determination with which he makes known his demands for bread, for homes, and for freedom from all oppression, must he make known his demand 10  
for peace, for the right to achieve his national liberation without having to defend his life against the bombs and bullets of a foreign Imperialism. When the voice of the people, united all over the world in the desire for peace is thus heard, it 15  
will prove a powerful, even an invincible weapon, restraining and preventing the aggressors in their attempts to reap dividends from the military subjection of Colonial peoples.

And on the other hand, all those who desire peace, 20  
who realise that above all else, peace must be won if humanity is to survive; all these must, for their part, demand the ending of colonial exploitation. Even if they do not yet desire the liberation of the oppressed people of Africa, they must 25  
be quite clear that peace can be safeguarded only when Imperialism ceases in its attempts to enslave and exploit the colonial peoples.

This is the unmistakable duty which forces all those who desire peace. It is the task which must 30  
be prosecuted with vigour and enthusiasm in the weeks and months which lie ahead. Only in this way



can we ensure that African does not become the scene of disaster and destruction such as that which McArthur and Syngman Rhee have brought to tragic Korea.

Yet it is not the only danger from which Africa 5  
may become the centre of war. There is the equally pressing threat which arises from the tension of the Cold War, from the danger of World War III between Socialism and Capitalism, from the aggressive preparations of the U.S. and the countries of the 10  
N.A.T.O. from this war. In these preparations Africa is, unfortunately, scheduled to play an important role. It is not enough that the Belgian and South African supplies of Uranium should make Africa a priority target in the event of such war. We must 15  
also provide bases for American bombers, men for American armies, raw materials for American military supplies."

And then the article continues to deal with the way in which South - in which Africa is being transformed into 20  
a war base. At the bottom of page 6 it continues :

"Then too, our geographical position has given Africa an important role in the calculations of the war-mongers. In 1950 there were British military bases in Egypt (Canal Zone), East Africa; Somali- 25  
land and Sudan.

There were air bases in East Africa, Somaliland, Southern Rhodesia, North Africa and Sudan.

The United States Land, Sea and Air bases in Africa in January 1952 were : Morocco, Libya, 30  
Saudi Arabia.

In support of these bases and the other 29 all

1884.

(G.F. VAN IAFENDORF)  
(E.39)

of which constitute the alleged 'defensive' ring around the Soviet Union already built, the United States spends many millions of dollars annually. In 1951...."

And then it deals with the position of America, and the 5  
bottom half of the page reads as follows :

"Britain's position in Africa was made abundantly clear by the Daily Mail 1946, following the visit of Field Marshall Montgomery : 'The British decision to quit Palestine, Burma's secession from the 10  
Commonwealth, the weakening of ties with India, and the uncertainty of Britain's tenure in Egypt, have hastened the adoption of plans for a new Commonwealth defence system .... Kenya is the new centre of Commonwealth defence and South Africa is its arsenal.' 15

At the same time, the Daily Express wrote : 'East Africa is expected to become a main atomic-age training ground of the British Army, and a main support base in the new Empire defence system.' So we have the fantastic expenditure on the military 20  
bases of Kenya and Nigeria, the naval bases of Tobruk and Simonstown, the air bases of Libya and Morocco.

When one understands these preparations for war then one can understand so much else. One realises 25  
why Central African Federation is being pushed through despite the unanimous opposition of the African population; why Kenya is today the scene of such bitter conflict between the people seeking to save their land and the Imperialists seeking 30  
to save their 'atomic-age training ground'; why Malan visits England for the Coronation and why

1885.

(G.F. VAN FAFENDORF)  
(E.39)

Britain exiles Seretse Khama on the instruction of the South African Government; why popular demonstrations are repressed with such violence in Morocco and Nigeria.

All these facts and many others emerge from the clear understanding of the war preparations of certain countries and of the position which Africa occupies in their preparations. 5

A fact which emerges with equal clarity is the vital task which faces all those who would prefer to see hospitals and houses rather than bombers and bases, all those who know that peace cannot be gained by aggressive preparations for war. We must demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from every corner of Africa, we must resist every attempt to build bases on African soil, and we ourselves must play absolutely no part in these preparations. We must not make their weapons, we must not carry their weapons and we must not fire their weapons. Only in that way can we be certain that we and millions like us will not be killed by their weapons." 10 15 20

You identify and hand in this document E.39E --- Yes, My Lord.

The next document, My Lord, Exhibit E.40 is a roneod document "Africa for Peace". There is a paragraph dealing with "The International Scene, and there is B, "Africa and World Peace" which extends from page 3 to page 7 of this document. My Lords, it deals with the question of the Kenya situation, and the contents, My Lord, are much the same as the document which I have just read in. It is mentioned in the Policy Schedule at page 136. My Lords, I am only reading paragraphs 25 30

1886.

(G.F. VAN PALENDORF)  
(E.40)

4, 5 and 6 of Part B which are set forth in the Policy Schedule.

"4. Colonial Wars a Threat to Peace.

In his speech to the Budapest meeting of the World Council of Peace, Dr. James Endicott stated : 5

'The so-called Western Bloc in the world today contains several colony owning powers. These powers are now engaged in several wars against their subject and exploited peoples. These wars are also a threat to world peace. There is an immediate 10 danger that there will be many more of these wars and that they will increase in size and intensity'.

What have been described as revolts, uprisings and outbreaks of terrorism are not, however, simply internal police actions but actual wars - hidden 15 wars perhaps, wars waged without being declared - waged with machine guns, regular troops, bombs and all the accoutrements of modern warfare. As Ivot Montagu puts it in his speech at the Budapest Council : 'Are wars not wars because both parties 20 are not sovereign states, slaughter not slaughter because both slayers and slain alike are subjects of the Queen?'

The Colonial system is fraught with danger for world peace. Again a quoting from Montagu's speech: 25 ' stand here as one definitely not a partisan of the colonial system ... But this is by the way. Our movement is not a social movement, and no-one is compelled to accept my ideas on this subject as a qualification to work for peace. What is not 30 by the way, what is an inescapable heart and task of our movement, which every honest person must



face in his conscience, is that whatever the merits or demerits of this system (that is the colonial system) we cannot accept its maintenance by war.

#### 5. Total War in Kenya.

In Kenya over 1,000 have been killed in what is called 'attempting to escape'. Tens of thousands have been arrested or driven to the bus, their houses destroyed, their cattle confiscated - now they are being bombed from the air. Missionaries have testified that prisoners have been beaten to death. English soldiers themselves have written home of captives that 'after persuasion they usually confess something', and that the few released for weakness of evidence are usually found dead next morning.

On Friday 11th December 'The Star' reported : 'British bombers dropped nearly ten tons of high explosives yesterday on suspected Mau Mau terrorists reported to be massing near an R.A.F. base ten miles north west of Nyeri, Kenya. Two Lincolns, nine Harvards and every available Kenya Police Reserve spotter plane swept over the area, bombing and strafing'. Note that these were only suspected of being Mau Mau.

In the trial of Captain Griffiths who was acquitted, it was revealed that killing competitions took place between various units of the armed forces, that money prizes were awarded for each 'terrorist' killed. The Rand Daily Mail reported on January 21st, 1954, that : 'Two Kenya police reserve officers appeared before a magistrate in Nakuru today on a charge of burning and beating an aged African Mau Mau suspect over a fire when he refused to answer

1888.

(G.F. VAN PAPENDORI)  
(E.40)

questions'.

South African Troops to Kenya?

These are a few examples of the atrocities being committed in the war in Kenya. It is in this cruel and bloody war against defenceless people that it is now suggested that South African troops should participate. General Brink, one time Deputy Chief of the General Staff, U.D.F., commenting on the suggestion by Kenya settlers that South African reinforcements be sent to Kenya stated in the Rand Daily Mail on January 21st: 'A fire has been started in Kenya and the flames may soon be licking at the Union's own borders. South Africa has the most vital interest in what is happening in Kenya which, strategically, is part of the Union'.

Such a suggestion must be rejected and vigorously opposed.

The war in Kenya must be stopped, not intensified, and South Africans must certainly not contribute to the horror and atrocities already being perpetrated.

The revolt in Kenya, as in the rest of Africa, is not criminal, nor is it a communist plot, it is a natural human revolt against misery and poverty and especially against having such iniquities imposed by foreign domination. The great threat to world peace imposed by such wars can be removed. The problems must be settled peacefully, having due regard to the rights of the people, and not by force.

6. New Wars?

There is a danger of the outbreak of new colonial wars in Africa. The action of the British Government

in divesting the Kabaka of his authority in Buganda,  
the insistence of the British Government on maintain-  
ing control of the Suez, the difficulties in Nigeria,  
in the French Colonies, and the threat of the South  
African Government to incorporate the British Pro- 5  
tectorates whatever the wishes of the people con-  
cerned are, all constitute threats to peace in  
Africa and world peace.

The Peace Movement does not condemn imperialism  
or support imperialism as such; nor does it con- 10  
demn or support capitalism or socialism. This is  
not our job. But : While we say we do not support  
any one system, we do say that we cannot allow the  
maintenance of any system by force or by war.

When foreign powers invade territories of Africa 15  
and try to enforce colonialism, that is the concern  
of the peace movement. We are opposed to the imposi-  
tion or maintenance of colonial rule by force and  
to the annexation of territories by force, because  
such actions constitute a threat to the peace. 20

#### 7. Racialism and War.

Racialism as preached and practised in South Africa  
contains all the seeds of war. The herrenvolk  
theories of the Nazi regime were used directly as a  
method of creating the atmosphere in which war 25  
could be waged. The Nazis used racialism directly  
as an excuse to occupy other countries, - In order  
to "save" Germans living in those countries. In  
the same way General Brink suggests interference  
in Kenya and Malan threatens incorporation of the 30  
Protectorates in order to save the white races in  
Africa and to preserve 'white civilisation'.



1890.

(G.I. VAN FAFENDORF)  
(E.40)

But racialism has another important aspect. Peace does not depend only upon diplomats and governments. The actions of the people remains the determining factor. It is upon them that depends the ability to bring about meetings, to hasten the course of negotiations, to prevent acts of sabotage and to clear away abstacles. The peoples and their forces for peace, to succeed, cannot act separately. They must get together, decide on their common aims and methods and make these prevail with public opinion and with governments. All propaganda which attempts to divide the people along racial and national lines, which attempts to set people against one another, which teaches people to hate and despise people of another colour, all such propaganda acts against the cause of peace. The peace movement encourages mutual respect and friendliness between the peoples. It fights all efforts to prejudice people and to create an atmosphere of hostility. Therefore the peace movement encourages people to meet one another in arder to break through the distortions of officials and the press, it encourages cultural exchanges, trade, sports meetings and all similar activities."

You identify and hand in Exhibit E.40? --- I do, My Lord.

COURT ADJOURNS.



(BELT 169)

1891.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.40, 42, 44)

THE COURT RESUMES.

GERHARDUS VAN PAPENDORP, under former oath;

EXAMINED BY THE PROSECUTOR (CONTINUED) :

Do you hand in Exhibit E.40? --- Yes, My  
Lord. 5

The next is exhibit E.42. My Lords, it is  
a roneoed document, headed "Transvaal Peace Council, 8th  
January, 1955. Urgent Appeal to all Peace Council mem-  
bers, supporters and sympathisers to wage a great Cam-  
paign against the re-armament of Western Germany." Typed 10  
at the bottom - "Leon Levy, Secretary." Do you hand in  
E.42? --- Yes, My Lord.

The next document, My Lords, is a typewrit-  
ten document, entitled "Transvaal Peace Council. Discus-  
sion notes on peace policy" - exhibit E.44, and it is 15  
mentioned in the Schedule Policy, at page 136, paragraphs  
5, 6, 7 and 8, are mentioned there, My Lords. In para-  
graph 1, this document states :

"The Peace Council has existed in the Transvaal for  
1½ years." 20

It is mentioned here to give some indication of the dates  
to when the Transvaal Peace Council came into existence.

Paragraph 5 states, My Lords :

"Now it is for instance true that the garbled ver-  
sion of the Bonn Treaty, given in our press does 25  
not lead the man in the street to a clear apprecia-  
tion of the potential Korea being created in Europe.  
This is an objective fact. It is also an objective  
fact that a large number of non-Europeans are at  
the moment vitally concerned in their own immediate 30  
struggle, but that does not justify any general

conclusion that South Africans are not directly affected by war and war preparations, or that the vast ~~mass~~ of the people is too busy with its own affairs to be interested in peace. The loss of South African lives in resources in Kenya, Korea, are a direct 5 result of war. War and war preparation are directly responsible for the rising cost of living and the danger of South Africa's becoming a target in any atom war, because of its uranium production. All these things affect South Africans directly and vi- 10 tally, just as they affect the people throughout the so-called 'Western World'. Furthermore the political storms in South Africa, which have made our Government the target of world criticism are by no means divorced from the problems of war and peace. 15 The struggle of the non-European and of democratic Europeans against oppressive laws, is in itself a struggle for peace, just as the attempts of this Government still further to restrict freedom in South Africa, is in fact part of the preparations 20 for war. Properly examined, the so-called objective reasons holding up peace work are superficial. To accept them, can only hamper the works of peace by creating an attitude that the Council is doing all it can in the circumstances. And this is simply 25 not true. Take but one illustration. The Council has never taken the whole problem of this Korean war to the masses. Potentially great support could be gained for peace in Korea, but we have failed through the lack of hard work and initiative to 30 ~~make~~ the impression that we should have done. What

1893.

{ G. VAN PAPENDORP  
{ E.44 }

is needed, is not only more hard work and more planning of work done, so as to make certain that the masses are reached and affected by it, but a political understanding, so as to make certain that the masses are reached and affected by it, but the political understanding of the necessity to demonstrate to the people how their daily problems and their larger aspirations are bound up with the struggle for peace. What is needed today, is a fresh approach, while present forms of work, such as the collection of signatures should continue, new directions must be sought. The struggle of the non-European majority for democratic freedom is closely linked with the world peace. War preparations make conditions intolerable for working people. The diminution of democratic rights is a characteristic of reaction which invariably accompanies preparations for aggressive war. We must recognise the intimate connection between war and the colonial system. The two World Wars of the 20th Century were fought basically over the re-division of colonial territories. Today, countries where war is already raging, are Korea, Malaya and Vietnam. The movements for national liberation and self-government are basically forces for peace. Conditions of World peace would powerfully favour the cause of emancipation in freedom. The preoccupation of the Non-European people of South Africa, with this liberation struggle, so far from impeding the development of the peace campaign into a mass movement, can be the means for drawing the majority of South Africans into the world-wide struggle against the



1894.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.44, 47, 48, 49, 51)

war-mongers."

Then there is a paragraph 9, dealing - 'International',  
dealing with the war in Korea, the Middle East Pacts,  
the Protectorates and there is a paragraph on domestic  
policy, dealing with the Nazi regime, Uranium production, 5  
and cost of living. Do you identify and hand in this  
document? --- I do, My Lord.

Then, My Lords, there is a document, E.47.  
"A Ten Point Programme for Peace", dealing with Korea,  
re-arming of Germany, General MacArthur's responsibility 10  
for the ruthless measures against the population of  
Korea, Unconditional banning of atomic, bacteriological,  
chemical and other weapons of mass destruction, and Ex-  
change of Cultural Treasures in Literature, and the Es-  
tablishment of a New World Peace Council. Do you hand in 15  
this document - E.47? --- Yes, My Lord.

E.48, My Lords, is a roneoed document -  
"Durban Peace Council", June 22nd, 1953. Signed - it is  
a roneoed document - "Yours in peace, Dawood Ahmed Seedat,  
for Durban Peace Council. Do you hand in that document? 20  
--- I do, My Lord.

E.49, is a typed document - "Durban Peace  
Council. June 23rd, 1953." Addressed to the Transvaal  
Peace Council, signed D.A. Seedat, for Durban Peace Coun-  
cil, advising the Transvaal Peace Council, inter alia, of 25  
a conference to which organisations would be invited for  
the formation of the Natal Peace Council. Do you identi-  
fy and hand in that document? --- Yes, My Lord.

E.51. A letter from the Natal Peace Council,  
August the 5th, 1953, signed D.A. Seedat, and addressed 30  
to the Secretary, Transvaal Peace Council. Do you hand  
in this document? --- Yes, My Lord.



1895.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E. 53)

The next is a roneoed document - "South Africans for Peace" - a bulletin issued by the Provisional Committee for the South African Peace Movement, December, 1950, No. 3 - It is exhibit E.53. There is a paragraph dealing with the Warsaw Peace Conference - 5  
Peace Congress in Poland, in November 1950. Then, My Lords, there is a - on page 2, there is a paragraph "Honour for Rev. Thompson" :-

"The Chairman of the Provisional Committee for the South African Peace Movement is one of the South 10  
African representatives on the World Peace Council, elected by the Warsaw Congress."

Then it refers to other South Africans on the Warsaw Peace Conference. And there is also a paragraph "Peace Meeting" :- 15

"The well-attended public meeting held by the Committee at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg on December the 6th. The speakers were Mr. Walter Sisulu, General Secretary of the African National Congress, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress..." 20

and it also states that the Rev. Thompson presided.

"The meeting passed a resolution, pledging support to the decisions of the Warsaw Congress."

Have you been asked to identify a person by 25  
the name of Walter Sisulu? --- Not yet, My Lord.

Can you identify him? --- I can, My Lord.

BY MR. KENTRIDGE :

My Lords, we are prepared to admit that there is an Accused named Walter Sisulu. 30

EXAMINATION BY THE PROSECUTOR RESUMED :

The Accused, Walter Sisulu, that you know,

1896.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.53 ; E.54)

what position did he hold in the African National Congress? --- The Secretary-General of the African National Congress, My Lord.

And the one that you know, is the one in Court - the Accused? --- Yes, My Lord. (HANDS IN E.53) 5

Accused No. 19. The next document, My Lords, is the Bulletin of the South African Council for Peace, entitled "South Africans for Peace". It is an undated bulletin - E.54. There is an editorial on "War brings no Victory", which deals with the cruel wars in 10 Korea and Vietnam. Then on page 2, there is an article "Outlaw the Atom Bomb. Mankind can no longer tolerate the danger of atomic weapons, declares Professor Julio Curé", and it then deals with the Stockholm Appeal, and the publication of the leaflet, "We want to Live", which 15 deals with anti-H Bomb propaganda. Then My Lords, there is an article, "Facts behind the Vietnam War", setting forth certain facts in connection with the war in Vietnam and the French aggression. Then there is an article "Five Vital Years in the Struggle for Peace", which 20 states that at this date the World Peace Council Movement was five years old last month, the First World Peace Congress was held from the 20th to the 25th April, 1949. The World Peace Council was established in 1949. My Lords, then there is at page 9 - I'm sorry, My Lords, 25 it is page 12, under the heading "World Peace Council News", it deals with the extra-ordinary meeting of the World Peace Council at Berlin, and there is a paragraph which states :

"Ruth First, member of the Executive Committee of 30  
the South African Peace Council is attending the

1897.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.54 ; E.55)

extra-ordinary meeting of the World Peace Council  
at present being held in Berlin."

Do you know a lady by the name of Ruth First? --- I do,  
My Lord.

What is her married name? --- Slovo, My Lord. 5

Was she an Accused at the Preparatory Examination, held in Johannesburg? --- Yes, My Lord.

That disposes of this document, My Lords,  
and I beg leave to hand it in - E.54? --- I identify and 10  
hand it in, My Lord.

Then, My Lords, there is exhibit E.55, which  
is also a Bulletin, "South African Peace", issued by the  
Peace Council of South Africa, Transvaal, Cape Town and  
Durban. Series 3, No. 5, June, 1953." My Lords, on 15  
page 3 of this bulletin, it announces :

"A National Peace Congress to be held in Johannes-  
burg, at which various matters would be discussed -  
'The World today', 'Hot cause of the Cold War in  
Korea', 'Colonialism, Africa and Peace', 'What is 20  
happening in Africa', 'Development of War Bases',  
'Kenya', 'Federation, Racialism as causes of War',  
'The people at Peace', and 'The Peace Movement in  
South Africa'."

It is at column 1, page 3, and in column 2 of page 3, 25  
there is a list of people who is said to have signed  
the 'Call to Peace'. The list includes the following  
names : "Rev. D.C. Thompson, Dr. G.M. Naicker, Mr. M.D.  
Yengwa, Dr. Wilson Conco, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, Mr. J.D.  
Marks, Mr. W. Sisulu and Dr. Njongwe." 30

And then, My Lords, at page 5, in column 1, under the



1898.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.55)

heading : "Transvaal Peace Council meets and reviews  
work", it states that the Chairman explained the absence  
of the Peace Council's Chairman, Rev. D.C. Thompson, who  
has gone to Budepest to attend a session of the World  
Peace Council, of which he is a member, and it also re- 5  
ports that the Secretary, Miss H. Watts gave a report of  
the campaigns and work undertaken by the Peace Council.

Do you identify and hand in this document?

--- Yes, My Lord.

The next, My Lord, is E.56. "South Africans 10  
for Peace. Issued by the Peace Councils of South Africa,  
Transvaal, Johannesburg and Durban. Series 3, No. 6,  
July, 1953."

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Mr. Kentridge I - it is not for me too clear 15  
why these documents aren't being treated as - in the same  
manner as some other lists are. Is there any reason why  
they should not be treated the same. I know Mr. Berrange  
is appearing for Accused No. 4. Has that perhaps got  
anything to do with it? 20

BY MR. KENTRIDGE :

No, My Lord, that is not so. In his absence  
we are looking after the interests of Accused No. 4.  
My Lord, the reason is that where in the case of the other  
documents, with a few minor exceptions, what was being 25  
relied on was the possession of the documents - their  
prominence rather than their contents. Here, what is  
being relied on - here it is the contents, My Lord.  
My Lord, it wouldn't be correct for me to say, no doubt  
my learned friends would object, but the ignorance or 30  
relative ignorance of some of the Accused of some of



1899.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.55 ; D.56)

some of these documents, but My Lord, where the contents are being relied on as important, we would like to hear it, My Lord. My Lord, as Your Lordships will have seen, my learned friend is cutting down the amount that is being read - we naturally appreciate that also. 5

EXAMINATION BY THE PROSECUTOR RESUMED :

The next, My Lords, is "South Africans for Peace Bulletin, issued by the Peace Councils of South Africa, Transvaal, Johannesburg and Durban - I read the other names, because prior to July, 1953, the three Provincial bodies were separate units - before the establishment of the South African Peace Council. Page 1, column 1, there is an appeal of the World Peace Council, issued at Budapest, 20th June, under the heading "Declaration on the Launching of the World Campaign for Negotiation." 15  
The paragraph states - this column states, in the third paragraph :-

"The World Council of Peace, meeting at Budapest from the 15th to the 20th of June, calls upon the peoples to intensify their efforts to help forward negotiations for international settlement." 20

Then it deals with the peaceful co-existence, and it deals with the armistice in Korea, and then the document states :-

"All other wars now being waged and aggressive action against the independence of peoples must likewise cease. The use of arms against any movement of national liberation constitutes a factor of international tension and may give rise to a centre from which war will spread." 25 30

Then it deals with the re-unification of Germany, and with the settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

1900.

(G. VAN PAPENDORP)  
(E.56 )

Then, My Lords, on page 4 of this document, there is a message, column 1 - "World Federation of Youth greets our Congress", and it is a message from the World Federation of Youth, greeting the holding of the Congress - the South African Peace Congress, and it announces the date of the National Congress as being put forward to the week-end of August, 22nd and 23rd, and then on page 4, in column 2, under the heading : "Indian Youth Supports Peace Congress", there is a message from the Natal Indian Youth Congress, which welcomes the holding of the South African Peace Congress and pledges its full support. There is another resolution from the Transvaal Indian Congress. It states that

"It is pleased to note the urgent desire of the peoples of the world for peace and it supports the holding of the proposed National Conference."

Then, My Lords, at page 5, at the top of the page, "the Natal Peace Council formed. Big step forward in South Africa's Peace Movement", which announces the holding of a Conference in Durban, on July 12th, 1953, at which the Natal Peace Council was formed. On the same page, My Lords, under the heading : "Rev. D.C. Thompson reports on the World Peace Council Meeting", there is a report of the meeting addressed by Rev. Thompson on the World Peace Council - its Activities. Then on the same page, My Lords, the President of the Natal Indian Congress sends a message, and the document states that it is part of the message sent by Dr. Naicker to the Natal Conference - the Natal Peace Conference. And, My Lords, on the same page, "the President-General of the African National Congress says":- and then follows a message by

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