

**"RIVONIA UNMASKED!"**

"Not only must we get to know who our enemy is, we must also render him harmless. That is the message of this book," so writes the Minister of Justice, the Hon. Mr. B.J. Vorster, in his foreword.

"RIVONIA UNMASKED!" is the dramatic story of the sensational Rivonia sabotage trial as well as of the plans of the enemy which were intended to lead to the destruction of a nation.

In this book the mask is torn away to reveal the face of the monster with which we are confronted.

# Rivonia Unmasked!

Lauritz Strydom

Voortrekkerpers JOHANNESBURG

## FOREWORD BY THE HON. MR. B. J. VORSTER

LIFE moves so rapidly and events follow each other with such speed that while one is speculating on what may happen tomorrow, one actually forgets the incidents of yesterday.

Complete reports of court cases and other happenings can often not be given in newspapers because of lack of space and interest in a sensational court case can diminish when the proceedings are protracted for months.

This did happen with the Rivonia case and I am pleased, therefore, that the whole matter is related in this book in such a concise and interesting manner. The incidents connected with Rivonia and the lessons learnt by those in authority and by others must definitely not be forgotten.

We can rejoice as a nation and give thanks to God that the attack on the Republic and its way of life did not succeed, but unless this results in a much greater watchfulness we shall have gained but little. Not only must we get to know who our enemy is, we must also render him harmless.

That is the message of this book. It could truly not have been an easy task for the writer to extract the gist of the matter from the thousands of pages of evidence. Every reader will acknowledge that he succeeded very well in doing this.

This is verily a book which deserves a wide circle of readers and which will certainly obtain them.

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY DR. PERCY YUTAR

WHEN I delivered my opening address in the so-called Rivonia Trial, the immediate reaction was that I had exaggerated the position and resorted to "dramatics" for some ulterior motive. Complete sight was lost of the fact that I am not (and never have been) a politician and that, as a lawyer, I am obliged, in terms of our law, to use the testimony to be given, both oral and documentary, as the basis for whatever I desire to say by way of opening, and that was all I did!

As I had occasion to remark in court, I had not at any stage received any instruction whatsoever from the Minister of Justice, or anyone else for that matter, either directly or indirectly, as to who I should indict and on what charges: that was my responsibility, and, I may add, if I had to start that case *de novo* I would do the very same again.

Quite apart from what I have read in the statements of witnesses, I myself was deeply shocked by and could hardly believe what I read in documents which were either in the handwriting of the accused or were found in their possession. These documents clearly revealed that the accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country, directed against the homes and offices of State and municipal officials as well as against all lines and manner of communications. The planned purpose thereof was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil which would be aggravated, according to their plans, by the operation of thousands of trained guerrilla warfare units deployed throughout the country at various vantage points. These would be joined in the various areas by local inhabitants as well as by selected men posted to such areas. The combined operations were planned to lead to confusion, violent insurrection and rebellion followed at the appropriate juncture by an armed invasion of the country by military units of foreign powers. In the midst of the resulting chaos, disorder and turmoil, it was planned by the accused to set up a provisional revolutionary government to take over the administrative control of this country. The accused admitted the authenticity of all these documents, and also that their policy included the eventual overthrow of the Government of South Africa by violence. It is because of this that I submitted to the Court that this was a case of high treason par excellence, and it was on those facts found proved which constituted the crime, no matter by what name the crime may be called, that the accused were duly found guilty.

In the main the documents provide more than adequate proof of each and every allegation contained both in the indictment and in the opening address, including

(a) the involvement of Moscow, the Communist Parties of Algeria, China, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany and several other countries in respect of the provision of financial assistance, arms, ammunition and military personnel, but, of course, this was to be kept secret for fear of international repercussions;

(b) the fact that the African National Congress was completely dominated by the Communist Party of South Africa, and that between them they spoke for less than I of the entire population of South Africa. The fact of this domination was also to be kept secret from the rank and file of the African National Congress, and

(c) the collection of large sums of money from persons and bodies of persons, in so far as the donors were not apprised of the facts set out in (a) and (b) above, nor of the fact that the moneys were to be used for the purpose of sabotage and revolution in this country.

So strong was the documentary proof that it was barely necessary to adduce oral testimony in support of the various allegations made by the State, and for that reason I called as witnesses less than one half of the number of persons from whom statements had been taken by the Police. For that very

same reason too, I deemed it sufficient to set out in three of the four volumes comprising the State's concluding address a factual analysis of the documentary exhibits and the oral testimony without any comment whatsoever: only in the fourth volume was a critical analysis attempted and then only in regard to documents dealing with military matters and explosives. In my view the documents spoke more eloquently than I could ever hope to do by way of critical comment. No wonder then that during the course of a hearing for bail, I declared that never in all my experience had the police presented me with a stronger case against an accused than in this case!

Certain aspects of the case distressed me.

Firstly, Alexander Hepple. He begged the police to be allowed to see me, offered to give evidence for the State, and even typed his own statement which contained a host of important matters, as well as his admission that he was a member of the Communist Party of South Africa, and as a measure of his bona fides he pointed out to the police the hiding place of Goldreich and Wolpe at Mountain View. I allowed him to see me and consult with the leader of the Johannesburg Bar and others to one of whom he subsequently wrote saying that he was satisfied that the course he had decided on was the right one. Just before his release, I told him that I could arrange for his further detention until he had testified, or have him watched. He replied that neither was necessary and gave me his word of honour that he would not abscond. He did! Such is the reliance one can place on the word of honour of a communist.

Secondly, Albert Luthuli— a man acclaimed by the world as a man of peace and in fact awarded the Nobel Prize for peace. Yet the documents showed that he was consulted about the new policy of violence and sabotage, that he approved thereof, and gave it his blessing, and that he was kept in touch with the position.

Thirdly, Alan Paton— a man who had won acclaim in a literary world and as a liberal thinker. Never have I seen a man head for the witness box so quickly even before his counsel had called his name. He knew, of course, that what he was to say would be publicized throughout the world. He did not know, of course, that I had a complete dossier on him compiled by the police. He advocated, whilst abroad, certain stern measures against the country of his birth, which he realised would seriously affect the very people whose cause he professed to have at heart and already in 1960 knowingly spoke of sabotage which broke out only a year later. He professed to be a prophet. I doubted it, because he had close contact with vicious, communistic and anti-South African literature, as well as with a number of well-known communists and traitors of South Africa. That is why I took the unusual step of cross-examining him.

My learned colleague, Mr. T. B. Vorster, and I have independently read the chapters that follow and in so far as they deal with the facts of the case as disclosed during the trial, they have been set out correctly and accurately.

I very much doubt whether there will ever be another Rivonia, but that is no reason why the Rivonia trial with all its sensational disclosures should be lightly glossed over or even forgotten. It is hard to believe that from at least three points in the very heart of Johannesburg— Rivonia, Travallyn, and Mountain View— a hellish and violent revolution should have been plotted, and that some of the plotters, such as Goldreich, should have passed in business and social circles as harmless, innocent men! But for the South African police in general, and for the Security Branch in particular, South Africa would today have found itself embroiled in a bloody and savage revolution. For that reason I concluded my address in court, as I do this introduction, by sincerely saying that the public of South Africa owes a great debt of gratitude to the South African police.

## 1 VITAL INFORMATION

THE epidemic was assuming alarming proportions. These were no isolated outbreaks, that much was certain. The plague would strike in one spot to-day, to-morrow in a place many miles distant. Nevertheless the Security men who had been battling for the past eighteen months to check the scourge, knew that these outbreaks all proceeded from a central source; and not until this source had been uncovered could effective counter measures be instituted.

The name of the plague was Sabotage.

As often as not, the perpetrators remained unknown. An occasional one was caught, brought to trial, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. But the men who had to fight the epidemic knew that these few were only small fry, mere tools, whose capture would make little difference to the spread of the scourge. While the leaders remained at large, the spate of subversive activity would continue.

The leaders lurked safely in their hiding places, which might be anywhere, anywhere at all, in this vast country. They were safe enough, these leaders, invulnerable because anonymous; for not even their followers, whose function was to carry out orders, knew their identity. How could they? The roots of the underground movement burrowed deep; they spread far and in many directions. The ordinary members did not even know their immediate superiors, the men of the Regional Command. They had no means of recognising the members of other groups operating elsewhere. The organisation was perfect, operating on the cell system, in complete darkness and secrecy. The members received their orders and carried them out unquestioningly.

But if the leaders of the underground movement were subtle and cunning, the Police Force, composed of non-White as well as White members, was no less so. The cream of this Force is the Security Branch, a picked body of men, keen-sighted and sharp of hearing, whose eyes and ears are everywhere.

Many pieces of the giant jig-saw puzzle were still missing; but from the few pieces the police had managed to collect, little bits of the picture were emerging. Only little bits— but enough to give them some idea of what the composite picture looked like. The Security Branch began to form some shrewd suspicions as to the identity of the mysterious leaders, the men behind this spate of sabotage.

Yet another handful of jig-saw pieces came to light when a number of Bantus were apprehended during an attempt to cross the border illegally into Bechuanaland. Several of them made statements to the police in which they admitted that the African National Congress (banned in 1960, after the Sharpeville incident), had arranged to send them abroad for military training.

Early in 1963 a pamphlet appeared in the letter boxes of many White persons. Issued by the African National Congress, it read:

*LISTEN, WHITE MAN!*

*Five Whites were murdered in the Transkei, another hacked to death at Langa... Sabotage erupts every other week throughout the country, now here, now there. The Whites are turning vicious and panicky... At this rate, within a year or two South Africa will be embroiled in the second, bloodier, more furious, Algerian war.*

*SABOTAGE AND MURDERS MULTIPLIED LAST YEAR. SABOTAGE AND MURDER WILL NOT CEASE.*

*YOU now face an indefinitely long future of terror, uncertainty and steadily eroding power. You will keep a gun at your side, not knowing whom to trust. Perhaps the street-cleaner is a saboteur, perhaps the man who makes your tea at the office has a gun... You will never be safe and you will never be sure.*

*YOU WILL HAVE LAUNCHED A WAR YOU CANNOT WIN.*

That the ANC had continued underground after its banning was, of course, a fact long known to the police. But now another name began to obtrude itself: *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, meaning 'Spear of the Nation'. The police were hardly surprised to discover that this organisation was in effect the military wing of the allegedly non-violent ANC. December 16th, 1961, saw a vicious spate of sabotage throughout the country. On the same day placards appeared on walls and poles in various Bantu townships: the Manifesto of *Umkhonto we Sizwe*.

The placards announced that the 'Spear of the Nation' was a new organisation, founded by Bantus but admitting persons of all races, and that its aim was to pursue the 'struggle for freedom and democracy' by violent means, inter alia acts of sabotage directed against Government property.

'Units of *Umkhonto*,' the manifesto continued, 'have this day carried out planned attacks on Government installations.'

Then came a fresh development. A Bantu named Walter Sisulu, charged with a political offence, broke bail and disappeared.

Sisulu, about fifty years old and long active in politics, belongs to the Xhosa tribe, whose homeland is the Transkei. At that time, 1962, this territory was well on the way to home rule and complete independence, with the full support and active help of the South African Government.

Sisulu had been Secretary General of the ANC until 1960, when it was banned. He continued to be active in the movement after it had gone underground, which led to his arrest and trial on a charge of furthering the ends of a banned organisation. The court found him guilty and imposed a sentence of six years' imprisonment. He had appealed against the sentence and had been released on R6,000 bail, pending the hearing of his appeal— and now Sisulu had disappeared.

Had he fled the country in order to escape imprisonment if his appeal should fail? No-one knew. But then a sealed envelope was delivered to the offices of the South African Press Association in Johannesburg. It contained a typed document with the heading, 'Full Text of Inaugural Broadcast made by Radio Liberation, the Radio of the African National Congress, on Wednesday, 26th June, 1963.'

This is the radio of the African National Congress, calling you from underground in South Africa. Our radio talks to you for the first time to-day, June 26th, but not for the last time. There will be more broadcasts.

The Government imposed a twenty-four hour house arrest order on Walter Sisuli. We could not accept this. We are not afraid of gaol, or even death in the struggle. Even in gaol the struggle goes on. Those in gaol are there as captives of the Government.

Our Congress decided that Walter Sisulu should leave his home. His house was being used by Vorster to imprison him. To-day he continues to lead our organisation and the people. He leads from

underground. Here, from underground, is Walter Sisulu to speak to you.

Sisulu then takes over from the announcer:

Sons and daughters of Africa! I speak to you from somewhere in South Africa. I have not left the country. I do not plan to leave. Many of our leaders of the African National Congress have gone underground. This is to keep the organisation in action; to preserve the leadership; to keep the freedom fight going. The struggle must never waver. We of the African National Congress will lead with new methods of struggle. The African people know that their unity is vital. In the face of violence, many strugglers for freedom have had to meet violence with violence. How can it be otherwise in South Africa?

SAPA handed this document over to the police, who now possessed proof that Walter Sisulu had not left the country. He was lying low somewhere within the boundaries of the Republic but where?

"Find Sisulu!" The order was relayed to every police station throughout the length and breadth of the land. "Find Sisulu! He is somewhere in the Republic."

But the Republic is a vast country...

The telephone on the desk shrilled. Lieutenant van Wyk glanced up from the file, marked 'top secret', in which he had been frowningly engrossed, and picked up the receiver.

"Security Branch. Van Wyk speaking."

"Hullo, Lieutenant." Van Wyk recognised the voice. It belonged to a man whom he knew well.

"Yes?"

"Could you come over here at once, Lieutenant? There's a man here who insists that he wants to speak to someone from Security. He says it's important."

Van Wyk considered. He knew the speaker well enough to know that he was no false alarmist and not one to be readily taken in by a hoax.

"Very well. I'll come right away."

A few minutes later the detective's car stopped in front of a building in another part of the city. The man who had telephoned was waiting for him. "This way, Lieutenant."

Van Wyk looked keenly at the man who professed to possess vital information.

"You have something to tell me?" he asked briefly. "Well?"

"I know where Walter Sisulu is."

"You do?"

"Yes," replied the man coolly. "I also know where the headquarters of the ANC and the Communist Party are."



"Very interesting," said the detective, carefully controlling his excitement. "You are sure of your information?"

"I am. You will also find their underground radio there, the one they call Radio Liberation."

A hoax? It could be, of course; but somehow Lieutenant van Wyk did not think so. The man's manner carried conviction. He was about to start firing questions at the informant when the man interrupted him.

"There are certain conditions that have to be complied with before I can give you this information."

A cool customer, this. He stated his conditions calmly and with assurance, knowing full well the value of the trump card he held.

Van Wyk listened attentively to the man's conditions, but did not comment on them.

"You are quite sure of your facts?"

"Absolutely. I have actually been to this place and I can take you there."

By this time van Wyk was on fire with excitement.

"You'll have to give me a little time," he told the man. "I can't promise anything till I've spoken to my superiors."

"Very well, Lieutenant. I'll wait."

Colonel George Klindt, Chief of the Security Branch on the Witwatersrand, glanced at Deputy Chief, Colonel Venter, and again at Lieutenant van Wyk.

"You actually believe that your man possesses this information? You don't suspect a hoax?"

"I believe the man is telling the truth, sir."

Colonel Klindt considered.

"We'll have to put it to Colonel van den Bergh," he said at last.

Colonel van den Berg (now Brigadier and Chief of the Security Branch for the Republic), listened with keen interest to van Wyk's story.

"There may well be something in it," he remarked to Colonel Klindt. "Why not talk to the man yourself? That will enable you to form an opinion."

"The man sounds reliable," was Colonel Klindt's conclusion after he had spoken to the informant. "But the final decision rests with the Chief."

Colonel van den Bergh declared himself satisfied; and van Wyk visited the informant for the third time, with authority to tell him that his conditions had been accepted, and to get the promised information from him.

"Fair enough," said the informant. "I'll take you to the place tonight. But I'll have to be disguised. I don't want to be recognised. It was already quite dark when they left. A colleague of van Wyk's occupied the back seat. The informant sat in front beside van Wyk, who was driving. In addition to a pair of dark glasses, he wore a cap pulled low over his forehead. The lower part of his face was muffled up in a scarf as though he were suffering from toothache.

"This way," he directed. The car swung into Oxford Road, a main artery running through Johannesburg's northern suburbs towards the Pretoria road.

The man seemed pretty sure of the way as far as Sandown, a wealthy suburb at the extreme northern end of the city; but at this point he grew uncertain.

"I'm not quite sure of the way now," he admitted after they had been cruising about for some time, "but don't worry, I'll find it all right..."

But they did not find the place that night, nor the next.

A week passed. Night after night van Wyk picked up his informant and they set out on their search; but they did not seem to make much progress. Each time the man gave his directions confidently enough as far as Sandown. Once there, however, he would lose his bearings and begin to flounder.

"We must watch out for a place called Ivon," he said. "The house we're looking for is near there."

"Yvonne?" queried the detective.

"Yes, Ivon," repeated the informant.

They were now travelling through Rivonia, a beautifully situated and lushly wooded area of stately residences, well-kept estates and small luxury farms; one of the wealthiest residential areas on the Rand, with all conceivable modern conveniences, yet with a pleasantly restful rural atmosphere, offering relaxation and relief from hypertension to jaded businessmen, provided they are able to afford it.

"Ivon..." repeated the detective, frowning. "Ivon... It wouldn't by any chance be Rivonia you mean? This place where we are now is called Rivonia."

The man peered through the window and shook his head.

"I've never heard of Rivonia," he said. "The place I mean is called Ivon. I'm quite sure of that, because I saw the name written on a sign just a couple of hundred yards from the house we're trying to find; I wouldn't be mistaken about the name because it's the same as that of a girl I know. There's a church quite near the road, and a bit farther on there's a gate with white posts, where we have to turn in to get to the house. If we could only find that church..."

On the evening of July 10th, exactly a week after the search had begun, van Wyk and his informant were accompanied by Detective Sergeant Jan van Wyk. The two van Wyks were not related, but they were old acquaintances, as they had both been stationed at Ferndale some years previously.

"We had some lucky breaks when we worked together in the old days, didn't we?" the lieutenant remarked to his namesake as they set off once more, with the informant in front and the sergeant on the back seat. "Let's hope for a bit of luck tonight." Lieutenant van Wyk did not sound very hopeful, though; he was growing despondent and beginning to wonder whether he were not being hoaxed after all; or whether, even if the informant were bona fide, he would ever succeed in finding the place.

Northward again, through the northern suburbs towards Sandown; past Sandown along the Pretoria road and through the area which they had scoured fruitlessly the previous night; back again along the Rivonia road.

Suddenly van Wyk felt the man beside him start and half rise in his seat in his excitement. "That's it, Lieutenant! Now I know! See, there's the church I was telling you about!"

Van Wyk followed the direction of the man's pointing finger.

"That's not a church; it's a gabled house," he said.

"Is it? It looks just like a church to me... anyway, this is the place we've been looking for. We're pretty close to the house now. The gate must be just round the next bend in the road— yes, yes, there it is!"

Van Wyk slowed down a little and scanned the area, which seemed familiar. They had in fact travelled along this road and passed this very spot only two or three nights before; but as they had come from the opposite direction the informant had failed to recognise the landmarks.

Van Wyk did not dare stop or even slow down appreciably for fear of attracting attention, and he had to take in what little he could of the scene in passing. The gate which the informant had pointed out to him was opposite the entrance to the Rivonia Caravan Park, so that it would be easy enough to locate it again. Beyond the gate, however, nothing was visible except trees and bushes, which loomed dimly in the glare of the car's headlamps.

"I don't see any house," he remarked as they drove on.

"You can't see it from the road at all," explained the man. "Its a good few hundred yards from the gate, and there are a lot of trees in between; fields, too. It's a proper farm."

A little way further along they came upon a weathered sign bearing the name RIVONIA; but the letters R and IA were so faded as to be almost illegible, so that only the middle part of the word stood out clearly; this accounted for the informant's mistake and his insistence that the place was called IVON.

The night was well advanced when van Wyk, having dropped his passengers, returned home; but tired though he was, he had no thought of going to bed. This business required much thought and careful planning. Dropping into a comfortable chair, he started mapping out his plan of campaign.

If the luxury farm at Rivonia were actually, as his informant asserted, the hide-out of wanted persons, it was probable that its occupants would lie low during the day and move about only at night; so that a raid would be more likely to be successful if carried out in broad daylight.

So far so good. Now how was the raid to be carried out? Take a strong contingent of men along and surround the place? No... There were always guards posted about, so his informant had said, and they had strong binoculars. If a lot of policemen started surrounding the place they would be spotted immediately and the alarm given. No, the occupants of the house had to be taken by surprise and not given time either to take cover or to destroy valuable evidence.

A straightforward raid would never succeed, van Wyk decided. The affair had to be more subtly planned. He and his men would have to approach the homestead unobtrusively, without exciting the suspicion of the guards, so as to have the element of surprise in their favour. Moreover, the affair had to be planned in such a way that they could retreat equally unobtrusively and without arousing suspicion if, on reaching the homestead, they should notice nothing untoward and decide, for strategic or other reasons, to postpone the raid.

What was wanted was an innocuous-looking vehicle in which a fairly large number of men could be hidden. A hearse? Too conspicuous. An ambulance might be better. Plenty of space in the back.

A distant church clock struck two. Van Wyk yawned, stretched his limbs, and decided that it was high time to go to bed.

The date was July 11th, 1963.

Colonel Venter listened with interest to van Wyk's plan and nodded his approval

"I'll telephone the Johannesburg Municipality right away and arrange for the loan of an ambulance," he said. His hand strayed towards the telephone to pick up the receiver, but he withdrew it again as something occurred to him. "Hm... perhaps it wouldn't be advisable to use an ambulance for our purpose," he reflected. "For one thing, it attracts too much attention: for another, I feel that an ambulance is the one vehicle which should always be above suspicion. If we start using ambulances for police traps there may be unpleasant repercussions."

"I see your point, sir. Well..." van Wyk considered. "How about a laundry van? I happen to know a chap who's the manager of a dry cleaning business in Fordsburg. I could phone him and arrange to borrow one of the firm's vans."

"The very thing," agreed the chief. Who would look twice at a dry cleaning van?

The manager, when approached by van Wyk, sounded very doubtful. "It's a most unusual request," he said dubiously. "I'm afraid I can't... Look, Lieutenant, I think you'd better speak to the proprietor himself."

The proprietor was emphatic. "Impossible, can't be done," he declared. "I operate a big concern, you understand. I couldn't possibly spare one of my vans. It wouldn't do to disappoint my customers. What do you want a van for, anyway?"

"Oh... some rather urgent police work," van Wyk replied vaguely. "Look here— we'll be needing it for a few hours at most. Surely . . ."

"I've told you, it's out of the question," interrupted the proprietor impatiently. "I'm sorry, but as I've already explained to you, I can't . . ."

"We're prepared to pay you R200 for the use of your van," van Wyk cut short his further objections. "That's fair enough, isn't it? And I promise you that we'll be using it for a couple of hours only. You'll have it back the same afternoon."

"Er... what did you say? How much? Well The proprietor sounded rather dazed. "Oh well, it's our duty to help the police, I suppose. All right, then, you can send for the van whenever you want . . ."

Van Wyk did not send for the van immediately, however.

First he wanted to pay another visit to Rivonia by daylight to get some idea of the topography of the place. When he had driven past there on the previous night it had been too dark to make out anything except trees and bushes.

He and his namesake, Sergeant van Wyk, drove out to Rivonia in the latter's private DKW (a make of car not used by the police). Keeping their eyes well open, they cruised past the place pointed out to them the night before as Sisulu's probable hideout. It turned out to be an extensive estate named Lilliesleaf. The place was very densely wooded and no buildings were visible from the road. Making a wide detour, they approached the place again from another direction, and now they could just make out a small section of tiled roof showing among the trees. A little stream cut across the lower end of the estate.

"Plenty of cover there," observed the detective, gesturing towards the undergrowth. "When we come to raid the place, it might be as well to bring a police dog along."

Meanwhile they were still little the wiser. Van Wyk decided that it might be worth while to stop at one of the neighbouring estates and ask a few discreet questions about Lilliesleaf and its occupants.

The neighbours, wealthy English-speaking people, were friendly and communicative. From the lady of the house the detectives learnt that Lilliesleaf belonged to a certain Mr Goldreich. It was a big

place with an unusually large number of outbuildings. She also volunteered the information that Mr Goldreich seemed to have a great many Bantu friends and acquaintances, and that there was considerable coming and going at Lilliesleaf. "His Bantu visitors are all very well-dressed," she added. "My young son goes over there sometimes to play with the Goldreich children, and he says they often have mixed parties in the lounge— Europeans and Bantus hobnobbing and drinking together."

So far so good. But van Wyk still had no shadow of proof that there was any illegal activity going on at Lilliesleaf, nor that Sisulu was among the many well-dressed Bantus who frequented the place. Conservative White people do not usually entertain Bantus in their homes, but there is no law against doing so. If Mr Goldreich chose to indulge in mixed parties, that was a suspicious circumstance, no more. It did not follow that he was a Communist, nor that he was sheltering men wanted by the police.

These were the reflections that gnawed at Lieutenant van Wyk's mind as he drove back to headquarters. Suppose they raided the place and found the nest empty, the birds flown? What then?

Back in Johannesburg, van Wyk looked up Goldreich's number in the telephone directory. Giving the number to the wife of one of the policemen, he requested her to dial it and, if anyone answered, to ask to speak to Mrs Brown.

It was a man who answered; a White man, judging by the voice.

"May I speak to Mrs Brown!"

"Mrs Who? Sorry, there's no-one of that name here. You must have the wrong number." The receiver clicked.

That was all van Wyk had wanted to know: whether there was anyone at home.

The next job was to choose the men who would accompany him. Some were picked because of their previous experience in affairs of this nature, others for different reasons. Detective Constable Daantjie van den Berg was detailed to drive the van, Detective Sergeant Kleingeld to be his assistant. Kleingeld was a born comedian who could talk English with a Jewish, British, Afrikaans or Bantu accent as occasion demanded, and could keep up a steady pattern of conversation about nothing at all.

Lieutenant Jack van Heerden was included in the group because he was an expert on radios; Detective Warrant Officer Carel Dirker and Detective Sergeant James Kennedy, because of their experience in handling documents and matters of a political nature. Sergeant van den Bergh, the police dog handler, was also recruited and asked to bring one of his dogs along. All in all the group consisted of sixteen men and a dog.

Not until van Wyk had picked all his men and the whole group was together at headquarters did he give them any hint of what was afoot. Now, as they prepared to set out for Rivonia and Lilliesleaf, he addressed his men and outlined his plan of campaign. It was 2 p.m.

"See here, chaps," he began, "we're going to raid a place in Rivonia. It's a big estate with a lot of outbuildings, and I rather suspect that that is where a few old acquaintances of ours have gone to earth. One of them may even be our friend Walter Sisulu."

The men pricked their ears and listened with mounting interest as van Wyk continued:

"We're going to use a dry cleaning van as a blind. We'll turn in at the gate and drive round to the back yard. Kleingeld, you will get out and knock at the door. When someone answers, ask them the way to the Sleepy Hollow Hotel. You might also canvass for business— offer to do their laundry or dry cleaning... anything you can think of to gain time. The thing is to keep them talking for just as long as

you can. Meanwhile, while Kleingeld is doing the talking, you, Daantjie . van Wyk turned to Constable van den Berg "you get out and go round to the back of the van. You can pretend to look at the tyres or something... but keep watching Kleingeld out of the corner of your eye. The rest is up to you, Kleingeld. If you think the person you're talking to is acting in a suspicious manner, or if you smell anything at all fishy, wedge your foot into the doorway. We don't want them to slam the door in our faces and lock us out while they grab their chance to destroy any documents or other evidence which might be useful to us. Such things have been known to happen, you know... Now, Daantjie, if you see Kleingeld wedging his foot into the doorway, you must jerk open the doors of the van so that the rest of us can get out– and quickly! The moment we're out of that van we must scatter, cover all exits and rush the house and outbuildings. Any papers and documents you may find are to be handed over to Mr Dirker and Sergeant Kennedy."

In small groups, and travelling in several vehicles, the sixteen men set out for Rivonia Police Station.

There was some delay at the Police Station, as it was decided at the last moment that it might be advisable to get a special search warrant in case of need. This type of warrant, which is used exclusively by Security men, is issued only at The Grays, the headquarters of the Security Branch.

While one of the men drove back to Johannesburg to fetch the warrant, the others busied themselves in making the van appear thoroughly foolproof. Someone had noticed that there was an opening behind the driving seat, so that it was possible for someone happening to peer past the driver and into the back to see the men who were hidden there. This was obviated by hanging a blanket– borrowed from the cells– across the opening and securing it firmly in place.

By three o'clock all was ready and the van set out for Lilliesleaf. Fourteen men and the police dog crouched or huddled in the back. In front, wearing white coats, sat Constable van den Berg and Sergeant Kleingeld. The latter had added a rakish-looking cap and a pair of dark glasses to his outfit.

The men in the back could not see where they were going, of course, but van Wyk had given the driver minute directions. Opposite the caravan park there were two gates. He was to drive past the first one, which was locked, and turn in at the second.

It was growing very stuffy in the confined space at the back, where fourteen men were wedged uncomfortably close together. The added presence of the dog Cheetah contributed little to their comfort.

Swinging in at the second gate, the van proceeded up a driveway which wound through dense trees and bushes. The farm certainly looked more than peaceful; it looked dead and deserted, and there was no sign of any house. Van den Berg was just beginning to wonder uncomfortably whether he had come to the right place when the homestead came into view at last: a large modern residence with a tiled roof, situated fully 500 yards from the entrance to the farm.

The van was nearing the house when the two policemen up in front found the way blocked by a Bantu, apparently a servant. Not wishing to excite suspicion, van den Berg brought the van to a halt. Kleingeld leaned out of the window and addressed the man.

"Where's the master?"

Van Wyk, huddling uncomfortably in the back with the nervously panting Cheetah directly in front of his face, strained his ears to catch the conversation.

"There's nobody at home," he heard the Bantu reply.

Van Wyk's heart sank. Nobody at home... that meant they had had all their trouble for nothing! He thought feverishly, realising that there was no time to consider, no time to weigh pros and cons, no time for hesitation. He had to decide now, on the spot, during the few moments while Kleingeld was engaging the Bantu in conversation by enquiring the way to Sleepy Hollow.

Retreat inconspicuously and try again later, hoping for better luck next time? He had foreseen such a contingency and provided for it in his planning, but somehow all his sporting instincts revolted against adopting so tame a course.

He felt the vibration as van den Berg started the van, the bumping and the rattling as he started to reverse back on to the driveway...

Cautiously Kleingeld raised the blanket a fraction. "Did you hear what that fellow said, sir?" he asked in a low voice. "He says there's nobody at home. What do we do now?"

Van Wyk's mind raced. How could they be sure that the servant had told the truth? If Lilliesleaf were actually an ANC hideout, wasn't it only to be expected that there would be guards about, whose job it was to head strangers away from the house?

Impulsively van Wyk made his decision. He was not to know then that he was also making history.

"We're closing in!" he shouted. "Raid the place!"

The van roared forward and jerked to a halt just as van Wyk wrenched the rear door open and leapt out, the others tumbling out helter-skelter after him.

No time now to wonder whether he had acted wisely or foolishly. The thing was done now.

In a matter of seconds some of his men had surrounded the house and were controlling the exits; others were making a beeline for the outbuildings. Van Wyk himself rushed to the back door and wrenched it open.

## 2 SITTING BIRDS

ONLY a moment before, the yard and homestead of Lilliesleaf had presented a truly idyllic picture of rural peace and quiet. Now this idyll was rudely shattered by shouts, running, pounding footsteps, loud slamming of doors.

One group of detectives dashed round the house towards the back, taking in details of the scene as they ran. Behind the house and well away from it they saw a large number of outbuildings arranged in a T-shape. Somewhat closer to the house was a garage. Several motor vehicles were parked in the open space between the house and the outbuildings. If the van had not been intercepted by the Bantu just as it had been about to drive into the yard, they would have spotted these vehicles at once and known that the man was lying when he said that there was nobody at home.

Bursting into the kitchen, van Wyk came upon a Bantu servant, Solomon, (afterwards a witness at the trial), preparing a dish of ice-cream intended for 'Pedro Pereira'. Van Wyk wasted no time in questioning the servant. He was after bigger game. The important thing now was to gain control of the entire house and to place everybody and everything in it under police supervision with the least possible loss of time. Leaving the kitchen and the icecream maker to one of his colleagues who had followed close behind him, he hurried further into the house.

Entering the roomy, luxuriously appointed lounge, he found Sergeant van Wyk already in charge. The only other occupant of the room was a bearded man with thick-lensed spectacles, wearing a hat and overcoat. His face was chalk-white, but, though obviously badly frightened, he nevertheless tried hard to put up a brave front and even managed to produce a smile. He had been relaxing comfortably in an easychair when the police had erupted into the room. Their sudden unceremonious entry had so startled him that he had jumped to his feet and begun, for no apparent reason, to put on his hat and coat. "He looked," one of the policemen told van Wyk later, "like a man who knows that he has to go somewhere in a hurry, but can't for the life of him remember where."

Lieutenant van Wyk scrutinised the man, who corresponded fairly closely to the description the lady on the neighbouring estate had given him that morning of Goldreich, the owner of the farm.

"You are Arthur Goldreich?" he queried.

The man shook his head. "My name is Goldberg."

"I am convinced that you are Goldreich," insisted the detective.

"But I'm not!" The man's tone was emphatic. "Goldberg is the name, Dennis Goldberg. I don't live here. I'm a visitor from Cape Town."

The man had now recovered from his confusion and seemed confident and self-possessed. His face was still rather pale, but the smile on it did not waver. Later, when van Wyk came to know him better, he was to learn that this little set smile was characteristic of the man. Throughout the trial, and even under cross-examination, it rarely left his face.

Goldreich or Goldberg— the name was immaterial at the moment. The man's identity could be established later. Summoning Constable van den Berg, van Wyk ordered him to place Goldberg under arrest while he himself proceeded to see what else there was to be investigated.

Leaving the house via the front door, he found himself in a large garden with spacious lawns interspersed with shrubs and trees. To the left was an avenue of cypresses and a row of poplars, stark and bare now in this winter month of July. Van Wyk swept the scene with a glance, decided that there



was nothing here to merit his attention, and hurried round the outside of the house towards the back, to see how his men were faring.

On the near side of the T-shaped block of outbuildings was a room with a thatched roof, the door of which was standing open. As Detective Warrant Officer Kennedy sprinted round the corner of the house towards the back, he saw a hand pulling the door shut from inside.

In two bounds he was at the door and flung it wide. There were three persons in the room, two White men and a Bantu. Through the open window opposite, the detective caught a swift glimpse of a running figure. All he could see was a brown neck and a mop of reddish hair. Striding across to the window, he looked out. The figure was no longer in sight, but fresh tracks on the ground just below the window showed that someone had jumped through the window and made a dash for cover.

Kennedy now turned his attention to the room and its occupants. Seeing some papers lying on the table, he confiscated them. Not until some time afterwards was he to discover just how important this find of his was; for one of those documents was the now so notorious 'Operation Mayibuye'.

At the Rivonia trial, which commenced on October 9th, 1963, and occupied nearly eight months, this document was to become the most sensational exhibit and the deadliest single piece of evidence against the ten accused. At one stage it bade fair to become a noose round their necks.

Meanwhile, what of the person Kennedy had seen running away from the thatched cottage, the man with the mop of red hair?

As it turned out, he had not been the only one who had tried to escape through the window. As Lieutenant van Heerden, with two or three other detectives at his heels, dashed round the corner of the house, they were just in time to see three men running from the direction of the thatched room towards the bushes.

"Come back!" the policeman shouted after them. One of the men hesitated and glanced back over his shoulder. What he saw was not reassuring. The place was alive with policemen, one of whom had a dog on a leash. One glance must have convinced the man of the futility of any attempt to make a dash for it. The three men turned round and came back meekly enough.

The police then discovered another motor vehicle, a Taunus station wagon which they had not spotted before, because it was parked behind the outbuildings. There was nothing peculiar about this—except the fact, pointed out by one of the policemen, that the car could not possibly have reached that particular spot via the driveway leading from the gate at which they had come in. They investigated and found a secret escape route which commenced behind the outbuildings and snaked through the bushes towards the first gate, the one that was kept locked. The three fugitives had been making for the Taunus, hoping to escape via this route, and had been halted by the policemen in the nick of time.

The whole drama, which takes a long time to tell, had actually been the work of minutes. When Lieutenant van Wyk, after his brief inspection of the front garden, went round to the yard to see what his men were about, he stopped short for a second and blinked rapidly to make sure that he was seeing aright; for there, herded together and guarded by three of his men, was a sizeable array of persons, who had all been rounded up during the past few minutes. Van Wyk strode rapidly towards the group to see what manner of fish his men had caught in their net. Taken all in all, the haul was more than satisfactory.

There was Lionel (Rusty) Bernstein, a Johannesburg architect, sandy-haired, quiet and mild-mannered; but van Wyk knew that this slightly-built, inoffensive-looking man was in effect a fanatical Communist who had to report to the police every day. Van Wyk knew Bernstein of old: a year or two previously he had detained both him and his wife under the emergency regulations then in operation.

Bernstein was one of the men whom Kennedy had arrested in the thatched cottage. The other two were a Bantu, Raymond Mhlaba, who was a stranger to van Wyk, and Bob Hepple, whom he knew well by sight. Hepple was a prominent Johannesburg lawyer, and van Wyk had often encountered him in the courts.

Hepple subsequently chose to turn State witness. He himself typed a statement to the police in which he admitted to being a member of the Communist Party, but added that he had tried more than once to detach himself from it. 'But once you have joined the Communist Party, your associates make it impossible for you to break away. I know, because I have tried, not once but many times.'

Glancing over the group of detainees, van Wyk picked out another old acquaintance in the person of a tall Bantu named Govan Mbeki. Mbeki was a journalist by profession and had formerly been on the staff of *New Age*, the organ of the African National Congress in Port Elizabeth. Van Wyk recalled that in those days Mbeki had always been very well dressed. Now, however, he was wearing a cap and grimy overalls and looked like an ordinary farm labourer. He had aged considerably since he had last seen him and his hair was grizzled.

Some eighteen months previously this Mbeki had been charged, along with two others, Joseph Jack and Harold Strachan, with a contravention of the law on explosives, but had been acquitted. Van Wyk remembered the case well, because he had been a witness at the trial.

Beside Mbeki stood a tall man with a mop of red hair. Van Wyk could not remember ever having seen him before. "Who is that red-haired fellow?" he asked.

Catching the detective's eye on him, the man smiled; and in the same instant van Wyk recognised him. That smile was unmistakable!

"Good heavens! Kathrada!"

Kathrada laughed aloud. "Yes, sir!" he said cockily. "How d'you like my coat?" He indicated his absurdly long jacket which flapped about his knees.

Kathrada, who had been active in politics since the age of eleven, (at this time he was 45), was a past master in the art of disguise. On this occasion he had completely changed his appearance by letting his hair grow longer and dyeing it red. A heavy moustache and a pair of dark glasses completed his disguise. This accounted for van Wyk's not having recognised him sooner, although he and Kathrada were old acquaintances.

Now they had met again— in circumstances which Kathrada, alias Pereira, would have some difficulty in explaining away.

But Bernstein, Hepple, Mbeki, and even Kathrada, were comparatively small fry beside another man in the group— a somewhat undersized, light-skinned Bantu with a thick thatch of pitch-black hair and a small Hitler moustache. Van Wyk's heart gave a bound when he realised who this was. Hearing footsteps behind him, he half turned round, to see Mr Dirker coming round the corner of the house and towards the group of persons in the yard.

"Mr Dirker! Conic and see whom we have here!"

Dirker, a powerful, rather stout man weighing in the vicinity of 240 Ibs, jogged himself into a trot.

"Who..." he panted as he came up to the group, and then he gasped, just as van Wyk had done. "Sisulu!"

"Sisulu it is!" affirmed van Wyk.

Dirker's face beamed. Sisulu's capture was a bright feather in the cap of the police and would be a great load off the minds of the authorities.

Sisulu's eyes met Dirker's and he smiled— the little deprecating half-smile so characteristic of him. He and Dirker knew each other well. At one time and another they had spent many hours in each other's company and, as far as Sisulu was concerned, not altogether voluntarily.

Phlegmatically the ANC leader allowed himself to be searched, saying nothing until the detective found a document on his person. "That's all there is, Mr Dirker," he said quietly then. "You now have everything you were hoping to find."

Walter Sisulu was one of the three men who had jumped through the window of the thatched cottage in a desperate last minute attempt to escape. The other two were Mbeki and Kathrada.

The full story of what had happened in that thatched cottage when the police descended on it, was subsequently told in court by Sisulu and others of the accused.

Earlier that afternoon, Hepple had passed the Rivonia police station on his way to Lilliesleaf and had seen the dry cleaning van parked in front of it. (This must have been when van Wyk was waiting for the search warrant from Johannesburg.) Hepple did not take much notice of the van at the time, but an hour or two later, when he saw the selfsame van at Lilliesleaf, the possibility of a police trap occurred to him; no sooner had this thought crossed his mind than the door of the van flew open, and the next moment the place was alive with policemen! He rushed into the room, pulling the door shut behind him, and shouted: "It's the police!"

Sisulu, Mbeki and Kathrada made a dash for it through the window, but the other three had no time to escape. In the few seconds left to him before Detective Warrant Officer Kennedy erupted into the room, Hepple pulled a box of matches from his pocket and set fire to one of the papers. What manner of document this was was never established, and one can only guess at its contents. Whatever it was, it must have been brief, for it did not leave much ash. Was this document, despite its brevity, even more incriminating than 'Operation Mayibuye', and was that the reason why Hepple destroyed it? Or did he simply snatch up the first paper that came to hand and burn it with some confused notion of lessening the evidence against him and his accomplices? We shall never know.

It appeared afterwards that Bernstein had also seen the dry cleaning van parked in front of the police station at Rivonia, when he had driven past on his way to the farm; but, like Hepple, he had not given it a second thought. How could he have guessed that this so innocent-looking vehicle was pregnant with doom for him and his associates?

What a coup for the police! Here, in one fell swoop, they had rounded up all the key men of the underground movement. Brilliant planning, or just pure luck? If they are to accept the defence's story, it was only by the sheerest coincidence that they had found anyone of importance at Lilliesleaf at all on that particular afternoon. If you ask Lieutenant van Wyk about it to-day, he will only shrug his shoulders and refuse to commit himself. "What made me decide to tell my men to raid the place? Don't ask me, man... all I can say is, we were darned lucky."

Rounding up all the occupants of Lilliesleaf and placing them under arrest had been the work of only a few minutes; but the task that lay ahead, of searching the house and outbuildings for incriminating evidence, would require many hours, possibly days.

The men went about their task systematically and with the thoroughness typical of efficient policemen. Lilliesleaf, that peaceful rural retreat, fairly buzzed with activity. It is to be doubted whether even the glorious day of the revolution itself, which its inmates had been plotting so diligently, would have found the place busier than it was now.

The various rooms yielded stack after stack of papers and documents, which were all handed over to the experts, Mr Dirker and Sergeant Kennedy, who would examine them thoroughly at their leisure. Meanwhile even a cursory inspection showed the contents of these papers to be of a highly inflammatory nature. There were letters, circulars, Communist literature, pamphlets issued by the ANC, the Communist Party and *Umkhonto We Sizwe*; among them documents so incriminating that Dr Percy Yutar, who appeared for the State at the Rivonia trial, observed afterwards that he could have proved his case on the strength of the documentary evidence alone, even had not a single witness come forward.

Six typewriters and over a hundred maps were discovered in an open coal hole near the outbuildings. One of the outside rooms housed a radio transmitter, with some of the parts missing; but the police were convinced that the transmitter had actually been used for broadcasting, for directly behind the room in question were the remains of an earth wire and some poles which had obviously served as aerial masts.

Another of the outside rooms contained a duplicating machine and a large supply of stationery stacked on shelves along the walls. Many and many an inflammatory circular and pamphlet must have been composed here before being distributed by Government mail throughout the length and breadth of the land...

Beside the duplicating machine the fingerprint expert spotted a tin; just a small, innocuous tin— but it had an interesting story to tell— it showed a fingerprint, so distinct that the expert did not even have to make use of his dusting powder. The fingerprint belonged to a man who was not present at all at Lilliesleaf on that fateful afternoon: one Harold Wolpe, of the legal firm Kantor and Partners in Johannesburg.

The thatched cottage, which was to feature so prominently in the trial, was appointed like a luxury flat, with a bathroom and toilet and hot and cold running water. Lionel Bernstein, the architect, had designed it himself. The furniture consisted of three beds, a desk, several easy chairs, and a handsome carpet on the floor. Under one of the beds was an extra mattress, so that the cottage offered sleeping accommodation for four persons.

The homestead was a spacious, luxuriously furnished modern building providing every comfort. One of the front rooms had obviously served as a conference room, for it contained an exceptionally long table with a number of chairs placed round it. How many subversive conferences had taken place at that table, how many acts of sabotage been plotted, what sinister schemes hatched there?

"I beg your pardon, Lieutenant— " Van Wyk glanced up. "Yes, Constable?"

"A car full of Bantus turned in at the gate a few moments ago; but when the driver saw what was going on here he swung round and sped back before we could get near enough to stop the car."

Van Wyk thought quickly and acted promptly. Two policemen in cars were instructed to station themselves unobtrusively near the entrance to the caravan park, from where they commanded a view of

the Lilliesleaf gate. If anyone should drive in through the gateway, one of the police cars was to follow promptly and cut off the way of retreat.

The scheme bore fruit. Towards five o'clock a Citroen car came along the tarred road from the direction of Johannesburg and turned in at the gate. One of the police cars followed. When the newcomer, a White man with a bushy beard, came within sight of the homestead and observed the alarming activity there, he started to reverse; but before he had retreated more than a yard or two he found himself face to face with a policeman, who ordered him to get out of the car. The revolver in the officer's hand suggested that this was no time for arguments. The man hesitated, but as he glanced back towards the gate and became aware of the police car blocking the way, he realised that he was trapped and obeyed meekly enough.

The bearded man was Arthur Goldreich, a well-known painter who had recently won an award in an art competition. He was obviously a man of many parts, this Mr Goldreich, for in the course of the Rivonia trial the evidence revealed him to have been Umkhonto We Sizwe's Number One expert on explosives, sabotage and guerrilla warfare, and one of the top men in the plot to overthrow the Government and seize control of the country by revolutionary means. On this particular afternoon, though, he showed little of that death-defying intrepidity with which popular imagination commonly invests revolutionary heroes. Unlike the other detainees, he did not even try to put up a bold front or behave in a dignified manner. He looked, and was, an object bundle of terror.

About an hour later another car, driven by Mrs Hazel Goldreich, came up the driveway. When the car was stopped by a policeman and she was ordered to alight, she seemed at first more angry than frightened, and tried to adopt an arrogant, high-handed attitude. She alone of all the detainees demanded to see the warrant; but when it was shown to her, her facade of effrontery collapsed. She looked helpless and bewildered and burst into tears.

Mrs Goldreich, like all the other persons found at Lilliesleaf, was detained under the 90 days clause. Some time afterwards several overseas newspapers asserted that she had been, or was still being, subjected to ill-treatment amounting to torture. She herself denied this when questioned about it by a newspaperman and declared that she had no grounds for complaint. She even spoke highly of the courtesy and consideration shown her by the prison staff.

Mrs Goldreich was not the last person to arrive at Lilliesleaf on that fateful July 11th. Towards eight o'clock that evening Dr Hilliard Festenstein drove unsuspectingly in at the gate and up the driveway towards the house. By that time the place looked peaceful enough. Everybody was inside the house and the garden and yard were deserted.

Festenstein was met at the door by Sergeant Kleingeld, who invited him hospitably to 'come inside and join the party'. Festenstein complied, though with a marked lack of enthusiasm. Kleingeld led the way to the lounge, and Festenstein, full of horrid misgivings, followed reluctantly.

His worst suspicions were confirmed when, on entering the lounge in the sergeant's wake, he found it full of policemen. Quickly he explained his presence by saying that he had come to borrow a book from Mr Goldreich.

At that moment Colonel van den Bergh, who had arrived at Lilliesleaf together with Colonels Klindt and Venter some time before, was talking to Goldreich in another room. Goldreich looked up in some surprise to see dapper little Dr Festenstein being shown into the room by a policeman, explaining that he 'had just come about that book'.

"What book?" snapped Goldreich. "I don't know what you are talking about. I don't know you from Adam."

Festenstein was also detained, like all the other persons at Lilliesleaf, under the 90 days clause, and police were sent to search his house in Johannesburg. He was found to be in possession of banned literature, but as there was no proof that he had been involved in the Rivonia conspiracy, he was not among the accused afterwards brought up for trial in the Rivonia case.

The servants and farmhands at Lilliesleaf, eight in all, were also placed under arrest. All of them made statements to the police and afterwards gave evidence at the trial.

When arranging to borrow the dry cleaning van that morning, Lieutenant van Wyk had promised faithfully that it would be returned that same afternoon. As matters turned out, however, the owner did not get it back until the next morning. That evening it did further service as a Black Maria, to transport the arrested persons to different places of detention.

The proprietor of the dry cleaning firm, a member of the Jewish community, was annoyed. He was worried about his van, for of course he could have no inkling of the dramatic role it had played in the most sensational police raid on record. All he knew was that there was no sign of his property which should have been returned 'within a matter of hours'.

But the next day the story was featured in the newspapers. Banner headlines screamed out the news of the coup. The astonished businessman now knew at long last where his van had been and for what purpose it had been used. Not being fond of Communist plotters, he was proud and delighted. Far from raising the price, as he had contemplated doing, he now refused to accept any payment at all for the use of his van. "You did a good job," he informed Lieutenant van Wyk heartily, "a fine job. Only too delighted to have been of service. And if at any time I can help you again, all you have to do is let me know."

The investigation at Lilliesleaf was resumed the next day. The South African law requires that a search of this nature be conducted in the presence of the accused. Goldreich had therefore to accompany the police to the farm.

In one of the rooms which Goldreich had used as a studio, the police discovered a well concealed, built-in wall safe. Goldreich denied all knowledge of this safe and said that he had never received the keys from the previous owner.

No key being available, explosives expert Cruywagen was instructed to blow the safe. It was found to contain bank notes to the value of several hundred rand. It was afterwards ascertained that several of these notes had been issued after December, 1961, i.e. *after* Goldreich had moved to the farm. He must, therefore, have been aware of the existence of the safe and possessed the key to it.

All the documents and other evidence collected at Lilliesleaf were now removed to The Grays, and the Herculean task of checking and sorting began. Going through the vast mass of documents to ascertain their nature and contents was a task that would occupy experts for many days.

Dr Percy Yutar, Deputy Attorney General for the Transvaal, was appointed to conduct the case for the State. He and his assistants moved into offices at The Grays.

A short while before the Rivonia raid the police had intercepted several parties of Bantu 'recruits' on their illegal way to countries outside the Republic, where they were being sent for military training. About the same time, too, the police apprehended a large number of saboteurs who had been operating in Natal. The majority of these agreed to make statements to the police. All these statements were

handed over to Colonel Fred van Niekerk of the Pretoria police, for the purpose of ascertaining which and how many of them could be used as evidence at the impending trial.

There followed a series of conferences between members of the Security Branch and public prosecutors in the various provinces. Information was pooled, with the result that many of the documents found at Rivonia helped to establish the guilt of persons charged with subversive activities in other provinces. It was documents seized at Lilliesleaf, for instance, which confirmed the complicity of two Bantus named Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni. The two men were tracked down and arrested and eventually became Accused Nos. Nine and Ten in the Rivonia trial.

The documents further revealed a prominent ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, to have been one of the ringleaders in *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. At the time of the raid Mandela was in prison, serving a five-year sentence for participation in subversive activities and leaving the country illegally. The Rivonia documents yielded sufficient evidence to prove beyond question that he had been one of the moving spirits behind *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. When he had been arrested for having left the country without a passport, the police had not known what his destination or his purpose was. Now his diary, which was among the documents seized at Lilliesleaf, revealed the whole story. Further evidence of his complicity was found in his reports to the ANC and the National High Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*.

One by one the pieces of the giant puzzle slipped into place; and as more and more statements were taken, the complete picture began to emerge.

A lurid and frightening picture...

Lieutenant van Wyk and Detective Warrant Officer Dirker travelled all over the country to interview persons whose statements Colonel van Niekerk had collected and whose evidence could contribute to the case for the State. One of the men interviewed by them was 'Mr X', who was to become the State's most sensational witness.

After all the potential witnesses had been most thoroughly screened and sifted, over 270 were available. Only 173 of these were actually called, however, for by that time the State's case was fully established and further evidence would have been superfluous.

Lieutenant van Wyk had good reason to feel gratified. The investigation was progressing satisfactorily and a strong case was being built up against the accused.

On August 6th, nearly a month after he and his men had smoked out the hornets' nest at Rivonia, he was working in his office when the telephone rang.

"Detective Warrant Officer Barnard of Rosebank here, Lieutenant. I have a report here from a certain Mr Finlay which may interest you. He says that he has just been to a farm, Travallyn, which belonged to his daughter and which was sold recently to a man named Barnard. He says that he saw a lot of political papers lying around there."

Van Wyk took down the details. There were several indications that the conspirators had more than one hide-out, and this place, Travallyn, might well be one of them.

Mr Dirker and Detective Warrant Officer Erasmus drove out to Travallyn, accompanied by Mr Finlay, who showed them the way. Their destination was a small farm some miles north of Johannesburg. The house appeared to be deserted, but Mr Finlay showed them where the papers were. There were files, circulars, correspondence, lists of names and addresses and various official reports.

Travallyn opened up a fresh field of investigation. Soon the police were on the track of the man calling himself Charles Barnard, who had bought the farm from Mr Finlay's daughter, and of a man

named Williams, who had supplied the furnishings. When last seen, Barnard had been growing a beard and wearing spectacles.

Meanwhile Hepple, one of the detainees, had agreed to make a statement to the police. Information supplied by him led to the uncovering of yet another link in the chain, a house in Terrace Road, in the Johannesburg suburb of Mountain View. This place also yielded many incriminating documents, as well as some highly interesting fingerprints.

The case for the State was building up, consolidating...



### 3 FLIGHT

ON the evening following the Rivonia raid, all the occupants of the farm Lilliesleaf were detained in terms of the 90 days clause, one of the special powers entrusted by Parliament to the Minister of Justice to combat Communism in the country.

Arthur Goldreich and his wife, the chief suspects, were detained in the police cells at Marshall Square, (Johannesburg's Scotland Yard). Also at Marshall Square were two other detainees, Moosa Moolla and Abdulla Jasset, both members of the Indian community. Shortly afterwards a fifth person was brought to the cells, Harold Wolpe, a lawyer by profession and partner of James Kantor, (one of the later accused in the Rivonia trial). When Wolpe (the same person who had left such a clear fingerprint on the tin at Lilliesleaf) learnt that the police had raided the farm, he realised that they would now be hot on his trail as well, and decided that best safety lay in flight. He had almost reached the border when he was arrested by the police.

The names of two of the four men who occupied the cells at Marshall Square on that fateful night were destined to hit the headlines a month later, when news of their dramatic escape reverberated round the world.

A dramatic escape indeed— but no more dramatic than the subsequent movements and future career of these two versatile gentlemen.

In the early hours of the morning on Sunday, August 11th, Lieutenant van Wyk was where he deserved to be— in bed and sound asleep.

Suddenly he was woken by the insistent shrilling of the telephone. In reply to his sleepy 'Hullo?' the voice of his colleague, Lieutenant Diederichs, crackled over the wire, bearing shattering news.

Goldreich, Number One accused in the impending Rivonia trial, had escaped from custody and with him, Wolpe. Moolla and Jasset!

At this stage of the investigation the implications of this escape were only too clear to the men in the Security Branch, if not to the police generally. All the evidence which had been examined and sifted so far, pointed to Goldreich as being one of the key figures in the pernicious Communist conspiracy to plunge the country into chaos and bloody revolution. But the contents of the Rivonia documents were not yet generally known, so that none but the Security men realised just how important Goldreich and Wolpe were. To everyone else they were simply detainees under the 90 days clause.

Van Wyk immediately contacted Dirker and requested him to alert certain other Security men immediately. He himself hurried straight to Marshall Square, where he learnt the full story of the escape from the policeman on duty, Sergeant John Karpakis.

It appeared that the four detainees had attacked and overpowered the policeman on duty at the cells, eighteen-year-old Constable Johan Greeff, and had made good their escape while he was unconscious. "Apparently this was the weapon they used," said Karpakis, producing a piece of iron and handing it to his superior for inspection.

Van Wyk weighed the piece of pig-iron in his hand and examined it closely. It was only a few inches long and weighed no more than a couple of ounces. Knock a man unconscious with that? Van Wyk doubted it; nor were his colleagues, to whom he showed the piece of iron, any more inclined to believe that it could be used to knock a person unconscious.

"I'd like to have a word with young Greeff," reflected van Wyk, but he could not see him right away, as the young constable was receiving medical attention. The sergeant explained that he had been taken to the mortuary office, where there was a doctor on duty.

The more van Wyk thought about the matter, the stronger grew his conviction that young Greeff had connived at the escape. If only he could reach him without delay and get the truth from him, there might still be a chance of apprehending the fugitives before they could cross the border. He decided to go to the mortuary office and interview Greeff there. Lieutenant Burger and Detective Warrant Officer Labuschagne, both of Marshall Square, went with him.

Before speaking to Greeff himself, however, van Wyk had a word with the doctor who had examined him.

"I couldn't find much the matter with him beyond a slight bump on the back of his head." the doctor told him. "He told me that he'd been unconscious for a while, but I find that hard to believe."

Now van Wyk was ready to talk to Greeff. He took the lad back to town in his car and over a cup of coffee in the police cafeteria, Greeff blurted out the whole story.

"I was in bad trouble, sir," he confessed haltingly. "I'd borrowed a friend's car and smashed it up. The repairs came to R100 and he was pressing me for the money. I hadn't got it and I was getting desperate. I just didn't know what to do."

Greeff had always been a cheerful lad with a ready smile, known to his colleagues as "the chap who's always laughing." But the trouble in which he had landed himself had caused him to turn silent and morose.

"Even the prisoners noticed that something was wrong," he went on. "Goldreich said he could see I had something on my mind and asked me what the trouble was. He was very kind and sympathetic. When I told him about the smash and the R100 I had to pay, he asked permission to use the telephone, and rang his sister, Mrs Arenstein. He told her that he would send me round to her and that she was to give me R100. He signed his name in my pocket diary and told me to show Mrs Arenstein the signature, in case she wanted proof that I really was the chap her brother had spoken about. His signature would make it all right, he said."

Afterwards, when Greeff was brought up for trial, Mrs Arenstein confirmed this part of his story, adding that at her brother's request she had given him R100.

Meanwhile the two Indians, Moolla and Jasset, professed to have taken a great liking to the good-natured young constable. He was quite unlike most policemen, they said. They told him how much they appreciated his considerate attitude towards them as prisoners. Few, if any, policemen ever showed such courtesy towards a poor prisoner. It would please them very much, they said,

if he would accept a small present, just a little token of their appreciation. They were wealthy men, both of them, and aware that a young policeman's salary does not go very far.

One of the Indians scribbled a note and handed it to Greeff. "Take that to..." He mentioned an Indian shop in the lower part of town, "and they'll fit you out."

In this way Greeff acquired a new suit, a tie and a pair of shoes.

As yet there was no question of bribery...

"But then," said Greeff, "three days ago, Goldreich made a proposal to me. He offered to pay me R4,000 if I would help the four of them to escape. I... I told them I'd have to think it over."

Greeff did not drink as a rule, but before going on duty at the cells the following night, he went into a bar and had several drinks to give him courage. By that time he had made up his mind.

How and when would the money be handed over, he demanded. As soon as he had allowed the four of them to escape, he was told. He was to go to the house of a certain Chiba, an Indian who had been a fellow detainee of Moolla's some time previously, and ask him for a parcel of gramophone records. The parcel he would be given would contain the promised R4,000.

Later that evening Greeff telephoned Chiba, but was told that he was not at home. Chiba's father, who answered the telephone, explained that his son had gone to Rustenburg—Greeff's own home town, as it happened. He gave him Chiba's address—Bombay Building, Rustenburg—as well as his telephone number.

Late though it was, Greeff put through a trunk call to Rustenburg. He wanted this matter settled. Chiba was in when he phoned. "I asked him about the parcel and he seemed to know all about it," Greeff told van Wyk. "He promised that he would hand over the parcel to me whenever I called for it, so I assumed that everything was in order."

Afterwards, when Chiba was called to give evidence at Greeff's trial, he admitted that Greeff had telephoned him at Rustenburg. He had been in bed when the call came through. "I couldn't make out what the man wanted," he said. "He kept talking in riddles. Something about 'parcels' and 'records'. I wanted to go back to bed, and I said, 'All right, all right, everything's okay,' just to get rid of him."

That evening Mrs Wolpe turned up at Marshall Square with food and titbits for the detainees. It was ten o'clock, an hour at which visitors are not usually admitted to the cells, but Greeff, who was on duty, allowed her to go in and talk to her husband. "I was not present," he declared, "and [don't know that they talked about." The four detainees had, however, previously arranged with Greeff that he would leave them all together in the same cell that evening, and he must have guessed that they wanted to discuss their escape.

After Mrs Wolpe had left, the four men called Constable Greeff into the cell to settle the details of their proposed flight. Towards one o'clock in the morning the telephone rang. The caller was a woman. "Are they still there?" she asked Greeff. She also told him that he did not need to worry about the money. He could go and fetch it at Chiba's address whenever he wished.

The caller would not give her name, but Greeff was convinced that it was either Mrs Wolpe or Mrs Moolla who had called, more probably the former, for the woman had spoken English, whereas Mrs Moolla always spoke to him in Afrikaans.

Half an hour after that telephone call, Constable Greeff let Goldreich and the other detainees out through the back exit.

"When they had gone, I knocked myself on the head with that bit of iron and tied my wrists with a length of sash cord," Greeff concluded his confession. "I gave them plenty of time to get away before I pretended to regain consciousness and raised the alarm."

Greeff readily agreed to accompany the detectives to Chiba's house in Fordsburg, where he was supposed to collect the parcel. They waited outside while Greeff entered the house to demand the records. A few minutes later he was back, empty-handed. Chiba was not in, only his father and the old gentleman know nothing about any parcels or records. His son was still in Rustenburg, he said, but he expected him home during the course of the day.

Rustenburg! A sudden thought struck Greeff. Chiba was in Rustenburg, and he now remembered that Moolla and Jasset had once mentioned to him that they had relatives in that town. Perhaps the fugitives had gone to earth there?

Van Wyk admitted that it was not all unlikely. He and a few colleagues immediately left for Rustenburg in two cars. They surrounded and raided Bombay Building, where Chiba was supposed to be, but their search proved fruitless. Of the fugitives there was no sign, and as for Chiba himself, by the time the Security men arrived he had already left and was on his way back to Johannesburg. On his arrival there he found a message waiting for him. Friends had telephoned from Rustenburg to warn him that the Security Police were looking for him. Chiba was alarmed and decided to lie low for a while. When he was finally located and questioned by the police, he denied all knowledge of Greeff's deal with Goldreich and his comrades. He stuck to his story, and the police saw no reason to doubt the truth of what he said.

Before Lieutenant van Wyk left for Rustenburg, he instructed Warrant Officers Kennedy and Erasmus to arrest Mrs Wolpe and Mrs Moolla and to detain them for questioning.

On his return from Rustenburg, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, van Wyk immediately went to Marshall Square, where he interviewed the two women separately.

While Mrs Wolpe was being questioned, she asked permission to use the telephone, explaining that she had to arrange for someone to look after her children during her absence. Permission having been given, she telephoned a nurse of her acquaintance and made the necessary arrangements with her.

This seemingly innocuous telephone conversation was to have preposterous repercussions. The nurse in question was endowed with an unusually vivid imagination and learning that Mrs Wolpe was being detained by the police, she immediately concluded that the hapless woman was being subjected to battery and assault so violent that she was in grievous danger of her life. She lost no time in spreading the gruesome tidings, and soon hair-raising reports and rumours were rife. These 'revelations' were so blood-curdling that a senior magistrate was appointed to investigate the matter. He found that the rumours were completely unfounded, and Mrs Wolpe herself made a statement in which she denied having been either ill-treated or assaulted.

This tragi-comic interlude served to bring on the scene one James Kantor, afterwards one of the accused in the Rivonia trial. Kantor was Mrs Wolpe's brother and the escaped man's partner and brother-in-law. He had been on his farm Dar-Es-Salaam, near Hartebeestpoort Dam, when the dramatic nurse had telephoned to inform him that his sister was being tortured to death by the police. Kantor immediately hurried back to Johannesburg and appeared at The Grays that same evening to demand to see what was left of his sister.

The search for the four fugitives, particularly for Goldreich and Wolpe, continued without pause. They seemed to have vanished completely, but the police were constantly receiving reports from various persons who claimed to know their whereabouts. The police were convinced that much of this 'information' was supplied by members of the underground themselves, in an attempt to draw red herrings across the trail. Many of the would-be informants were, however, bona fide enough, and genuinely believed that they had seen one or another of the escaped men. All information received was duly followed up by the police, only to lead to disappointment in the end.

During this time, too, the police received countless messages and telephone calls from the public. Some were distinctly abusive, the callers openly expressing their sympathy with the fugitives and their hatred of the police, and voicing the hope that the fugitives would continue to remain at liberty. But there were also many calls from well-wishers, who were as anxious for the recapture of the escaped men as were the police themselves.

But the fugitives had planned and organised their escape well. Moolla and Jasset seemed to have dissolved into thin air, leaving no trace behind; nor were they heard of again until many months later, when they came to light somewhere on the other side of the globe.

Goldreich and Wolpe were not quite so self-effacing and soon made themselves heard of again—unfortunately too late for the police to do much about them.

For a little while after they had escaped from the cells they lay low in the cottage at Mountain View; after which, despite all police vigilance, they managed to slip across the border into Swaziland (a British Protectorate), disguised as priests, and under the assumed names of Father Shippon and Father Mitchell. In Swaziland they enjoyed the hospitality of a 'colleague', Father Charles Hooper.

How had they managed to cross into the Protectorate? The police subsequently established that an unknown person had bought a red Ford motor car from a Johannesburg dealer and paid R2,000 cash for it. The registration documents were signed *C. Hooper* in one place and *L. Hooper* in another. Both signatures proved to be forgeries.

Shortly after the arrival of the two 'priests' in Swaziland, the police raided a flat in Mountain View, Johannesburg, which turned out to be yet another of the conspirators' hideouts. There they found, *inter alia*, pieces of black material of the kind of which priests' robes are made.

For some considerable time afterwards the red Ford continued to stand, ownerless, in the Protectorate of Swaziland. Only in June, 1954, did Wolpe instruct a lawyer in London to claim the vehicle on his behalf. The car was sold and the purchase price duly remitted to Wolpe.

The two fugitives did not remain in Swaziland for long. It would appear that they were not altogether comfortable there. They arranged with a pilot employed by a private airline, a Mr Truter, to fly them to Lobatsi in Bechuanaland. Truter agreed, having no suspicion as to the true identity of the two alleged priests. Not until much later, when he saw photographs of Goldreich and Wolpe, did he realise that he had unwittingly helped South Africa's two most wanted men along their way to safety.

While we are on the subjects of priests and clergymen, mention may be made of another reverend gentleman, a genuine one this time, who brought himself into irksome prominence while the Rivonia case was in progress: Dr Blaxall, 72 years old, and a retired Anglican priest. Two months after Goldreich and Wolpe had escaped from custody, this venerable gentleman appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's court on four counts in connection with the Suppression of Communism Act. The prosecution alleged that Dr Blaxall had at various times received funds from London, which he had applied to furthering the ends of various subversive movements. All in all an amount of R6,282 had been paid out by him to various members of the underground movement, Walter Sisulu being one of his beneficiaries. The retired clergyman's correspondence revealed that he had also had contact with Potlako Leballo, the terrorist leader of the Pan African Congress.

Dr Blaxall pleaded guilty to all the charges. Taking into consideration his age as well as the fact that he professed sincere repentance, the court imposed a very mild sentence— a total of two years' and four months' imprisonment, all but six months of which was suspended for three years, upon condition that he was not found guilty of a similar offence during that period. In actual fact, however, the frail old gentleman spent only a single night in gaol, for the following day it was announced that the Minister of Justice, Mr Vorster, had seen fit to grant Dr Blaxall full remission of sentence. He was released the same day and allowed to return to his home in Roodepoort.

But to return to Goldreich and Wolpe.

For a considerable time after their escape the two fugitives continued to hit world headlines, which no doubt afforded them considerable satisfaction. But the circumstances leading to all this flattering publicity were less pleasing to them— rather disturbing, in fact, to these 'heroes' who had never shown themselves to be conspicuously brave.

On August 28th they arrived in Lobatsi, Bechuanaland. They were safe there, for no extradition agreement exists between the Republic and Bechuanaland. Now at last, for the first time in many days, the Comrades could relax. "We have not had much rest since we escaped from the cells at Marshall Square," declared Goldreich plaintively. "We are looking forward to this little rest..."one need have no doubt that Goldreich, though not usually noted for strict veracity, spoke the truth on this occasion.

From Lobatsi they travelled by Landrover to Francistown, accompanied by an Indian, J. Bhana, organiser of so-called 'escape routes' out of South Africa.

In Francistown they stayed at the town's only hotel. During a press interview (South African newspapermen had been quick to converge on the scene) Goldreich declared that they had little to say "except that we are thankful, very thankful, to be here".

During the next few hours the two Comrades were very busy indeed, conferring with leaders of different political parties in Bechuanaland and with representatives of South African underground movements. At one stage as many as nine Bantus were assembled in Goldreich's hotel room.

In the afternoon a Dakota aircraft of the EAA (East African Airways) landed at Welena Airport near Francistown, to take the two men to Dar-Es-Salaam the following day.

It was as well for the two Comrades that they did not plan to make a long stay in Francistown. Whatever opinion the 'socialist world' might hold of them, and despite the adulation heaped on them by the leftist press, in Francistown they were far from popular. The general feeling was that they were criminals who ought to be sent packing back to the Republic; and there were many people who did not hesitate to state this view openly and with scant regard for the feelings of the two Spearheads of the Nation. In the public bar of the hotel where they were staying, a group of men enthusiastically discussed ways and means whereby 'those two Reds' could be kidnapped and bundled back across the border into the Republic. Such discussions could hardly fail to reach the ears of the 'two Reds' in question, and naturally contributed little to their comfort or their piece of mind.

By way of compensation, however, they continued to hit the headlines and to move in a gratifying glare of publicity. They were beset by newspapermen anxious to keep the world informed concerning them, their movements and their future plans.

On the morning of August 29th events took a dramatic turn when the Dakota aircraft which was to have taken the fugitives to Dar-Es-Salaam, was completely wrecked by an explosion. Goldreich was convinced that there was sabotage involved. Someone had planted a time bomb, which, fortunately for them, had gone off ahead of schedule.

Goldreich and Wolpe, by now thoroughly frightened men, clamoured nervously for police protection. Their fear was not altogether unfounded. They could hardly help being aware of the hostility they had aroused in Francistown, especially among the White residents at the hotel, who made no attempt to hide their animosity. The proprietor of the hotel, fearing damage to his property if he allowed these highly unpopular guests to remain on the premises, requested them to find other accommodation.

Captain O. King, acting Chief of Police for Northern Bechuanaland, to whom they appealed for protection, conceded that they had good reason to feel nervous. The Francistonians' frank delight at the

mishap to the Dakota suggested that there were many people about who were not at all averse to the practice of a little counter sabotage.

The 'safe haven' of the Protectorate had suddenly and unaccountably become an exceedingly unsafe place. The two Comrades gratefully accepted an offer by the police to accommodate them in the local gaol. Their new quarters, though less comfortable than the hotel, at least offered reasonable safety.

EAA announced that another plane would be sent to pick up the two passengers, but when the aircraft was already on its way to Francistown it was suddenly recalled and no reasons given.

Now Goldreich and Wolpe found themselves stranded in the Francistown gaol. They dared not travel by car for fear of being kidnapped and handed over to the South African police. They considered trying to charter a light private plane, but this did not prove feasible. For one thing, all privately owned planes in the Protectorate belonged to White persons, from whom no help was to be expected; and in any case, they would be most reluctant to entrust their lives and safety to a light aircraft.

Meanwhile EAA failed to send another plane as promised.

To add to their woes, there were disturbing rumours of hurried talks between the Republic and Britain on the subject of extradition of escaped persons. They had to get out of the Protectorate before those discussions could bear fruit— but how?

EAA eventually agreed to send a plane, on condition that the company was given a guarantee by the British authorities that the aircraft would be adequately guarded while at the airport. Meanwhile, however, the airline was having trouble with the underwriters, who considered that sending a plane to Francistown in the present circumstances was altogether too risky a procedure. EAA therefore decided to wait.

In the Francistown gaol two harassed national spears began to suffer increasingly from hypertension.

At last, on September 5th, a ray of hope appeared. They were notified that a plane would be sent from Kenya to take them to Dar-Es-Salaam.

The airport had meanwhile been closed to private traffic, but permission was granted for the plane from Kenya to land there when a request to that effect was received from the British Government. This amounted to a signal triumph for Goldreich and Wolpe. Two unscrupulous saboteurs and would-be terrorists, who were soon to be unmasked as out-and-out Communists and their nefarious activities exposed in the course of a fair and impartial trial, had succeeded in gaining the sympathy and active support of a Western democratic power, or so it seemed. In reality the British Government had yielded to pressure exerted by certain prominent Labour M.P.'s, notably Mrs Barbara Castle.

The plane was duly despatched, but the nerves of the two prospective passengers were due for yet another rude jar, for it failed to arrive at Welena Airport. It transpired that the aircraft had developed engine trouble on the way, and had had to make a forced landing at Mbeya, in Southern Tanganyika. Sabotage was not suspected— not this time— nevertheless Messrs Goldreich and Wolpe, who dreamed so grandiloquently of overthrowing the South African Government and seizing control of the most highly developed and most powerful state in Africa, once more scurried rapidly for the protection of the Francistown gaol, not to leave the safe shelter of its walls again that night nor during the whole of the following day.

Fortunately for their shattered nervous systems, the police continued to be helpful and co-operative. In the early hours of the morning they were smuggled quietly and unobtrusively out of the gaol. A friend took them by car to Palapye Airport, some 100 miles from Francistown. Newspapermen

who turned up at the gaol later that morning to enquire after the two inmates, were told that they were still in bed.

The car in which the two men were travelling to the airport was escorted all the way by a police vehicle, by way of protection in case of any kidnapping attempt. At 7.50 a.m. they took off in a Cessna aircraft belonging to Arusha Air Charters (Tanganyika), and landed in Elizabethville early that evening. When the plane touched down at the airport, Goldreich strutted up to a fellow passenger, a brown-haired young lady, flung an arm round her shoulders, and announced: "My wife, recently acquired." At that time his actual wife, Mrs Hazel Goldreich, was still in a cell at Marshall Square, Johannesburg.

On September 10th the two fugitives arrived in Dar-Es-Salaam, where a contingent of newspapermen awaited them at the airport. The press conference had hardly begun, however, when there was a shattering explosion uncomfortably nearby, close to the aircraft from which they had just alighted. They themselves were unhurt but some African children who had been playing about nearby were less fortunate. Four of them were injured, one seriously. The newspapermen watched as the unconscious lad, whose chest and arms were covered with blood, was taken away in an ambulance. One of the other children explained that they had been playing with some rusty tins that had been lying about, and that one of the tins had suddenly exploded.

The disturbing interlude over, the press conference continued. Goldreich was expansive in his praise of everyone, individuals as well as organisations, who had been instrumental in aiding their escape. "We could never have managed it alone," he conceded.

Dar-Es-Salaam proved more hospitable than Francistown. The Comrades were welcomed enthusiastically, feted and lionised. Their triumphal way was lined with cheering crowds who sang South African songs of freedom and carried placards bearing slogans such as 'Your Escape Is A Blow To Nazi Vorster', and 'The ANC Is Indestructible'.

Of Goldreich's 'recently acquired wife', the brunette of the Cessna plane, there was no sign. Asked about his wife, Goldreich replied that she was in prison in South Africa.

The two Comrades proceeded to visit various Black states where they talked with a number of escaped communists from South Africa, inter alia Jack Hodgson and Vivian Ezra, whose respective roles in the 'liberation movement' were to be exposed in the course of the Rivonia trial. Accompanied by representatives of the ANC, they also visited Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika.

On September 23rd Goldreich and Wolpe arrived in London, where their reception was far less cordial than they had hoped.

In fact, the immigration authorities would have deported them forthwith, had they not found a champion in the person of Barbara Castle, M.P. (Labour). Thanks to her efforts on their behalf they were granted permission to remain in England for two months.

A press conference was arranged for them in London. Newspapermen found them willing and eager to talk and to answer questions. Referring to Mr Vorster's comment that he and Wolpe were 'two big fish that got away', Goldreich boasted that there were still plenty of big fish at large in the Republic.

Sabotage? Goldreich virtuously denied all knowledge of acts of sabotage in South Africa, nor was he aware that any such acts had been committed there at all. The sabotage stories were pure fabrication, he said, invented by the South African Government to discredit the 'freedom fighters' in the eyes of the outside world, hence the 'irresponsible statements' by the Government alleging that he and



Wolpe were the leaders of a terrorist organisation plotting sabotage and insurrection. The 'freedom campaign' was not directed against the Whites as such, but only against 'racial oppression'.

Unfortunately for Mr Goldreich's halo, the South African Government's 'irresponsible statements' were amply confirmed by documents in his own handwriting, highly incriminating documents which served as exhibits in the Rivonia trial. In the light of these exhibits it would appear that the versatile Mr Goldreich was not addicted to strict veracity.

Wolpe, too, wore his martyr's crown with an air of aggrieved righteousness. No doubt it was only his modesty which forbade him to mention certain maps drawn by him in preparation for guerrilla warfare in South Africa. Quite unnecessary modesty too, for those maps were really extremely well drawn, showing Mr Wolpe to be a man of exceptional talent.

Also present at this press conference, which had been arranged by Mrs Castle, were Joe Slovo and Oliver Tambo, both 'refugees' from the Republic and listed Communists\*, who also stood to be unmasked during the Rivonia trial.

In December, 1963, Wolpe left England for East Germany and the Soviet. Goldreich went to Israel, to collect funds wherewith to 'carry on the struggle for freedom in South Africa'.

In due course Moolla and Jasset also made their appearance abroad. It seemed that the two Europeans and the two Indians had gone their separate ways immediately after they had escaped from Marshall Square.

---

\* In terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, a person may be 'named'; a 'named Communist' may apply for his name to be removed from the list of suspected persons. When no such application is received, the person concerned is listed as a Communist.

## 4 THE TRIAL BEGINS

THIRD December, 1963.

Although it was still early morning, Pretoria's Church Square was already basking in the glare of the summer sun. A historic square, this, dominated by the massive statue of President Kruger in the centre, and flanked by venerable buildings. On the south side rises the Old Raadsaal, relic of a bygone era. The dignified bulk of weathered graying-brown stone opposite, on the north side and to the left of the Kruger statue, is the Palace of Justice, the seat of the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

That morning the Square presented a scene of unusual activity. People were converging on it from all directions, singly or in groups, talking and gesturing excitedly and looking, with more than casual interest, towards the high steps of the Palace of Justice, where a number of armed policemen were standing guard.

As the crowd in the square continued to grow, some of the policemen came down from the steps and moved about among the people, keen-eyed and alert for any sign of trouble.

The crowd was composed of Whites as well as non-Whites, the latter being in the majority. A Bantu woman in tribal dress—colourful blanket, bead ornaments and jingling copper bangles round her wrists and ankles—jostled her way forward through the crowd. Press cameras clicked.

Up to then the crowd had been orderly enough, but the patrolling policemen did not relax their vigilance. One sensed a mounting tension in the throng. Suddenly a woman's voice rose shrilly above the babble of talk: "Amandla Ngawethu!"—"Ours is the strength!" The cry, one of the slogans of the African National Congress, was taken up by a group of some fifteen or twenty Bantu women standing near the steps. "Amandla Ngawethu!" Clenched fists were raised in the ANC salute. Television cameras whirred even more enthusiastically as overseas newspapermen pressed forward to shoot this scene. This would look good on TV.

Suddenly the crowd surged forward as the massive wooden doors of the Palace of Justice swing slowly open. People pushed and jostled and elbowed their way up the steps and crowded into the courtroom until every available seat was occupied. Several people had to be turned back from the doors.

The benches reserved for the press were also rapidly filling up. There was a shuffling and a fluttering of papers as the newshounds delved for notebooks and pencils.

The eyes of the world were on the trial which was about to commence.

The trial actually opened nearly two months before, on October 9th, but the hearing was twice adjourned on technical grounds, after a defence request for the squashing of the original indictment had been granted by the Court.

Of the persons arrested at the time of the Rivonia raid or immediately afterwards, several had been released, Mrs Goldreich among others. In the end eleven were indicted: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Mohamed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, and Bob Hepple. Hepple, having expressed a desire to turn State witness, was released on October 29th, and absconded soon after so that only ten accused remained.

The crowded courtroom was a-buzz with subdued excitement. There was an eager stir in the audience as a door on the left opened and counsel for the defence made their appearance; Mr A. Fischer, Q.C., and Mr V. C. Berrange, a prominent criminal lawyer, (both listed Communists); Mr A. Chaskalson, G. Bizos, and Mr J. F. Coaker, the latter appearing on behalf of Kantor only. All counsel for the defence had been instructed by Mr J. Joffe, attorney, who was also present.

From the right-hand side entered Dr Percy Yutar, brisk, dapper, straight-shouldered. Glancing towards the press benches he nodded briskly to some newspapermen of his acquaintance: 'Good morning, gentlemen,' and took his seat at the table on the right, opposite his learned colleagues for the defence, who occupied the left-hand side. Counsel for the State filed in after him. Briefcases were clicked open as books and documents were produced and spread out on the table.

"Silence in court!"

The stentorian voice of the court orderly cut through the subdued buzz of conversation in the courtroom. All present rose respectfully to their feet as Mr Justice Quartus de Wet, Judge President of the Transvaal, an imposing figure in his red gown of office, mounted the bench. The stage was set for the Rivonia trial.

The big courtroom was hushed, but there was a suppressed rustle of excitement when the door directly behind the dock was opened by a policeman, who remained, standing stiffly to attention beside it. Heads were turned and necks craned in that direction as, the ten accused filed into the dock, one by one, in the order in which their names appeared in the indictment: Nelson Mandela, tall, powerfully built, light-skinned for a Bantu, carrying a file with a hard black cover; Walter Sisulu, shorter and more slightly-built than Mandela, and even lighter in colour; Dennis Goldberg, wearing his characteristic smile; Govan Mbeki, the grizzled ex-journalist from Port Elizabeth; Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada, the tall Indian, whose hair has meanwhile regained its normal colour; Lionel Bernstein, the inconspicuous Johannesburg architect; Raymond Mhlaba, brawny and broad-shouldered; James Kantor, sporting a luxuriant beard; and, finally, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, Accused Nos. Nine and Ten respectively.

Now all ten of the accused were in the dock. In the back a fist was furtively raised in the defiant ANC salute.

The accused were asked, each in turn, whether they wished to plead guilty or not guilty.

Mandela answered in a clear, firm voice: "Not guilty. It is the members of the Government, not we, who should stand indicted here."

"Not guilty," echoed Sisulu. "It is the members of the Government..."

The refrain was taken up by Goldberg. "Not guilty. It is the members of the Government..."

All the other accused likewise returned a plea of not guilty.

Now Dr Yutar rose to address the court.

The indictment, composed of four separate charges, was a document covering nine folio pages, supplemented by four annexures totalling 91 pages, in which the allegations against each of the accused were set out in detail.

Dr Yutar is a brilliant speaker, noted for his clear and precise delivery as well as for his ability to set out his case logically, clearly and concisely. Here he had a case worthy of his best talents.

"As the indictment alleges," he began, "the accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country

"The planned purpose thereof was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil, which would be aggravated, according to their plan, by the operation of thousands of trained guerrilla warfare units deployed throughout the country at various vantage points. These would be joined in the various areas by local inhabitants as well as specially selected men posted to such areas. Their combined operations were planned to lead to confusion, violent insurrection and rebellion, followed, at the appropriate juncture, by an armed invasion of the country by military units of foreign powers.

"In the midst of the resulting chaos, turmoil and disorder, it was planned by the accused to set up a provisional revolutionary government to take over the administration and control of this country...

"In the main," Dr Yutar continued, "the accused are charged with two counts of sabotage:

"Firstly, the State alleges that the accused, together with the other persons and associations named in the indictment, actually *committed* wrongful and willful acts, namely:

The recruitment of persons, for instruction and training, both within and outside the Republic of South Africa, in

a. the preparation, manufacture and use of explosives– for the purpose of committing acts of violence and destruction in the aforesaid Republic, and

b. the art of warfare, including guerrilla warfare, and military training generally– for the purpose of causing a violent revolution in the aforesaid Republic.

"The State further alleges that the accused are guilty of 153 acts of violence and destruction (sabotage) as particularised in the annexure attached to the indictment."

The second count concerned acts of violence. This count mentioned conspiracy to commit acts of guerrilla warfare, to render aid to foreign powers invading the country, and participation in insurrection and i-evolution within the Republic.

The indictment further named certain co-conspirators, who were not among the accused in the dock; notably Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe, who, the State alleged, were members, as were the ten men on trial there, of *Umkhonto We Sizwe's* 'National High Command'.

Other co-conspirators mentioned in the indictment were: Vivian Ezra, Julius First, Michael Harmel, Jack Hodgson, Ronnie Kasrils, Joe Slovo, Harold Strachan, Ben Turok and Cecil George Williams, (Whites); Arthur Letele, Looksmart Saulwandle Ngudle\*, P. Duma Nokwe, and Oliver Tambo (Bantus): and George Naicker and Billy Nair (Indians).

Organizations mentioned as having co-operated with the conspirators were the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress (both banned organizations) and the underground *Umkhonto We Sizwe*.

In respect of James Kantor, the State alleged that he was involved in this conspiracy, either directly and in his personal capacity, or indirectly in his capacity as Harold Wolpe's senior partner.

---

\* Since deceased.

In both counts it was alleged that the offences were committed between the periods of June 27th, 1961 and July 11th, 1963, at Rivonia, Travallyn, Mountain View, and various other places in the Republic. A number of the persons involved were described as 'unknown' to the State Prosecutor.

"The evidence on the first count," Dr Yutar continued, "will be briefly as follows:

"By the latter half of 1961 the African National Congress had decided to embark upon a policy of violence and destruction a policy of sabotage in order to achieve their political aims and objectives. For this purpose they formed the *Umkhonto We Sizwe* (the Spear of the Nation'), which was to be the military wing of the ANC. This organisation was recruited from followers who were prepared, whatever the odds, to die if necessary in the execution of the acts of violence and destruction.

"The *Umkhonto We Sizwe* placed itself under the political guidance of the 'National Liberation Movement"

All the banned organizations in South Africa, including the S.A. Communist Party and the ANC, are members of the said National Liberation Movement's Executive Council; *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, however, was controlled and directed by the so-called 'National High Command'.

"These organisations, having been banned, decided to go underground, for which purpose it was absolutely necessary for them to obtain suitable secluded premises from which to direct underground activities.

"Michael Harmel, a Communist, using the fictitious name of Jacobson, approached an estate agent for just such premises, adding that he needed them for his brother-in-law, who was a sick person and needed peace and quiet. Eventually, after rejecting a number of houses because they were too near neighbours, suitably secluded premises were found in July, 1961, at Rivonia: a large house with suitable outbuildings, standing in spacious grounds of more than twenty-eight acres."

A purchase price of R25,000 was agreed upon; R10,000 to be paid forthwith, and the balance in three equal installments of R5,000 each.

"The brother-in-law in question was Vivian Ezra, who was neither sick nor in need of peace and quiet. Moreover, he was not in a financial position to buy any house, let alone one for R25,000."

As Dr Yutar proceeded with his address, interest mounted and people leaned forward eagerly so as not to miss a word of what he was saying. Shocked dismay and incredulous horror were mirrored on the faces of most of those present. Dr Yutar spoke calmly enough; but the revelations which he made in his clear, precise voice were sensational and frightening. Here was no mere flash in the pan, but a superbly organised and detailed scheme to manufacture arms on a gigantic scale: "The extent to which the National High Command plotted their policy of sabotage, violence and destruction throughout the country, can be gauged from their 'production requirements'— a programme which they planned to complete in six months."

These requirements, as the documents proved, included 144 tons of ammonium nitrate, 21.6 tons of aluminium powder, and 15 tons of black powder. "Without taking into account the explosives and detonators which the members of the sabotage squads throughout the country were enjoined by their leaders to steal from explosives magazines and various mines, the experts will say that the aforementioned 'production requirements' constituted sufficient to blow up a town as extensive as Johannesburg," stated Dr Yutar.

The saboteurs had planned the manufacture of at least seven types of bombs:

48,000 anti-personnel mines, also known as land mines, each containing 5 pounds of dynamite; a sample of such a mine had been found at Rivonia;

210,000 hand grenades, each containing 1/4lb. of dynamite:

petrol bombs;

pipe bombs;

syringe bombs;

thermite bombs, and

bottle bombs, colloquially known as 'Molotov Cocktails'.

The first witness to be called was Detective Sergeant F. J. van Biljon, a police photographer and draughtsman. He submitted plans and an album of photographs of the buildings at Lilliesleaf, Mountain View and Travallyn. The former had been taken at Lilliesleaf on the day of the raid.

Next former employees of Mr Goldreich's at Lilliesleaf were called to give evidence concerning what they had seen and heard on the farm while they had been working there.

Solomon Sepeng said that he had worked for Goldreich since December, 1958. The Goldreichs had then been living in Bellevue, from where they had moved to Parktown, and afterwards to the farm Lilliesleaf at Rivonia. At Lilliesleaf there had been eight Bantu servants in Goldreich's employ; the witness, Solomon, and a woman named Edith, as domestic servants, the rest as farm hands.

He had seen Sisulu 'reading papers' in one of the outside rooms: he had also seen Kathrada 'turning the handle of a machine which threw out papers'. Both Sisulu and Kathrada as well as Mahlaba had lived at Lilliesleaf.

Near the outbuildings there had been 'a wire fixed to a long pole, with the other end fixed to a water tank'.

Dr Yutar: Do you know anything about a wire under the ground?— Yes, I saw a wire like the one you describe sticking out of the ground. There was another wire fastened to it which led to a machine in one of the outside rooms. That room had no windows and was unoccupied.

Questioned further, Solomon said that in that windowless room 'there was a thing which turned'; next to this machine was a radio. He, Solomon, had sometimes heard sounds coming from this room.

He had seen two of the farm hands cutting down trees for poles. The poles were fixed into the ground next to the windowless room. He had once seen earphones in this room, and on one occasion he had seen a White man whom he did not know, put on the earphones and work the machine.

Asked whether anyone besides Kathrada had ever worked the duplicating machine, the witness shook his head. "Not that I know of."

The next witness to be sworn was the Bantu woman Edith. She stated that she had entered the Goldreichs' service in July, 1960, when they had been living in Parktown. At that time Goldreich had worked in a department store in Johannesburg, and Mrs Goldreich at a nursery school.

A certain Bantu whom she knew as 'David' had been a frequent visitor at the Goldreichs' house. The Goldreichs also called him David.

Who was this 'David'? Dr Yutar handed the witness an album containing a number of photographs. She identified Mandela, No. I Accused, as the man she had known by that name. He had visited the

Goldreichs for the first time in the course of 1961, and many times after that. Sometimes he had brought his wife along. When the Goldreichs moved to Lilliesleaf in 1961, 'David' occupied the thatched room. About the same time a Bantu named Thomas and a White man, Jelliman, had also taken up residence at Lilliesleaf. David' remained there for some time and left at the beginning of the winter, in January, 1963, when she returned to the farm after having been away on leave, the thatched cottage was occupied by Mhlaba and another person whose name she did not know. Mhlaba left Rivonia on Good Friday (April 12th, 1963) and returned about a fortnight before the police raided the farm. At the time of the raid the thatched cottage was occupied by Sisulu and Mbeki. Kathrada had also lived there at one time.

Goldberg had often visited Lilliesleaf, the witness said. He used a Volkswagen Combi. One could not see into the back of the Combi.

Bernstein, Hepple and Joe Slovo had also visited the farm from time to time.

Asked how the guests at Lilliesleaf had occupied themselves during the day when the Goldreichs were at work, Edith said that they used to read or write. She had seen Mbeki using a typewriter.

Two of the outside rooms were kept locked. In one of these Goldreich kept his paints, canvases, and other painting equipment.

When Dr Yutar had finished with the witness Mr Bizos, for the defence, rose to question her.

Mandela, who had been writing busily, now shut his file and settled down to listen. He took off his heavy-rimmed glasses and absently bit the end of one of the earpieces— a mannerism of his. Sisulu leaned over towards him and said something in a low voice. Goldberg removed his thick-lensed glasses and rubbed his eyes before replacing them. Mbeki passed the back of his hand across his mouth and glanced about him. Catching Kathrada's eye, he smiled; the tall Indian, shifting himself into a more comfortable position, smiled back. Beside him, Bernstein sat quietly leaning his chin on his cupped hand, his face expressionless. Bernstein was not a type given to smiling and joviality; unlike Mhlaba, who was smiling broadly like a man who has not a care in the world. Kantor, beside him, had a little frown of concentration between his eyes as he absently ran his fingers through his beard.

Counsel's questioning of the witness, Edith, elicited nothing sensational. By the time he had finished, it was four o'clock. The first day of the hearing was over.

The accused, escorted by policemen, filed out through the open door and down the steps leading to the court cells below. The audience, talking volubly after the long enforced silence, poured out through the main doorway. Mr Fischer, Mr Berrange, and Dr Yutar lingered some moments longer to exchange a few words. They were old acquaintances, those three, and many a pitched legal battle had been fought between them.

A man in overalls shuffled in, carrying mop and broom, and busied himself about his work, grumbling disgustedly at the litter of crumpled papers which someone had left under his seat.

The entrance to the cells below the court bordered on a short, semi-circular driveway running between the parking area and the building itself. At each end of this driveway were high, massive iron gates.

A closed police van with a small, heavily barred window just below the roof, drove in through one of the gateways. No sooner had it gone through than the gates were once more locked and barred by

one of the policemen on guard. The van halted in the middle of the driveway, directly in front of the entrance to the cells.

One by one the accused were escorted from the cells and into the van. The doors slammed shut and the van moved slowly towards the farther end of the driveway. The gates were opened and the van passed through, emerging into the street, where armed policemen were waiting in two police cars to escort the van to the gaol.

Earlier in the day, when the court session commenced, Dr Yutar stated that he understood that certain persons were plotting to rescue the prisoners, and advised the plotters not to waste their time. The authorities, forewarned and alert, were in no mood to countenance such attempts. The security measures were foolproof.

How right Dr Yutar was now became apparent. The security measures certainly admitted of no possibility of escape or rescue.

When the van swung into the public thoroughfare, defiant fists appeared at the high barred window giving the ANC salute. The salute was returned and the cry of 'Amandla Ngawethu!'" taken up by a knot of ANC supporters in the street.

The van drove on and disappeared from sight. The groups of people began to disperse. To-morrow was another day.

Office workers began to pour into the street. The afternoon rush hour began. News vendors on street corners did a brisk trade. Everyone was eager to read about the first day of the Rivonia trial, and this interest was by no means confined to the Republic. It's Overseas reporters flashed the news to their various countries. 'Rivonia' was rapidly becoming a household word all over the world. The name leaped out from newspaper headlines, it was splashed on placards and posters, it was repeated over and over again on the radio and on television. The eyes of the world were on South Africa and on the Rivonia trial.

---

\* Translated as: "Power to the people," a common communist phrase.



## 5 DAMNING DOCUMENTS

We are a phlegmatic people, we South Africans, and not easily shaken out of our lethargy.

True, the Rivonia affair had caused something of a stir. There were rumours of agitators inciting the Bantus to insubordination; even of Communist inspired plotting... But the average South African's reaction, after the initial jar, was a laconic, 'What, again?' One had become inured to these things. For the past decade and more South Africa had suffered from a series of agitators and self-styled champions of the 'oppressed masses'. Some few— of these the minority— might have been sincere, holding honest, if misguided, views; the rest— unscrupulous opportunists, publicity hunters, nonentities reaching eagerly for this heaven-sent skeleton key to notoriety and the headlines, out-and-out Communists fanatically dedicated to the Red cause... South Africa had been afflicted with every species of crank and agitator, and survived.

To the majority of South Africans the Rivonia plotters were just another of these periodic infestations. But as the trial progressed, people were roused from their dream of security into frightened awareness. Shocking as were the facts that came to light, their implication was even more horrifying. It is disturbing to discover that just below the surface of one's placid, prosperous existence a volcano has been rumbling, may continue to rumble—

– May even erupt...

It was a document— a six page document entitled 'Operation Mayibuye'— that jarred people out of their illusion of security; that same document that Detective Warrant Officer Kennedy had found in the thatched cottage on the day of the raid.

'Operation Mayibuye' is a comprehensive plan, worked out in the most minute detail, for seizing control of the country by means of sabotage and destruction, coupled with guerrilla warfare waged by the masses, who would be supplied with sufficient arms and ammunition to sow terror and death throughout the length and breadth of the land.

'Mayibuye' is a Zulu word, meaning 'Come back'. One of the ANC slogans is 'Africa Mayibuye', i.e. 'Africa Come Back', i.e. to the Black Man. This document, as explosive in itself as the bombs so freely mentioned in it, consists of six parts.

Appraising the situation (Part I), the authors of this blueprint point out that a general revolt, leading to a direct military offensive, i.e. total war, is in the circumstances not feasible.

Rather, as in Cuba, the general uprising must be sparked off by organised and well-prepared guerrilla operations, during the course of which the masses of the people will be drawn in and armed.

It is realised that the struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the overthrow of the existing anti-Communist government, will be a grim one and of long duration:

We are faced with a powerfully armed modern state with tremendous industrial resources, which can, at least in the initial period, count on the support of three million Whites.

Nevertheless—

This state is isolated practically from the rest of the world, and if effective work is done will have to rely in the main on its own resources. The very concentration of industry and power and the interdependence of various localities operate as both an advantage and a disadvantage for the enemy. It operates as a disadvantage, because effective guerrilla operations can, within a relatively short period, create far greater economic havoc and confusion than in a backward, decentralised country.

The document refers to the 'active hostility' of practically the entire continent of Africa and 'the socialist world' towards South Africa. This hostility, plus the isolated situation of the Republic, are factors weighing heavily in favour of the 'freedom fighters' and may precipitate the fall of the Government.

Direct military intervention in South West Africa, an effective economic and military boycott, even armed international action at some more advanced stage of the struggle are real possibilities which will play an important role. In no other territory where guerilla operations have been undertaken has the international situation been such a vital factor operating against the enemy. We are not unaware that there are powerful external monopoly interests who will attempt to bolster up the White state. With effective work they can be isolated and neutralised.

The following plan envisages a process which will place in the field, at a date fixed now, simultaneously in pre-selected areas, armed and trained guerrilla bands, who will find ready to join them local guerrilla bands with arms and equipment at their disposal. It will further coincide with a massive propaganda campaign both inside and outside South Africa, and a general call for unprecedented mass struggle throughout the land, both violent and non-violent. In the initial period, when for a short while the military advantage will be ours, the plan envisages a massive onslaught on pre-selected targets which will create maximum havoc and confusion in the enemy camp, and which will inject into the masses of the people and other friendly forces a feeling of confidence that here at last is an army of liberation equipped and capable of leading them to victory.

The importance of adequate provisioning of guerrilla troops receives attention:

In the long run a guerrilla struggle relies on the enemy for its source of supply. But in order to make this possible an initial

effective arming of the first group of guerrilla bands is essential. It is also vital to place in the field persons trained in the art of war who will act as a nucleus of organisers and commanders of guerrilla operations.

The absence of friendly borders and long scale impregnable natural bases from which to operate are both disadvantages. But more important than these factors is the support of the people who in certain situations are better protection than mountains and forests.

The basic principle for South Africa's 'freedom fighters' and future insurrectionists, as set out in 'Operation Mayibuye', is the time-honoured one followed by guerrillas and terrorists everywhere: 'Flee from the strong and shamelessly attack the weak'.

In Part II of the document the four rural areas where the revolution is to be triggered off are mapped out and defined:

1. Port Elizabeth– Mzimkulu.
2. Port Shepstone– Swaziland.
3. North-western Transvaal, which borders on Bechuanaland and the Limpopo.
4. North-western Cape– South West Africa.

Details of the plan itself are contained in Part III:

1. Simultaneous landing of 4 groups of 30 based on our present resources either by ship or air–armed and properly equipped in such a way as to be self-sufficient in every respect for at least a month.
2. In the initial stages it is proposed that the 30 are split up into platoons of 10 each, to operate more or less within a continuous area and linking their activities with pre-arranged local groups.
3. Simultaneously with the landing of the groups of 30 and thereafter, there should be a supply of arms and other war material to arm the local population which becomes integrated with the guerrilla units.
4. On landing, a detailed plan of attack on pre-selected targets with a view to taking the enemy by surprise, creating the maximum impact on the populace, creating as much chaos and confusion for the enemy as possible.
5. Choice of suitable areas will be based on the nature of the terrain, with a view to establishing temporary base areas from which our units can attack and to which they can retreat.
6. Before these operations take place political authority will have been set up in secrecy in a friendly territory with a view to supervising the struggle both in its internal and external aspects. It is visualised that this authority will in due course develop into a Provisional Revolutionary Government."

The functions of the proposed 'political authority' are clearly defined and include judicious use of the propaganda machine in order to retain and strengthen the sympathy of the outside world. The authors of 'Operation Mayibuye' realised the value of the propaganda weapon and proposed to exploit it to the full; but they also realised that the Government of the Republic, whose strength was not to be underestimated, was not likely to yield to outside pressure unless this was backed by something far more substantial than words. The structure of the state had to be attacked from within, and in its most vital parts. 'Operation Mayibuye' indicates with great preciseness how this is to be accomplished, and

gives an impressive list of definite and specific aims which must be kept in mind. To anyone who reads this document it must become clear that its perpetrators would stop at nothing to disrupt and disorganise the state and would not scruple to resort to terrorism and massacre in order to create that state of chaos and anarchy which is the favourite breeding ground of the Red danger threatening Africa and casting its evil shadow over the Republic.

By means of the judicious propaganda campaign previously referred to, the conspirators hoped to bring about a total and universal boycott of South Africa, which would paralyse both her export trade and her internal organisation. The support of international trade unions had to be recruited in order to guarantee that no foreign power would supply the Republic with arms or military material of any description, nor embark on any trade whatsoever with South Africa.

UNO was to be the propaganda platform, and the Afro-Asian bloc was to exert all pressure on this organisation to induce military intervention in South West.

To conduct a war, funds are necessary. The projected 'Political Authority' which would ultimately develop into a 'provisional revolutionary government', would therefore have to secure as much credit as possible, to ensure sufficient funds with which to pursue the struggle in South Africa.

Smoothly operating communication facilities are essential to the success of a revolution. 'Operation Mayibuye' provides for radio facilities for daily broadcasts to the outside world as well as to the 'People of South Africa'.

Transport is likewise of vital importance in conducting a successful revolution. The blueprint envisages a weekly or biweekly air service for recruits, to ensure a steady and regular flow of trained staff.

Finally, in order to implement the military part of the programme, it is recommended that the 'National High Command' of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* appoint staff in the office of the organisation in Dar-Es-Salaam.

Part IV of the blueprint for the murder of South Africa is concerned with internal organisation. The following extracts are revealing:

"Our target is that on arrival the external force should find at least 7,000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerrilla army in the initial onslaught. These will be allocated as follows:

Eastern Cape– Transkei 2,000

Natal– Zululand 2,000

North Western Transvaal 2,000

North Western Cape 1,000

"To realise our target in each of the main areas... it is proposed that auxiliary guerrilla/sabotage units in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerrillas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerrillas.

How this detailed plan is to be put into operation, is expounded in Section V of 'Operation Mayibuye'. The execution of this project involves at least five fronts:

Firstly, *An Intelligence Department*, which is to investigate and report on the following:

I. The exact extent of each area.

2. The portions of the country that are naturally suited for our operations and their location within each area.

3. Points along the coast which would be suitable for landing of men and supplies and how these are going to be transferred from the point of landing to the area of operations.

4. The situation of enemy forces in each area, thus:

(a) The military and the police as well as their strength;

(b) Military and Police camps, and towns and the distances between them.

(c) System of all forms of communication in the area.

(d) The location of trading stations and chiefs' and headmen's kraals.

(e) Airfields and air strips in the areas.

5. Selection of targets to be tackled in initial phase of guerrilla operations with a view to causing maximum damage to the enemy as well as preventing the quick deployment of reinforcements.

To the second front, the '*External Planning Committee*', falls the task of obtaining arms, ammunition, explosives, and other equipment; of smuggling such equipment into the country, and organising transport by sea, air, and land, for the 'landing of our task force'.

The third front, the '*Political Authority*' has a revolutionary character:

We make a strong recommendation that the joint sponsoring organisations should immediately set about creating a political machinery for the direction of the revolutionary struggle... and to set up a special committee to direct guerrilla political education.

The fourth and fifth fronts are the '*Transport Committee*' and the '*Logistics Department*' (Technical and Supply Committee).

To the Logistics Department the following tasks are entrusted: 1. To manufacture and build up a stock of arms, ammunition and explosives from internal sources.

2. To organise reception, distribution and storage of supplies from external sources.

3. To obtain all other relevant supplies necessary to prosecute an armed struggle, to wit, medical supplies, clothing, food, etc., and the storage of these at strategic points.

4. To organise the training of personnel in the use of equipment referred to above.

5. To acquire equipment to facilitate communications.

There are specific instructions and assignments for heads of departments— and a definite term is set for the execution of these assignments: not later than 30th May, 1963.

This, then, is the gist of 'Operation Mayibuye', blueprint for chaos, revolution and ultimate Red control. Commenting on it, Dr Yutar pointed out the close parallel between the plan of action as

outlined in this blueprint and the way in which the Algerian rebellion and the Castro revolution in Cuba were conducted.

In delineating the four areas where the revolution was to be triggered off, the organisers showed considerable strategic talent and perspicacity. From both a geographical and a military point of view these areas would be eminently suitable vantage points for the purposes envisaged by the revolutionaries. Among other things the insurrectionists would gain control of the only railway line to South West Africa. Furthermore, if they succeeded in occupying these four areas, it would mean that the Witwatersrand, the heart of South Africa's industry, would be completely enclosed.

The burning question remains to be asked— that question which was to become the subject of such pitched legal battles between the prosecution and the defence.

Drawing up a plan is one thing; putting it into execution another. One might argue that the entire 'Operation Mayibuye' might well have been nothing more than the brain child of a person or persons afflicted with megalomania, who, lacking the means and the opportunity of putting their ideas into effect, had to content themselves with Utopian visions of grandeur and victories on paper. Viewed in this light, 'Operation Mayibuye' becomes just another science fiction horror story.

Dr Yutar thought differently. The documents prove, he submitted, that when the plot was uncovered, the programme, or at least part of it, was already being put into execution; that the acts of sabotage perpetrated over the past two years had been committed according to plan and upon instructions from the High Command, and that they followed the pattern outlined in 'Operation Mayibuye'; that the manufacture of specimen hand grenades had already begun; that guerrilla fighters were being trained by experts, both at home and abroad, in preparation for the insurrection to come.

It is a clear, precise, systematic blueprint for murder, the State alleged.

It would not be feasible to attempt to give even a brief resumé of all the documents which served as exhibits in the Rivonia case and which, in the State's contention, are evidence of the execution of the programme set out in 'Operation Mayibuye'.

"You have been appointed to perform the important task of organising units of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*," reads the introduction to 'Speaker's Notes— a Brief Course of Training for Organisers', copies of which were found in Goldreich's car and in one of the outside rooms at Lilliesleaf.

One must know about sabotage, its purpose, and one must know about guerrilla warfare as a distinct form of warfare from regular warfare...

The aims for which the war is being waged must be explained with absolute clarity, as it is imperative and vital that the people should understand and be convinced of the need to risk their lives for their ultimate freedom. This, in fact, is the key to the success of your recruiting campaign.

Dr Yutar said of 'Speaker's Notes' that it was a well-reasoned and logically presented lecture, the preparation of which must have required careful study and research.

The points made in this manual concerning guerrilla vantage points, and more particularly the remarks on the eventual switching over from guerrilla action to open warfare, clearly reflect the

knowledge gleaned by Mandela in Morocco and by Goldreich in Communist China. What the manual has to say concerning the establishment of and requirements for bases, corresponds very closely to the data contained in notes compiled by Goldreich after talks with an official of the Ministry of Defence in Red China.

'Speakers' Notes' is a manual for the guidance of organisers of guerrilla units, in accordance with the programme of 'Operation Mayibuye'. It contains all the necessary data and instructions for the recruiting of guerrilla fighters and organising them into them into groups, in anticipation of the arrival of trained saboteurs, who would undertake the military training of the groups so formed. The purpose of the manual was to give the organisers a basic grounding and enable them to organise the Bantu masses and incite them to insurrection, and ultimately with the help of certain White persons– this appears clearly from the document– overthrow the established authority and set up a 'revolutionary government'.

As further proof that the conspirators had already begun to put 'Operation Mayibuye' into effect, another document was quoted, yet another of the many exhibits submitted by the State, entitled 'Report of Housing Committee'.

On the back of this paper are some notes in Goldreich's handwriting. In respect of suitable accommodation, the report recommends:

1. The accommodation should be secluded.
2. There should be sufficient living and working space.
3. The proposed accommodation must be such that it will be of such a nature that it will provide a legitimate 'cover', e.g. a farm must be capable of being farmed; a workshop in an industrial area must give the outward appearance of being a workshop.

A suitable farm, the report continues, had actually been found, but it had the disadvantage of having too few outbuildings. Nevertheless the place provided sleeping accommodation for four to six men– ostensibly farm hands. For cooking purposes butane gas was used. The report points out that "this is quite suitable, as the existence of a gas supply is of obvious use in manufacturing operations."

As Dr Yutar pointed out, the place referred to in this report is obviously Travallyn, and it is clear that the intention was to make this farm the headquarters of Umkhonto's 'Production Unit'.

'Production Requirements' is the heading of another document, copies of which were found at Travallyn and in Goldreich's car.

The list of 'production requirements' contained in this memorandum includes: nearly 150 tons of ammonium nitrate, over 20 tons of aluminium powder, nearly the same quantity of black powder, 48,000 land mines, 210,000 hand grenades, and 1,500 time devices for bombs.

Six months was the time allowed for the completion of the Production Unit's programme referred to in the memorandum; so that the programme works out at over five tons of ammonium nitrate *per week*, i.e. nearly a ton per day; 1,591 hand grenades, 364 land mines, and 12 time devices *per day*.

The land mines could be very widely used: buried in a road, they could cause vehicles to explode; in footpaths, private gardens, gateways, and entrances they would operate against individuals, specific or unknown.

These mines would be contained in neat, innocuous-looking wooden boxes of the type used for despatching agricultural produce, and large enough for a layer of fruit or vegetables on top to camouflage a five-pound explosive charge. These boxes could also be used to despatch explosives to any part of the country.

Correspondence found at Travallyn proves that Goldberg (then posing as Charles Williams) was actually negotiating with two firms of timber merchants and had asked for quotations for shookees for the manufacture of 48,000 such boxes.

No less deadly in their effects are the various types of bombs which were to be manufactured on such a large scale by the 'Production Unit'. Explosives experts who analysed and tested the weapons used by saboteurs over the past two years in their terrorist activity, assert that they include petrol bombs, flame bottles, and thermite, syringe, and pipe bombs.

The petrol bomb, contained in an ordinary non-descript tin, looks harmless enough until one sees the effect of its deadly incendiary charge. The flame bottle is designed to be thrown through windows into buildings, or among a crowd. The thermite bomb resembles the petrol bomb, over which it has this advantage that the flames are harder to extinguish. The syringe bomb works like a hand grenade but being bigger and heavier does even more damage.

An eleven-page document found in Goldreich's car, entitled 'The Revolutionary Way Out' speaks of the parallel aims of the Communist Party and the ANC. This document had its origin at Rivonia, where the wax stencils of it were found.

These parallel aims are stressed in other documents as well: 'The Road to South African Freedom', a pamphlet issued by the S.A. Communist Party, and a paper in Goldreich's handwriting, headed "Talks with Nung Nying-Yi", in which there is a reference to 'our influence through ANC in conferences elsewhere in Africa.'

"All of us," states another document, under the sub-heading 'Congress's New Line of Conduct', "are by now aware that the ANC has adopted a policy of violence."

But, the document continues, the fact remained that the bulk of the Bantu people were not aware of this new trend. After all, the ANC had for many years followed a policy of non-violence. Meanwhile the leaders were not so naïve as to hope that the ANC's change of policy had escaped the notice of the Government. "From whom are we hiding it, then? Only from the people."

Certain letters found at Travallyn furnished proof that recruits from South Africa had actually been smuggled out of the country in order to be trained abroad as guerrillas and saboteurs. The first, couched in cautious terms, runs as follows:

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your report. As you may have been informed we were supposed to have ready with 28 by the 10th inst. We have written to the benefactors to say we think we shall be ready with this consignment of 28 by the last week of June.

The fears you entertain about fellows being landed at Dar. would not apply in this case because everything has already been tied up as to their destination.

We shall indicate to the prospective candidates that each should



bring R50.

Another letter, dated May 23rd, bears a Rhodesian post mark.

My dear Uncle,

I am writing to inform you that of the 19 parcels you sent me 12 have been confiscated by the Dept. of excise and the other 7 were captured but were later returned to me. Kindly treat this matter as urgent. My friends here are battling hard to get these parcels not to be sent back but be kept here until sufficient funds to pay for their release is found.

Your nephew,

Jack Malobebe

Fetch money from Basutoland.

This same Jack Malobebe wrote from the same address two days later:

Dear Uncle,

I hope you have by now received my first despatch to you. I am now writing to give you full information.

Firstly things were not properly tied up this end, that is that our representative was not properly briefed and equipped with means of transport as a result we arrived at the appointed spot at 6.30 am. but found nobody to meet us. We had to disperse into the bush where we remained till 11 a.m. Then I decided to dash out to town about 50 miles away to try and locate some people who could help us. I found them, but would not go till late in the afternoon. We succeeded to fetch the rest and dashed back to town from there we were driven 20 miles out of town to catch our train. By that time it was already known that we were about, our difficulty was now where to go. We had not met our contact there. So we felt that we better proceed to Lusaka.

They did not spot us quickly until in the morning. We were then arrested just a station before we reached Lusaka. 7 of us were taken to a police station there including the writer from these. We were driven to Lusaka police station. Fortunately for us that is the 7 were in the hands of the N.R. Police. When we got at Lusaka the police who was in charge of us left us in the van and went into the office. On his return he told us that we could go. He apologised to us for the inconvenience and offered to drive us to Lusaka Station, that is how we were safe.

The twelve others were detained in the train and taken to the Police Station at Lusaka and handed to the immigration officials. So far 3 managed to escape and are safe with us, the rest are still detained.

Our brothers here are handling the matter.

Enclosed please find press release.

The press release in question, concerning 'The arrest of 12 Africans' was issued jointly by the Northern Rhodesian United National Independence Party (now the party in power in N.R. under Prime Minister Kenneth Kaunda) and the ANC of Northern Rhodesia.

An unsigned letter to 'Dear Chief' (the State alleged that the 'Chief' in question is ex-Chief Albert Luthuli) states that the writer would like to discuss certain matters with the 'Chief':

You will remember that some time back we made preparations to reach out to the masses of the people by air over our own transmitter. Owing to a number of technical difficulties this plan did not materialise. These are now being corrected and we hope to be able in a very short time to carry out our original plans.

To launch the scheme we propose to broadcast portions from Nelson's defence in court, as well as a recording of a statement by Walter. As you are exposed it has been decided that no statement by you should be made.

Dr Yutar alleged that any correspondence which might be of interest to the Security Police was sent to Luthuli under the name of a certain Indian. This allegation was based on the fact that a mailing list, one of the exhibits, contained the name of this Indian, with, in brackets after it, 'Chief'.

A letter from 'James' to 'Dear Joe' contains the following paragraph:

If you are going across to join our external team when it appears before the U.N. Apartheid Committee we would like you to see us before you leave.

The propaganda weapon alluded to in 'Operation Mayibuye' was being well whetted and burnished. The spokesmen of the insurrectionists— a whole 'external team' of them— were coached and ready to mount their chosen platform: the United Nations Organisation.

IN all, 173 persons appeared as witnesses in the Rivonia case, their evidence substantiating what the documentary evidence had already established and the State sought to prove, viz. that the conspirators had actually begun to put their 'Operation Mayibuye' programme into execution.

On December 10th, Dr Yutar called the first of several witnesses who would give their evidence in camera. Dr Yutar had requested this, as he feared for their safety if their identity were to be revealed.

After the court had been cleared by order of the judge, a Bantu was ushered in through a side entrance, entered the witness box and was duly sworn.

Dr Yutar rose. Raising his hand in a characteristic gesture, palm turned outward, he addressed the witness by name.

Dr Yutar: Would it be correct to describe you as a saboteur?— That would be correct.

Dr Yutar: And where did you commit acts of sabotage?— In Natal.

Thus began the evidence of the most sensational witness to appear at the Rivonia trial. His name and true identity must still remain a secret. The newspapers, in reporting his evidence, referred to him as 'Mr X'; and as 'Mr X' he must continue to be known.

Mr Justice de Wet said of this witness that he had struck him as a highly intelligent person with a remarkable memory. The judge's favourable impression of Mr X was shared by senior police officers who had interviewed him prior to the hearing and obtained statements from him. They had found him courteous, intelligent, with a ready wit and a somewhat sardonic sense of humour, of which the following example may be quoted.

After taking his statement, one of the senior officers asked him what he proposed to do for a living when this business was over, and suggested half jokingly that he join the police force.

Mr X smiled. "That would depend on what the police force could offer me," he countered.

"What do you mean?"

"What rank has the person who drives the car of the Commissioner of Police?" asked Mr X.

"He is a sergeant."

"My chauffeur during these past weeks," said Mr X gravely, "has been a colonel. What rank has your police force that is high enough for me?"

He had, in fact, on several occasions been a passenger in the car of a police colonel during the time when the investigation had been in progress.

Mr X's evidence disclosed a great many facts, particularly in respect of 29 acts of sabotage in Natal, in most of which he, a self-confessed saboteur, had been personally involved. But his evidence revealed many other things besides cut-and-dried facts. It gave an insight into the secret workings of the inner circle of the so-called 'liberation movement' and the things enacted there. It ripped the mask of virtuous idealism from the faces of the leaders of this movement to reveal the true features beneath. X's evidence was a memorable object lesson, and a tragic picture emerged from the bald statement of facts in the witness-box. It was the picture of the career of a Communist henchman whose imagination is fired by the pretty Utopian images dangled so tantalisingly before him; of his indoctrination and his initial eager acceptance of this lofty-sounding doctrine, so that he becomes more and more helplessly

enmeshed in the invidious web; of his gradual awakening from the rosy dream, and the final disillusionment when he sees his leaders at last for what they are: ruthless opportunists lusting for power, no more.

Mr X, self-confessed saboteur, stood in the dock.

Dr Yutar: Who ordered you to commit these acts of sabotage?– The Regional Command.

Dr Yutar: And from whom did the Regional Command receive its orders?– From the National High Command.

Dr Yutar: Where were the headquarters of the National High Command?– On the Rand.

Dr Yutar: Where on the Rand?– At Rivonia.

Dr Yutar: Were you ever at these headquarters?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: Why did you commit these acts of sabotage?– Since 1960 I, together with others, had been gradually indoctrinated with Communism.

Dr Yutar: How and with what did this gradual indoctrination begin?– They started telling us about trade unions.

Dr Yutar now requested the witness to give the Court a brief resumé of the things he had been taught in the course of this indoctrination.

"When they taught us about trade unions, we were told that this country with all its wealth belongs to us, the Bantu people. We had been robbed of our inheritance by the White man's cunning, so that we were forced to suffer poverty and wretchedness."

He had joined the ANC in 1957, (before it became a banned organisation), the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in 1960, and the Communist Party the following year. That was when his schooling in Communism had begun.

Dr Yutar: What else were you taught to believe?– They told us that we had to wipe out the capitalist Government and establish a Government composed of the working classes.

In reply to a question by Dr Yutar, the witness explained that the capitalist government would have to be overthrown by force.

Dr Yutar: And what was to take the place of capitalism?– Socialism would first be introduced, and afterwards Communism.

Dr Yutar: Were you told what attitude to adopt if you were arrested?– We were not to tell the police anything and to refuse to make any statement.

After the Sharpeville incident in 1960 and the resultant state of emergency, the ANC was declared a banned organisation and went underground. It was during that time, said X, that he had become acquainted with a Bantu named Stephen Dhlamini, who was the chairman of the Durban branch of SACTU. He was also the secretary of the Durban branch of the ANC, and had established a cell of the Communist Party in Durban.

Dhlamini gave him books to read: 'Episode' by Harry Bloom, 'The Last Frontier', 'Black and White in South Africa', and 'The Roots of Revolt in Africa'. The theme of all these books was the same, i.e. the exploitation of the African by the White man, who denied him his rightful share in the country's wealth.

Dr Yutar: Did you believe everything that was said in these books?– Not at first; but the more I read the more I began to believe that these things were true.

When he met Dhlamini, he was already a member of the ANC. Dhlamini then persuaded him to join SACTU.

Dr Yutar: Was SACTU ever mentioned at ANC meetings?– Yes, often. It was stressed that ANC members should join SACTU, and vice versa.

Dr Yutar: Was SACTU also mentioned at meetings of the Communist Party?– Yes, we were told to encourage people to join SACTU.

X himself had canvassed members for SACTU, so successfully that he had been able to found a new trade union.

Dhlamini conducted classes for the instruction of SACTU members. Some of the people who attended these classes were selected for 'higher training', X among others. They were taught the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. It was at this time that he became a member of the Communist Party.

X said that at one stage there had been internal division in the ANC. He could not say what the cause of the trouble was; but it was rumoured that the ordinary ANC members disapproved of the creation of a military wing.

A fellow member of the Communist Party, an Indian named Billy Nair,\* once confided to him that a certain White man was organising a 'sabotage group' in Durban.

Dr Yutar: Do you know who this White man was?– I never saw him personally. I heard that his name was Bernsted– Rusty Bernsted or Bernstein– something like that.

Billy Nair said that this White man had told him that the ANC had now decided to adopt a policy of violence. That was towards the end of 1961.

A Regional Command was established in Durban. X and a certain White chemist, whose name was Brian Chaitow, were appointed to the 'technical committee'. The members of the Regional Command bore military titles, the captain being one Curnick Ndhlovu.\* Billy Nair was the second in command, Ronnie Kasrils,\* lieutenant, and Eric Mtshali the sergeant. In all there were six members. They were told to address one another as 'Comrade', i.e. 'Comrade Captain', etc. All were members of the Communist Party.

The Regional Command had to promote the interests of the Sabotage Division in general, and to recruit soldiers from the ranks of SACTU and the ANC. The technical committee's task was to manufacture bombs. They had specific orders to sabotage Government property.

A White man, Harold Strachan,\* turned up at Ronnie's flat, where the Regional Command used to meet. He had been sent by the High Command to instruct them in the manufacture of bombs, as the ANC had now resolved to 'resort to bloodshed'. Strachan said that they should learn about the fighting methods that had been employed in China and in Cuba. The time would come, he said, when 'we would come out into the open' and would start waging guerrilla warfare, which would culminate in total warfare.

Strachan ordered X to make a time device for a bomb. X did so, using an alarm clock and a battery, and showed it to Strachan the next day. Strachan criticised it, saying that this type of device

---

\* Cited as co-conspirators.

was unsuitable, because it was not self-destructive; the apparatus would be found by the police after the explosion.

Strachan then taught them how to make bombs with time devices that would leave no tell-tale traces. At Dr Yutar's request the witness explained in detail, supplying formula and the names of chemical ingredients, how various types of bombs were made.

Bombs made by Strachan by way of demonstration in the course of his lectures, were tested in Durban in the presence of all the members of the Regional Command. The tests proved. X said, that such bombs could cause a great deal of damage.

When Strachan had completed his course of instruction, he left for Port Elizabeth to train saboteurs there.

The High Command had determined that sabotage was to commence throughout the country on December 16th, 1961. In preparation for this, X and his team made four dry charge bombs. They decided not to wait until the 16th, but to go into action a day earlier, i.e. on the 15th. After having investigated several possible targets, they finally decided to attack the offices of the Bantu Affairs Department of the Municipality, of the Bantu Commissioner, and of the Department of Coloured Affairs. The bombs were thoroughly cleaned with soap and a cloth to ensure that there should be no fingerprints, and then wrapped neatly in coloured paper to make them look like Christmas gifts.

X and two others did the job at the Bantu Affairs Office. The charge was set to go off at nine o'clock. Shortly before that time they planted the bomb against one of the doors and made off in different directions. "I was at the station, on my way to catch a bus home, when I heard the explosion. Of the three bombs, ours was the only one that went off."

Asked how they had obtained explosives for manufacturing bombs, X explained that their orders were to steal as much and in as many places as they could. He described how he and Ronnie Kasrils had burgled a magazine, stolen a large quantity of dynamite, and stored the loot in George Naicker's garage. They then notified the National High Command, with a request that an expert be sent to Durban to teach the local saboteurs how to use dynamite. Meanwhile Ronnie procured a book on explosives from the public library. In view of what he learnt there about the nature of dynamite, he lost no time in buying a fan to keep the highly explosive loot at a low temperature.

A few days later word came from the High Command that one of them was to come to Johannesburg to receive the necessary instruction, and X was chosen to go. He would attend a national conference of SACTU in Johannesburg at the same time, and a member of the High Command would meet him there. No-one turned up at the conference to meet him, however. He did not know where the headquarters of the High Command were, nor how to get in touch with them; and so he had to return to Durban with his purpose unaccomplished. Arriving in Durban, he learnt that there had been a misunderstanding. While he had been away in Johannesburg, a certain Jack Hodgson (cited in the indictment as a co-conspirator), had turned up in Durban to teach him how to handle dynamite. X immediately went back to Johannesburg. There he found Hodgson, who instructed him in the use of dynamite and other explosives. He also told him to bury the dynamite in paraffin tins, which were best for the purpose.

X learnt a great many other things from Hodgson as well; e.g. formulas for making explosives from easily obtainable chemicals.

Back in Durban, X proceeded to teach the 'Hodgson methods' to his associates. The dynamite was buried in paraffin tins according to instructions.

The Regional Command was expected to send in a monthly report to the High Command, and a representative from the High Command paid them a visit of inspection from time to time.

"Then we received a letter from the High Command in which we were told to recruit eight persons between the ages of 16 and 30 to be sent abroad for military training. Candidates had to have at least a Standard Eight certificate; afterwards this minimum qualification was reduced to Standard Six."

Eight recruits were duly selected and left in May or June, 1962. They were followed by several further batches.

In July or August, the members of the Regional Command were summoned to the house of a certain Indian at Reservoir Hill. There they met Nelson Mandela, who had just returned from an extensive tour of the independent African states. On this tour he had collected funds totalling R60,000 for the pursuance of the struggle in South Africa.

Mandela told them that he had spoken to the heads of various African states, all of whom were most sympathetic towards the South African freedom fighters and fully approved of the course of action he intended to follow in continuing the struggle against White oppression and particularly the Verwoerd Government.

Mandela warned them, however, that most of the African leaders were also opposed to Communism, so that recruits undergoing training in these states should never reveal the fact that they were Communists. In Dar-Es-Salaam he had encountered Eric Mtshali, one of the first batch of recruits who had been sent abroad for training. Mtshali had been cut adrift and left to his fate because he had boasted of being a Communist. Mtshali had done a foolish and dangerous thing, said Mandela, and his experience should serve as a warning to other trainees to be more discreet.

"Mandela went on to tell us," X continued, "about his meeting with the chief commander of the Algerian army, who supported Communism. This man had taken him to see a training camp more or less on the border between Algeria and Tunisia. At that time the Algerians were still fighting against the French, and in this camp Algerian guerrillas were being trained. The army commander told Mandela that he was anxious to help the South African freedom fighters. Recruits from South Africa could be sent to this camp to be trained as guerrillas. They would even be supplied with arms."

Haile Selassie was another, according to Mandela, who had proved most sympathetic and helpful. Not only would Ethiopia accept trainees from South Africa, but would even pay their travelling expenses from Francistown.

Cuba would also accept recruits for training as guerrillas, Mandela said, Whites and Indians as well as Bantus. Candidates who possessed a matriculation certificate could be sent to East Germany to study military engineering and radio communication.

Only a few days after Mandela had addressed them at Reservoir Hill, X went on, they received news that he had been arrested at Howick. While his trial was in progress, they committed several acts of sabotage in token of protest. Their targets were the offices of the Security Police in Durban, the office of a Coloured sergeant at Masonic Grove, and the Municipal offices at Kwa Mashu. A petrol bomb was planted in a goods train along the North Coast. All the bombs were manufactured by X and his technical committee.

Their instructions were, X said, to do as much damage as possible to Government property and installations.

During October and November, 1962, X and his group committed a series of sabotage acts by way of reprisals. When the secretary of the Residents' Association complained that the Bantu Advisory Council was working against his organisation, X manufactured several pipe bombs to be planted in the house of members of this council. The office of a certain Indian businessman, reputed to be a Government supporter, was destroyed by a bomb.

There was a strike at the Bata Shoe Factory. The company having refused to yield to the employees' demands, a bomb was exploded in the factory 'to give them a fright'.

The offices of *Die Nataller*, an Afrikaans newspaper, were also damaged.

In April, 1963, word came from the High Command that a member of the Durban group was to report in Johannesburg for further training, and as before X was chosen to go. On this occasion he met the accused Mlangeni. "He went under the name of 'Percy', but he was nicknamed 'Robot', because they said of him that he would stop at nothing."

Mlangeni took him to a double-storeyed house in Orlando Bantu Township. It was called S.K. Building and belonged to a Bantu herb doctor, who had his practice on the ground floor.

Mlangeni took X to an upstairs room where they were joined by another of the accused, Motsoaledi. S.K. Building and the herbalist were very useful to the organisation, Motsoaledi told him, for one could hide chemicals among his medicines. The Security Police had once raided the building and been unable to distinguish between medicines and chemicals.

X did not remain long in Johannesburg, for there was little that Mlangeni could teach him that he did not know already. The only new thing he learnt was how to prepare black powder and thermite, which could be used as substitutes for dynamite. Before he left, Mlangeni gave him RIO his fare back to Durban.

The following month X was once more summoned to Johannesburg. Just before he was due to leave, Mlangeni turned up in Durban. He wore a hammer and sickle badge in his lapel.

Mlangeni had come to talk to the Regional Command. The High Command needed another eight recruits to be sent abroad for training. It was arranged that they would arrive at Germiston station on a certain date. The leader of the group had to have an umbrella with him. When they were on the platform he was to open and shut the umbrella. The person who had been sent to meet them would then approach the group and give the password: 'Manzi' Water.

In Johannesburg X met the lawyer, Joe Slovo, who was to arrange an interview for him with the High Command. He spent the night with an acquaintance, Siloro. The following day he met the witness known as Y at an ANC party in Phefeni Bantu Township.

That evening Y and another person, Brian Somana, took him to the headquarters of the High Command by car. It was dark when they left between 7 and 8 p.m. On the way he looked about him and he remembered passing a place named Rivonia Garage or Rivonia Filling Station.

A little way beyond this place Y ordered the driver to halt. The three of them walked back a hundred yards or so along the way they had come and then along a car track through the veld, which brought them to some farm outbuildings. Y led the way to a room with a thatched roof, where they found Sisulu, Mbeki, and Kathrada. They were introduced to him as Allah, Dhlamini and Pedro respectively. There was a fourth person there as well, a White man from Port Elizabeth, whose name he did not know.



Sisulu gave X a message for the ANC in Natal, the ANC representative not having turned up as arranged. The message was that the ANC had to organise 200 volunteers by the end of July, 1963, and 2,000 by the end of October, in the rural areas.

Sisulu said that he was in a hurry, as he had to go somewhere, but that Mbeki would explain further and give him all necessary instructions. Mbeki repeated what Sisulu had said, and added that as soon as the ANC had recruited the volunteers, the Regional Command was to take over and organise them into units of Umkhonto We Sizwe. These units would then be employed for sabotage work.

Mbeki further explained that Natal was to be divided into seven zones, each with its own organiser. As soon as the zones had been thoroughly organised, sub-regional command groups had to be established in Pietermaritzburg, Zululand and Ladysmith, the Regional Command continuing to have their headquarters in Durban. One person would be appointed to be in control of all the Regional Commands, including the Durban one. Organisers would be paid a salary of R20 per month, plus a travelling allowance of R14. As soon as the seven organisers had been appointed, their names had to be submitted to the High Command, which would issue lectures for their guidance.

At this point X asked Mbeki whether this large scale recruiting of volunteers meant that the revolution was about to be sparked off, but Mbeki refused to commit himself. He only laughed and said cryptically that he had heard that 'sonic of the leaders in Natal were still asleep in their houses'.

Mbeki said that they were to look for a place in Natal similar to Rivonia— a quiet place away from the city and the eyes of the police. If such a place were found, the leaders could stay there during visits of inspection and soldiers returning from their course of training could also be accommodated there.

With regard to the safety of recruits who were being sent abroad or returning to the Republic, Mbeki said that the High Command had already made an arrangement with a certain airline to pick up recruits in Francistown twice a week and take them to Dar-Es-Salaam, 28 at a time, so that henceforth trainees would no longer run the risk of being arrested in Rhodesia, as had happened several times in the past.

On this occasion, too, X was given the postal address of the High Command: The Herbalist, S.K. Building, Orlando, Johannesburg. There was also a post office box number. X remembered that this was the place where he had met Motsoaledi and where Mlangeni had taught him the formula for gunpowder. It apparently served as a cover address.

Finally, Mbeki said that the High Command wanted another 30 recruits from Durban. They were to send 15 on June 13th, the rest a week later. He gave him R110— the High Command's monthly allowance to the Regional Command— adding that the money would have to be used provisionally to cover the recruits' travelling expenses and that it would be refunded later.

That night, and the following night as well, X slept in the thatched cottage on a mattress on the floor. He shared the room with Kathrada, Mbeki, and the Port Elizabeth man, who occupied the beds.

His room mates spent the next day writing, Kathrada using a typewriter. Mbeki handed him some handwritten papers, which Kathrada then typed on stencils and ran off on the duplicating machine. X noticed that he wore gloves when working the machine.

The man from Port Elizabeth showed X a small wooden box, about 12 by 8 inches. It was divided into two sections, one somewhat larger than the other. The smaller space contained a battery, the larger a quantity of gunpowder. Shown one of the court exhibits, a small wooden box found at Rivonia, the witness said that it looked much like the box he had been shown in the thatched room. Such boxes were used for land mines. The Port Elizabeth man told him that they would use such mines when 'the fighting really started'.

Y did not return to fetch him as promised, and he was growing impatient. Mrs Hazel Goldreich (wife of Arthur Goldreich), early the next morning, drove X to a bus stop and waited there with him until the bus arrived. The bus took him into Johannesburg, from where he caught a train to Germiston, returning to Natal on the afternoon train.

Back in Durban, X reported to the Regional Command that the High Command required 15 more recruits, whom he was to accompany to Johannesburg. The recruits were split up into two groups, because too big a party travelling together might excite suspicion. Recently eleven recruits travelling in one party from Port Elizabeth had been arrested by the police. The first batch from Durban therefore left on the 2.15 train, the second following on another train which left Durban at 6.30.

X wanted to complain to the High Command about the allowance of R110 per month, which was not being paid regularly. He was told, however, that the men of the High Command were very busy people. If he wished to speak to any of them he would have to wait for an appointment, which might take as much as three days. He could not wait as long as that, and therefore had to return to Durban without having spoken to anyone in the High Command.

The Regional Command then decided that if the money were not forthcoming, they would not continue with the recruiting campaign as ordered by the High Command. Meanwhile the volunteers who had already been recruited were organised into proper divisions.

By this time the 90 days' clause was well in operation and several of X's associates were being detained under it, so that lie had to find others to take their place.

They had also begun with the zoning of Natal, as instructed. Solomon Mbandsjwa was sent to Pietermaritzburg and Bergville to reorganise the groups there. Solomon reported that in Bergville he had spoken to the Chief of the area and explained the ANC's new policy to him. He had also told him about the relationship between the ANC and Umkhonto. The chief's reaction had been most favourable and lie had given a donation of R10. The Bergville people possessed quite an arsenal, mainly guns and rifles. They had shown him the place where these were hidden, and he had promised that someone would come from Durban to give the local *Umkhonto* group the military instruction they needed.

X duly went to Bergville, as Solomon had promised, and undertook the training of the volunteers; but he did so very half-heartedly. "My heart was no longer with *Umkhonto We Sizwe*."

Dr Yutar: Why not?— Since April that year I had been in hiding. I am a married man and I have two children. When I joined *Umkhonto*, I was told that if I suspected that I was being watched by the police, I was to report this to the Regional Command. We were given to understand that if you were in danger of being arrested, you would be taken to a place of safety and your family cared for. Another thing, I had had to give up my permanent job. I had been promised a monthly salary, but from June, 1962, until the day when I was arrested, R10 was all I ever received. They kept promising that I would be paid, and they were still making promises long after I had given all hope of ever getting anything from them. They didn't care about me nor about the others, the recruits who were arrested.

Dr Yutar: Who did not care about them?— The High Command. When they, the leaders, wanted to leave South Africa they took good care not to get themselves arrested. But they didn't care about the safety of the recruits.

Dr Yutar: They made you give up your permanent job and they made so many promises which were not kept. Were the so-called leaders of the High Command any better off? Did they have money?

The witness, wryly: Mlangeni had a motor car. Walter Sisulu was able to pay R6,000 bail— six thousand rand! And after he had paid the six thousand, he still had his car. When I had to go into

hiding, nobody cared if my children went hungry. They did not even pay the rent of my room, which was R3 a month.

As instructed by the High Command, X had started looking for a suitable hideout. A place was found at Winston Park, some distance out of town. They rented the place from the owner, an Indian, and called it 'Little Rivonia'. He, Ronnie Kasrils and an Indian named Ebrahim went to live there. Nobody knew that they were there and they took good care to lie low. Ronnie had bought a few sticks of furniture out of his own money. "Of course," X added sardonically, "it was not nearly as comfortable as Big Rivonia."

All members of the Communist Party had received orders to join the ANC. There had been a little friction between the ANC and *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, and it was believed that the difficulty could be smoothed out in this way.

Dr Yutar: How?— By giving the Communists a majority in the ANC.

Dr Yutar: So that the ANC would in effect become Communist controlled?— Yes.

By this time X had lost faith in the Communist Party and *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, particularly in the leaders. The news that these leaders had been arrested came as a shattering blow to his associates, but not to him. He no longer cared.

Dr Yutar: Did you still carry on with your sabotage work after that?— No. I had come to hate it. But I was trapped.

On August 3rd, 1963, X was arrested at Kloof Station by Detective Sergeant Grobler. "That night in my cell I thought about my situation. I no longer felt any enthusiasm for the work I had been doing. I made up my mind to make a statement to the police and tell them everything I knew, and that is what I did."

Cross-examined by Mr Berrangé, Counsel for the defence, X declared: "I still believe in the ANC, but not in an ANC which is controlled by the Communists. The ANC has been betrayed by its leaders. I have lost faith in those leaders."

The leaders had originally acted in the interests of the ANC, the witness went on, but since the beginning of 1963 it had become obvious that they were no longer working for the ANC but for the Communists. They had deceived their followers, the ordinary members of the ANC, who did not know that their leaders were Communists. *Umkhonto We Sizwe* was not, as the members were given to understand, an ANC organisation. It was a Communist front.

In exposing the true motives of the leaders, X said, he believed that he had served the ANC well. Those persons whose names he had mentioned in his evidence were the men who had deceived the people. He was satisfied that he had not betrayed the ANC by giving evidence against the leaders.

## 7 DUPES LIFT THE VEIL

MUCH of Mr X's evidence was confirmed by another witness who, like him, must remain anonymous. This man, henceforth to be known as 'Mr Y', also gave his evidence in camera.

Y had been a member of the ANC for many years before it was banned, and continued to be active in it when it went underground.

In January, 1963, a person of his acquaintance one of the alleged co-conspirators in the case, took him to the headquarters of the High Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* at Rivonia. There he met Walter Sisulu and the lawyer, Joe Slovo, a listed Communist. Slovo told him about the creation of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, and Sisulu added that this movement was 'the child of the ANC'.

Y was surprised to learn that the ANC had adopted a policy of violence, but Slovo explained that the matter had been thoroughly thrashed out between the Executive Committee of the ANC and the Congress Alliance, and that ex-Chief Luthuli was himself in favour of the new policy.

Slovo now suggested to Y that he serve on the Johannesburg Regional Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. Y agreed, and was given to understand that he would be entrusted with the task of recruiting soldiers for military training abroad. Jack Hodgson was the chairman of the Regional Command, and the accused Elias Motsoaledi one of the members.

After that Y met Hodgson several times and was instructed in the manufacture and use of explosives. Once or twice Motsoaledi and Mlangeni were present at these lessons.

One of the persons mentioned by X, in the course of his evidence was the Zulu herb doctor, English Mashiloane, of Orlando Township. This Mashiloane was next called as a witness and sworn.

The witness said that he had been a member of the ANC and chairman of the local branch of this movement until it was banned in 1960. After that he was no longer active in it and concentrated on his practice as a herbalist.

Shortly after the banning of the ANC, Sisulu and Motsoaledi, who was a cousin of his—Mashiloane's— wife, asked his permission to use one of the upstairs rooms in S.K. Buildings for meetings and for reading and writing.

Meetings were held there on Friday evenings for four successive weeks. The first was attended by over 60 people, but after that only Motsoaledi came with a few Bantus. Motsoaledi explained that they 'came to learn about politics'.

Motsoaledi then asked him to put up some young people in the building from time to time they would arrive in the course of the week and remain until Friday, when transport would arrive to take them to Basutoland or Bechuanaland. They were going to schools in the Protectorates, where they would be trained as 'lawyers, judges and magistrates', Motsoaledi said.

The first batch of young men left one Friday night during the winter of 1962. A bus and two Volkswagen Combis arrived to fetch them. In the course of the next six weeks two further groups, each consisting of about 30 persons, left from S.K. Building. Mlangeni and Motsoaledi were always present to see them off. Motsoaledi had introduced Mlangeni to him as 'the big boss'.

One day, shortly before a party of young men was due to leave, Motsoaledi brought two sick persons to him for treatment. From one of them he learnt that the young men who left from S.K.

Building from time to time were not going to the Protectorates at all but were being sent abroad to be trained as soldiers.

Mashiloane asked Motsoaledi about this, and Motsoaledi confessed that it was true that the recruits were being sent abroad to learn how to make war. After their training, they would return to South Africa to make war against the Whites. Most people had not yet realised that the war against the Whites had already begun, Motsoaledi said. All this sabotage that was going on was only the beginning. There would be more and more of it, and finally they would make 'real war' against the White people.

When it was time for the third batch of recruits to leave, the buses did not arrive. They did not leave until a fortnight later, staying on at S.K. Building all the time while they were waiting for transport. After this Mashiloane told Motsoaledi that he was not prepared to co-operate further.

In his practice the herbalist went on, he made use of empty paraffin tins as containers. On one occasion Motsoaledi asked him where one could buy such tins. They went into town together, and Motsoaledi bought three four gallon tins.

Back at S.K. Building. Motsoaledi painted the tins black. He explained that this was to keep them from rusting, as he was going to bury dynamite in them. He said that they intended to use the dynamite for fight against the Whites, and explained how one went about blowing up a house. Motsoaledi told the witness that the place where they buried the dynamite was about a mile from S.K. House.

The police did, in fact, find an explosives dump in Orlando, some 1-1/4 miles from the herbalist's building. There were eight paraffin tins containing 344 sticks of gelignite, 4 sticks of dynamite, 17 detonators, 60 feet of cordtex and 150 feet of fuse.

The next witness was Alfred Jantjies, one of the recruits who had been sent abroad for training. At the time of the trial he was serving a two year sentence for having left the country without a passport.

The witness said that he had received his training in Ethiopia. He had been recruited in the Cape Province, but at the time he and the other recruits were told that they would be 'sent to a school for further education'. It was only afterwards that they discovered that they were going to be trained as soldiers.

He and two other recruits from the same area travelled to Johannesburg. The address where they had been told to go was that of the Commercial Trading Company in Commissioner Street, in the centre of Johannesburg. In the basement of the building several Indians as well as a White man and a Bantu awaited them. The Bantu took them to the Morabi Hotel in Orlando Township. There they encountered a number of other recruits from various places in the Republic, about thirty in all. If anyone should ask them what they were doing there, they were to say that they were members of a visiting soccer team.

They waited in the hotel for about three weeks. On one occasion they received a visit from the accused, Elias Motsoaledi, and another Bantu, Joe Modise (cited as a co-conspirator), who wished to know whether they had any complaints. Motsoaledi took them to a double-storeyed house in Orlando, where they remained until the evening, when two small buses and a station wagon arrived to fetch them. They travelled in the direction of the Bechuanaland border. The buses dropped them a little way from the border, below Zeerust, from where they had to go on on foot as far as Lobatsi. From there they travelled via Palapye and Francistown in Bechuanaland and Bulawayo and Lusaka in Rhodesia, through Tanganyika to Nairobi, and from Nairobi by air to Dabrazid in Ethiopia.

There they were instructed in military drill for three months. They learnt parade drill, and were trained in the use of guns, machine guns, pistols, anti-tank guns, bazookas, land mines, and hand grenades. They were also taught first aid, swimming, map reading, radio communication, signalling, and how to use a compass; to swarm up ropes and to lay booby traps and prepare ambushes.

After they had completed their course their instructors told them that each of them was now to go and train fifteen comrades at home. The members of Jantjies' group returned via Dar-EsSalaam, but at Bulawayo nine of them, Jantjies among them, were arrested by the Rhodesian police and handed over to the S.A. Police at Beit Bridge.

Shown a photograph by Dr Yutar, Jantjies identified it as a picture that had been taken of him and his companions in Ethiopia after they had completed their course. He supplied the names of all 29 persons appearing on the photograph.

Essop Amod Suliman, owner of a pirate taxi service in Johannesburg, was next sworn as a witness.

During 1962 and 1963 he had taken ten convoys of Bantu recruits, i.e. a total of over 300, as far as the Bechuanaland border. He identified the three accused Sisulu, Kathrada and Mlangeni as the persons by whom he had been commissioned from time to time. Another was the co-conspirator, Modise.

Two Combis and a station wagon were the vehicles used, said Suliman. In case the police stopped and questioned them before they got to Zeerust, he was to say that he was taking two soccer teams to Zeerust; if they were stopped after they had passed Zeerust, the story was to be that they were on their way to a wedding or a funeral.

"After the ANC went underground in 1960. I remained the secretary of the local branch of this organisation. I was the link between my branch of the ANC and the Local Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*," said another witness in beginning his evidence, which was given in camera.

The ANC continued underground according to the so-called 'Mandela Plan'. Bantu townships were divided up into zones, each zone having a committee of seven, appointed by the Regional Command.

The members of the organisation were sworn to secrecy and had to be prepared to die in the struggle rather than run away.

"And what of Oliver Tambo, Joe Matthews, Duma Nokwe, Robert Resha, Joe Slovo, Arthur Goldreich, Jack Hodgson, Harold Wolpe, Patrick Duncan, Ronnie Segal all leaders of the movement?" asked Dr Yutar. The witness admitted wryly that they had apparently been far from anxious to die for the cause, preferring to flee to safety.

When anyone in the Bantu townships was discovered to be a Government spy, the witness went on, he was reported to the High Command. Two such 'Government stooges', one of whom was suspected of being a police spy, were shot dead, a third, a Bantu policeman, was paralysed by a shot in the back.

Another victim was a Bantu who openly supported the candidature of Kaiser Matanzima (Prime Minister of the Transkei and supporter of the Government policy of apartheid) and had stated his views in the press. He was dubbed a 'Government stooge' and a bomb was thrown into his house.

As far as he was aware, the witness said, there had been no acts of sabotage in East London, where he had been working; their activities there had been confined to revenge killing.

Johannesburg, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town...

In December, 1962, Dennis Goldberg, then employed as an engineer by the firm of Kantey & Tempter in Cape Town, had conducted a training camp for young guerrillas at Mamre, another witness, a young Coloured man, stated in camera.

They left by bus on December 26th. Besides provisions and the usual camping equipment, they also took a petrol engine, a duplicating machine, a cardboard box full of empty bottles, paraffin tins, a radio, tape recorder and anatomical maps.

At the camping site Goldberg addressed the twenty odd young men present, while one, Looksmart Ngudle<sup>\*</sup>, interpreted. "Comrades," said Goldberg, "at this camp you will learn to stand at attention and to stand at ease; but you will also learn about first aid, field telephones, petrol engines, etc." He explained that in times of revolution and guerrilla warfare it was necessary to know about such things.

Goldberg told the campers that they were to address him as 'Comrade Commandant' and Looksmart as 'Comrade Sergeant'. Each of the campers was given certain responsibilities.

While they were at the camp, they listened regularly to the news broadcast on the radio and made notes for future discussions. The revolution in Cuba, which was in progress at that time, received particular attention.

In the evenings as they sat around the camp fire they listened to recordings of 'freedom songs' from all over the world. He remembered that one was in German and that the song was called 'Freiheit'—Liberty.

Goldberg also introduced them to two books. One of these was called 'Guerrilla Warfare'. This book would be their manual, he said. Extracts from it were read round the camp fire in the evenings. Goldberg explained that they had to instruct people in the remoter areas in politics in order to gain their sympathy for the cause; then, when the revolution broke out and they were fighting as guerrillas, they would always be able to rely on these people for food and shelter.

The witness, who had taken a correspondence course in electronics, was asked by Goldberg to give lectures on connecting field telephones with existing telephone lines. In this way groups of guerrilla fighters could maintain contact with one another. He also taught the young men the rudiments of judo.

The campers were taught how a petrol engine works, such knowledge being useful for the maintenance of transport vehicles used for carrying supplies or troops.

Goldberg himself taught the recruits how to use the duplicating machine, saying that this was the best method of spreading political propaganda. When the revolution broke out, news of the guerrillas' successes would be spread in this way. He showed them how they could avoid leaving fingerprints on the cyclostyled sheets.

On the third day Albie Sachs, a White lawyer, arrived at the camp to lecture to the recruits on economics and politics. He told them that the wealth of the country was being controlled by a small minority, and that in order to overthrow the Government the worker had to gain control of the sources of wealth. He referred in particular to the mines.

Sachs warned the recruits never to talk too freely about politics, because police informers were everywhere.

Police visited the camp three times. Each time it was Goldberg who spoke to them. They were ordered to shift camp because it was on forbidden territory.

---

<sup>\*</sup> Cited as a co-conspirator and since deceased.

"Goldberg told me that if the police should start asking me questions, I was to say that it was a camp for physical and mental health," the witness said, "and that we used the telephones to entertain and amuse the inmates. When I was questioned by the police I said what Goldberg had told me to say. The police only took our names and addresses."

In July, 1963, the witness was detained under the 90 days clause. He stuck to his story– the one Goldberg had told him to tell– for two months, but afterwards he made up his mind to make a clean breast of everything.

Mrs N. Weinberg of Johannesburg told the court particulars about Goldberg's movements in Johannesburg. She had previously known him in Cape Town. In July, 1963, he had called on her at her home in Houghton Drive, Johannesburg, and asked permission to have mail sent to her address. Several letters addressed to D. Williams were delivered at her house. They were collected by Goldberg.

Two timber merchants of Johannesburg stated under oath that Goldberg, calling himself Williams, had approached them for quotations for shooks for manufacturing 48,000 wooden boxes with lids.

As Dr Yutar pointed out, the measurements and the number of boxes required by Goldberg, tally with the quantity and the measurements specified in the documents 'Production Requirements', under the subheading 'anti-personnel mines'.

Still using the alias 'D. Williams', Goldberg had made enquiries at two different foundries concerning 210,000 iron moulds. He had produced a sketch showing what he required, but would not say for what purpose he wanted the moulds.

When Detective Warrant Officer Kennedy searched the accused, Raymond Mhlaba, (member of the Port Elizabeth Regional Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*) at Rivonia, he found a typed paper on his person; which read as follows:

To-day, in the presence of you all, I swear to place my life at the service of my people.

I will uphold the policy and follow the leadership of the National Liberation Movement.

I will guard the lives and the rights of my people, and respect their persons and their property.

I know the duties of a scout in the people's struggle:

To obey the orders of my appointed leaders without hesitation;

To guard their secrets whatever the cost to me;

To defend the lives of my comrades as though they were my own.

I swear to carry out these duties for all time until the liberation of the people has been won.

And therefore I claim to-day the title of Scout in the People's Army.



Further evidence submitted by the State focused the searchlight on the alleged co-conspirator Harold Wolpe, and details of the part played by him in *Umkhonto We Sizwe* came to light.

Wolpe, a listed Communist, was the junior partner in the Johannesburg legal firm of James Kantor & Partners. In his office he received visits from various of the accused and co-conspirators as listed in the indictment. Sometimes these meetings took place in secret in the office of the Indian clerk, Makda. On these occasions the doors were locked and the blinds drawn.

The documents in connection with the purchase of the Rivonia property were drawn up by Wolpe, in the name of 'Navian (Pty) Ltd.'. Some cheques in connection with the purchase of the property were signed by him, and the second instalment of R5,000 was paid by him in cash, the money being delivered to another attorney by the Indian clerk Makda.

The evidence was mounting...

Soon now the accused themselves would be given an opportunity of testifying and clearing themselves if they could. But first some documents in the accused's own handwriting deserve mention, documents containing interesting disclosures, in parts even sensational.

## 8 WHAT HANDWRITING DISCLOSED

UNDER Communist rule South Africa will become a land of milk and honey... In our country the struggle of the oppressed masses is led by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policy."

The above is an extract from a document in Nelson Mandela's handwriting, submitted to the court by Dr Yutar; only one of close on 250 documentary exhibits which had been found at Rivonia, Travallyn Mountain View, or on the persons of the accused, and featured as documentary exhibits in the Rivonia trial.

This monograph on Communism in Mandela's handwriting consists of three chapters, headed 'How to be a Good Communist', 'Dialectical Materialism' and 'Political Economy'. The following extracts from this monograph will give an insight into its general trend.

"We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and driving force in changing society and the world." (Quoted by Mandela from Lin Shao-Sohi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.)

The aim of studying Marxist philosophy is to enable us to direct more effectively revolutionary mass struggles. To put it in a nutshell, Marxism is a guide to action.

In South Africa, a Communist Party Member must take part in mass struggles initiated by the S.A.C.P., the Congress Movement or by any other political bodies within the liberation movement.

The Communist movement still faces powerful enemies which must be completely crushed and wiped out from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realised. Without a hard, bitter and long struggle against capitalism and exploitation, there can be no Communist world.

Every Communist Party member must possess the greatest courage and revolutionary determination and must be prepared to play his part and carry out all political tasks without fear or hesitation.

To sacrifice one's personal interests and even one's life without the slightest hesitation for the cause of the Party is the highest manifestation of Communist ethics.

In the past the people were able to conduct successful non-violent struggles because opportunities were available for peaceful agitation and struggle... Whilst in the past it was correct to preach non-violence, under present conditions it is not correct to go on stressing it... There is nothing sacred or inherently superior about non-violent methods of struggle.

The people of South Africa, led by the S.A. Communist Party, will destroy capitalist society and build in its place socialism.

The transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class... cannot be effected by slow changes or by

reforms, as reactionaries and liberals often advise, but by revolution. One, therefore, must be a revolutionary and not a reformist.

More than ten documents in Mandela's handwriting were submitted by Dr Yutar. One of these contains notes on basic and advanced military training and warfare and is freely illustrated with diagrams and sketches of various military positions.

Another exhibit is a 26 page document on guerrilla warfare in general, and the features of such warfare in China in particular. On the last page the Bantu townships on the Rand are divided up into four groups.

The documentary exhibits further include a monograph on the *Irgun Zaai Leumi*, the Israeli underground movement, and one on the *Huk Balahap*, a Philippine underground military organisation.

The latter concludes with a quotation from Von Clausewitz, the German authority on warfare and strategy.

Mandela's diary, found at Rivonia, covers the period from January 3rd to June 13th, 1962. In it are jotted down details of his tour through various Black states in Africa, in the course of which he attended a conference at Addis Ababa.

Before leaving on his tour, Mandela paid a visit to Durban. The entry on 8th January reads:

At 11 p.m. I see AJ. He is in high spirits. Approves of trip, suggests Consultation on 'new Op'.

The State's contention was that the initials AJ refer to ex-Chief Albert Luthuli (holder of the Nobel Peace Award) and that 'new op.' (new operation) is a reference to the ANC's newly adopted policy of violence. Luthuli, so Dr Yutar alleged, must therefore have been kept currently informed of what was happening within the ANC.

On January 11th Mandela left for Lobatsi, arriving in DarEs-Salaam ten days later. Nearly every day during his tour he conferred with prominent African leaders and visited a large number of countries. From February 2nd he attended the Addis Ababa Conference, which he addressed the next day on behalf of the South African ANC. (A six man delegation from South Africa attended this conference.) He visited military camps in various countries and collected funds for the ANC.

The following extract from the diary will give some indication of his full programme.

June 17th:

12.15 p.m.: I meet Hugh Gaitskell, leader of the Labour Party.

6.00 p.m.: I meet Grimond, leader of the Liberal Party at House of Commons.

7.30 p.m.: I meet the former Bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves.

June 18th: OR and I fly by BOAC to Khartoum.

June 26th: We fly to Addis Ababa.

June 29th: First lesson on demolitions. Instructor Lt. Befikadu.

June 30th: I have practice in demolitions.

July 10th: A demonstration on mortar fire.

July 11th: We spend 4 hours at the shooting range.

July 12th: I spend the day doing fieldcraft drills. Movement by day.

July 13th: Lt. Befikadu and I cover 26 kilometres in fatigue marches. We do it in 3 hours.

A 94 page document, also in Mandela's handwriting, complements his diary, being notes on consultations with Algerian officers and other persons in North Africa during the period March 14th-21st, 1962.

Algerian officers mentioned by name are Dr Mostepai, Emmanuel Lune (leader of the Algerian rebellion), and Nicanov. Mandela met them in Rabat and Oudja in Morocco. Here Mandela made a study of the Algerian underground movement, its structure, its tactics, the methods by which the French attempted to crush the rebellion and the rebels' counter tactics.

"(It is) absolutely important," Mandela writes, "that the person preparing the revolution should be unknown. Let legends be built up... To the people and the world the uprising must assume the character of a popular revolutionary movement. To the enemy it must appear as an uprising of a few only... There must be perfect harmony between the external delegation of the revolutionary movement and the High Command.

Traitors and informers, says Mandela in this document, should be ruthlessly eliminated. He advocates cutting off their noses, *pour encourager les autres*.

Mandela visited military installations which the Algerian 'Army of Liberation' had in Morocco at that stage (March, 1962), and also paid visits to soldiers in the line of defence. The information and data he collected there were subsequently incorporated in 'Speaker's Notes' and 'Operation Mayibuye', referred to in Chapter Five.

What impresses one about Mandela's notes is the meticulous detail and the practicability of the hints and ideas gleaned from the tactics of other revolutionary movements; ideas, the State asserted, admirably capable of being applied to the creation and organisation of a revolutionary force. Mandela's research gives evidence of considerable vigilance and foresight in the provisional planning stage.

A typed report supplemented by notes in Mandela's handwriting bears the heading 'PAFMECSA' (Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa).

Referring to the PAFMECSA summit conference in Addis Ababa, Mandela observes:

The delegation of the A.N.C. made a definite impression and our address was warmly received... Pafmecsas intimated that they would use the speech as the basis of plans for action against South Africa... The resolution on South Africa which was adopted by Conference was drafted by us and passed just as we submitted it.

This, the State alleged, is a clear indication that at the Addis Abeba Conference Mandela and his fellow delegates did everything in their power to persuade PAFMECSA to take action against South Africa. The resolution passed at Addis Ababa speaks of an 'unholy alliance' in Southern Africa between the 'Facist regimes of Dr Verwoerd, Salazar and Welensky', and appeals to all independent African states further to co-ordinate and implement economic sanctions against South Africa, Portugal and the Federation: to close their ports to all vessels from these states; to boycott their exports, and to refuse landing and transit facilities to their aircraft.

The resolution lauds the 'freedom fighters' of Southern Africa and their struggle against overwhelming odds, rejects the granting of self-government to the Transkei, as a deceitful farce, and appeals to all African states forthwith to apply political, economic, diplomatic and cultural sanctions against the Republic of South Africa, and to ensure the passing of such measures by the United Nations Organisation; and to exert pressure on the French, British and American Governments to cease the sale of weapons and ammunition to the Republic, and to refuse aid in establishing armaments factories in South Africa.

Under the heading 'M- Training' (i.e. Military Training), are recorded talks with certain leaders:

1. Discussion with Nyerere- suggests Ethiopia.
2. Discussion with Quebre- 20. Might take more- arranging for plane to pick them up.
3. Egypt 7.
4. Algeria- any number. Felt we should give the rest of the training under our own conditions. (sic)
5. Morocco- also any number.
6. We raised it with Mali, Guinea and Ghana.

Under the heading 'Funds', Mandela reports:

£10,000 from Nigeria.

£5,000 in Tunisia.

£3,000 in Morocco- £7,000 on May 1st.

£2,000 in Liberia will be yearly amount.

£5,000 in Ethiopia.

Definite promises from Senegal and the Sudan. All these monies were sent to O.R. in London.

Money collecting is a job which requires a lot of time. You must be prepared to wait.

Visit to Socialist countries has become imperative.

Among the African leaders Mandela met during his tour are mentioned Julius Nyerere, Rashidi Kawawa, Haile Selassi, Ibrahim Aboud, Habib Bourguiba, Mobibo Keita, Sekou Touré, Leopold Sengnor, William Tubman, Ben Bella, Belcacim Krim and Milton Obote.

"In all these countries," he records, "we were Government guests and treated very lavishly. Personal letter from Luthuli thanking them."

The Pan African Congress, with which the ANC was at this time very much at loggerheads, also receives some attention in this report:

The P.A.C. has started off with tremendous advantages ideologically, and has skilfully exploited opposition to Whites and partnership. Sharpeville boosted them up and the stand of their leaders during the trial, imprisonment of Sobukwe, fostered the belief that they were more militant than the A.N.C.

In the Pafmecca area the Nobel Peace Award to Chief Luthuli has created the impression that Luthuli has been bought by the West

Luthuli's book and some of his statements have been extremely unfortunate and have created the impression of a man who is a stooge of Whites.

The Congress Alliance itself unfortunately does not allay this impression.

Mandela's concluding observation: "No cause for pessimism. My morale is high."

"The illusion of the Whites— that non-Whites will aid and support their White oppressors in the event of a crisis brought about by a clash between Africa and White domination— is without foundation," states Walter Sisulu in one of his writings, a handwritten document exhibited during the trial.

Sisulu's broadcast on 'Radio Liberation', with an opening announcement by Mbeki (Quoted in Chapter One), contains the following statement:

The struggle must never waver. We of the African National Congress will lead with new methods of struggle... In the face of violence, men struggling for freedom have had to meet violence with violence. How can it be otherwise in South Africa?

A clear indication this of the ANC's new policy of sabotage, violence, and insurrection; a policy which, incidentally, met with the approval and blessing of at least one prominent churchman, Canon Collins. A photostatic copy of a letter from this gentleman to Walter Sisulu appears elsewhere in this book.

To establish Dennis Goldberg's role in the 'liberation movement', Dr Yutar submitted a large number of documentary exhibits, inter alia a notebook containing the addresses of electrical and engineering firms, foundries, and dealers in furniture and in motor vehicles. All these notes are in

Goldberg's handwriting. In addition to this notebook, the State exhibited Goldberg's correspondence (under the fictitious name of D. Williams) with a firm of timber merchants in connection with shooks for the manufacture of 48,000 wooden boxes.

Further evidence against Goldberg consisted in sketches found at Travallyn; of a furnace and mould for hand grenades; a detailed sketch of a cupola, together with a six page document with sketches and specifications concerning the quantities of sand and cement required for the construction of a furnace and with sketches of a mould, a fan, etc.; a document, 'Cupola Design Requirements', one copy of which was found at Travallyn and another in Goldreich's car.

Another Travallyn document is headed 'Workshed' and contains sketches and specifications for the construction of such a shed and the installation of workbenches; still another contains estimates of costs under such headings as 'deposit on property' (Travallyn), 'furniture and kitchen utensils', 'tools', etc. It further makes provision for salaries and 'equipment for local units'.

The State alleged that Travallyn was acquired for the purpose of manufacturing arms and that from there control would be exercised over the production centres of the local units.

Several documents submitted to the court helped to prove the guilt of Govan Mbeki. Some of these had been found on his person at the time of the Rivonia raid, others, in his handwriting, at Lilliesleaf and Travallyn. One of these exhibits was his preamble to Sisulu's 'Radio Liberation' broadcast, quoted in Chapter One. Another document in his handwriting mentions the creation of a body in Dar-Es-Salaam for the purpose of 'co-ordinating and canalising aid to struggling liberation movements'.

Under the heading, 'Report on Missions Abroad', Mbeki writes:

1. Algeria:

(a) Progress slow because of language problems (b) 67 in Algeria-

(c) £100,000 promised- received £28,000.

Obtained permit to send £14,000 to London. Did so, with instructions to send £10,000 home and £4,000 to Dar. (Dar-Es-Salaam).

2. Fund Collecting Mission:

Mos, OR & D. Felt too many missions, some of which appear to have exceeded their missions. This applies particularly to China.

-In C £110,000 granted to S-R. Of this, £15,000 to Lesotho and £80,000 at one embassies. Balance still due

3. Cairo:

(a) Recruits doing well.

(b) Want up to 50 to make training effective.

(c) Need for political commissioners.

In respect of detainees under the 90 days clause, Mbeki issued the following directive:

1. All regions and branches are asked to keep a register of detainees
2. The police want to smash the resistance of those they detain by keeping them in solitary confinement. We must defeat this move.
  - (a) By getting relations of detainees to pester the police with demands to see them, to take them clothes and food.
  - (b) By organising meetings of the wives to go to the Chief Magistrate to demand the release of their men and women.
  - (c) By holding protest meetings.
  - (d) Use all means to keep the minds of the public thinking about these unjust arrests. This will strengthen those inside.
3. Renew the campaign amongst our people not to talk when they are arrested by the police. This is very important. At all our small meetings a word must be passed round: DON'T TALK when you are arrested.

Twenty-four books and three pamphlets found in Lionel Bernstein's house also served as exhibits. The publications included such titles as 'Soviet Women', 'South Africans in the Soviet Union', 'Restore the Union of the International Communist Movement' and 'Man of the People— Chief A. J. Luthuli'— the latter written by Bernstein's wife, Hilda Bernstein.

In the possession of Andrew Mlangeni were found a notebook with notes on radio theory, illustrated with various sketches and diagrams; a certificate of the Apostolic Church giving his identity as 'the Rev. Andrew Mokete', a printed road map with data on Southern Africa, and a number of Communist publications, viz. 'Suez— the Soviet View' and 'The Fifteen Soviet Republics, To-day and To-morrow'; a pamphlet, 'Bulletin of the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union'; and a pocket diary with various jottings, including the names and telephone numbers of Harold Wolpe and Joe Slovo, cited as co-conspirators.

So much then for the documentary evidence against the accused themselves, much of it in their own handwriting, submitted by the State. There is also a large amount of similar evidence against the co-conspirators named in the indictment, including a number of documents relating to Messrs Goldreich and Wolpe, which afford some insight into the very considerable role in the activities of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* played by these two gentlemen who at a press conference in London (See Chapter 3) had denied all knowledge of sabotage in South Africa and were totally unaware that there was any question of an armed revolt.

Proof that Arthur Goldreich had consulted Comrades in Europe and in Red China on questions relating to 'the armed struggle in South Africa', and had received advice on these matters, is furnished by four documents exhibited in court, three of them in Goldreich's handwriting, the fourth typewritten.

"Some problems of the Present Phase in the Armed Struggle", is the heading of the typewritten document, the opening sentence of which reads:

"The present phase of our struggle largely consists of (sic) creating military bases in the rural areas."



Twelve problems are mentioned. These include the selection of base areas, organisation of field intelligence units in rural areas, organisation and training of a 'people's militia', storage of arms, ammunition and explosives, use of sabotage in urban and rural areas, security codes.

According to Goldreich, a knowledge of the manufacture of eight kinds of explosives was essential: plastic explosive, detonators and primers, fuses— time and electronic-, hand grenades, time bombs, incendiary bombs, land mines, booby traps and other special devices.

Under the sub-heading 'Information on the Chemistry of Explosives', Goldreich writes:

Our main charges have been dynamite or gelignite which we have primed with aluminium... We have also used a fuse which has a core of black powder which burns at a rate of 40 seconds to the foot. We have obtained all these by raids on mines and quarry magazines or purchased from workers there.

Under another sub-heading, 'Supplies of Detonators, Explosives and Fuses', we read:

We wish to discuss the possibility of obtaining a variety of materials under this head and the problems of their transport to our country.

The matter of training personnel, the document goes on, merited serious attention "in the light of the difficulties of travel of our cadres."

"However," the document continues, "we would like to discuss the special fields of training pertinent to the present phases of our struggle and the facilities available in China."

The rest of the document is hand-written in Goldreich's writing. The first section, headed, 'C. Manshisha on Problems of Transport', suggests that arms for the revolutionaries might be imported as 'toys':

We don't have any relations with Verwoerd Govt. in any way. So don't care what he says. Safest and surest way, transfer of arms through country where they have normal relations.— Govt. agreement. Willingness of this government to us. Govt. give us their armaments and Soviet compensates.

Transfer of armaments or arms on high seas— difficult to speak of neutral waters... We realise with techniques used to-day, reloading on high seas are located with very quickly. And here when discovered serious entanglements, particularly for us and comrades involved, general climate not favourable, e.g. becomes public knowledge when African state supports democratic movement in S.A. But if Moscow involved— international ramifications.

Goldreich unfortunately is no stylist, thence the abstruseness of some of his writings.

One further point. Not all our requests relate to armaments. Normal equipment is also req. Radio parts, radio, intelligence equipment, possibilities do exist for legal import to S.A. E.g. of printing machines from GDR.\* SACTU set up company to import GDR shipped to Hamburg, marked 'Made in Germany'. It came through.

This question must be raised with German Comrades. We must investigate how Soviet supplies can link up with German Comrades. We are sure G. Comrades will help but must be discussed with them.

Further on in this document we read:

First meeting with Chinese. Preliminary discussion on programme. Questions relating to Guerrilla warfare. List of technical questions. Outline of the position in South Africa. I study C. Maos works on strategy in prep. for discussion at Military Academy with military experts.

That Goldreich is indebted to Red China for his training in the theory and practice of revolution and guerrilla warfare, appears from a manuscript book found at Rivonia and containing notes taken down by Goldberg during lectures and/or discussions with C. Lee and C. Yang Ching, of the Chinese Ministry of Defence. The subject of the first discussion, (with C. Lee), is the history of the Revolutionary forces in China, their early beginnings, their rise and ultimate triumph; the establishment and development of bases for guerrillas; and the influence of the Communist Party on the armed forces and its control over them.

It was obvious, the State contended, that the writer of the notes had received instruction from a military expert who was thoroughly familiar with the subject of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the Chinese Revolutionary forces and their organisation.

C. Yang Ching's lectures dealt with guerrilla warfare as such, i.e. organisation, training, equipment, command, and tactics.

It would appear that Goldreich's training in China was mainly theoretical; there is no record of physical or practical training. This, the State alleged, may be taken as an indication that he had had previous practical military training elsewhere, so that the course he underwent in China may be regarded as advanced training, consisting mainly in lectures and discussions.

Goldreich's notes on revolutionary methods and tactics are not confined to China. The notebook contains various data on American organisation, planning, and training in anti-guerrilla tactics. Mention is made inter alia of training depots, numbers of fully trained anti-guerrillas, etc. The Chinese lecturer must therefore have had access to channels collecting special military information from abroad.

---

\* German Democratic Republic, i.e. East Germany.

Matters on which Goldreich desired enlightenment are listed in his notes under the heading 'My Questions', e.g.:

1. How does one organise field intelligence in rural areas and their correlation with intelligence in urban areas?
2. What part does sabotage play in the initial stages in (a) Urban areas (b) Rural areas?
3. How does one train in rural and urban areas?

Detailed answers to these questions, supplied by the lecturer, appear in the notebook.

The State's conclusion from these documents was that Goldreich found the answers he needed in Czechoslovakia and in Communist China. It appears that it was proposed to smuggle explosives illegally into the Republic. The twenty trainees referred to in the notes were presumably to have been sent to Russia or one of the satellite countries. Their year's training would have been mainly devoted to organising, arming, and equipping a 'people's army' in the early stages of the insurrection.

Another handwritten document submitted by Dr Yutar is a fairly lengthy manual on Guerrilla Warfare. The first three pages are in Wolpe's handwriting, the rest in Goldreich's. The authors' purpose in compiling this manual was apparently to formulate 'Standing orders for the Struggle'.

On page 4 Goldreich lays down certain principles, rules and methods, in accordance with guerrilla warfare and accompanying acts of sabotage to be carried out; under the heading, "Seven principles of guerrilla and sabotage tactics", the author stipulates:

What is required is to fight intelligently.

Make a feint attack on one point but actually attack somewhere else so that the enemy cannot protect himself... Give appearance of having smaller force than you actually have. Mislead the enemy, make him negligent and then attack unexpectedly.

Avoid the enemy's strong points and attack only the weak points

If we attack an enemy formation or an enemy on his guard, we are sure to suffer losses.

Do not attack or fight unless success is certain, otherwise withdraw.

Other sub-headings in this document are: 'Rules on Initiative', 'Rules for Developing the Spirit of Aggressiveness', 'Rules on Secrecy', 'Rules of Transmission and Liaison'. The procedure to be followed before and during sabotage attacks is clearly described. Under the subheading 'Leadership' we find the interesting statement that 'leaders must be known by their assumed names only'. This means that for a considerable time Messrs Goldreich, Wolpe and associates could continue to be happily anonymous while their henchmen got themselves arrested and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for committing sabotage...

In respect of Wolpe, the State produced several files containing papers in his handwriting, found at Rivonia, one of which contains a map with all particulars concerning the magisterial district of Rustenburg, police stations, etc. Furthermore, a notebook with the heading 'Plan of Investigation', with data about a survey of the Transkei area with a map showing roads and police stations; and some less important documents concerning the purchase and the price of maps, and subscriptions to certain newspapers and journals, inter alia the police magazine, 'Justitia', and 'Commando', the organ of the South African Defence Force.

## 9 THE CONSPIRATORS TAKE THE STAGE

THE year 1963 had lengthened into 1964 long before the Rivonia trial was done. The defence had several times applied for the case to be remanded, which had led to considerable delay.

On March 4th, 1964, the State, represented by Dr Yutar and his assistants, concluded its case against the accused. Then followed another protracted recess, to give the defence an opportunity of preparing its case. Originally a month was allowed, but the defence twice applied for, and was granted, an extension of the time; so that the hearing was not resumed until April 21st, 1964.

At the conclusion of the case for the State, application was made for the discharge of James Kantor, on the grounds that there was not sufficient evidence against him to put him on his defence, i.e. to answer the charges. The application was granted and Kantor was released, so that now only nine accused remained.

Up to this point in the proceedings, all attention had been focused on the witnesses called by the State and on the documentary evidence submitted and commented on by Dr Yutar. Now, with the opening of the case for the defence, the spotlight would be shifted on to the accused themselves.

The first witness called by the defence was Number One Accused, Nelson Mandela. He declined to take the oath and therefore did not enter the witness box, which meant that he could not be cross-examined by the prosecution. Instead, he made an unsworn statement from the dock. He had his speech— sixty typed folio pages ready to hand.

It subsequently transpired that this speech had been prematurely released and its contents made public via the usual leftist channels; a clever move, this, calculated to provoke a storm of favourable publicity for the accused and to make them appear martyrs in the eyes of the world.

Mandela, by profession an attorney and an orator of no mean talent, delivered his speech with dramatic emphasis.

His political career, he told the court, had begun many years previously, when he had joined the Youth League of the ANC. In due course he had become vice-president of the organisation; the president at that time had been Albert Luthuli.

Mandela admitted that the ANC had continued underground after it had been proclaimed a banned organisation in 1960.

By way of background to his subsequent line of conduct, Mandela mentioned the 'All-in African Conference' held in March, 1961, in Pietermaritzburg (Natal), as a result of the referendum conducted the previous year and the announced intention of the Government to proclaim South Africa a Republic. At the Pietermaritzburg conference a resolution was passed to appeal to the Government to call a national convention before taking this final step; and, if this were refused, to call a general stay-at-home strike by way of protest.

The Government having refused to yield to their demand, the strike was accordingly organised for May 29th, 30th, and 31st. (The formal change-over from a monarchy to a republic took place on May 31st.)

As a result of the Government's attitude in respect of the strike, certain Bantu leaders resolved, after conferring among themselves, that the matter had to be 'fought out'. In June, 1961, there were discussions concerning policy with the leaders of the various organisations constituting the National Liberation Movement. This led to the creation of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, in which movement he, Mandela, had played a prominent part until his arrest on August 5th, 1962.

Mandela did not deny having plotted sabotage and admitted that *Umkhonto We Sizwe* had indeed been responsible for a number of acts of sabotage as set out in the indictment. The policy of *Umkhonto*, he added, carried the approval of various organisations and individuals within the 'liberation movement'.

The ANC could not participate in or sanction the activities of *Umkhonto* in its own capacity, having many members who had joined on the understanding that its policy was one of non-violence. The ANC had, however, deviated from its original policy in so far as to resolve that it would no longer condemn 'properly controlled' acts of sabotage and would not take disciplinary action against members guilty of committing such acts.

The primary aim of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, and its immediate policy, was sabotage. But the possibility of civil war was foreseen and the founders of the movement had to take this into consideration in formulating their future policy. They wished to be fully prepared should civil war become inevitable.

There are four possible forms of violence: sabotage, guerrilla warfare, terrorism, and open revolution. It was decided to adopt a policy of sabotage as the first step in the new campaign sparked off by *Umkhonto We Sizwe*; but at the same time the possibility of guerrilla warfare had to be taken into account and provision made for it.

On December 16th, 1961, *Umkhonto* issued its manifesto, which coincided with the first *Umkhonto*-sponsored sabotage attacks on Government buildings, notably in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Durban.

The ANC resolved that Mandela would attend the summit conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement in Addis Ababa early in 1962. At the same time the leaders of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* asked him to investigate facilities for military training for South African Bantus abroad this being the initial step in preparing for possible guerrilla warfare. Mandela accordingly undertook a tour through the various African states, where he was sympathetically received. Several leaders promised active support. He had, Mandela added, made use of this opportunity to undergo a course of military training himself.

He admitted that the diary and other documents before the court had been written by him. They were lecture notes on guerrilla warfare and military strategy, of which he had been making a study.

Mandela further admitted that he had, as Witness X had asserted, addressed the Regional Command in Durban in July, 1962. Parts of X's evidence were true and correct, others untrue; for instance, X had distorted his, Mandela's, remarks about Communism and the African States.

During the time when he, Mandela, had been living at Rivonia he had several discussions with Goldreich. In view of the latter's military experience— he had been an officer in the Israeli underground army— he had proposed that Goldreich be invited to join *Umkhonto*.

While denying that the ANC had become the tool of the Communist Party, or that the aims and objects of the two movements were identical, Mandela admitted that there had been close co-operation between the ANC and the S.A. Communist Party, and that several *Umkhonto* supporters were also members of the Communist Party.

Mandela denied being a Communist, even though he had read Marxist literature and been influenced by it to some extent. He was not the author of 'How to be a Good Communist', as the State alleged. This document was nothing more than a summary of some lectures written by a friend who had tried to convert him to Communism. Mandela omitted to state the name of this friend.

He admitted having made strong representations to the ANC to appoint a mission to visit Socialist countries for the purpose of collecting funds for the 'campaign' in South Africa.

Communism, Mandela conceded, undoubtedly always played an active part wherever people living under colonial rule made a bid for freedom and independence, and South Africa was no exception. Certain Bantus who were members of the Communist Party had also joined the ANC, and some of them had served in the regional, provincial and even national committees of this movement.

Walter Sisulu, self-educated— his formal schooling did not go beyond Standard Four— described himself as a 'professional politician in the service of the ANC'. Unlike Mandela, he gave his evidence under oath and could therefore be cross-examined. He stipulated, however, that while he was prepared to answer questions about himself and the organisation, he would refuse to answer any questions designed to implicate the organisation or other members. He did, in effect, decline to answer most of the questions put by Dr Yutar.

Sisulu denied being a Communist, but admitted that his views had to some extent been influenced by Socialism. In his politics he had attempted, he said, to combine 'the best features of Socialism and Capitalism'. In reply to a question by Dr Yutar, he admitted having made an extensive tour of Russia and the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain.

He had never joined *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, but had maintained close contact with the leaders of this movement and had attended several *Umkhonto* meetings. He had arrived at Rivonia in June, 1963, to resume his political activities underground.

'Operation Mayibuye', Sisulu stated, was the brain child of Goldreich, who had been a member of the 'Logistics Committee' of the High Command. A former commander in the Israeli underground movement, Goldreich was an authority on guerrilla warfare. He was also an explosives expert, and had helped to instruct recruits in the manufacture and use of explosives.

When Witness 'X' came to Rivonia in June, 1963, he, Sisulu, happened to be there for a medical examination. He had met X, but not spoken to him. He denied having instructed X to recruit volunteers in Natal.

'Operation Mayibuye' was submitted to the High Command for discussion and approval. Sisulu insisted that this plan had not been adopted, one of the objections being that six months was too short a term in which to organise and launch a guerrilla war. More time would be required, not only for the practical preparations, but also to 'condition the masses'.

He admitted, however, that 'Operation Mayibuye' had been no mere dream. It had been shelved only because the time was not yet ripe to put it into execution.

Personally he approved of sabotage, said Sisulu, and he would not hesitate to resort to guerrilla warfare if he considered it necessary, even though he realised that such a step would inevitably lead to insurrection and civil war. He conceded that in the event of war, intervention by a foreign military power was to be expected.

In reply to a question by Dr Yutar, Sisulu admitted that the aims and aspirations of the ANC and those of the Communist Party were much the same, and that there had been close co-operation between the two movements. The accused Lionel (Rusty) Bernstein, a listed Communist, had played a leading part in the joint campaign of the two organisations. Bernstein, Sisulu explained, was a specialist in the field of propaganda.

On the day of the raid on Lilliesleaf, he, Mbeki, Bernstein and Hepple had arranged to meet in order to discuss the 90 days clause, a measure which had created great problems for them. A country-wide strike which had been in preparation had had to be called off.

At that time he, Mbeki, Goldberg and Mhlaba had been living at Travallyn, and had driven to Rivonia just after lunch. The meeting was to have taken place in the thatched room, but the police had descended on them before it had even begun. Bernstein had arrived only a few minutes before the police.

'Operation Mayibuye' had not been on the agenda at all, Sisulu insisted. That evening there was to have been a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC in one of the Bantu townships, and the plan was to have been discussed there. The accused Raymond Mhlaba was to have attended that meeting, and to have taken the Mayibuye plan along. The document was inside the stove, where Goldreich had hidden it. Mbeki knew that it was there, and for some reason he had taken it out that afternoon. Possibly he wished to study it; Sisulu could not remember whether he had been reading it before the meeting began.

He and Duma Nokwe (who had meanwhile left the country) had been members of the Secretariat of the ANC, Sisulu said. When they were faced with the possibility of imprisonment, the accused Mbeki was summoned from Port Elizabeth and made a member. Afterwards he also became a member of the High Command of *Umkhonto*. Harold Wolpe, who, with Goldreich, had escaped from the country, had been a member of the Intelligence, Department of the High Command.

Sisulu had admitted that the ANC had collected funds abroad, a portion of which had gone towards financing *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. He further admitted that he had written to Canon John Collins, of 'Christian Action' in London, asking for funds. The money thus obtained was to be used for the defence of *Umkhonto* saboteurs.

Dr Yutar: So— money to promote sabotage?— No, that is a different matter altogether. Would you grudge a man his defence?

When the leaders decided to resort to violence, they did so under pressure from the people. The masses were growing more and more rebellious, and to prevent their rebelliousness from getting out of hand, the leaders had resolved to adopt a policy of controlled violence.

At this point Dr Yutar confronted Sisulu with the document to the effect that the leaders should inform the people of the new policy and persuade them to support it.

Sisulu: That is not correct.

Sisulu said that he had met the accused Goldberg in Port Elizabeth in 1961. Goldberg and Goldreich were both members of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* and of the Logistics Committee. Goldberg's training he was a qualified civil engineer— was most valuable to the movement. The 48,000 land mines and 210,000 hand grenades, in connection with the manufacture of which Goldberg had been making enquiries, had not been intended for sabotage purposes, nor for immediate use at all; they were to have been kept in reserve, pending the decision whether and when the revolution was to be sparked off.

The farm Travallyn was bought by Goldberg under his fictitious name of Charles Barnard. It was acquired on behalf of *Umkhonto*, to serve as a hiding place for recruits and also as cover for the manufacture of explosives. It had been Goldreich's idea to buy the farm.



It had never been the policy of *Umkhonto* to kill or injure persons, only to commit sabotage, and the targets were chosen accordingly. If railway lines had been sabotaged, this had not been the work of *Umkhonto*. Sisulu admitted, however, that there had been 'accidents': certain persons had exceeded their authority. Pressed by Dr Yutar, he further admitted that the persons guilty of such 'accidents' had not been relieved of their posts.

Dr Yutar: What precautions were taken to avoid injury to persons?– The fact that this was to be avoided was stressed repeatedly, and the targets were chosen with this in view.

Dr Yutar: If you remove a rail from a railway line you endanger human life, don't you? This kind of sabotage was not encouraged by *Umkhonto*.

Shown certain documents in which railway lines were specifically mentioned as targets, Sisulu shrugged them off. "That was a mistake..."

Dr Yutar: What are the consequences if a bomb is hurled into a room?– It was not in the nature of *Umkhonto* to do that.

Dr Yutar: What of the two children who were severely burnt in Port Elizabeth, and one of whom died?– Mbeki said that this had not been the work of *Umkhonto*.

Dr Yutar: Then who was responsible, if not *Umkhonto*?– Mbeki did not say.

Mr Justice de Wet: A time bomb was planted in a letter box at 10 am. Didn't it worry you that someone might be injured when it went off?– It did.

Sisulu insisted that the organisation had been under 'responsible leadership'.

Dr Yutar: Name me one responsible person in the whole organisation?– I am not prepared to give names.

Dr Yutar: Were your saboteurs required to possess any academic qualifications?– No.

Dr Yutar: In other words, you were reckless in your choice of persons who handled explosives?– That is an exaggeration.

Dr Yutar: (reading from one of the documentary exhibits): It says here that informers will be tracked down, if it takes 'five years or a hundred', and that 'no mercy is to be shown to such.'– This was never the policy of the ANC.

Replying to further questions by Dr Yutar, Sisulu denied having insinuated that the State was making use of forged documents to establish its case. He was aware that all the exhibits in the case were genuine.

Dr Yutar: In your eyes witness X who appeared in this court is a traitor and an informer. What will be done to him?– He will be ostracised.

Dr Yutar: Not according to this document. It says here that he will be tracked down, whether it takes 'five years or a hundred', and that he will be shown no mercy.

Questioned concerning a man who had been found dead in the street after an ANC pamphlet had declared that he had to be got rid of, Sisulu denied all knowledge of the incident. All he could say was that neither the ANC nor *Umkhonto* would countenance the shooting of a person even though this person were an informer. In this connection Dr Yutar referred to what one of the State witnesses had stated earlier on: that he had been guilty of sabotage, and that a Bantu, Sipo Mange, who was to have given evidence against him, had been shot two days before he was due to appear in the witness box.

Sisulu refused to give the names of the members of the National Secretariat of the ANC, nor would he name the members of the *Umkhonto* High Command, although he admitted that Mandela, Mbeki, Slovo and Modise had been members. (Slovo and Modise, named in the indictment as co-conspirators, had both left the country and were not among the accused on trial.) He denied that Rivonia had been the headquarters of the ANC, even though certain leading personages in this organisation had been living there. He refused to say where the actual ANC headquarters were. His address over 'Radio Liberation' on June 26th, 1963, had not been broadcast from Rivonia. He was not prepared to reveal from where it had been broadcast.

Asked whether Luthuli had been aware of the ANC's new policy of violence, and whether this policy had been sanctioned by him, Sisulu declined to answer; he would not, he declared, 'say anything which might implicate Luthuli'.

Questioned about Goldreich's visit to China and the satellite states in Europe, Sisulu said that Goldreich had 'exceeded his authority'. He admitted that Goldreich had negotiated with East German, Russian, and Chinese 'Comrades' about military aid, but his mission had been solely to 'learn about explosives techniques which could be used in South Africa'. Goldreich had had no authority to arrange for obtaining arms and smuggling these into the country camouflaged as toys. Sisulu further denied that Goldreich's action had coincided with the 'cry' that the Republic was to be boycotted economically and that foreign powers were to refuse to supply her with arms and armaments.

Asked whether lie subscribed to 'Operation Mayibuye', Sisulu replied that he agreed with certain portions of it. He agreed with the statement made in this document that the people would not revolt of their own accord but would have to be incited to insurrection by means of guerrilla operations. If the people were denied the means of gaining liberty along democratic channels, he said, it was the duty of their leaders to resort to other means in order to liberate their people.

Mr Justice de Wet: Did you also regard it as your duty to tell your people that they were being oppressed?— All the African peoples on the continent desire freedom. The Africans of this country are no exception.

Sisulu refused to answer questions or supply any information which might assist the State to decipher certain letters,— court exhibits— which were in code. He declared that he did not possess the key to this code, and that, even had he possessed it, he would have withheld the information.

Dr Yutar: Do you know anything about a book 'The Gun'— the book which contains the key to this code? That is the one piece of documentary evidence we still lack.— I know nothing about it.

Dr Yutar: In other words, you permitted the secretariat to write and to receive letters of which you did not know the contents?— Yes.

Dr Yutar then questioned Sisulu about the membership of the ANC. Sisulu replied that at its peak, before it was banned, this organisation had had a membership of 120,000. The total Bantu population of South Africa is 12,000,000, so that the ANC had at no stage represented more than one per cent of the Bantu people.

Replying to a question interposed by Mr Justice de Wet, Sisulu agreed that so-called 'Government stooges' were to be liquidated as soon as the guerrilla war commenced. Dr Yutar contended that such 'liquidation' had already begun.

Dr Yutar: Did the ordinary members of the ANC know that this organisation was hand in glove with the Communist Party?— It was a well-known fact.

Dr Yutar: How do you account for the fact, stated by X in his evidence, that it was not to become generally known that the ANC was co-operating with the Communists?— I refuse to accept X's evidence. I believe what Mandela has said.

In the course of his evidence Sisulu had referred repeatedly to Goldreich's role as a 'commander' in the Israeli underground army. Dr Yutar now pointed out that according to the records, Goldreich had arrived in Israel (then Palestine) for the first time on September 8th, 1948, and had left on September 15th the same year. By that time the war in Palestine had been over for some time. If Goldreich had been a 'commander', he had occupied this position for 7 days at most.

Sisulu: I know nothing about that.

Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada, who confessed proudly that he had been active in the Communist Party since the age of eleven, was the next sworn witness for the defence.

In the course of his cross-examination by Dr Yutar he declared that he was fully determined to see the aims of the Communist Party— which included the overthrow by violence of the South African Government— fulfilled. He was in full agreement with the ANC pamphlet which said that the 90 days detention law had to be combated.

Dr Yutar: Are you aware that in India there is a law under which persons can be detained for three years without trial?— That may be.

Dr Yutar: Have you ever objected to that?— No.

Dr Yutar: You attended conferences overseas at which you drew attention to the situation in South Africa, but omitted to mention India?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: You are prepared to accept help from Ghana. Are you aware that in Ghana people are liable to be locked up for five years without trial?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Yet you ask their help against South Africa?— In the struggle for freedom I would be prepared to accept help from the devil himself.

Referring to the 'brutality' of the police, Kathrada mentioned the recent Bultfontein trial, where White policemen were sentenced to imprisonment for assaulting a Bantu, so brutally that he succumbed to his injuries.

Dr Yutar: These men were arrested by other policemen, not so?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: They were tried and sentenced?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: The judge was scathing in his denunciation of the policemen's conduct?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Then why do you complain? The fact that there are brutal persons who are members of the police force does not reflect on this force as a whole. In this country there are several advocates who are listed Communists and saboteurs. Does one conclude from this that all lawyers are necessarily lawbreakers?

Kathrada did not elect to reply to this.

While admitting that the general standard of living in India might be far below that of Indians in South Africa, Kathrada added that the poverty still rife in India was a legacy from the days of 'British colonial oppression'. He was not in a position to compare the standard of living in South Africa with that in India, never having made a study of the matter.

Dr Yutar: Indians in South Africa live in comparative luxury?— I don't know.

In 1951/2, Kathrada said, he had been a delegate to certain conferences overseas. On that occasion he had visited Chechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary.

Dr Yutar: Did you also visit Russia and China?– Unfortunately not.

Kathrada argued that 'anything which non-Whites might do to promote their struggle for freedom' was justified. He did not disapprove of a bomb attack on the house of a Durban Indian who supported the Government. Those Indians who had attended the investiture of the President on Republic Day and were Government supporters were 'traitors to the Indian cause'.

Kathrada hailed from the country town of Schweizer-Reneke, where his people were still resident. While denying that they were wealthy, he admitted that they were fairly well-to-do and that his brothers owned shops. He also admitted that his people had put considerable pressure on him to persuade him to abandon his political activities.

He had met Goldreich and Wolpe in 1951, when he was a student at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. Wolpe had been a lecturer in Sociology and Goldreich chairman of the Liberal Students' Association of which he, Kathrada, had been a member. Mandela he had known since the middle forties. 'We have always been in close contact.' It was Mandela who had told him about the creation of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* and the aims of this organisation. He was not asked to join *Umkhonto*, but he made up his mind that he would not try to dissuade other Indians who wished to join. He had often discussed possible guerrilla action with people at Rivonia and elsewhere, but he had never heard of 'Operation Mayibuye' before it was exhibited in Court.

When the 90 days clause came into operation, he knew that he was liable to be arrested and therefore went to lie low at Rivonia, disguised as a Portuguese.

He had been a member of the Indian Congress and had served on the Transvaal Executive Committee of that organisation. He was convinced that the S.A. Communist Party had always played a leading role in the 'National Liberation Movement'. While he was at Rivonia, it became clear to him that a great deal of work was being done there on behalf of the S.A. Communist Party as well as the ANC and *Umkhonto We Sizwe*. He subsequently discovered that the farm Lilliesleaf had in effect been purchased by the Communist Party to serve as a hiding place for leaders of the 'National Liberation Movement'. He had been working for the Communist Party all along and had been closely associated with the ANC. At Rivonia he had done work for the ANC, such as typing stencils and cyclostyling. He had also typed part of a manuscript which Mbeki had written about the Transkei.

Kathrada admitted that he had received a cheque for R295 from the legal firm of Kantor & Partners in aid of the 'Free Mandela' campaign. It was he who had started the campaign.

He further admitted that pickets had stopped people from going to work during organised strikes.

Questioned about his views on a statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, to the effect that legal and court procedure were being thrown overboard in the Republic, where all considerations of justice and legal tradition were sacrificed in order to maintain White supremacy, Kathrada readily admitted that the South African courts and judges are completely unbiased. He had, he said, full confidence in Mr Justice de Wet's impartiality.

Raymond Mhlaba, 44 years old, testified that he had executed two secret missions on behalf of the ANC. He refused to divulge the nature of these missions, or where they had led him.

Mhlaba had been employed as messenger-clerk in a legal office in Port Elizabeth since 1942. He was interested in trade unions and in the Communist Party and worked for both. In 1944 he joined the ANC and did political and organisation work for this movement.

In 1961 the National Secretariat of the ANC summoned him to Johannesburg, upon which he left the firm for which he had been working without giving notice. Mbeki told him that he was to be appointed full-time organiser. The appointment was confirmed by Duma Nokwe, at that time Secretary General of the ANC. Nokwe also told him that Mandela and others were founding a new movement, *Umkhonto We Sizwe*.

Nokwe despatched Mhlaba on a secret mission which occupied 14 months. His mission completed, he returned to Johannesburg towards the end of December, 1962, to report to Sisulu on what he had accomplished. Sisulu warned him that the police might be looking for him, upon which he went into hiding at Rivonia, remaining there for about eight days.

After that he went to the Eastern Province to put the 'Mandela Plan' into operation there. Towards the end of February he returned to Rivonia for twelve days.

In March he was once more entrusted with a mission, returning to Rivonia on June 30th, 1963. At Lilliesleaf he found the three accused, Sisulu, Mbeki and Kathrada. After he had been at Lilliesleaf for four days, Goldberg took him and Mbeki to Travallyn, where they were joined three days later by Sisulu.

On July 11th, Goldberg took them to Rivonia in the Volkswagen Combi. They had planned to meet at Lilliesleaf that afternoon to discuss the 90 days clause, and to attend a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the ANC in a certain Bantu township that evening.

When they arrived at Lilliesleaf, Sisulu went into the house to keep an appointment with a dentist. Kathrada and Goldberg remained talking outside, while Mhlaba and Mbeki went into the thatched cottage. Mbeki took the document 'Operation Mayibuye' out of the stove where Goldreich had hidden it and handed it to Mhlaba to read. He had not read more than a page or two when Sisulu and Kathrada came in, and he put the document down on the table without reading further. They started discussing the 90 days clause, the document remaining on the table. A few moments later Hepple and Bernstein arrived, only a matter of minutes before the police descended on Lilliesleaf.

When he was searched by the police, Mhlaba said, certain documents were found on him, but he denied that they were his.

"I have been a Communist for 25 years and I have never attempted to conceal the fact," Lionel Bernstein, Accused Number Six, declared in the witness box. "I was on the Executive Committee of the Springbok Legion, I was a foundation member of the Congress of Democrats, and I helped to edit the publication 'Fighting Talk'. I have done a great deal of leftist writing."

After the Communist Party was dissolved in 1950, as a result of having been banned by the Government, its members co-operated closely with the ANC 'towards the realisation of their common aim', Bernstein said. He had never been a member of Umkhonto, but he had read its manifesto, which he regarded as a 'well-considered declaration of a semi-militant nature'.

About July, 1961, he was approached by co-conspirator Harmel in his professional capacity as an architect, to inspect the farm Lilliesleaf. He was aware that Harmel was using the fictitious name of Jacobson and guessed that the farm was to be purchased as a hide-out for political fugitives and members of the underground. He did not ask any questions, however: his position as a listed

Communist and police suspect was already precarious enough, and he had no wish to be implicated in any underground political business.

He knew that Mandela was living at Lilliesleaf and that he had been in hiding there since June, 1961. He had talked to him a few times and brought him books to read.

During 1963 he paid an occasional visit to 'the chaps' at Rivonia and took them books, which he gave to Mhlaba. During April–May, he lent them books about the Indo-Chinese border dispute. He and Mbeki discussed this topic on two or three occasions.

Bernstein denied having assisted with the erection of aerial masts at Rivonia. During 1962 he used to visit the farm regularly in the evenings for political discussions with his friends there; but in October, 1962, he was placed under house arrest, which precluded him from going out in the evenings. After that he visited Rivonia only in the day-time.

On July 11th, the day of the raid. Hepple asked him to attend a meeting at Lilliesleaf for the purpose of discussing the 90 days clause. Of 'Operation Mayibuye' he knew nothing. He was not even aware of the existence of such a plan until it was revealed at the trial.

Cross-examined by Dr Yutar. Bernstein said that he had played a leading role in the S.A. Communist Party until it was dissolved in 1950. Three years later, in 1953, the party was revived and continued underground. He was not prepared to say whether he had then rejoined it, but admitted that his views had not changed and that he had continued to be a Communist 'in spirit'.

The Communist Party, Bernstein admitted, worked in close co-operation with other movements with parallel aims and strove to gain control over such organisations. The Communist Party had always played an active part in the 'National Liberation Movement', in which the ANC was 'the senior partner'.

Bernstein further admitted that the farm Lilliesleaf had been used by the Communist Party for political purposes. He himself held 'revolutionary views' and desired to see 'a radical change in the social pattern'. He was in full agreement with the aims of the Communist Party, which included the overthrow of the existing Government. He admitted that a certain document issued by the Communist Party in August, 1961 stated unambiguously that the S.A.C.P. was not only in the van of the 'struggle for freedom'. but was also actively 'building up' the ANC.

He was the author of the document 'Differences in the Communist Movement', which was drafted about April, 1963, after he had been asked to comment on an article, 'The Road to South African Freedom', which was afterwards published by the Communist Party. This article expounds the aims of the party and advocates a policy of violence.

A certain pamphlet issued in English, and two others in the vernacular, constituted a message from the Communist Party to the people of South Africa. The following extract reflects the general tone of these pamphlets.

For higher wages, land, freedom and equality... Free bread, free public transport, free education, free medical services, free holidays, free meals at work, no rents. Sounds like a dream, doesn't it? That is what Communism is bringing to the 200 million people of the Soviet Union.

As Dr Yutar remarked, free air was about the only thing which the Glorious Revolution did not seem to promise.

Among his writings, Bernstein said, was an article about Mr A. Fischer (leading counsel for the defence in the present trial) which contains the following remarks:

"Thanks mainly to his efforts, the Transvaal Peace Council came into existence, and now, with wider support, the South African Peace Council, of which he has been elected vice-president... He found the time and energy to launch the Congress of Democrats and become its leader."

He was aware of the fact that Mr Fischer was a listed Communist.

Another of the accused who agreed to give evidence was Govan Mbeki. He admitted having done all the things alleged against him in the indictment, but insisted that he was 'morally without blame'.

Mbeki was born in 1910. In 1935 he joined the ANC, from which he never resigned. In 1956 he became a member of the National Executive Council and shortly afterwards he joined the Communist Party.

Mbeki denied much of the evidence brought against him in the course of the trial; but it was difficult to test the truth of his version, as there were a hundred or more questions put to him by Dr Yutar which he refused to answer.

Shortly after the Rivonia arrests, 'The African Communist' had issued a statement containing, *inter alia*, the following remarks:

"We may now expect the biggest frame-up in South African history... The lurid imaginations of the special branch of the police will be given free rein... Certainly they are already hard at work fabricating evidence of fantastic plots."

Asked to comment on this, Mbeki admitted that all the documentary evidence submitted by the State was genuine. He was not aware that any document had been forged to 'fabricate evidence' against him and his fellow accused. He also admitted that the trial could in no way be described as having been 'cooked'; and that the South African legal machinery was subject to pressure from nothing and nobody.

Mbeki admitted that in his capacity as a member of the High Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* he had been an accessory to acts of sabotage committed by members of this movement, that further acts of sabotage had been planned and that preparations for guerrilla war and open rebellion had been under way. He further admitted that, as a member of the Communist Party, he had propagated the aims and objects of Communism, and that funds had been collected both in the Republic and abroad to promote the sabotage campaign.

The next witness for the defence was Dennis Goldberg.

Goldberg said that he was by profession a civil engineer. He was married and had two children.

His activities in Johannesburg— doing research on guerrilla warfare and the acquisition of the farm Travallyn— had been on instructions from Goldreich.

Goldberg said that he had been active in politics for the last few years. In 1955 he joined the Congress of Democrats of which he afterwards became president. He was serving on the committee of this organisation when it was banned in 1962.

Under cross-examination Goldberg said that his parents belonged to the Communist Party and were both listed Communists. His political development had been influenced by the atmosphere in his home.

He regarded all politics as pressure and counter pressure, he said. Sabotage was one form of pressure.

The next accused, Elias Motsoaledi, declined to be sworn, so that his evidence was no more than a statement which could not be tested by cross-examination.

Motsoaledi, who gave his age as thirty-nine admitted that he had been a member of the Regional Command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe* in Johannesburg, and also that he had been responsible for finding accommodation for recruits who were being sent abroad for military training.

At the time of his arrest he had been living in Orlando West, Johannesburg, and had been employed as a clerk and commercial representative. He was married and had seven young children.

He joined the ANC in 1948, and remained a member until 1954, when his membership was suspended. When he was invited to join *Umkhonto We Sizwe* he agreed -'because there was nothing else for me to do'.

Although he was a listed Communist, Motsoaledi said, he had not ceased to be a member of the Communist Party when it was banned in 1950.

Andrew Mianjeni also declined to give evidence under oath. In his statement from the dock he said that he was 38 years old, married and with four children. He was not a listed Communist and had never been under house arrest, nor had any restriction orders been imposed on him. He possessed a Standard Eight certificate and was an amateur radio mechanic.

He had joined the ANC in 1954, but after it became a banned organisation in 1960, he had ceased to be active in it. In October, 1961 he had left Johannesburg for Bechuanaland on a permit issued to him by the Department of Bantu Affairs. He had been in poor health at the time and wanted to go to Francistown to recuperate. He remained away longer than he had originally intended, and did not return to Johannesburg until February, 1963. He denied that he had ever joined *Umkhonto We Sizwe* or taken part in its activities, beyond acting as messenger upon occasions. He had never, he said, been to Rivonia.



## 10 THE VERDICT

DR YUTAR, for the State, delivered a scathing address in conclusion of his case.

In his address Dr Yutar pointed out that every single act alleged against the accused had been proved by the evidence of at least two witnesses. Moreover, the accused had themselves confessed to many of the offences with which they had been charged.

The State had elected, 'for reasons which need not be detailed here', to indict the accused on counts of sabotage; but in reality, Dr Yutar declared, the case was a classical instance of high treason.

Factual summaries of the evidence, both oral and documentary, occupy four folio volumes, running into a total of over 500 pages.

Most of the documents speak for themselves and are presented without comment. Only volume three contains comments as well: It comprises a critical analysis of 'certain documentary evidence of a military nature and dealing with explosives and arms'.

In his concluding address to the court, Dr Yutar devoted particular attention to the denial of the accused that 'Operation Mayibuye' was to have been discussed on the day when the raid on Lilliesleaf took place, and to the defence's contention that the leaders had rejected the plan as being premature. The State repudiated this contention and insisted that the accused had been at Lilliesleaf on that afternoon for the purpose of discussing the plan, and that that was the reason why the document had been lying open on the table.

A warning note was sounded in the course of Dr Yutar's address when he referred to a key figure in the treason drama who was still at large in the country: the leader of the South African Communist Party, whose identity all the accused had refused to disclose, even under cross-examination.

Dr Yutar concluded his address by paying a warm tribute to the S.A. Police, but for whose vigilance and efficiency South Africa would by now have been in the throes of a most bloody revolution, and to whom every loyal and law-abiding South Africa, White as well as non-White, owes a great debt of gratitude.

In a lengthy representation to the Court, occupying four sessions, the defence proceeded to state the case for the accused.

Counsel for the defence realised that in the face of the overwhelming bulk of evidence against their clients, it would be futile to attempt to refute any of the charges. They therefore let much of the evidence go unchallenged and admitted a number of the charges, as well as the fact that *Umkhonto We Sizwe* had instigated sabotage and recruited young men for military training abroad. The accused confessed to acts of sabotage carried out in accordance with *Umkhonto's* policy of attacking Government property without endangering human life. They denied all responsibility for or complicity in sabotage attacks which had been carried out without their approval and authority and which had endangered human life.

Leading counsel for the defence, Mr A. Fischer, declared emphatically that the accused could not be held accountable for 'Operation Mayibuye', inasmuch as this plan had not been adopted by the High Command of *Umkhonto*.

Mr Justice De Wet: The preparations in themselves constituted a threat to the country, Mr Fischer.

Mr Fischer: 'Operation Mayibuye' was nothing more than a proposal, in respect of which a certain amount of research had been done.

Mr Justice De Wet: It was more than a proposal, Mr Fischer.

Mr Fischer further contended that the State had not proved its allegation that the conspirators had actually resolved on implementing the plan.

Mr Justice De Wet: That I accept. I do not, however, accept that the plan would *never* have been implemented.

In the light of this observation, the defence made some further concessions; but they persisted in their denial that the accused had met at Lilliesleaf on the afternoon of July 11th for the purpose of discussing 'Operation Mayibuye'.

The courtroom was crowded to capacity when, on June 11th, exactly eleven months after the Rivonia raid, Mr Justice De Wet delivered his verdict. The session was a brief one, occupying only a few minutes: only as much time as the judge required to state whom the Court had found guilty and on which counts.

Mandela, Sisulu, Goldberg, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi and Miangeni: guilty on all four counts.

Kathrada: guilty on the second count only.

Lionel Bernstein: not guilty.

The judge's written summary of the evidence and his own findings occupied 72 folio pages.

In terms of the verdict, the first-named seven accused had been found guilty of having, jointly and through their followers, recruited persons for training, both at home and abroad, in sabotage and guerrilla warfare, with a view to causing insurrection and revolution in South Africa; and of having instigated a number of acts of sabotage.

The second count, on which Kathrada also stood convicted, meant that the accused had conspired to recruit more soldiers to the same end as set out in the first count. The judge rejected the last part of the second count, namely that the accused had conspired to wage guerrilla warfare and to render assistance to foreign military invaders of the Republic. Dr Yutar had based this allegation on the assumption that 'Operation Mayibuye' had been adopted by the conspirators and that they had already begun to implement it. The finding of the court was that this allegation had not been conclusively proved and that, in view of the insistence of all the accused that the plan had been rejected on grounds of impracticability, they were to receive the benefit of the doubt.

The seven accused first named had also been found guilty of having promoted the ends of Communism and of having collected and expended funds for purposes of committing sabotage.

The judgment further gave reasons why James Kantor, partner and brother-in-law of the co-conspirator Harold Wolpe, had been discharged earlier in the course of the trial.

Although it had been proved that Wolpe, a listed Communist, had conspired with the accused and had been accessory to the offences set out in the indictment, the Court accepted Kantor's sworn statement that Wolpe had given him an undertaking to refrain from illegal political activity while he was a member of the firm of James Kantor and Partners.

The Court found that the State had not proved its allegation that Kantor's firm had handled many cases for and on behalf of persons who were members of the banned SACP and/or the ANC. The fact that the firm had numbered such persons among its clients was not, in the judge's opinion, a sinister

circumstance in itself, inasmuch as their legal business need not necessarily have been connected with their political activities. Even the fact that Kantor's firm had handled the purchase of the Rivonia property, Lilliesleaf, could not be accepted as evidence of Kantor's complicity.

In respect of the acquittal of Lionel Bernstein, the finding of the court was that the State had not conclusively established Bernstein's complicity. One of the witnesses for the State had testified that Bernstein had helped to erect a radio aerial at Lilliesleaf, but another witness had refuted this.

Though acquitted of co-conspiracy and discharged, Bernstein was immediately re-arrested on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Further findings of the Court set out in the verdict:

– That Goldreich and Wolpe, who should have stood trial together with the other accused, had been in hiding in the flat at Mountain View until they had completed their disguise; and that they had then made their escape disguised as priests.

– That it had been established beyond doubt that Nelson Mandela had been the leading spirit behind the creation of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*.

– That the evidence, both oral and documentary, proved that the leader of the A.N.C., Nobel Peace Prize winner Albert Luthuli, had been kept informed throughout of the activities of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*, although he himself had been kept in the background.

– That the document 'Operation Mayibuye' comprised a detailed plan for waging guerrilla war intended to culminate in full scale revolt against the Government of South Africa.

– That many, if not the majority of the ANC leaders and *Umkhonto We Sizwe* also belonged to the Communist Party.

## 11 ENTER MR ALAN PATON

THE Rivonia trial was approaching its end. Everywhere, in the Republic and abroad, the verdict had been awaited with tense interest. Not even the most prejudiced of observers could contend that the verdict of 'guilty' on eight of the nine accused was unjust. The State's case against them had been proved to the hilt, the offenders stood condemned by their own confessions, by the evidence of scores of witnesses, by documents, the authenticity of which was never challenged, all confirming the State's allegations of conspiracy and sabotage; crimes which, as was fully realised, rendered the offenders liable to the extreme penalty.

In the full awareness of the spotlight of world attention focused on the concluding act of the Rivonia drama, counsel for the defence decided to call a witness to give evidence 'in mitigation of sentence'. The choice fell on one Mr Alan Paton.

Mr Paton, a writer by profession, is known for his extreme leftist views. Some years ago he emerged from obscurity as the headmaster of a Bantu reform school, as a result of the phenomenal success of his book, 'Cry, the Beloved Country', the type of fiction calculated to flourish in the political climate of the time.

Be that as it may, 'Cry, the Beloved Country' became a best seller in a number of languages, so that considerable publicity value attaches, particularly in certain leftist circles overseas, to the name of its author.

Mr Paton, foundation member and National President of the moribund S.A. Liberal Party, which has never succeeded in gaining a single seat in Parliament, has at no time had any sizeable following in his own country. He is, in effect, a classical example of the prophet who receives scant honour at home.

Abroad, however, and particularly in the U.S.A., Mr Paton is probably South Africa's best known personality, with the possible exception of Ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, *Umkhonto We Sizwe's* Pacifist Number One. He has several times addressed overseas audiences on the political situation in South Africa and has also appeared in television programmes. In approaching him to give evidence in mitigation of sentence, the defence was fully aware of the publicity value of this move.

Once again the great courtroom was crowded. The jury benches were filled with representatives from foreign embassies and consulates.

The advocates for the defence entered and took their seats. With them was Mr Paton.

Dr Yutar and his assistants entered by the opposite door. Dr Yutar, aware that the defence proposed to call Mr Paton, had prepared himself. Neither counsel for the defence nor Mr Paton knew that he has taken the precaution of arming himself with a very comprehensive dossier, compiled by the Security Police, on Mr Paton.

"Silence in Court!"

Everyone rose. Mr Justice Dc Wet entered, took his seat on the bench.

The accused filed in. There were now only eight of them, Bernstein having been found not guilty and discharged.

Mr Hanson, counsel for the defence, rose to address the court.

"May it please Your Lordship. I have been approached by the attorney appearing for the defence to address Your Lordship in mitigation of sentence... I do propose, before addressing Your Lordship, to call the evidence of one witness. His evidence is not of great length... I call Mr Paton."

Mr Paton had been chafing impatiently throughout counsel's preamble. Now, with obvious alacrity, he made for the witness box and the centre of the stage.

Mr Hanson: Mr Paton, you are 61 years old?– Yes.

Mr Hanson: Resident in Natal?– Yes.

Mr Hanson: You have a B.Sc degree of the University of South Africa as well as a diploma in Education?– Yes.

Mr Paton stated that he had been principal of Diepkloof Reform School for Bantus for a number of years and had tendered his resignation in 1948, two years after the publication of his best seller, *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Since then he had published two further works.

He was a foundation member of the Liberal Party in 1953. He had since become the National Chairman and later the National President of this Party.

In describing his association with non-Whites like ex-Chief Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and others, Mr Paton stated that the Liberal Party had always operated in close conjunction with the ANC and the Indian National Congress, and that the three organisations had often held joint meetings. In this connection Mr Paton made use of the opportunity of expatiating on the grievances of the non-Whites. Of Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki he said that they were held in very high esteem by the Liberal Party, which regarded them as the leaders of the African people. "I have no doubt whatever of their sincerity, and whatever methods they may have adopted or decided to adopt... I have never had any doubts as to their sincerity and their very deep devotion to the cause of their people... None of these three is known as a person who is obsessed with any desire for vengeance, any kind of racial vengeance . . .

"I came here," Mr Paton continued, "because I felt it was my duty to come here. I also came here because I am a lover of my country."

While stressing that he personally was opposed to violence, Mr Paton conceded that he could not blame the offenders in the dock for having resorted to sabotage. "I think it is very improbable... I don't think one has the right to expect of any people that they should accept a situation passively and make no effort. To me it is a very painful matter that people should feel that there are only these two choices. I myself don't believe so, but I understand very well that some people should believe that."

Mr Hanson: Historically, have people in such a position ever accepted it? I know of no example, my Lord. I know of one very striking example to the contrary, and that is the history of the Afrikaner people in this country...

Mr Justice De Wet: There are many, many examples, Mr Paton, of people who have resisted and been convicted of high treason and executed, when they have done what the accused in the present case have done. I have in mind the famous gunpowder plot in England. In the light of subsequent history, the people had legitimate grievances, but they were not entitled to break the law by force and what happens to people like that, historically, is that they are convicted of high treason and condemned to death. That is what generally happens, is it not so?

Mr Paton: Yes, my lord.

Mr Hanson: My lord, it is not going to be contended that this is relevant to anything else but mitigation. No-one is entitled to break the law.

When Mr Hanson sat down. Dr Yutar rose.

Dr Yutar: My, lord, I do not as a rule cross-examine people who are called in mitigation of sentence, but I propose to cross-examine this witness, with Your Lordship's leave, and I do not do so with a view to aggravating the sentence, but in order to unmask this gentleman and make perfectly clear that his only reason for going into the witness box, in my submission, is to make political propaganda from the witness box.

Dr Yutar then addressed the witness: Mr Paton, are you a Communist?— No.

Dr Yutar: Are you a 'fellow traveller'?— I don't quite understand what a 'fellow traveller' is, but I understand your implication. I am not a fellow traveller.

Dr Yutar: Your understanding of my implication is correct. Do you share the aims and objects of the Communist Party?— Some of the aims I would share.

Dr Yutar: Such as?— Such as a more equitable distribution of land and wealth, better economic opportunities.

Dr Yutar: What do you not approve of in Communism?— I disapprove entirely of the totalitarian methods the Communist Party adopted to bring about such changes.

Dr Yutar: Did you regard the African National Congress as a genuine African movement?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Do you still so regard it?— I still do.

Dr Yutar: Despite his lordship's observations yesterday?— Which particular one?

Dr Yutar: You know what his lordship said about the African National Congress being dominated by the Communist Party?— It has never been my belief that the ANC was dominated by the Communist Party.

Dr Yutar: Do you believe it to-day?— I don't believe it.

Dr Yutar: You don't? So you do not accept his lordship's finding as contained in his judgment of yesterday?— My lord, I am being put in a very difficult situation.

Dr Yutar: I only want the truth, that is all.— I don't think it is an easy thing to express things in terms of black and white.

Dr Yutar: Do you accept his lordship's finding, on the evidence, on the documents, that the ANC, the African National Congress, has been dominated by the Communist Party?— I could not accept the statement in that form. What I would accept would be a statement that Communists have been active in the ANC and have held high positions.

Dr Yutar: Did you know that Nelson Mandela was Communistically inclined, to put it no higher than that?— May I ask what you mean by Communistically inclined?

Dr Yutar: Well, let us put it more strongly and more bluntly: that in fact he is a follower of the Communist Party.— No, that I never knew.

Dr Yutar: Do you know it to-day?— I don't. I find it very difficult to accept.

Dr Yutar: You know that we have had documents in Mandela's own handwriting on 'How to be a Good Communist'. Did you know that?— Yes, but I have also read his explanation of it.

Dr Yutar: Oh, I see. And you accept his explanation?— Well... I have no evidence.

Dr Yutar: I see. And you know too that according to the evidence in this case Neslon Mandela, on his return from his African tour reported back inter alia to the Natal Regional Command that the leaders of the ANC should not let it be known among the rank and file of the Bantu that the Communists were in fact assisting the ANC?– I read that.

Dr Yutar: Did you know that in fact he had said so?– Not until I had actually seen the statement.

Dr. Yutar: You know, of course, Mandela denied that when he made his statement. He denied that he had made that report?– Yes, I read that also.

Dr Yutar: Yes. And of course a copy has been made of his statement in court and translated into several languages and published throughout the world?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: In fact, I understand a record has been made of it, and is being sold– is that right?– I don't know that... I don't know.

Dr Yutar: Do you know that his denial was not accepted by his lordship?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: Are you prepared to concede that Nelson Mandela abused his position as Deputy President General of the ANC in so far as he was a Communist and was propagating the aims and object of the Communist Party?– I find it a very difficult question to answer...

Mr Hanson: May I interrupt, my lord... I don't think that that is a finding of your lordship as my learned friend has just put it.

Dr Yutar: I shall read from the judgment. 'Accused No. 1 was at great pains to deny that he was a Communist, had Communist sympathies or that he had said this, but it is interesting to observe what he writes in his report on the PAFMECSA Conference, under the heading 'Political Climate', viz.: "It is clear that in this area there are great reservations about our policy, and there is a widespread feeling that the ANC is a Communist dominated organisation." And his lordship continues: 'I may add that I share this feeling after hearing all the evidence in the present case.'

Somewhat cornered by Dr Yutar's mercilessly pertinent questions, Mr Paton asked whether he might 'reply indirectly to the questions'.

Dr Yutar: No, I would prefer a direct, honest and truthful answer.

Mr Paton explained, somewhat haltingly, that he had had many discussions with ANC leaders concerning their relations with the Communist Party. "I would like to repeat here, for example, what Mr Luthuli once said to me when I asked him..."

Dr Yutar (interrupting): No, I will come to Mr Luthuli just now. My present question to you concerns Nelson Mandela. Do you think it right to represent to the rank and file of the Bantu of this country that the ANC is a genuine African organisation without any ties in any other countries, particularly Communist countries, when in fact Communists support the ANC? Is that a correct thing to represent to the people?– Well... I am not aware that that was ever done... that people... this discussion has been going on for many, many years...

Dr Yutar: Well, I have read to you from his lordship's judgment which is barely 24 hours old, and you have read it. If you accept his lordship's finding– do you think that was a correct thing to do, to mislead the rank and file of the African people in this country?– If I accept his lordship's finding, then I say no.

Dr Yutar: Did you know that Raymond Mhlaba was a Communist?– I don't know.

Dr Yutar: By the way, were you ever consulted by the ANC leaders in this case, before they embarked on this traitorous programme of theirs?– No.

Dr Yutar: Never consulted?– No.

Dr Yutar: But you moved in ANC circles?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: You had joint meetings with the ANC and the Indian Congress?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: You moved with a lot of Communists in this country, didn't you?– A... a lot?

Dr Yutar: Yes, a lot! I will mention their names.– I must say I never enquired into people's...

Dr Yutar: No? Do you know a traitor named Ronald Segal who published this vicious 'Africa South'?– Yes, I did know him.

Dr Yutar: Yes? Were you not a sponsor of that too?– I... I believe so, yes.

Dr Yutar: Yes, of course. And 'The African Communist', a publication of the S.A. Communist Party– were you not on the mailing list of that too?– The Security Police knew that I was getting it. I don't know where it comes from..

Dr Yutar: Do you know another gentleman named Roley Arenstein?– Yes, I do.

Dr Yutar: You have been to his house and held meetings there?– No.

Dr Yutar: You have been to his house?– Er... no... er.

Dr Yutar: Come on!– Er... I don't think that...

Dr Yutar: I can give you the dates if you want them.– I cannot remember ever having been to his house.

Dr Yutar: Where did you meet him?– I met him largely through 'Defence and Aid'.

Dr Yutar: Another association with a high-sounding name which assisted the saboteurs in this country, isn't that so?– In sabotage?

Dr Yutar: Yes.– No.

Dr Yutar: Not? Then what did you assist in?– It assisted in defending people who are brought before the Court so that they might get a fair and just trial.

Dr Yutar: Did you personally supervise all the funds that came for 'Defence and Aid' from overseas?– No.

Dr Yutar: Now I will give you the data of Roley Arenstein... to try to refresh your memory. On the 27th of July, 1962– by the way, you know where Arenstein lives, don't you?– I have a vague idea.

Dr Yutar: You were there on the 27th of July, 1962. No. 7. Majorca, Esterwood Road, Durban: that is his address, isn't it?– I don't know. I haven't been to his... I haven't been to see him for... for a long time. And on this occasion of which you are speaking, I have a very... not a perfect recollection, but I have a fairly clear recollection that it was not his house that it was the house of Dr Meidlinger.

Dr Yutar: Another well-known person– well-known to the Security Police.– Not a political associate of mine.

Dr Yutar: Do you deny that he stayed at No. 7, Majorca, and that you attended a secret meeting there? - I have no recollection whatsoever.

Dr Yutar: No recollection– but it may be true?– A... a secret meeting? I don't as a rule go to secret meetings.

Dr Yutar: By the way, you mentioned Albert Luthuli; let us make quite certain that we are speaking about the same gentleman. The one who got the Nobel Prize for peace?– That is right.



Dr Yutar: Did you know that he had been consulted about acts of sabotage in this country?– No.

Dr Yutar: Do you know it now?– Do you mean do I know that that is the judgment?

Dr Yutar: Yes.– Yes, I do.

Dr Yutar: Does it come to you as a surprise?– I just have no... I mean, it would be very surprising to me, he was the President General of the ANC and I could understand...

Mr Paton was becoming more than a little incoherent. Pulling himself together, he concluded plaintively: "I would just like to say here that I have not really come here to defend any actions of any persons..."

Dr Yutar: We are coming to that presently, to their actions, and also to your own views on violence– we will come to that, I promise you. But I am now dealing with Mr Luthuli. Did it come to you as a surprise that he was consulted, and gave his blessing to this new policy of violence of the ANC?– It does not come as a surprise to me that he was consulted.

Dr Yutar: No?– It would come as a surprise to me that he gave his blessing.

Dr Yutar: You know of course that we have got that evidence in the handwriting of Nelson Mandela, in his diary?– Yes?

Dr Yutar: That he went to Natal and found the Chief in high spirits, and that he approved of the new operations? Does that come as a surprise to you?– It did come as a surprise.

Dr Yutar: Are you averse to violence yourself, Mr Paton?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: Really? Have you never advocated it?– Advocated violence?

Dr Yutar: Yes.– No.

Dr Yutar: Never?– Never.

Dr Yutar: But you advocated, not so, military intervention in South West Africa?– I cannot remember that. If I were reminded in what way I had done it...?

Dr Yutar: I will remind you. Have you ever advocated that?– Military intervention?

Dr Yutar: Yes.– In South West Africa?

Dr Yutar: Yes.– Er... Not that I know of.

Dr Yutar: And have you ever advocated that the control and administration of this country be taken over by the United Nations?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: And you call yourself a true South African?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: You know of course that what I have told you now are some of the aims and objects of the Communist Party?– What, that the United Nations...? No, I did not know that.

Dr Yutar: You advocated the economic boycott of South Africa?– Only for some weeks.

Dr Yutar: Only some weeks?– Yes, my views have changed.

Dr Yutar: Since when?– Oh... quite a long time ago.

Dr Yutar: But you did advocate it overseas, didn't you?– Boycott of South Africa? Trade boycott? Never.

Dr Yutar: Never?– Never.

Dr Yutar: No boycott at all?– I... I once spoke on the Canadian broadcasting system, and... and I was asked this question.

Dr Yutar: Yes?– The question was what kind of pressure would result in some change.

Dr Yutar: Yes, your memory is quite good– My memory is quite good... I am an honest man.

Dr Yutar: I never raised that in doubt at the moment? Did you then advocate trade boycotts?– In... in America?

Dr Yutar: In Canada.– No. I was asked whether these things would be effective, and I made the statement over the air in Canada that that was a very difficult question to ask a South African.

Dr Yutar produced the full text of a broadcast, a television interview of Mr Paton by one Allan Leiterman, on December 6th 1960, shortly before the ANC embarked on its new policy of violence.

Dr Yutar (preparing to read from the document): This is what you said: By the way, did you know then that there was going to be a change in the policy of the ANC?– No.

Dr Yutar: You had no inkling of it?– No.

Dr Yutar: Did you ever know before 1961 that the Bantu youth of this country would resort to bloody struggle in this country?– No.

Dr Yutar: You never thought so? Let me read to you from this. Mr Leiterman asked you, 'Mr Paton, we are all very much aware of the terrible problems confronting South Africa, and I think the question we would all like to ask is whether there is any way out. Can anything be done to avoid a violent and bloody uprising of the African people?' Here is your answer: '...Of course we all expect an increase in unrest and conflict within the country, but we expect also increasing aggressiveness from other African countries, who are determined they won't tolerate the state of affairs in South Africa. If that were to happen then I think you might find some intervention from United Nations, which might give us some kind of interregnum... While I would not think that there was a likelihood of that at the moment, I think you mustn't exclude the possibility that that has been thought of.' By whom, Mr Paton?– Er... that that has been thought of?

Dr Yutar: Yes, by whom?– By many people.

Dr Yutar: By many people -including yourself?– This was an attempt to give an objective account of what the situation was in South Africa.

Dr Yutar: I will read on. 'Nor do I think that one must exclude the possibility that some of these nations would be planning to assist saboteurs or terrorists in South Africa.' What made you speak of terrorists and saboteurs in South Africa in 1960?– It was certainly no knowledge of any plans which were being made by any organisation in this country.

Dr Yutar: We do know that sabotage broke out in the latter half of 1961?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: I ask you again what made you talk of saboteurs and terrorists in South Africa in September, 1960?– I repeat that it was no knowledge of any plans being made by any organisation. It was my reading of the situation.

Dr Yutar: A prophet? A prophetic utterance?– I may not be a good one, but a prophet. I try to prophesy the truth. I don't claim for myself that I can always prophesy the truth.

Dr Yutar: Your prophecy turned out to be very accurate.– Well, this is a case where I obviously must have prophesied the truth.

Dr Yutar: I will read on: 'What particular African states do you think might get involved in that way in South Africa?' Oh, by the way, I did not complete the reading of the first part: '...by planning to assist saboteurs or terrorists in South Africa. These are hard facts, but I think they will have to be confronted.' You make it pretty definite. You were asked by Mr Leiterman, 'What particular African countries do you think might get involved in that war in South Africa?' 'Well, I think probably the most hostile country to South Africa would be Ghana... Nigeria is equally opposed to the practice of apartheid. I think that the new Kenya, when it achieves its independence, will be extremely hostile.' More prophecy, Mr Paton?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: With remarkable accuracy!— I thank you for the compliment.

Dr Yutar: I was not trying to compliment you at all— I would not dare! Mr Paton, do you know that these are the very countries who assisted the saboteurs and terrorists in this country both financially and militarily?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Now we go on, and come to boycotts. Mr Leiterman said, '...Many Canadians are asking would it be useful for a country like Canada to impose a trade boycott of South African goods? Would this help the cause of the black African?' Now follows your reply: 'I would say that these, well, one might call them consumer boycotts, unless they are carried out with Government approval, they are not likely to have any great effect. The three fields in which we are very vulnerable would be the selling of gold, one would be the buying of oil, and the other would be the handling of shipping. These are the three things.'— That is quite true. That was my objective answer to that question.

Dr Yutar: And you are patriotic, you call yourself a patriot of South Africa, and you are telling countries abroad, 'You get Government approval for these three things, and South Africa will be brought to its knees.'— Common knowledge. Not only people like myself, but people who are strong supporters of the Government know this just as well as I do.

Dr Yutar: And in fact these things are suggested in this wicked document 'Operation Mayibuye'. You have heard about that, haven't you?— These things are thought of by all people, both those who are for and those who are against.

Dr Yutar: It just surprises me, if I may say so, that a South African can dare go across the seas and advocate that. Now I will read some more: Still on the subject of boycotts, you say, 'But I am just supposing for example that the oil companies of the world refuse to sell any oil to South Africa. I think it would bring South Africa to a standstill within a few weeks.' You were hoping, Mr Paton, that that would come about?— Is that a question?

Dr Yutar: That is a question.— It was not my hope. It was my objective answer to these questions. I perhaps have different ideas from some people as to what are the rights of a free man, and I thought it was my right, and I still think it was my right, to go to a country and answer questions of that kind.

Dr Yutar: You were not committing treason?— Never on one occasion did I ever have any consultation with anybody and try to bring any pressure on anybody to exercise any of these...

Dr Yutar: Did I ask you that question?— No, but...

Dr Yutar: Well, just confine yourself to my questions. You had hoped, not so, that if all the oil companies in the world refused to supply oil to South Africa, South Africa would come to a standstill within a few weeks? Did you ever stop to think what would happen to the Bantu of this country if that were to take place?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: And what would happen?— I think as I have told you that my views on these matters have changed.

Dr Yutar: Yes, but I am taking you back to 1960, the year before the ANC adopted its new policy of violence. What did you think would happen to the poor Bantu of this country?— They would have suffered a great deal.

Dr Yutar: Perhaps most of all?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Then Mr Leiterman asked you, 'No-one suggests that you would be coming in the night with explosives to overthrow the state,' and you said, 'No, I have not been forced into that extreme position.' Do you remember that?— I accept your word.

Dr Yutar: Don't. I am reading it to you.— Yes.

Dr Yutar (reading): 'Do you see a time coming, Mr Paton, when patriots like yourself are going to be forced into extreme positions, when arguments are not going to be enough, when they are going to have to take action to prevent a violent outbreak of bloodshed?' Do you remember that question?— Yes.

Dr Yutar (reading): 'I think that that probably would be quite possible in the case of young people, many young people.' And in fact in 1961, or 1962 to be more accurate, young Bantu were surreptitiously stolen in the night, as it were, from their houses, and sent across the borders for military training?— Yes.

Dr Yutar: Another prophecy of yours come true!... All this that you said to the Canadian people on this television, complete with pictures of yourself, did you regard that as a subtle encouragement to the Bantu of this country?— No.

Dr Yutar: But of course you, as Chairman of the Liberal Party, had consultations with the ANC and the NIC?— Consultations?

While admitting this, Mr Paton emphatically denied the implication that his party and the other organisations mentioned ever had a 'common policy'. They were agreed on certain 'single issues', that was all.

Mr Paton further admitted that in the course of his Canadian broadcast he had confessed that he had 'lost belief in the force of persuasion'.

Dr Yutar: And what was the alternative to that?— At the moment I am in a position where I still think it is my duty to use persuasion.

Dr Yutar then confronted the witness with the truly remarkable coincidence that what he had said in Canada about having lost faith in the power of persuasion, was faithfully reflected in certain documents which had served as court exhibits— documents which the accused had admitted to be genuine. These documents also contained the view that since persuasion was of no avail, resorting to violence was inevitable.

Dr Yutar: The only alternative to the force of persuasion, the only logical alternative, is a policy of violence, not so?— There is another logical alternative, and that is to bow one's head and accept the situation as it is.

Dr Yutar: You did not do that?— I did not do that. I never will, I hope.

Dr Yutar: I feel like doing that after what you said overseas... Mr Leiterman asked you another question: 'What kind of pressure can be brought to bear by those who are opposed to apartheid as a policy in South Africa?'... I will read your answer to you. Four words. 'Well, you remember Sharpeville.' What did you mean by that?— I meant that that was an event of cataclysmic importance.

Dr Yutar: Yes? what happened at Sharpeville?— Many people were killed.

Dr Yutar: Yes, give us a few more details.– Many people who surrounded the police station... I am giving you what... what my version is... it is built naturally on others...

Dr Yutar: Yes?– These people were pressing, I... I think the police became frightened, I think they panicked, I think they opened fire and many people were killed.

Dr Yutar: Do you know of documents that have been produced in this case, where the accused in this case advocated uprisings to give the impression of spontaneity? They were to create situations throughout the country leading to uprisings which had to give the impression to people here and abroad that it was something spontaneous, whereas in fact it was engineered? Did you know that?– I don't know it, but I can believe it. This is a political programme that is adopted by all political parties.

Dr Yutar: Right; so we have the Communist-dominated ANC engineering uprisings such as Langa and Sharpeville, but giving the impression to the world that this is something spontaneous from the people, whereas the accused are sitting pretty behind the scenes. Do you approve of that?– I would just like to repeat that I have not come here to approve or disapprove of the actions of the accused. I have come here to speak to the court for clemency.

Dr Yutar: Yes, I know. Now we go on. You are now saying in effect that you do not approve of violence. I am coming to it. Mr Leiterman asked you this: 'Now I would like to know how close it is, and when it might tumble over into violence?' You said: 'I would be very surprised if this Government was in power in 1970. It would really astonish me.' Do you remember that?– I remember that.

Dr Yutar: Now I come to the last two important paragraphs. Mr Leiterman asked you this: 'But now, you yourself have said that parliamentary means are unlikely to ever unseat the present Government, it's so strong that you can't vote it out of office, and yet you say it may only last ten years... Now this seems to suggest to me that you foresee its being thrown out by extraparliamentary means.' I will read you your reply: 'Yes, oh, yes, I don't think there is any likelihood that it will be thrown out by parliamentary means... but we have already suggested, I think, at the beginning of this discussion, that there were two possibilities, the one possibility would be that United Nations would intervene... the other possibility is the one that you keep on referring to, the possibility of violence and chaos. Mr Paton, it is a fact that the United Nations have up till now not yet intervened in South Africa?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: And I suggest to you that the only alternative, in your own words to the Canadian people, was the possibility of violence and chaos.– I may say that my opinions are not the same as they were in 1960.

Dr Yutar: Will you go back and tell the world that?– If I were given permission I might try it...

Dr Yutar: You might try it? You can say it now, from the box. That is going to be published. I understand your evidence is going to be flashed throughout the world. That is why I am questioning you, so that the *true* position may be flashed throughout the world.– Yes. I would say that I feel less pessimistic than I felt in 1960 about the future of this country.

Dr Yutar: Why do you say that?– Well, I believe that there are signs of a growing... a change in our rulers... a growing... a change in their attitude towards English-speaking people and non-White people. I think that even a thing like the development in the Transkei, although I think they are fraudulent, I think they are a sign of change...

Dr Yutar showed the witness a clipping from a Johannesburg morning paper of 7th January, 1964, headed: 'Paton's Plea to Nordics: Don't stop Concern at Apartheid'.

Dr Yutar: Campaigning even from this country? Against your country?– No. Not against my country, no.

Dr Yutar: You have openly spoken against the Government?– I have.

Dr Yutar: That is not treason, is it?– I trust not.

Dr Yutar: Of course it is not.

Mr Paton: Yes, of course, I know that.

Dr Yutar: You have also spoken against apartheid?– Yes.

Dr Yutar: And that is not treason either?– Not yet.

Dr Yutar: And you have spoken against the policies followed in this country with perfect freedom?– Not perfect freedom by any means.

Dr Yutar: No?– No. It is extremely difficult to get a hall to hold such meetings. Also, the Security Police very often make it impossible to hold a meeting.

Dr Yutar: But if your meetings are perfectly legal you need not worry about the presence of the police?– I call it intimidation.

Dr Yutar: What do you call these acts of sabotage which were perpetrated on the instructions of the accused?– Well, they are clearly acts of intimidation too.

Dr Yutar: Of course. And but for the grace of God you might have been involved when they decided to bomb a building in your province of Natal?– I might have been.

Dr Yutar: Some innocent children might have been there.– I grant you that.

Dr Yutar: And that is what the accused have directed, you know, the bombing of buildings. Did you approve of the bombing of the Old Synagogue, just because it was used as a special criminal court?– I don't approve of it. I don't approve of any bombing.

Dr Yutar: But that was done?– That was done.

Dr Yutar: And did you visualise this in 1960?– Did I foresee...? Yes, I did.

Dr Yutar: And, strangely enough, the ANC went over to this new policy in 1961?– You mean there is some connection?

Dr Yutar: I am asking you.– There is no connection whatsoever.

Dr Yutar: None whatsoever?– None whatsoever.

Dr Yutar: You were just a true prophet?– I would say so.

Dr Yutar (to the Court): No further questions.

At the conclusion of this dramatic cross-examination, Mr Paton left the witness box. Dr Yutar was surrounded on all sides by persons eager to shake him by the hand. Not only had he thoroughly deflated Mr Alan Paton; he had, in the course of a brilliantly executed fencing match, succeeded in reversing the evidence of a person whose influence and prestige might have done much towards whitewashing the Rivonia traitors in the eyes of elements abroad. As a newspaperman, commenting on this cross-examination, put it: "It was a duel between a man of law and a man of letters, and it soon became obvious who was going to win... He went into the box to plead for mercy and found himself on the defensive. He left the witness box flushed and obviously angry."

Mr Justice de Wet's final words on the Rivonia case, spoken in passing sentence on the accused, are memorable enough to be quoted in full:

I have heard a great deal during the course of this case about the grievances of the non-White population. The accused have told me, and their counsel have told me, that the accused, who are all leaders of the non-White population, had been motivated entirely by a desire to ameliorate these grievances. I am by no means convinced that the motives of the accused are as altruistic as they wish the Court to believe. People who organise a revolution usually plan to take over the government, and personal ambition cannot be excluded as a motive.

The function of this court, as is the function of a court in any country, is to enforce law and order and to enforce the laws of the state within which it functions. The crime of which the accused have been convicted, that is the main crime, the crime of conspiracy, is in essence one of high treason. The State has decided not to charge the crime in this form. Bearing this in mind, and giving the matter very serious consideration

I have decided not to impose the supreme penalty, which in a case like this would usually be the penalty for such a crime. But consistent with my duty, that is the only leniency which I can show. The sentence in the case of all the accused will be one of life imprisonment. In the case of the accused who have been convicted on more than one count, these counts will be taken together for the purpose of sentence.

The Rivonia trial is over. The trial— but its implications remain. The volcano has not ceased rumbling. Its muted thunder reverberates throughout the civilised world.

Medusa's head is severed, its coiling adders crushed.

But the Gorgon has many heads.

The poisonous plant whose name is Communism has many roots. They burrow deep and they spread in many directions. For weeks after the Rivonia trial the police, having lopped off the plant itself, were kept busy tracing its root system. Within a month planned raids were carried out on over 100 houses in various parts of the country, resulting in the arrest of some forty persons, thirty of whom were Europeans. The Commissioner of Police, General J. M. Keevy, and Brigadier van den Bergh, Chief of the Security Branch, declared that after Rivonia this had been the most crushing blow dealt by the police to 'those militants still contemplating sabotage against the Republic'.

The raids yielded, inter alia, two radio transmitters, several trunks full of explosives, time devices, and comprehensive plans for sabotage campaigns. Evidence found in the possession of the arrested persons brought the police on the trial of several hundred others who had also been active in saboteur circles.

According to General Keevy, there was ample evidence that the local plotters had been working in close conjunction with international Communist circles.

Among those who were detained for questioning by the police was Mr A. Fischer, leading counsel for the defence in the Rivonia trial and a listed Communist. He was, released after a few days, to be re-arrested some time later.

While the Rivonia trial was in progress, both Mr Justice de Wet and Dr Yutar, leading Counsel for the State, received several anonymous threatening letters. In January, 1964, the police arrested a Bantu, Shumi Ntutu, who was found in possession of a petrol bomb. In his pocket diary were the addresses of Mr Justice de Wet and Dr Yutar. A 'friend' (identity not disclosed) had given him the two addresses, said Ntutu, and instructed him to make friends with the servants for the purpose of gaining access to the houses. Particularly the house of Dr Yutar had to be 'blasted to bits' and all the people in it killed, because he was an 'enemy of our people'.

At Dr Yutar's request, the matter was kept secret and Ntutu not brought to trial until the Rivonia case was over, lest it be said afterwards that this incident had served to prejudice the court and to marshal public opinion against the accused in the Rivonia case. Mr Justice de Wet was not even informed of the attempt.

In July, 1964, after the conclusion of the Rivonia trial, Ntutu was duly indicted, found guilty, and sentenced to a term of imprisonment.



## 12 GOD FORBID!

A TIDAL wave of world hysteria followed the Rivonia sentence.

Towards the end of March the 'Special Apartheid Committee' had already approached the UNO Security Council to intervene forthwith to 'save the lives' of the nine accused in the Rivonia trial. The Security Council required no encouragement. It went even further: strong representations were made to the South African Government to 'demand' amnesty for all those who had been condemned to death or were languishing miserably in dungeons 'for having opposed apartheid'. Useless for South Africa's Minister of Justice, Mr Vorster, to point out that no-one had ever been condemned to death nor yet imprisoned because he happened to dislike the Government's policy of apartheid. Opposition to Government policy is no crime in South Africa, provided only that such opposition does not take the form of bomb throwing.

Now, when news of the sentence was flashed around the globe the world reaction was incredibly venomous. Never has the rabble clamoured more loudly for the release of Barabbas.

But let us take a look at these questionable elements howling their hymn of hate around the seething witches' cauldron, and particularly at the leaders of the choir—pink clergymen in whose chaotic minds the concepts 'peace' and 'blood lust' have become synonymous, leftist students whose ragged academic gowns are a poor cloak for their ignorance... and, of course, the very considerable number of work-shy unemployed who are happy to earn a few cents and a free meal carrying sandwich boards and hoisting placards bearing truly blood-curdling slogans.

The purpose of all these demonstrations was to make the world believe that, in the words of the Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd, "one is dealing with a form of martyrdom... that there must be continued demonstrations and pressure must continue to be exerted in order to have the persons convicted treated more leniently. It is intimated that these offences arise from an opposition to our policy and not so much from rebelliousness, and that foreign countries and people all over the world are therefore entitled to interfere in these affairs of South Africa.... I want to say clearly and unequivocally that in this case we are not dealing with a revolt against the Government's policy, or with a championship of the freedom and rights of people. We are dealing here with a Communist revolt which was to have been fomented... There was frank support on the part of Communist states for these law-breakers in South Africa.... Cables were received from Communist states in which it was tried to exert pressure on this Government to influence the administration of justice not to have the courts impose the sentence which they thought fit.... Those cables went straight into the waste paper basket, because it just does not happen in South Africa that a Government interferes with its Judiciary.... Our Judiciary is free from all pressure, whether internal or external."

All loyal and law-abiding South Africans are not necessarily supporters of the Government's policy of apartheid. The United Party— the official Opposition Party under the leadership of Sir De Villiers Graaff— has always been outspoken in its condemnation of this very policy. Had the Rivonia conspirators, as the leftist world alleged, done no more than oppose apartheid, they would surely have been able to rely on the support of the Opposition! That this was by no means the case is proved by Sir De Villiers Graaff's uncompromising statement in Parliament:

"I want to say quite clearly that we of the Opposition want it on record, so that not only this House will know but that the outside world will know too, that we are convinced that the verdicts in that trial were just, that they were necessary and that they were tight in view of the actions to which the accused themselves pleaded guilty. Those findings were arrived at by one of South Africa's great judges, a man who has proved himself not only a learned jurist but a wise man. In his judgment he pointed out that

these men were guilty of treasonable activity. I want to say that if I have any regret, then my only regret is that they were not charged with high treason."

On June 16th, four days after the Rivonia sentences, the Prime Minister issued a statement in which South Africa's point of view was clearly expounded. Dr Verwoerd said, inter alia:

"We were dealing here with a Communist attack which was directed not only against South Africa but against the West. These people are criminals, Communist criminals, on the same basis as any spy who has been caught and sentenced to death in the U.S.A.; on the same basis as any Communist spy caught in Britain or in any other Western country and sentenced to imprisonment. We are dealing here with a crime against society, based on the Communist struggle against the West.

"Supposing these criminals had succeeded, what type of government would have been established in South Africa?... We would have had a Communist-orientated government here... and the tyranny which would have arisen would have been similar to the tyranny of the Communist countries... Then freedom in South Africa would have been doomed, not only freedom for the minority groups, the Whites or the Coloureds or the Indians, but also the freedom of the Black man in South Africa.... We would have had a tyranny even worse than that of Liberia or Ghana or Ethiopia. It would have been an out and out Communist tyranny. Our friends in the world should understand that, nor should they judge by double yardsticks in this matter. I am afraid that that is what is happening now: at this stage... thoughts are being expressed and actions are being taken, even by countries friendly to us, and by our trading partners, other than those to which we are entitled...

"When there is a revolt in Cuba, people are caught and immediately shot; or when there is a revolt in Zanzibar, death follows. When a government in Vietnam is overthrown and succeeded by another, the rebels shoot the members of the previous government without trial in the courts. In spite of that, the Western powers continue to have diplomatic relations with them, first with the one government, then with the rebel government. They do not worry about what happens in regard to the domestic affairs of those countries. Why is different treatment meted out to South Africa? Only in the case of an anti-Communist country like South Africa, where a revolt is suppressed, do we get this world-wide organised propaganda...

"I want to emphasise that South Africa should not be condemned in the way she is condemned; that there should be no interference with her affairs; and that South Africa cannot allow it, but will have to oppose every attempt to interfere in our affairs, also if it comes in the form of an attempt to change the sentence imposed by our courts. I shall not be a party to anything of this nature. When saying this, I ask the Western world at least also to look after its own interests, and to realise that if South Africa were to fall a prey to Communist conspiracies, the West would suffer also. Even if the West assists in making us fall prey by trying, in the atmosphere which prevails, to gain the friendship and support of everybody else at the cost of South Africa, it should bear in mind that if a conquered South Africa becomes Communist, the noose about the neck of Europe and America will only be drawn tighter. It will not only be the end of us, but also the beginning of the end for them. When therefore it is said in those circles that they are glad that Mandela received a life sentence and not the death sentence, because he may still, like Kenyatta, become the leader of the future, then I say, 'God forbid!' If that were to happen, not only would South Africa be doomed and become Communist, but then the world would in time be conquered by Communism, because after that the only bastions which still protect White civilization against that pernicious ideology would fall one after another."

## EPILOGUE

It is futile to imagine that the end of the Rivonia trial also saw the end of Communism in South Africa. "We have scotched the snake, not killed it."

The date is Friday, July 24th, 1964. The afternoon rush hour is just beginning. Workers from hundreds of offices and factories in the city are starting to crowd into Johannesburg Station, from where they catch their trains home to Suburbia, carrying bags, briefcases, attache cases. Few pay any attention to the man who walks into the spacious passenger concourse where several persons are sitting about on benches, waiting; there is nothing remarkable about him, nor about the suitcase in his hand. He puts it down near a bench on which an old lady and a young girl, her granddaughter, are sitting, and walks out.

Soon afterwards the telephone rings in the office of a Johannesburg newspaper. A man's voice comes over the wire: 'At 4.33 a bomb is going to explode on Johannesburg Station.'

At four thirty-three sharp all hell rips loose in the passenger concourse at Johannesburg Station. Its source— the innocuous-looking suitcase on the floor next to the old lady's seat.

A thunderous crash, followed by smoke and leaping flames. The explosion rips a jagged hole through the mosaic-patterned concrete wall. A hideous column of dust and smoke shoots up to the ceiling, like a live monster spitting forth yellow sparks and flashes.

This is what the explosion of a dynamite bomb looks like.

The lurid flames eat hungrily into the arms of a 77-year-old woman, into the face of a three-year-old child.

In all, twenty-three people are injured.

For days and nights teams of doctors and nurses work ceaselessly, battling for the lives of the victims.

77-year-old Mrs Rhys succumbs to her injuries.

A rumble of anger goes through South Africa.

For this is no longer sabotage.

This is murder!

On the morning of July 26th the Sunday papers splash the first photographs of the victims. The ghastliest picture is that of a hideously burnt baby of three.

A news commentary in the *Johannesburg Star* reflects the feelings of every decent-minded person in the country:

People previously inclined to regard the police with some disdain were now full of praise.

People who previously had criticised the implications of the 90 days detention clause, were now quiet.

They looked at the picture of three-year-old Cornelia Koekemoer, burnt in the explosion, and they looked at their own children and they were silent.

People who previously had been among those who declared, 'It doesn't affect us'- even during the Rivonia trial,- suddenly found themselves talking about the things they should have considered and discussed years ago...

We have now seen Communism in action.

In the words of the Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd: "When therefore it is said in those circles that Mandela may yet, like Kenyatta, become the leader of the future, then I say, GOD FORBID!"



MR. T. B. VORSTER



LIEUT. VAN WYK



DETECTIVE WARRANT OFFICER DIRKER



ABOVE LEFT: HAROLD WOLPE  
BELOW LEFT: JOE SLOVO



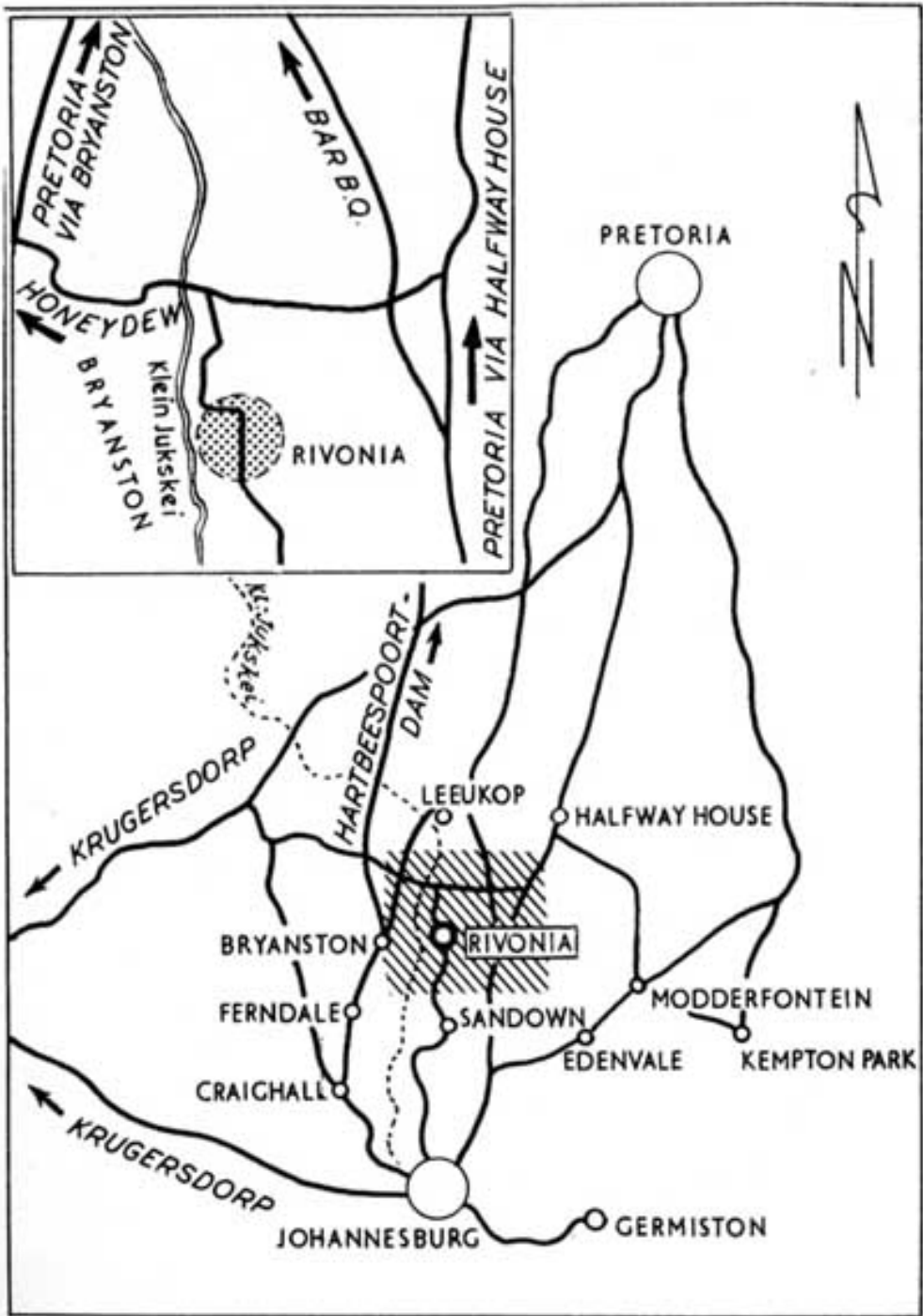
ABOVE RIGHT: A. GOLDREICH  
BELOW RIGHT: BOB HEPPLER

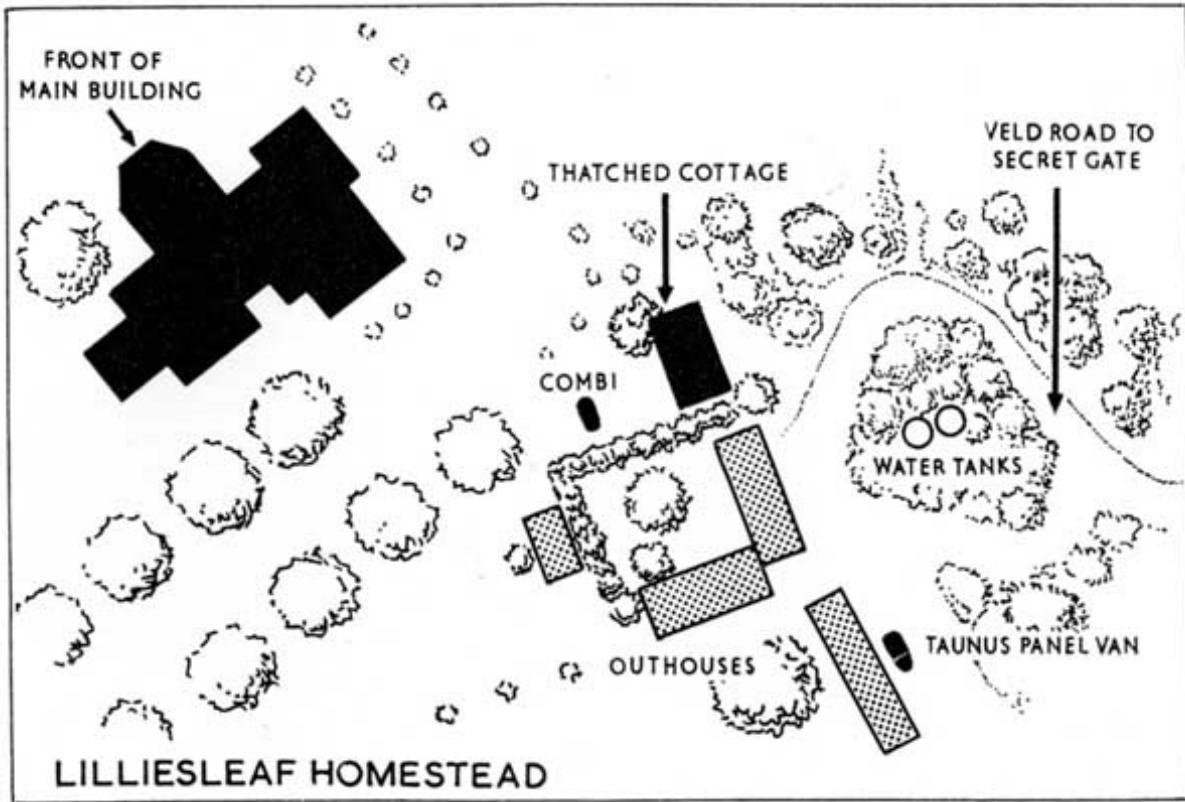


ABOVE LEFT: MANDELA  
BELOW LEFT: GOLDBERG

ABOVE RIGHT: SISULU  
BELOW RIGHT: MBEKI

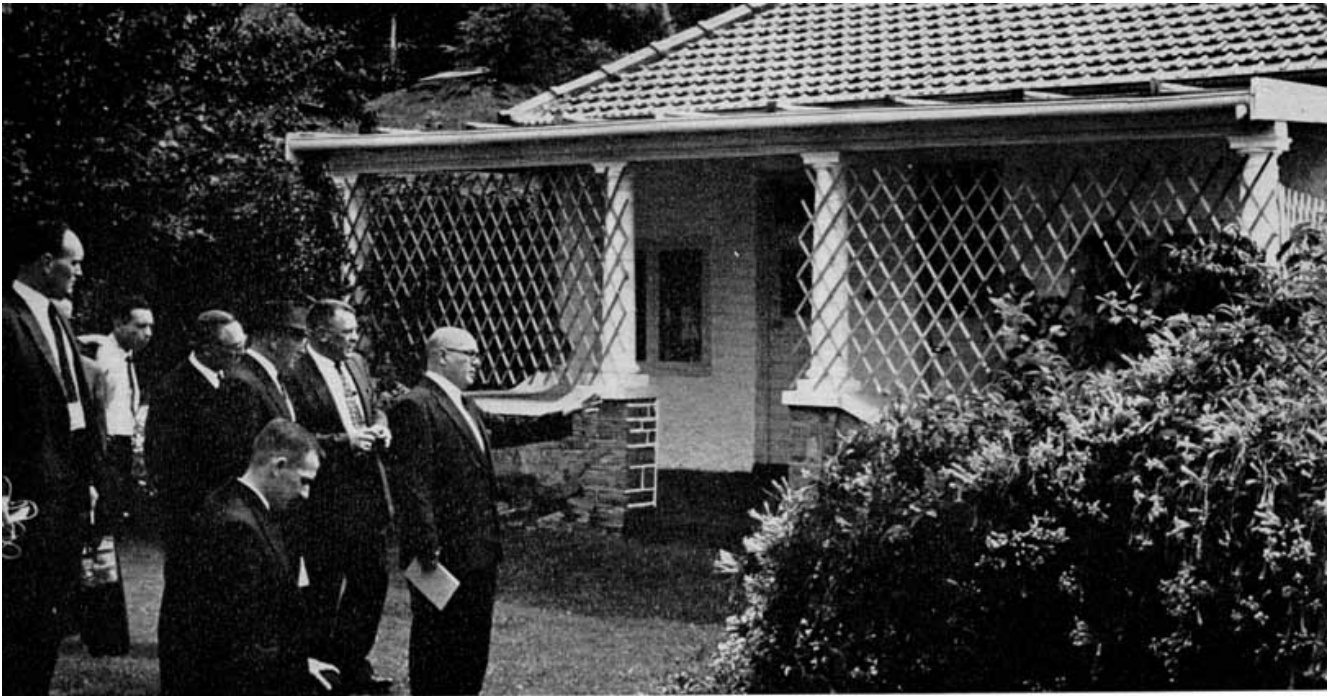
ABOVE: KATHRADA, BERNSTEIN AND MHLABA  
BELOW: KANTOR, MOTSOAEDI AND MLANGENI





SECURITY POLICE IN THE FRONT ROOM DURING THE RAID ON LILLIESLEAF





COURT PERSONNEL AND REPORTERS VISIT THE HIDE-OUT OF GOLDREICH AND WOLPE IN MOUNTAIN VIEW



THE FLIGHT OF GOLDREICH AND WOLPE: E.A.A.'s DAKOTA LIES IN RUINS

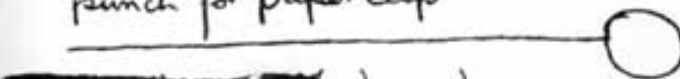
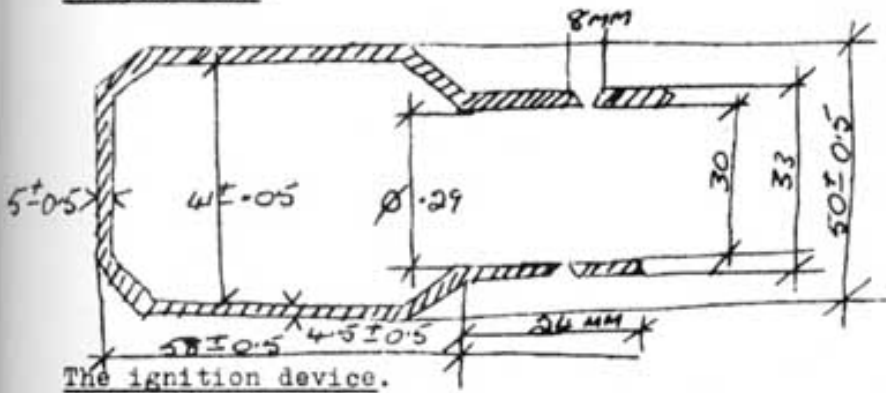
1. Our target is that on arrival the external force should find at least 7,000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerella army in the initial onslaught. These will be allocated as follows:-
  - a) Eastern Cape - Transkei 2,000
  - b) Natal - Zululand 2,000
  - c) North Western Transvaal 2,000
  - d) North Western Cape 1,000
2. To realise our target in each of the main areas it is proposed that each of the four areas should have an overall command whose task it will be to divide its area into regions, which in turn will be allocated a figure in proportion to their relative importance.
3. The preparation for equipping the initial force envisaged in 1 above will take place in three stages, thus:-
  - a) By importation of military supply at two levels:
    - i) Build up of fire arms, ammunition and explosives by maintaining a regular flow over a period of time.
    - ii) By landing additional supplies simultaneously with the arrival of our external force.
  - b) Acquisition and accumulation internally of fire arms, ammunition and explosives at all levels of our organisation.
  - c) Collection and accumulation of other military supplies such as food, medicines, communication equipment etc.
4. It is proposed that auxilliary guerella/sabotage units in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerellas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerellas.
5. It is proposed that in areas falling outside the four main guerella areas M.K. units should be set up and act in support of the activities in the guerella areas, and to harass the enemy.
6. In order to draw in the masses of the population the political wing should arouse the people to participate in the struggles that are designed to create an upheaval throughout the country.

THE MURDER PLAN IN "OPERATION MAYIBUYE"

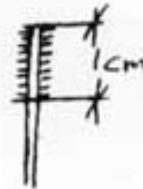
1. Our target is that on arrival the external force should find at least 7,000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerilla army in the initial onslaught. These will be allocated as follows:-
    - a) Eastern Cape– Transkei 2,000
    - b) Natal– Zululand 2,000
    - c) North Western Transvaal 2,000
    - d) North Western Cape 1,000
  2. To realise our target in each of the main areas it is proposed that each of the four areas should have an overall command whose task it will be to divide its area into regions, which in turn will be allocated a figure in proportion to their relative importance.
  3. The preparation for equipping the initial force envisaged in 1 above will take place in three stages, thus:-
    - a) By importation of military supply at two levels: i) Build up of fire arms, ammunition and explosives by maintaining a regular flow over a period of time.
    - ii) By landing additional supplies simultaneously with the arrival of our external force.
    - b) Acquisition and accumulation internally of fire arms, ammunition and explosives at all levels of our organisation.
    - c) Collection and accumulation of other military supplies such as food, medicines, communication equipment etc.
  4. It is proposed that auxilliary guerilla/sabotage unite in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerillas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerillas.
- It is proposed that in areas falling outside the four main guerilla areas M.K. unite should be set up and act in support of the activities in the guerilla areas, and to harass the enemy.
6. In order to draw in the masses of the population the political wing should arouse the people to participate in the struggles that are designed to create an upheavel throughout the country.

The Murder Plan in "Operation Mayibuye."

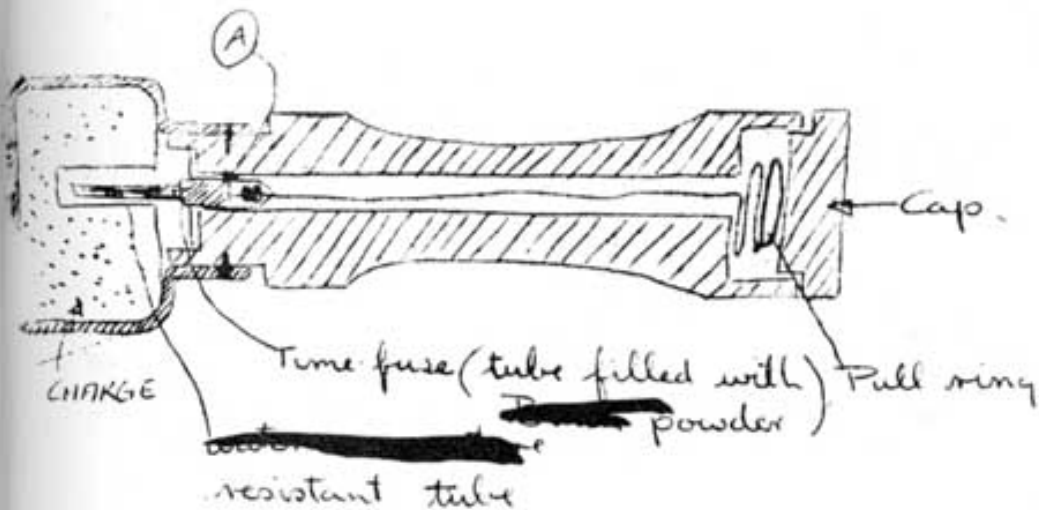
Grenade head.



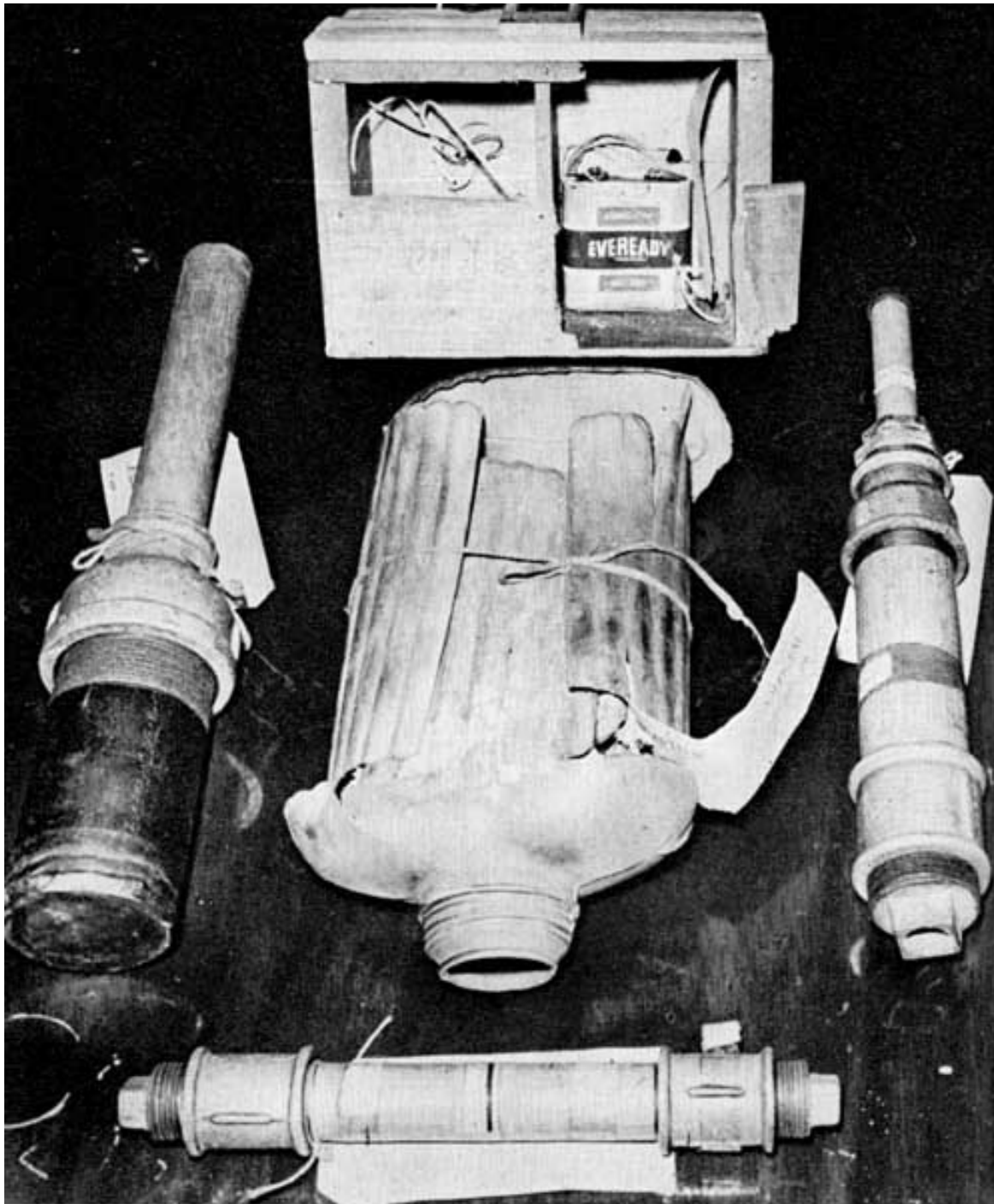
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ) )
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ) mixture for end
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ) of pull cord.
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ) match heads
- ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ ) to increase
- friction



HAND GRENADE

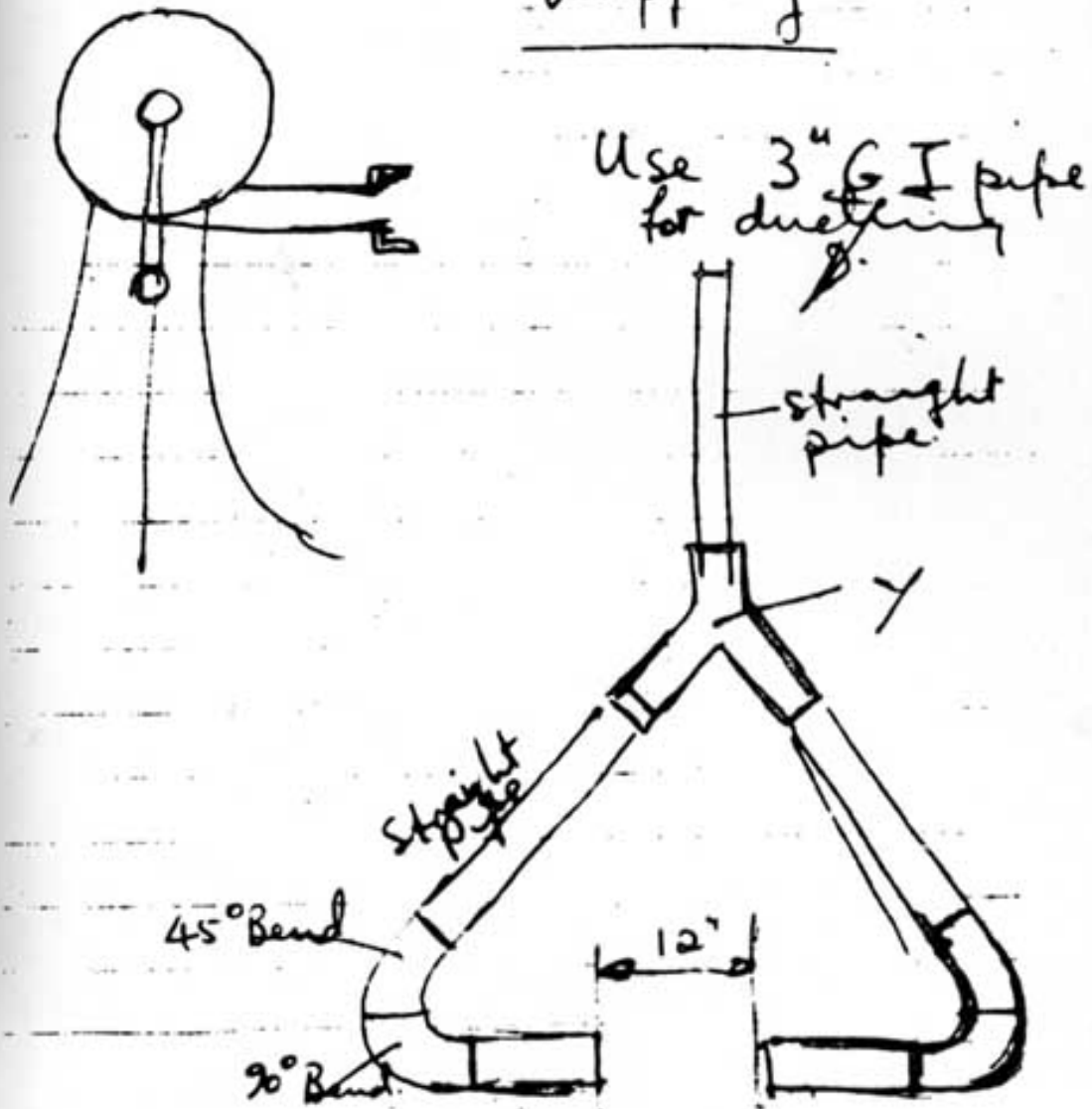


DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS FOR MURDER WEAPONS — IN THIS CASE, HAND GRENADES

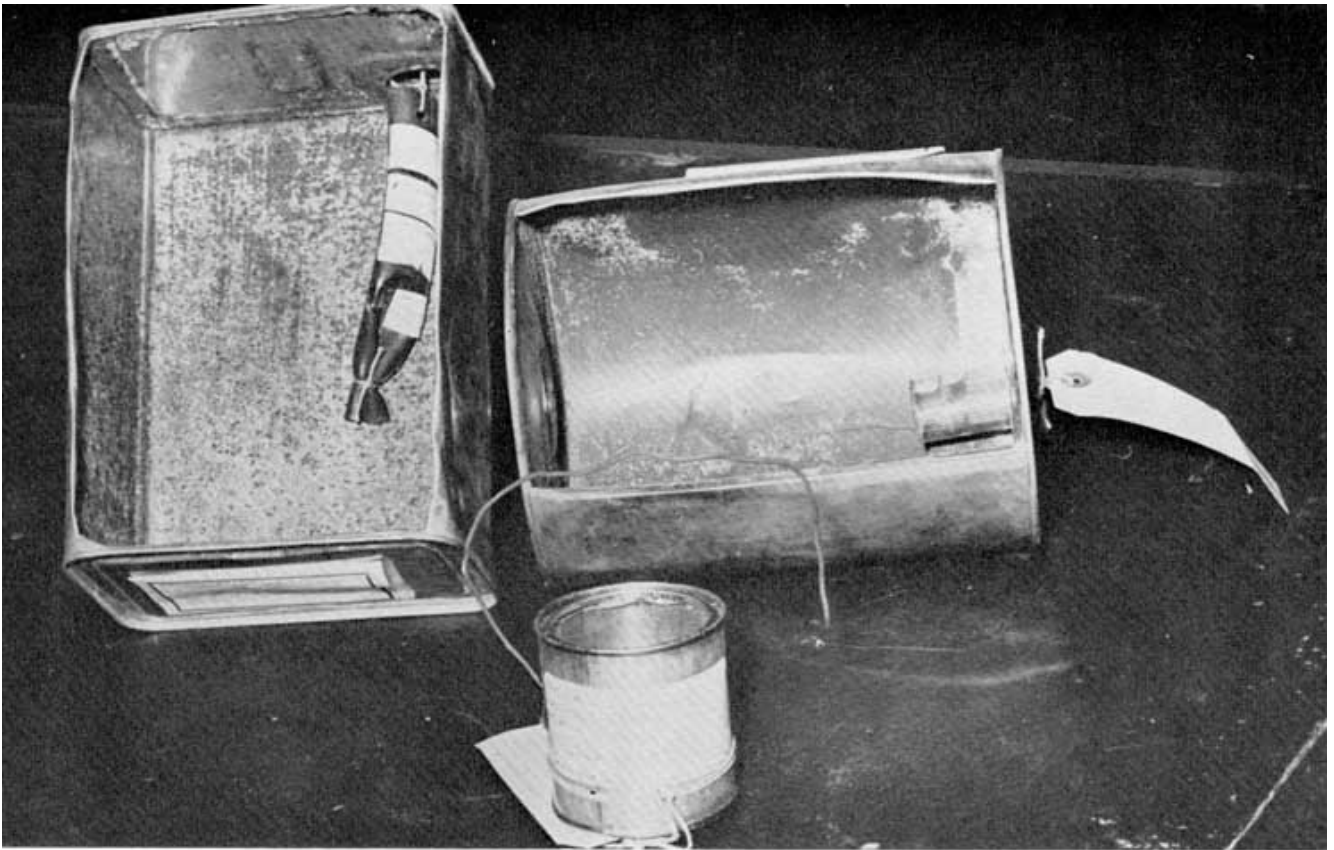


THESE WEAPONS, MADE WITH KNOWLEDGE SUPPLIED BY COMMUNIST CUBA AND CHINA WERE INTENDED FOR USE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA: HAND GRENADE, PIPE BOMB, PLASTIC BOMB AND, AT THE TOP, A LANDMINE

# Forge type Blower for air supply

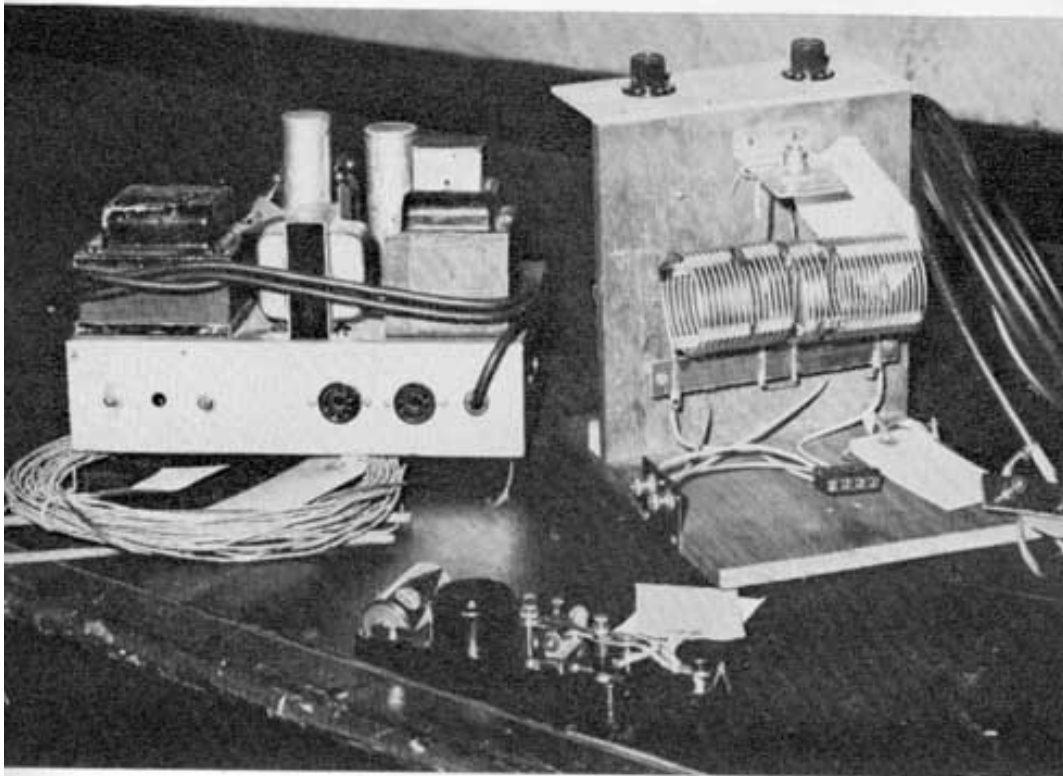


A FORGE FOR A RED ARMS FACTORY



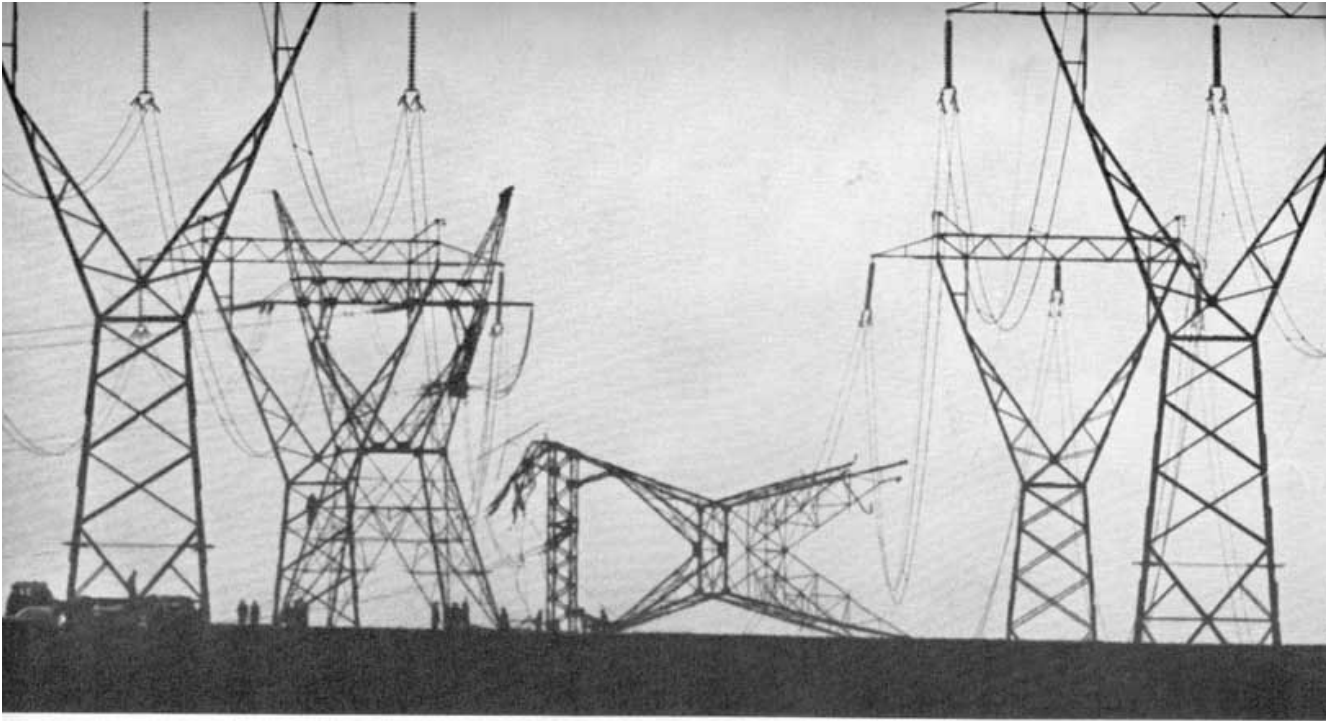
PETROL BOMBS FOR THE SABOTEURS. DELAYED ACTION APPARATUS HAS BEEN INSERTED





**ABOVE: LIEUT. VAN WYK AND ARTHUR GOLDREICH (foreground)  
LOOKING AT THE RADIO EARTH WIRE IN THE YARD AT LILLIESLEAF  
BELOW: THE VOICE OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE**





THE ATTACK ON LINES OF COMMUNICATION: A POWER PYLON OVERTURNED



THE RESULT OF A SABOTEUR'S BOMB — THE HOUSE OF A NON-WHITE

030

T88

90



# CHRISTIAN ACTION

Chairman: THE REVEREND  
CANON L. JOHN COLLINS

1 AMEN COURT, LONDON, E.C.4  
TELEPHONE: CITY 3747/6869

19th April 1963

Dear Walter,

X  
It was a very great joy to receive your letter, "a shot out of the blue" as you quite rightly call it. I often think of you, particularly now while you have to languish in prison. I hope your appeal will succeed and we shall certainly be ready to foot any necessary bill this end.

acc 2

I am indeed only too well aware of the terrible situation which grows worse and worse in your Country. I have Solly Sachs working with me now on the Defence and Aid Fund and he keeps me well informed of everything that is happening, as far as we can discover this end. On my behalf he is now managing the appeal for the Defence and Aid Fund and I am glad to say there is, once again, a growing response. We shall certainly do everything we can to go on helping until the liberation movement succeeds in its purpose.

Christian Action will, through its Defence and Aid Fund, do everything possible to raise financial assistance to cover the types of circumstances about which you write, particularly the cases which arise as a result of the so-called Sabotage Act.

With every best wish,

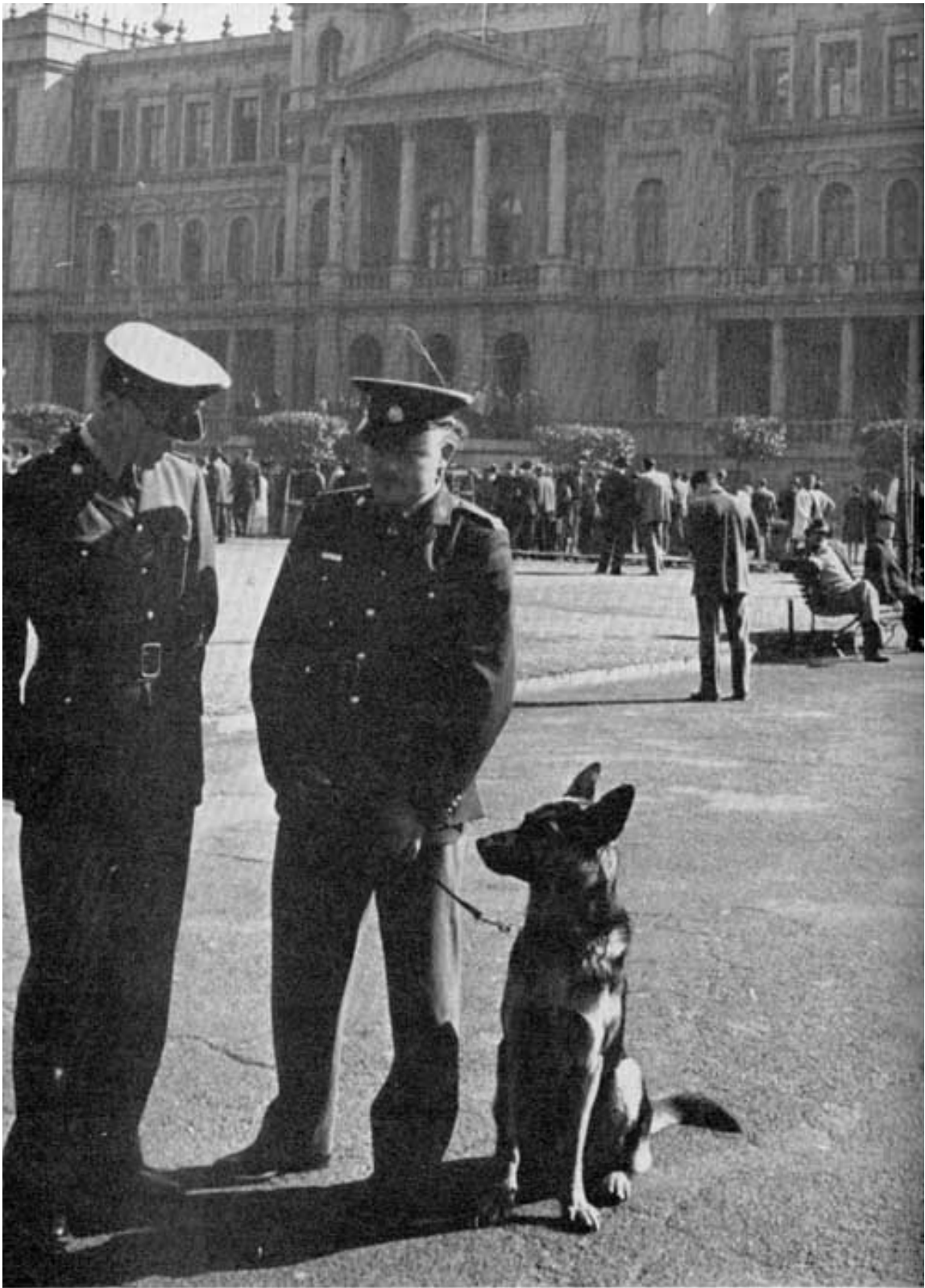
Yours,

X  
LJC  
(L. JOHN COLLINS)

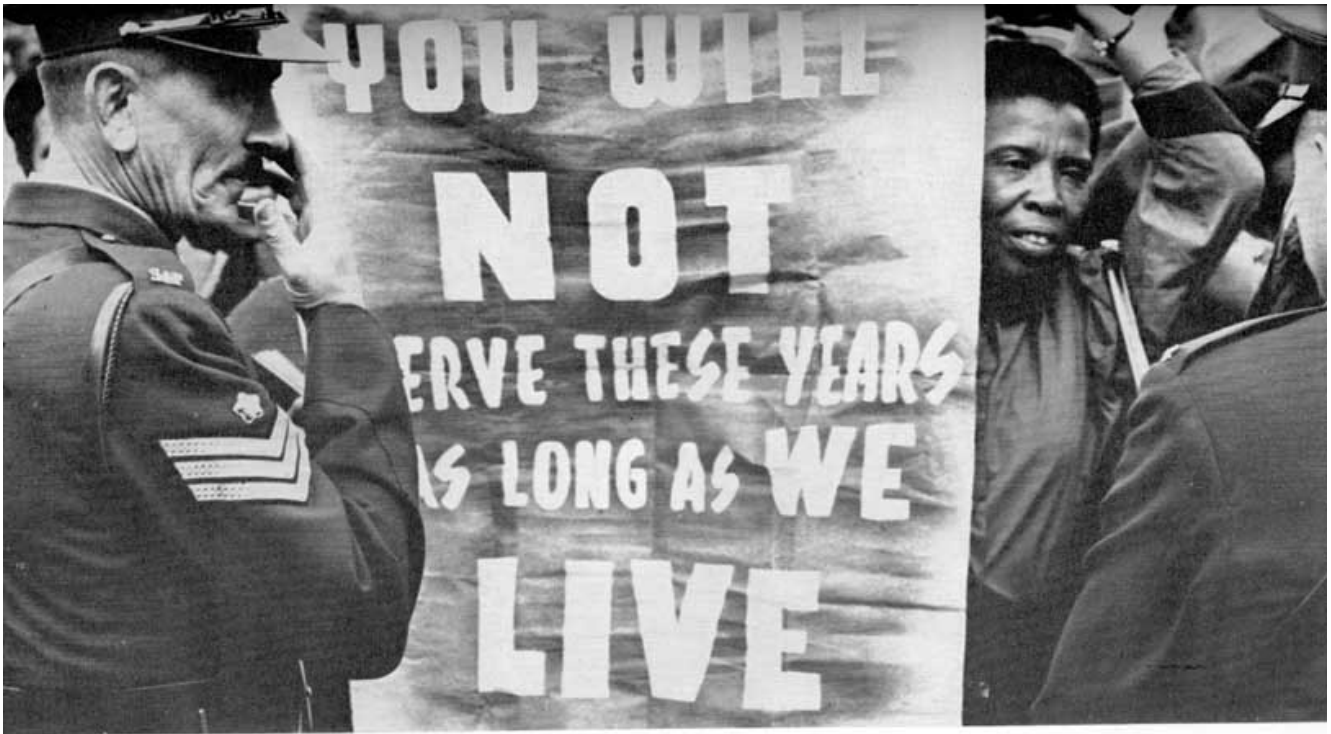
Walter Sisulu Esq.,

CANON JOHN COLLINS IDENTIFIED HIMSELF WITH SABOTAGE  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

pb



PEOPLE — AND THE WORLD — WAIT FOR THE RIVONIA SENTENCE



IN FRONT OF THE PALACE OF JUSTICE AFTER THE SENTENCE: POLICE AND DEMONSTRATORS



THE STATION BOMB. MRS. RHYS, THE 77 YEAR OLD VICTIM, CAN BE SEEN IN THE CIRCLE



**THE STATION BOMB. A BURNT CORNELIA KOEKEMOER LIFTED UP BY HER FATHER**





THE WEAK ARE SHAMELESSLY ATTACKED

*Fin*