



GOLDBERG:

**Sacked because
of his politics**

DENNIS GOLDBERG, 33, sacrificed a brilliant professional career for politics. He matriculated at 16, was a B.Sc. (Civil Engineering) at 20 and married two days before he turned 21.

After showing little interest in politics at the University of Cape Town he plunged into the struggle. For him it started with a society interested in the effects of the colour bar on youth; it ended with detention during the 1960 Emergency and arrest at Rivonia. He and his bride spent their honeymoon doing youth work. Later he became absorbed in the COP campaign in Luyela township, Simonstown — which cost him his job as a technical assistant in the SAR. He was sacked.

After working as an engineer for the Cape Town Municipality he practised as a consulting engineer and then joined a Cape Town construction firm. In 1960 he was made resident engineer on a R400,000 highway contract, but in the same year came the Emergency and detention.

Despite his professional success Goldberg had continued to be active in politics as a member and later an executive member of the Congress of Democrats.

He also served on the Joint Congress consultative committee. His wife worked with him in COD and the Women's Federation. ●



SISULU: Man

**'married to
the nation'**

WALTER SISULU's friends say the early inspiration in politics for 52-year-old Sisulu came from the Bible. And it's true that he was a regular church-goer in his Christian home in the Engcobo district of the Transkei. And he would listen carefully at the mission school to the stories of Moses and Aaron, and Joseph and David.

After two spells of work in the Reef mines, Sisulu had enough to buy a horse and some suits and there was little to suggest the political future ahead of him.

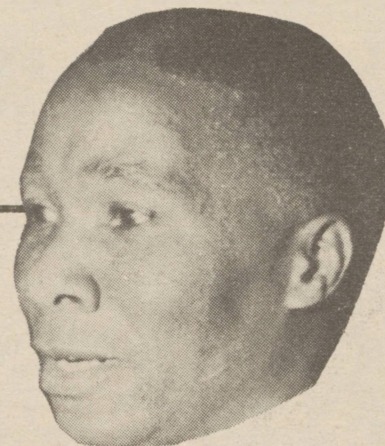
But that was before he met Clements Kadalie, leader of the S.C.U.A., in East London. Pass raids were frequent at the time and Sisulu used to see people sleeping out in the veld to avoid arrest.

Sisulu craved for education as an escape and he moved to Johannesburg in the thirties where he attended the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Still there was no hint of politics. He was active in cultural societies, church choirs and musical associations, and juvenile delinquency among African youths.

But at the bakery where he worked, Sisulu met a co-worker who had a smattering of trade unionism and they organised an abortive strike for more wages. After the inevitable sack, Sisulu started in the newspaper industry. His ventures included a news agency, a printing press company and a weekly paper.

In spite of all this personal advancement, Sisulu was still preoccupied with the future of his people. He joined the ANC in 1940 and in nine years was Secretary General under the Presidency of first Dr Moroka, and then Chief Lutuli. He and Mandela have always worked closely together in the ANC.

When Sisulu married in 1944, Mandela was the best man. And Sisulu's old friend, A.M.Lembeda, a lawyer who founded the ANC Youth League, warned the bride in a speech: 'You are marrying a man who is already married to the nation.' ●



MBEKI: No

**need to take up
any banner**

GOVAN MBEKI listened attentively to the address given by the African minister, who was an early member of the ANC. Mbeki was a teenager and the time was the twenties when the pass system and the Africans' hunger problems were regarded as misfortunes to be borne with quiet fortitude. But Mbeki, the son of a religious family in the Ngamakwe district of the Transkei, was impressed by the minister's demands for rights for Africans.

Mbeki had no real need to take up any political banner. His parents were wealthy enough, with a good farmhouse, and reasonable flocks of sheep, goats and horses. The future looked secure. But a successful farmer's life was not for him.

After graduating with a B.A. in 1936, Mbeki became a teacher. Soon he was doing political journalism. Some of his essays were published in 1939 in book form entitled 'The Transkei in the Making.' He was always investigating conditions among Africans and exploring means of bettering their lot.

While doing top-level organisational work for the ANC he, he was a member of the joint Committees of the Congress Alliance which organised the Congress of the People. And he still found time to run a shop and keep up his journalism to support his wife and four children. ●

THE RIVONIA MEN



MANDELA: A life of arrests, bans and jailings

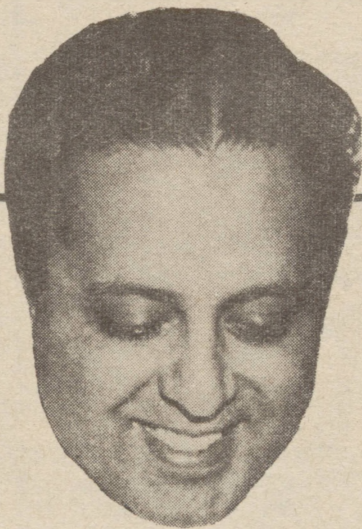
NELSON MANDELA, Transvaal President and Deputy National President of the banned ANC, was born in Umtata 46 years ago, the son of a prominent chief. In his early life he was fascinated with his people's history and culture. After matriculating he went to Fort Hare where he was drawn into student politics.

When Mandela was told that a marriage had been arranged for him at home, he fled to Johannesburg in 1941. There he met Walter Sisulu, who introduced him to a legal firm to which Mandela became articled. His white employer helped Mandela to become an attorney. Mandela believed that Africans in South Africa were one people as far as their interests and destiny were concerned. And in 1944 he joined the African National Congress. With Oliver Tambo and others, he founded the vigorous ANC Youth League. Tambo and Mandela eventually went into legal practice as partners in their own firm.

In 1952, Mandela became Transvaal President of the ANC under Chief Lutuli, a man he much admired. Since then his life has been a succession of arrests, bans and terms in jail.

He was held as an organiser of the Defiance Campaign, he was called upon to resign from Congress, he was confined to Johannesburg, prohibited from gatherings and, in effect, silenced. In 1961 he went underground. Early in 1962 Mandela left the country and toured Africa before visiting England where he met the late Hugh Gaitskell, then leader of the Labour Party, and Jo Grimond, Liberal Party leader.

On his return to South Africa he was jailed for five years for leaving the country without a passport and inciting people to strike. He is the No 1 accused in the Rivonia trial. Twice married, Mandela has five children. His second wife, Winnie, daughter of Transkei Minister of Agriculture Columbus Madi-kizela, shares his dedication. She is prohibited from attending gatherings and confined to Johannesburg.



KATHRADA: His first taste of prison at 16

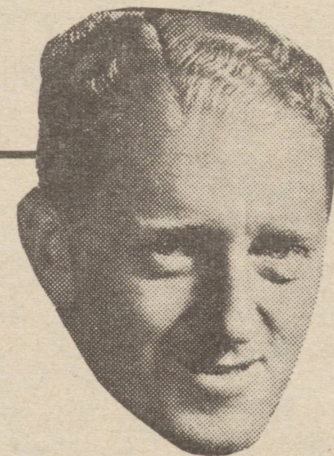
A.M. KATHRADA was groomed for peaceful politics almost from the day he was born 34 years ago in Schweizer Reneke. His family were all scholars. One uncle was a leading Muslim theologian and Mufti of Burma.

Kathrada went to school in Johannesburg and began to take an interest in politics immediately. He was a founder member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and left school at 16 to do full-time political work for the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. It was in that year - 1946 - that Kathrada had his first taste of prison. He served one month in Durban for passive resistance. But this did not deter him. Kathrada kept up his work and in 1952 was one of the organisers of the Defiance Campaign. His sentence: Nine months suspended.

Kathrada has held official positions in many South African organisations including the Indian Youth Congress, the Peace Council, the Youth Festival Committee, the Indian Congress.

He helped to establish the Central Indian High School in 1955 and became secretary of its parents association. But he found his work becoming more and more difficult to carry out.

He was one of the Treason Trialists and has been listed as a Communist. He had another spell in jail during the State Emergency and was placed under house arrest in 1962.



BERNSTEIN: Soldier, editor, Nazi - hater

LIONEL BERNSTEIN has no political background. His parents were middle-class. He may have become interested in social problems first when he was at school. For the teachers there at the time belonged to the generation of British university graduates who were violently anti-fascist. In any event in the thirties Bernstein was actively supporting Republican Spain by working for the South African anti-Fascist League which was alarmed by the rise of Nazi-inspired hooliganism in South Africa. After a spell as secretary of the Labour Party League of Youth, he joined the Communist Party in 1939. He was then 19.

He was soon in charge of propaganda in the party's Johannesburg office. He qualified from the University of the Witwatersrand as an architect in 1941. After marrying Hilda Watts, he was elected secretary of the district committee of the Communist Party. A year later he joined up and served as a gunner with the 6th Field Regiment of the South African Artillery in Italy until the end of the war.

Bernstein was elected to the national executive of the Springbok Legion - the ex-soldiers' organisation - in 1948 and later became editor of its journal 'Fighting Talk' which he continued to produce as an independent journal after the Legion closed down about 1953.

Bernstein, once described by a friend as 'an all-round square', helped to found the South African Congress of Democrats and was a member of its national executive. He faced his first big trial in 1946. It was the African Mine Strike case. Bernstein together with the whole district committee of the Communist Party and some 40 others were charged with assisting a strike of African mine-workers. Bernstein was given a suspended sentence.

He was one of the Treason Trialists accused in 1956 and four years later was held in detention during the State of Emergency.

RIVONIA: THE THREE MYSTERY MEN

Andrew Mhlangeni, Elias Motsoaledi and Raymond Mhlaba are the three mystery men in the Rivonia trial. Until the police raid, few people knew of them. Now they have become national figures. And here is their background — the background that led them on the road to Rivonia

ANDREW MHLANGENI, 38-year-old ex-caddie, had a tough start in life as one of 12 children of a Johannesburg washerwoman.

He lost his dad when he was six and had to work as a caddie to buy clothes and pay his school fees. Later an elder brother helped him to go to St Peter's Secondary School.

But after passing J.C. the boy who wanted to go on studying had to take a job with the Johannesburg Municipality. Later he worked as a drawing-office clerk and a bus-driver.

A popular speaker, he became an ANC branch secretary in 1956 after five years in the Congress and its Youth League.

ELIAS MOTSOLEDI, 39, has been a trade unionist ever since he was fired for leading

a deputation of one for higher wages. He came to Johannesburg as a boy of 17 after passing Std. 6 in Sekhukhuniland. After a few days in the city he was arrested and jailed for a pass offence.

Elias, who had hoped to work himself and his five sisters through school, found this impossible on the R5 a month he earned as a domestic servant. So he took a job in a shoe factory at R2.40 a week. It was there that he persuaded fellow workers to ask jointly for a rise. When he led his deputation to the management the others fled and he was sacked. After that, he became absorbed in trade unionism and complained for workers' rights wherever he worked. Employers considered him a 'troublemaker' and he lost job after job.

Visiting his tribal home in Sekhukhuni-

BILL WANTS TO MARRY ME...

thanks to KAMAK!

**KAMAK LIGHTENS AND BRIGHTENS
YOUR SKIN TO A NEW LOVELINESS**



could never understand why Kate was so popular at parties. One day I asked her what her secret was. She told me that she had discovered a new American skin lightening cream called KAMAK, which not only gave you a lovely light complexion, but made your skin soft and smooth too!



I thought about what Kate said and decided to try KAMAK on my skin, it was only 45 cents a tube. From the first application I could see that it was true. My skin took on a new soft glow of lightness.

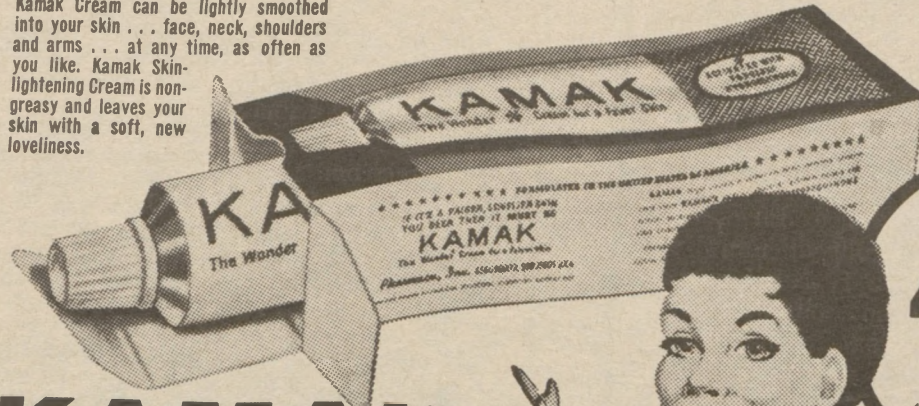


In no time my life had changed—I was asked out more often. My skin was now much lighter and it made me more attractive. I wish that I had found out about KAMAK before.



"Now I know what you mean by a KAMAK skin, Kate. It certainly has done wonders for me. Do you know that Bill has asked me to marry him—thanks to KAMAK."

Kamak Cream can be lightly smoothed into your skin . . . face, neck, shoulders and arms . . . at any time, as often as you like. Kamak Skin-lightening Cream is non-greasy and leaves your skin with a soft, new loveliness.



KAMAK
The Wonder Cream for a fairer skin.
Formulated in the United States of America.
*WITH FABULOUS HYDROQUINONE.



Try KAMAK for yourself like I did. It's only

45¢

A TUBE!

75¢
for the large size

land, he became involved in politics and clashed with his chief. Back in Johburg he listened to City Hall speeches and joined the Communist Party, then the ANC. He became a Congress branch secretary and then a member of the provincial executive.

At Denver Men's Hostel he was a popular leader. He campaigned for better facilities and got them. In 1950 the hostel residents backed the stay-at-home strikes almost 100 per cent.

In 1952 while spending five months in hospital with TB he was served with a banning order, which curbed his trade unioning activities. He had been chairman of the African Furniture, Mattress and Bedding Workers' Union and Chairman of the Council of Non-European trade Unions.

In 1960 he was detained for three months during the Emergency and in 1963 he was kept in solitary confinement for 50 days under the 90-day law.

RAYMOND MHLABA, 44-year-old son of a policeman is a man of courage and initiative who has struggled all his life. As a boy he struggled against poverty to educate himself; as a man he has campaigned consistently for more rights and better conditions for his fellow Africans. A highlight in his political career was when he led the first batch of defiers in the 1952 campaign.

Fort Beaufort-born Mhlaba did not go to high school till he was nearly 19. His parents were poor and could hardly read or write.

At Healdtown Missionary Institution, where he passed Std. 8, he started his political career by joining a student body that championed African grievances. In Port Elizabeth, where he worked as a laundry worker after leaving school, he joined the union, then the Communist Party and finally the ANC.

In 1946 Mhlaba led a protest at the Port Elizabeth City Hall against high rents in New Brighton township, where he was a member of the residents' association. He became a leading African political figure as a member of the Native Advisory Board, chairman of the New Brighton branch of the ANC from 1947 to 1953 and a member of the ANC's Cape Executive.

He is a widower with eight children.

"Rivonia"

plot

IT will be a matter a relief to many who have no kind of sympathy for the accused or their political objectives that the Court found itself able to impose sentences other than death in the "Rivonia" trial.

The State had itself opened the way for such an outcome by electing not to lay charges of treason, which, as the Judge-President pointed out, was essentially the crime involved. Although some of the crimes alleged were nevertheless capital, the sentences were influenced by this decision.

For the trial, although it was thus concerned more with specific acts than with political motives, was a profoundly political throughout, and has its repercussions in every part of the world where South African policies are being debated. If the accused had in fact been sentenced to death the effects would have been widespread.

Mr. Vorster may have had this in mind when he made his statement in Parliament this week that it was not a crime to oppose apartheid and that no one was punished for doing so. This may be open to question in some instances, but it remains true that the series of trials that has recently agitated the world concerned acts of violence, planned or performed.

It is important that the distinction should be drawn. Political change is a legitimate objective, revolution by violence is not. It legitimizes itself only by success. Those who demand the release of political prisoners, where those prisoners have been convicted of actual or planned violence, are asking the government concerned to collaborate in its own destruction.

The Rivonia conspirators were well aware of this, and under no illusions about the consequences of their actions if they failed. Their plot was foolhardy in the extreme, and might have had disastrous and tragic results for many besides themselves if it had not been nipped in the bud. They have reason to be thankful that it ended as it did — and so have we all.

RESPIRING IN RIVONIA
Fisher Premier
Revolusionere K

(dear Mrs. Linn)
I have just received your letter of the 10th and am glad to hear from you. I am sure you will be interested to hear that the Rivonia trial is over and that the sentences are not death. This is a relief to many people who have no sympathy for the accused or their political objectives. The State had itself opened the way for such an outcome by electing not to lay charges of treason, which, as the Judge-President pointed out, was essentially the crime involved. Although some of the crimes alleged were nevertheless capital, the sentences were influenced by this decision. For the trial, although it was thus concerned more with specific acts than with political motives, was a profoundly political throughout, and has its repercussions in every part of the world where South African policies are being debated. If the accused had in fact been sentenced to death the effects would have been widespread. Mr. Vorster may have had this in mind when he made his statement in Parliament this week that it was not a crime to oppose apartheid and that no one was punished for doing so. This may be open to question in some instances, but it remains true that the series of trials that has recently agitated the world concerned acts of violence, planned or performed. It is important that the distinction should be drawn. Political change is a legitimate objective, revolution by violence is not. It legitimizes itself only by success. Those who demand the release of political prisoners, where those prisoners have been convicted of actual or planned violence, are asking the government concerned to collaborate in its own destruction. The Rivonia conspirators were well aware of this, and under no illusions about the consequences of their actions if they failed. Their plot was foolhardy in the extreme, and might have had disastrous and tragic results for many besides themselves if it had not been nipped in the bud. They have reason to be thankful that it ended as it did — and so have we all.

Kat Uit Sak
I have just received your letter of the 10th and am glad to hear from you. I am sure you will be interested to hear that the Rivonia trial is over and that the sentences are not death. This is a relief to many people who have no sympathy for the accused or their political objectives. The State had itself opened the way for such an outcome by electing not to lay charges of treason, which, as the Judge-President pointed out, was essentially the crime involved. Although some of the crimes alleged were nevertheless capital, the sentences were influenced by this decision. For the trial, although it was thus concerned more with specific acts than with political motives, was a profoundly political throughout, and has its repercussions in every part of the world where South African policies are being debated. If the accused had in fact been sentenced to death the effects would have been widespread. Mr. Vorster may have had this in mind when he made his statement in Parliament this week that it was not a crime to oppose apartheid and that no one was punished for doing so. This may be open to question in some instances, but it remains true that the series of trials that has recently agitated the world concerned acts of violence, planned or performed. It is important that the distinction should be drawn. Political change is a legitimate objective, revolution by violence is not. It legitimizes itself only by success. Those who demand the release of political prisoners, where those prisoners have been convicted of actual or planned violence, are asking the government concerned to collaborate in its own destruction. The Rivonia conspirators were well aware of this, and under no illusions about the consequences of their actions if they failed. Their plot was foolhardy in the extreme, and might have had disastrous and tragic results for many besides themselves if it had not been nipped in the bud. They have reason to be thankful that it ended as it did — and so have we all.

BESPIEGELINGS IN RIVONIA-SAAK



Fisher Premier Van Die Revolusionêre Kabinet

(deur Ben Louw)

A DV. ABRAHAM (Bram) FISCHER, leier van die verdedigingspan in die Rivonia-saak, se naam het in die gedrang gekom toe dr. Percy Yutar die afgelope week tydens die saak bespiegel het oor „die belangrike vakature van eerste minister” in die kabinet vir die beplande revolusionêre regering in Suid-Afrika.

Dit het gebeur toe dr. Yutar, Adjunk-prokureur-generaal van Transvaal, die afgelope week die Rivonia-hof die laaste keer toegesprek het. Dr. Yutar het in die verband ook 'n bewysstuk by die hof ingedien waarin Lionel Bernstein, wat in die Rivonia-saak vrygesprek is en gisteroggend weer in die hof verskyn het, groot lof toeswaai aan adv. Fischer.

Toe dr. Yutar tydens die saak sy kabinet vir die revolusionêre regering genoem het, het hy o.m. gesê: „Die hof mag belang stel om te weet wie aangestel sou word in die belangrike vakature van eerste minister.

Kat Uit Sak

„Ek het die pos bespreek vir die leier van die South African Communist Party wat in verskeie dokumente daarop aanspraak maak dat hulle nog altyd op die voorgrond was met alle rewolusies.

„Om die rede het ek al die aangeklaagdes, wat getuënis afgelê het, gevra wie in werklikheid die leier van die S.A.C.P. is. Hulle het verseg om te antwoord.

„Miskien het Lionel Bernstein die kat uit die sak gelaat toe hy die artikel geskryf het wat verskyn op bladsy 2 van September 1953 se Fighting Talk.”

Die artikel wat as bewysstuk in die Rivonia-saak gedien het is gister deur Dagbreek nagespoor. Daarin skryf Lionel Bernstein, volgens sy eie erkenning, onder die opskrif, „I think of Bram Fischer”, o.m.:

„Hoofsaaklik deur middel van sy (Fischer) pogings en

aktiwiteite het die Transvaal Peace Council ontstaan en nou, met meer en meer verteenwoordigende steun, ook die South African Peace Council waarvan hy gekies is tot vise-president.

Rasisme

„Dit alleen sou genoeg gewees het vir 'n ander man. Maar nie vir Bram nie. Hy het die tyd en energie gevind — die tyd en energie gemaak — om die Congress of Democrats te begin en te lei, om die stryd voort te sit teen Suid-Afrikaanse rasisme (racialism), en om 'n hand van kameradskap en bondgenootskap te reik tot sy nie-blanke medeburgers wat streef na demokratiese regte en vryheid.”

Dr. Yutar het in die hof ook na bogenoemde aanhaling verwys toe hy adv. Fischer aangewys het as leier van die S.A.C.P. en as sulks as premier.

● Op 16 November 1962 is adv. Abraham (Bram) Fischer deur min. John Vorster tot gelys-te Kommunist verklaar.

Regter De Wet Praat Met Dagbreek Oor Rivonia

ONS is albei baie bly dat die Rivonia-saak nou verby is," het regter en mev. Quartus de Wet gister aan Dagbreek gesê in die eerste onderhoud wat die egpaar 'n koerant oor die Rivonia-saak toegestaan het.

Regter De Wet is Transvaal se Regter-president.

Vrydag het hy agt van die beskuldigdes in die opspraakwekkende saak elkeen lewenslange gevangenisstraf opgelê. Hulle is Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mhlangeni en Ahmed Kathrada.

Regter De Wet het by sy spogwoning in Pretoria aan Dagbreek gesê dat so 'n saak soos die Rivonia-saak " 'n gespanne atmosfeer" meebring. "Maar ek beskou dit nie as die grootste saak wat ek nog hanteer het nie. Myns insiens bevat siviele gedinge moeiliker regskwessies as strafsake."

Wat wêreldbelangstelling betref, was die Rivonia-saak waarskynlik die regter se grootste saak.

Gedurende die saak het hy baie briewe en telefoonoproepe van vreemde mense ontvang, waarin hulle aan hom wou voorskryf hoe hy die beskuldigdes moes straf.

Hiervan sê hy: "Die gewone mense besef nog nie dat dit 'n misdaad is om gedurende 'n saak met 'n regter in aanraking te kom in 'n poging om hom te beïnvloed nie. Maar in dié geval sal ek maar nie teen die oortreders laat optree nie."

Op 'n vraag of hy deurgaans, ook toe hy ontspan het, met die Rivonia-saak in sy gedagtes be-

sig gebly het, het die regter gesê: "Elke ervare regter leer met-tertied om van sy kantoor-moelikhede te vergeet, wanneer hy tuis ontspan."

Van Amerika

Gedurende die veelbesproke saak het regter De Wet dikwels tot smiddags laat besig gebly. "Bowendien het ek baie werk gehad om te doen in my amp as Transvaal se Regter-president."

Regter De Wet vertel dat hy tien dae lank gewerk en geskryf het aan sy uitspraak van 72 bladsye in die Rivonia-saak. Hy het reeds daarmee begin nog voordat die redenasies in die saak afgehandel is.

Die regter vertel dat een of twee oorsese regters na 'n deel van die saak geluister het. Onder die regters was appèlregter Fahey van Amerika.

Hy vertel dat hy baie lief is vir rolbal, maar gedurende die Rivonia-saak net naweke kans gekry het om 'n bietjie op die rolbalbaan te ontspan. Hy is ook lief om skryfwerk te doen en het al self 'n paar klein meubelstukke gemaak.

Vakansie

Regter De Wet lees ook graag — gewoonlik wetsboeke — maar in die laaste tyd het hy so min kans daarvoor gekry dat daar nog 'n paar onopgemaakte tydskrifte by die huis op hom wag. Binnkort gaan hy egter tydens sy en sy eggenote se vakansie aan die kus die kans gebruik om met boeke en visstokke te ontspan.

"My vader was 'n gesiene juris en ek was dus van kleinsaf in aanraking met die regsprofessie. Maar ek het aanvanklik eers die graad B.Sc. by die Universiteit van Pretoria studeer voordat ek in Kaapstad na die graad B.A. LL.B. oorgeslaan het."

Mev. De Wet beskryf haarself as 'n "gewone huisvrou". Sy vertel dat sy haar glad nie laat bangmaak het deur die dreigemente wat sy en die regter gedurende die Rivonia-saak ontvang het nie. "Maar ons is albei baie bly dat die saak nou verby is," vertel sy.

Mev. De Wet is baie lief vir musiek en is die moeder van 'n dogter, mev. Dorothea Serfontein, wat met 'n argitek getroud is.

JUNE 14, 1964

The Rivonia trial

IT is right that the court in the Rivonia trial should have shown some measure of clemency by not sentencing the accused to death.

Life imprisonment is a severe enough sentence.

Death would merely have made martyrs of men who claim to be leaders of their people.

And this country cannot afford to have martyrs of any kind.

The court, of course, was not called upon to consider this aspect of the matter.

It reached its verdict on purely legal grounds; and on purely legal grounds it found reason for clemency.

This strict judicial observance cannot be emphasised too strongly, since attempts have been made—and are being made—to label this a political trial.

It was nothing of the kind.

It was a fair trial in which the highest standards of justice and judicial integrity were observed — as they are always observed in our courts.

As for the accused, they can have no quarrel with the outcome. What they were doing was akin to high treason — and they knew what the penalties would be if they were caught.

The tragedy is not only that

those jailed for life might, in other circumstances, have been accepted leaders of non-White opinion.

It is that they should, in the first place, have believed that the only hope for the people they claim to represent lay in attempting to overthrow the government.

In the event, they tried to achieve their aims by violent means, including sabotage.

No ordered society can tolerate this. The accused were arrested and suitably punished.

But this country cannot afford to ignore the basic causes of non-White unrest and frustration.

Nor can it ignore the manner in which the many restrictions on non-Whites have caused moderate leadership to be replaced by extremism.

When non-White political leaders resort to desperate measures, the consequences can also be desperate, as Rivonia has shown.

Unless we want to see new and equally determined leaders ultimately replace those who are now jailed, we should do something to ameliorate the conditions in which the non-Whites live, give them some sense of identification with us and give them some hope for the future.

CT 16/6/64

NATIONALIST VIEWPOINT

Rivonia

Die Burger

A POLITICAL Sharpeville is being made out of the verdict and sentences in the Rivonia trial, in political and journalistic circles all over the world. The event is being used to incite indignation and hatred against South Africa's racial policies and to break down misgivings about drastic action in the West.

The Rivonia men's policy of violence from inside has been timeously smothered; now their fate is being exploited for the benefit of a policy of violence from outside — for effective sanctions can hardly be forced down without violence and would definitely have extremely violent results.

What is South Africa's reply to the current storm of propaganda? In the first place that a state which does not fight and crush with all its might venomous subversion and plotting such as have been exposed in the Rivonia case, is not worth the name. Also that all existing or future efforts of the same nature should be traced and destroyed equally firmly and thoroughly, not for the protection of this or that order, but of all order and the security of the entire com-

munity. No pressure from outside can and will change anything about this.

To demand that saboteurs and prospective guerilla fighters should not be checked and kept in check is to ask for the moon, and realistic rulers in all countries know this. We were faced here not with a spontaneous rally of ordinary people with definite intolerable grievances but with a well-planned plot by professional revolutionaries who wanted to turn the country upside down. They knew exactly what they were doing and what the price could be. In so far as they are regarded as freedom fighters, it must be remembered that they themselves had for their opponents very little of this sentiment or sentimentality which is now being invoked on their behalf. The sort of freedom for which they were fighting has the appearance of enslavement to the Whites and would also have assumed this appearance, to the extent that their striving were successful, to more and more of the other races, the Bantu included.

The only extenuating circumstances are that the conspirators acted in terms of a disastrous view which too many people within and without our borders share with them. That is

that national freedom for the Black majority is desirable and attainable in an undivided South Africa. Because it would mean the subjection of the minority races, the struggle against it is indeed the freedom struggle in this country, which may not and will not be lost. It has a negative, defensive side, part of which is the crushing of the Poqo plot and the Rivonia plans. And if this was the only side, then the world would indeed have had a good case against us as oppressors and enemies of the freedom of others. The fact is that we do not only say that our freedom will not be destroyed by men acting in the name of the Black majority. We recognize the right of that majority to a separate freedom, and if that was what the Rivonia men were fighting for, we would have been obliged to concede their good cause, however strongly we would still have condemned their methods.

Rivonia is the umpteenth pointer, to both White and Black, that we should seek our peace along the lines of separate freedom and no other. But as long as so many of us are still in two minds about it we can hardly expect a constructive attitude about our future from the outside world.

Judge says it was treason

By DICK RICHARDS

THE offences of which the Rivonia trial accused were guilty were essentially treasonous, but the State had not charged them with treason and he would not impose the death penalty, the Judge-President, Mr. Justice De Wet, said yesterday when he sentenced the remaining accused to life imprisonment.

Those sentenced to life imprisonment, which generally means a minimum of 15 years, are: Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmet Mohamed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Moseoleli and Andrew Mlangeni.

The judge said he had heard much from the accused and their counsel of the disabilities under which the non-Whites suffered in this country, but he doubted very much whether the motives for their crimes were as altruistic as they would have the court believe.

Those who planned to overthrow governments by revolution almost inevitably contemplated replacing those governments themselves.

Mr. Alan Paton, national president of the Liberal Party and author of "Cry the Beloved Country," gave evidence in mitigation because, he said, he had been asked to, he felt it was his duty and he loved his country.

Aspirations

He said he had a good deal of contact with non-Whites and they had the hopes and aspirations of all people.

The lowliest of them sought greater economic opportunity and believed that they would not get this until they had some form of political representation.

The most intelligent of them sought greater economic opportunity and a participation in government.

The non-Whites had very real and deep grievances such as job reservation, the inability to move about freely and that to earn

their living many had to be separated from their families.

He knew Mandela, Sisulu and Mbeki. Mandela was regarded as a leader among the Africans and was the "heir-apparent" to Albert Luthuli. Sisulu and Mbeki he knew as men of great courage, resolution and ability.

Sincerity

He had no doubt of their sincerity nor of their deep devotion to their people, regardless of the methods they might have used to further the cause of the Africans.

It was the failure of peaceful methods of protest which had led the non-Whites to believe that they either had to submit or resort to violence. In his opinion no people anywhere should be faced with these desperate alternatives.

He asked the court that in this case the exercise of clemency was of great importance to "our future."

Dr. Percy Yutar, for the State, said he wished to cross-examine Mr. Paton, although it was not his normal practice to cross-examine witnesses who gave evidence in mitigation.

He wanted to "unmask this man."

Mr. Paton said he was not a Communist nor a fellow-traveler, but he shared some of the Communist aims. He did not approve of totalitarianism or shooting people without trial.

Franchise

He did not believe that the A.N.C. was dominated by the Communists although he was prepared to accept that Communists had held high positions in the organisation. He had never advocated violence, but believed in the abolition of the colour bar and universal franchise.

He denied having advocated military intervention in South West Africa by the United Nations, or a take-over in South Africa by the United Nations.

Dr. Yutar read at length from a television interview which Mr. Paton made with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Mr. Paton denied that in it he had advocated these very things.

He had at one time been in favour of a trade boycott of South Africa, but had changed his views.

When Dr. Yutar asked him if he would tell "the people over there" that he had changed his views, he replied that he would if given the chance.

Dr. Yutar then told him that his chance was here and now as he believed that every word Mr. Paton said was being flashed to the capitals of the world.

Too close

Mr. H. J. Hanson, Q.C., who made the address in mitigation for all the accused, told the court that he had been asked to make the address because counsel for the defence had lived too close to the trial and the personalities involved for too long. They had sought someone who could bring a more objective approach.

The accused were men who had taken a leading part in political affairs for years. They had represented the struggle of the non-Whites for equal rights.

They had been moved to do this by the poverty and lack of opportunity of their people.

It was neither reprehensible

nor immoral for leaders to want freedom of opportunity for their people in all spheres. Their aims had not been criminal, only the means to which they had resorted.

In 1952 the A.N.C., which stood for non-racial democracy, abandoned its strict adherence to the law because of a total lack of any tangible results achieved by legal methods. From 1952 to 1961 it had used illegal, but non-violent methods.

It should be remembered that those years went hand-in-glove with the enactment of legislation which deprived the Africans of their few remaining rights.

Great strain

Those must have been years of great strain for the leaders who were being muzzled by banning orders until finally the A.N.C. itself was banned.

He said, "human experience has demonstrated that man's endeavour to obtain freedom is irrepressible."

Even when the decision was taken to embark on violence pains were taken to avoid injuring race relations or taking human life.

"Their motivation was not the overthrow of the State or its institutions, nor to despoil anyone of their property rights, but to draw attention to African disabilities and to ameliorate the lot of the African people," he said.

Mr. Hanson said that at one time the "Uitlanders" and later the Afrikaners had struggled for political rights. Today the two groups were living in amity and beginning to coalesce.

The trial, he said, was concerned with the vital political issues of the country and with a clash of deeply-held views.

The court was not concerned with the motivation and sincerity of the accused up to the point of conviction, but, in his opinion, it was on the question of sentence.

History

Too often the face of history had been changed by an incomplete understanding of the motivation of accused persons, but in South Africa such understanding had led to mutual acceptance and compromise.

His was not a plea for mercy, but a plea for wisdom and understanding that man would not be deterred from grieving about his position in life. Hence the deterrent effect of the sentence was not a major factor.

When Mr. Justice De Wet left the court he not only ended a criminal session of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, but also went on leave.

RDM
15/6/64

Rivonia trial men can get better conditions in time

Star
16/6/64

From Our Correspondent

Cape Town, Tuesday.

COLONEL C. A. WESSELS, officer commanding the Robben Island Prison, said today that all the non-Whites sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia sabotage trial could "graduate" in time from Group D to Group A, which carries the most privileges for island prisoners.

Asked to explain the gradings, Colonel Wessels said: "Group D,

in which the seven men are classified, carries the right to have visitors once in six months and to write, and receive, one letter in that period.

"The Prisons Board must see the men every year and these officials can recommend to the Department of Prisons that they be upgraded to Group C. In this category they can have two visits in six months and receive more than two letters."

Within two years they could pass through Group B to Group A. He said several "political" offenders were already in Group B.

Group A men could write more letters and receive more visitors. They were also paid for their services in the prison and could buy groceries and cigarettes with the money.

Colonel Wessels added that at present the seven men were doing ordinary work inside the jail and had been granted permission to obtain books to further their studies.

Dem
Times
16/6/64

MR. BROCKWAY (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

MR. BUTLER (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

"M.P.s humiliated by ignoble silence"

MR. BROCKWAY—There is wide and deep feeling of indignation in Britain and throughout the world, no argument is needed to this effect. Many of us have been humiliated that during the Rivonia trial, when members of Parliament were occasionally criticised for some Government's conduct, there has been no public silence from the Government...

...the Foreign Secretary able to state why the United Kingdom solemnly abstained in this resolution...

...will be paid 100% for the release of these prisoners, including Mr. Goldberg...

...The Government are well aware of the deep feeling that exists in Britain and in the world...

Making a South Africa

MR. THORPE (North Devon, Lib.) asked the Foreign Secretary...

Will he press particularly in the case of those prisoners detained for 90 days at a time without trial...

MR. BUTLER—We have voted in this in the light of information received...

MRS. CASTLE (South Devon, Lab.)—The relatives of the condemned men believe that only the pressure of world opinion saved them from death sentences...

In the interests not only of the humane case of the men themselves but of the peace of the world and peaceful development in South Africa...

MR. BUTLER—I hope that world opinion will express itself and the action in the House will be made quite clear in South Africa...

Rivonia: Verwoerd backed by U.P.

RDM
17
1/6
64

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
—Opposition members agreed with the Prime Minister when he said yesterday that if the accused who had appeared at the Rivonia trial had succeeded in their aims, a Communist-orientated Government would have been established in South Africa, and all race groups would have lost their freedom.

When the third reading debate on the Appropriation Bill neared its end, Dr. Verwoerd rose to make a statement on the Rivonia verdict and the reactions to it inside and outside South Africa.

He asked the world to realise that the people convicted were "Communist criminals" who had plotted against the safety of the State, but that they had had a fair trial and had not been shot out of hand as had happened to similar elements in other countries.

SYMPATHY

He said a great measure of sympathy had been shown to the accused. In fact, the reactions were to make heroes and martyrs of them. The tendency was to make out that these people had been concerned only with resistance to the Government's policy.

There had also been attempts to construe the facts in such a way that people all over the world would be justified to interfere in the affairs of South Africa. He wanted to emphasise that South Africa had to do here with an aspect of the cold war. It was not waged against South Africa so much, but Communists regarded the opportunity as the handiest tool with which to get at the power of the West.

"I want to state clearly and unequivocally that in this case we have not got to do with opposition against the South African Government's policy, or a championship of the freedom and rights of people. We have to do with a Communist uprising which would have been brought about in South Africa," the Prime Minister said.

PROOF

"Those who tried to organise this uprising are either themselves Communists or are working willingly and knowingly in closest co-operation with people who are Communists. The source of their money is partly Communistic."

Further proof that South Africa had to do with a Communist-inspired attack aimed at causing disorder and chaos in the country, was that now for the first time Communist states and governments had openly expressed support for these people.

Dr. Verwoerd said that should these Rivonia accused have succeeded, then a Communist-orientated government—whether White, Black or mixed—would have been established.

Mr. S. J. M. Steyn (U.P., Yeoville): That is true.

Mr. P. A. Moore (U.P., Kensington) said that where the integrity of the people of South Africa as a nation was concerned, the Opposition and the Government were one. This was particularly true where attempts were made to bring the judiciary into the picture. South Africans, no matter of what language group or of what colour, had complete faith in the judiciary.—SAPA.

TO HIDEOUT

Dramatic Story of Rivonia Gang

Cape Times Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Eight of the Rivonia accused have been sentenced to life imprisonment after an amazing court story of a sinister plot and secret guerilla training grounds. But they have probably never realized how luck, coupled with police perseverance, led to their eventual downfall.

The arrests at Arthur Goldreich's Rivonia mansion on that windy July afternoon almost a year ago will go down in history as the luckiest break the police have ever had in their battle against organized subversion in South Africa.

Two weeks before the raid, while plots were still being hatched in the rural Rivonia atmosphere and oddly disguised men moved about on the large grounds, Security Police had already received information about the hideout.

But they did not know its exact location.

Shrewd Detective

The information came after one of Walter Sisulu's so-called Freedom Radio broadcasts.

It was given to Lieut. Willie van Wyk, a shrewd detective, by an African who said Sisulu was living in Rivonia with a man known to him only as the "Caretaker".

The "Caretaker" was, in fact, Goldreich. This was established only a few days before the raid.

Lieut. Van Wyk reported to his chief, Col. George Klindt, and was told: "Find the hideout at all costs."

To find the hideout, which later turned out to be well set back from all roads and surrounded by plantations and bush, was no easy task.

Night Hunt

Night after night the young lieutenant and his men, heavily disguised, searched the sprawling Rivonia countryside in an odd assortment of vehicles.

During their search they often passed the house where the plotters were hiding.

At the time they had paid little attention to the white-washed brick gateposts and the long, winding driveway lined by pine trees.

The men had no idea that they had passed the headquarters of the High Command of the banned African National Congress.

They had merely been informed that Sisulu, who went underground after being placed under house arrest, was hiding somewhere in the area with a radio transmitter.

House Pinpointed

After two weeks of nerve-racking searching, another piece of information revealed that the "Caretaker" was Goldreich and pinpointed the house.

On the afternoon of July 11 the raid had been planned.

Led by Lieutenant van Wyk, who later took charge of the detailed investigations, 40 men, hidden in a laundry van and a baker's van entered the R25,000 Lilliesleaf Farm — the hideout.

"Get Cracking"

The laundry van pulled up and a detective, disguised in a

long white coat, got out and inspected a tyre.

Finally, Lieutenant van Wyk made up his mind to risk a raid in spite of the apparent peacefulness of the surroundings, and yelled "Let's get cracking."

Eighteen arrests were made. Sisulu was among those caught and handcuffed. His attempt to escape through a window was foiled by a police dog.

Goldreich, with his artist's beard, was the most surprised.

He was pale and could not speak when a detective addressed him.

An officer later recalled that he had looked like a soldier immediately after he had been struck by a sniper's bullet.

Then the full truth dawned on Lieut. van Wyk and his men — they had pounced at the right moment . . . a meeting had been in progress.

Hepple's Offer

A security branch officer said: "These meetings were held about once a month—sometimes once every two months. Luck was with us."

One of those arrested, Bob Alexander Hepple, an advocate, who later fled the country with his family after offering to turn State's evidence, was at the meeting to advise on certain legal points.

Goldreich's surprise at the raid probably equalled the surprise of security police when they heard he was the mysterious "Caretaker" housing a wanted political fugitive.

Back at security headquarters at the Grays they in fact had a file on Goldreich, but he had been written off as a man who was no immediate danger to the safety of the State.

Gaol Break

Described as the No. 1 detainee, he later escaped with Harold Wolpe from Marshall Square.

Information passed on to me this week suggests that Goldreich was active in subversive circles before moving to Rivonia.

I was told that he occupied a cottage in the garden of a Parktown house just before leaving for Rivonia.

The house was later sold to an American woman. Goldreich moved out soon after she moved in.

Communist magazines addressed to Goldreich arrived at the house. Realizing that the literature spelt trouble, the women communicated with the American Embassy, who advised her to get in touch with the police.

Radio Equipment

A few pieces of radio equipment were later found in the cottage.

Other people, too, recalled the significance of what they saw after Goldreich was arrested.

When the Lilliesleaf Farm was

bought with the specific purpose of providing a headquarters for subversive activities, a few people who had no idea why the property was being purchased made several observations.

Goldreich was seen walking to the end of the property, where he stood for a long time looking at the house from all angles.

He later repeated this performance from the east, south and west. He behaved similarly after walking up the winding driveway.

Police Disaster

Later it became only too clear that Goldreich was security conscious, making sure that the house was not visible to passers-by.

To Security Police, Goldreich's escape was a disaster and they have little doubt that he too would have been sentenced to life had he stood trial.

The men now facing life sentences may be haunted by the figure 11.

The raid took place on July 11, 1963; Goldreich and Wolpe escaped on August 11, 1963, and the eight Rivonia accused were found guilty on June 11, 1964.

Die laaste eerbetoon

Transvaal 18/6/64



Blankes, Bantoes en Indiërs drom in die ingang van die Braamfonteinse krematorium saam tydens die verassing van wyle mev. Fischer.

Bonte skare by verassing van wyle mev. Fischer

Deur 'n Verslaggewer

Twee honderd blankes, ongeveer 300 Bantoes en Indiërs, lede van die Black Sash en Randse advokate het gistermiddag die verassing van wyle mev. Mollie Fischer by die Braamfonteinse krematorium, Johannesburg, bygewoon.

Mev. Fischer is verlede Saterdag in 'n motorongeluk dood.

Boodskappe

Geen verassingsdiens is gehou nie. Boodskappe — onder meer van die Bantoe- en Indiërgemeenskappe — is uitgelees ná die Onse Vader in Afrikaans voorgedra is.

In die boodskappe word gemeld dat die „hele wêreld met groot skok en diepe leedwese” van mev. Fischer se dood verneem het. Sy is onder meer ook bestempel as 'n „moeder vir haar kinders, 'n Olive Schreiner en 'n Albert Luthuli”.

Ingeperk

'n Aankondiging vooraf het gelui dat daar geen toesprake gemaak sou word nie, aangesien die meeste van mev. Fischer se vriende ingeperk is ingevolge die Algemene Regswysingswet.

Mev. Fischer was voor haar troue 'n nooi Kruger. Haar man, adv. A. Fischer, het die verdediging in die Rivonia-saak gelei. Ná die onluste by Sharpeville het sy 'n paar weke in die tronk deurgebring.

Sowel sy as haar man is beperkings ingevolge die Wet op die onderdrukking van Kommuniste opgelê.

Many weep for Mrs. Fischer

Staff Reporter

RDM
18/6/64

THREE-HUNDRED people of all races — among them many leading members of the Johannesburg Bar and Side Bar — yesterday attended the cremation service of Mrs. Molly Fischer, wife of Mr. Abraham Fischer Q.C., one of the defence team in the Rivonia trial.

A number of banned people — including Mr. Lionel Bernstein, one of the accused in the trial who was found not guilty and discharged last Friday — also joined the mourners.

Most of them, whose banning orders prohibit them from attending any gatherings, had been granted special permission to attend.

TRIBUTE

Whites, Africans and Indians, some weeping, stood with bowed heads while messages of tribute to Mrs. Fischer were read by Mr. V. C. Berrange, Q.C., another member of the Rivonia trial defence team.

Messages of condolence, he said over a loudspeaker, had poured in from many parts of the world.

Among those he read were letters from African leaders and the Indian community of South Africa describing Mrs. Fischer as a “true daughter of South Africa.”

Collection Number: A3393

Collection Name: Bob Hepple Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

©2015

LEGAL NOTICES:

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

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

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

This document forms part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.