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WHO'S WHO IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA ....

As is known there has been considerable organized opposition to South Africa's policy of separate development ("apartheid") much less so inside South Africa than outside. During the past decade however, the external opposition and campaigns to get South Africa to change its domestic race relation policy have gradually been built up into a world-wide blast of criticism, particularly in the press. This has been fanned by dramatic and violent "protest actions" inside South Africa itself.

In general, even acts of violence against the South African Government are now interpreted as a spontaneous reaction by "oppressed Africans" to "oppression by the white settler government". Leaders of dissident groups have been described as "nationalists, liberalists, freedom fighters, idealists dedicated to non-violence, freedom and democracy".

Leaving aside the concept and meaning of "oppression" and "white settler",<sup>1)</sup> it may be useful to study the real nature of this opposition in South Africa, the background of the leaders of dissident groups and their political philosophy.

Political opposition to the government in South Africa comprises roughly two groups: white South African voters represented by the United and the Progressive Parties and black political organizations such as the now-banned "African National Congress" and the "Pan-Africanists Congress".

The Progressive and United Parties, which together form the elected and constitutional opposition to the South African

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1) Cf. Steward, Alexander: The Challenge of Change.  
Howard Timmins, London; Giniewski, Paul: Bantustans,  
H.A.U.M., Cape Town.

Government in Parliament, are dedicated to removing the Government from office - by means of the ballot box. Support for these two parties at the United Nations and in the world press has been negligible. The wave of support overseas, mostly on the part of the Afro-Asian states but also by some prominent American newspapers, has been almost wholly directed to the aforementioned black (Bantu) political movements and to individual white men acting on behalf of the Bantu organizations.

It is the nature of this opposition which merits analysis. Should this group succeed in replacing the present government in South Africa through unconstitutional means Americans and interested people elsewhere deserve to know what sort of men will be assuming power.

Paul Grimes reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES of January 25, 1964: "In South Africa, stringent police action has suppressed overt anti-government agitation, but there is evidence of strong underground communist activity with Soviet support. There also have been recent reports that South Africans were undergoing training in Cuba". Also a report in the official communist organ in the United States, THE WORKER, on December 9, 1962, contained a message from the South African Communist Party that it was "fighting side by side with the oppressed" to overthrow the South African Government.

Having introduced the idea of planned communist activity inside South Africa, let us consider the attitude of Communists elsewhere toward the country. An American reporter recently came into possession of a paper outlining the official strategy of the Moroccan Communist Party and produced a map of Africa, prepared by the M.C.P., in which South Africa is pinpointed as one of the major Communist targets in Africa. "Since the Moroccan Communists have made

no open choice for either Moscow or Peking in communism's world-wide schism," he said, "and since both Moscow and Peking radios in their broadcasts to Africa are backing the same themes, it is assumed that these targets are ones on which the Soviet Union and mainland China agree".<sup>1)</sup> Other American analysts have come up with exactly the same conclusion.<sup>2)</sup>

Some pertinent questions immediately arise. Is overt opposition to the South African government, particularly violent opposition (over 200 acts of sabotage during the past 18-months including murder),<sup>3)</sup> inspired and planned by Communists either in Moscow or Peking? Are these acts the deeds of bona fide but frustrated African nationalists whose real and imagined grievances the Communists seek to exploit? Could it be that the Communists are exploiting the complicated cultural and racial situation in South Africa to throw a smokescreen over their real aim of conquest in South Africa?

If the violent opposition in South Africa represented a spontaneous reaction on the part of black people the roots of that reaction would necessarily be found in South Africa; the leaders would be bona fide black South African nationalists.

Such would not appear to be the case. Of the leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist movement, who enjoy the sympathetic support of a number of American newspapers, almost none qualify as bona fide African nationalists. They represent another force entirely.

In 1947 - a year before the present government came to power and long before it launched its apartheid policy - the United States Congress ordered an investigation into the strategy and tactics of world communism. The resultant

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1) John Cooley in the Christian Science Monitor, March 23, 1964.  
2) Cf. "Red China Moves on Africa", Washington Report, 4.4.1964.  
3) The Johannesburg Star, December 3, 1963; cf. Supreme Court of South Africa: The State vs Z. Mkaba, V. Mini and W. Khayingo, Judgement and Verdict, 3/16/1964.

report,<sup>1)</sup> prepared by the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, listed the world's leading communists outside Russia. In South Africa there were fourteen:- William Andrews, Lionel Bernstein, Hilda Watts (Mrs. Lionel Bernstein), Brian Bunting, Fred Carneson, Yusuf Dadoo, Michael Harmel, Isaac Horvitch, Moses Kotane, Harry Naidoo, Danie du Plessis, G. Ponan, Betty Sachs (alias Betty Radford), Dr. H.J. Simons and Harry Snitcher. Vernon McKay states that there are about 800 communists in South Africa and about 6,500 sympathisers.<sup>2)</sup>

By comparison, the committee listed only 34 communists in France - a country of 40 million people. It becomes apparent that South Africa with 11.5 million population (then) - had more than its share of senior members of the Communist Party. Of the 14 at least seven have been prominent in the "struggle" against South Africa, have been heard as "petitioners" or "witnesses" at the United Nations and are liberally "quoted" by leading newspapers in this country.

Their status is generally defined as men dedicated to the achievement of human rights for South Africa's black people.

The communist influence in the African National Congress is not a recent development, attracted by "racial injustice". As far back as 1936, the Secretary-General of the African National Congress was J.E. Marks, a communist who now lives in Red China. In 1949, Moses Kotane (then Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party) became a member of the Executive Committee of the African National Congress. Since then the A.N.C. have come increasingly under the control of communists. The Zulu politician, Jordan Ngubane, refers in his recent book to the "invisible hand" of the communists and the role they played in giving A.N.C. conferences an ideological slant that served the communists.<sup>3)</sup> In recent issues of THE

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- 1) Report on the Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, House Document No. 707 (1949), Supplement 400.
  - 2) McKay, Vernon: Africa in World Politics, p. 207.
  - 3) Ngubane, Jordan: An African Explains Apartheid, Praeger, N.Y., 1963.

AFRICAN COMMUNIST (a quarterly published by the banned Communist Party of South Africa in London) appears, a complete identification of not only the aims but also the organization of the African National Congress. It is further clear from the same articles that it regards several leaders of the African National Congress which this year went on trial on various charges in South Africa (the so-called Rivonia Trial) with great esteem and reverence and, by implication, as either communists or fellow travellers. Nelson Mandela, one of the accused, is called a courageous and fearless leader. The articles do not even attempt to hide its open support for the aims, objectives and philosophy of "the Rivonia group".<sup>1)</sup>

In 1959, a split developed within the A.N.C. and Robert Sobukwe led a group of militant young radicals to form the Pan-Africanist Congress. It soon became evident that the Pan-Africanist was a terrorist organization with much the same objectives as the communist-dominated A.N.C. In a letter dated December 12, 1963, to a law firm in Oslo the Secretary of the Minister of Justice described the methods and objectives of the P.A.C. as follows:

"The P.A.C. was an extreme Bantu Nationalist organization which believed that Bantu should have all the power in Africa and that all other races should be driven out or killed. Its motto was 'Africa for the Africans'.

"At this stage both the P.A.C. and the A.N.C. were declared unlawful organizations as they were merely being used by the already unlawful Communist Party. They thereupon, to use the popular expression, went underground; the P.A.C. under the guise of a new name "Poqo" and the A.N.C. under its old name. "Poqo" became a secret society aiming at the overthrow of the Government of the Republic of South Africa by revolutionary methods and replacing it by an "African Socialist Democratic State". Its African recruits, who were mostly

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1) The African Communist, Vol. II (October 1962, January-March 1963, July-September 1963 and October-December 1963) Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5; distributed by Ellis Bowles Inc., 53 Palmerston Road, East Sheen, London.

illiterate, were however simply told that all other races, especially Whites and Indians, had to be driven out of the country by terrorism and murder. Bantu were warned that the same treatment would be meted out to those who did not co-operate. This was the motive for several savage murders committed by Poqo on fellow Bantu. Unwilling Bantu were also intimidated by the use of sorcery in which many of them still believe. When instructed to take part in crimes, members were given to understand that they would be protected by means of sorcery. These same methods were used to compel law-abiding citizens to co-operate or to remain silent and in order to strike them with more terror, the bodies of murdered victims were mutilated in a gruesome manner.

"During November 1962, and in the early hours of the morning, an armed band attacked the police station at Paarl in the Cape Province. On the way there, they also attacked and killed civilians and caused extensive damage to property. After this incident a commission was appointed to inquire into and report on the events and the causes which gave rise thereto. The Commissioner was a Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa and therefore a person who stood outside politics. From the enquiries and interim report of the commission it appeared that the attack was organized by Poqo."

By the abovementioned methods Poqo was gaining many members from the A.N.C. In an attempt to regain popular support, the A.N.C. then formed its own militant wing "Umkonto we sizwe" (Spear of the Nation). "Umkonto" concerned itself with sabotage and in preparing for guerrilla warfare. When caught those who chose to turn States evidence were brutally murdered.<sup>1)</sup>

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1) The State vs Z. Mkaba, V. Mini and W. Khayingo, 1964.

THE RIVONIA TRIAL

In October 1963, several members of the banned African National Congress and the outlawed South African Communist Party were arraigned before court on a charge of attempting to overthrow the government in a "war of liberation". The prelude to the arrests was a campaign of sabotage, violence and destruction, widely reported in the American press. At the time of the arrests, the accused were gathered for conference at the Rivonia estate of Arthur Goldreich - a known Communist - and a large mass of incriminating documents and subversive pamphlets was confiscated by the arresting officers. Accused were Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other members of the African National Congress, and Lionel Bernstein and Dennis Goldberg, both card-carrying Communists.<sup>1)</sup> Bernstein, in addition was on the 1949 list of the world's leading Communists. The accused admitted during the trial that the Rivonia estate was in fact purchased by the South African Communist Party for \$35,000. They also admitted in court that the aims and objects of the A.N.C. were the aims and objects of the South African Communist Party.

Documents submitted to the trial court in Pretoria indicated that Moscow had promised the alleged conspirators every sort and manner of assistance. One of the A.N.C. leaders, Arthur Goldreich, left notes at the Rivonia estate of his tour to Communist China to negotiate the supply of arms for use against South Africa.<sup>2)</sup> In Algeria, Chou En-lai openly pledged financial support for the camp where 1,500 guerrilla forces are being trained for the "war of liberation" against South Africa and Portuguese Africa.<sup>3)</sup> The "war of

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- 1) Subsequently, during the actual trial, two of the accused Govan Mbeki and Ahmed Kathrada also admitted being members of the Communist Party.
  - 2) Die Burger, Cape Town, May 5, 1964.
  - 3) Exhibit R2 handed in at the Rivonia Trial; Exhibit R4 deals with discussions Goldreich had with the Red Chinese Ministry of Defence on methods employed during the Communist take-over of China.

liberation" has of course already reached Angola, preceded by several months of heavy propaganda beamed to Africa from several Iron Curtain countries. It was heralded in THE PEKING PEOPLES DAILY three months before the first disturbances. There was therefore nothing spontaneous about the Angolan disturbances.<sup>1)</sup> Now in Paris collecting funds for the interrupted "liberation war" is another A.N.C. supporter and listed Communist, Michael Harmel, who from early 1963 to January 1964 lived in Red China. Another "supporter" of the group but acclaimed in Britain and the U.S.A. as "a great fighter for human rights" is Brian Bunting. Currently he is working for the Soviet Government News Agency.<sup>2)</sup> Both Bunting and Harmel are listed among the world's 500 leading Communists outside Russia.

Red China's pledge to support guerrilla training inter alia for South African revolutionaries assumed new perspective after it became known that Nelson Mandela visited Algerian Prime Minister Ben Bella some time before the arrival of the Red Premier. In late 1963 a top A.N.C. delegation also visited Red China and was promised unwavering support for an armed uprising in South Africa.<sup>3)</sup>

Since the Addis Ababa "Summit Conference" of African leaders adopted Resolution No. II to contribute active and armed support to a movement to overthrow South Africa, Communist activity in general and Russian and Red Chinese initiative in particular have been stepped up considerably. The Communists have hitched their own world political designs on South Africa to the Addis Ababa resolution. Conakry, Accra and Dar-Es-Salaam are now being used (with the consent of the African governments) as jumping off places for an airlift of hundreds of African "students" to Cuba,

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1) Newsweek, January 13, 1964.

2) Hugh Kay, Fortune, January 1964.

3) Dutch Reformed Church Newsletter, No. 68.



Red China and Moscow. THE NEW YORK TIMES reported on January 18, 1964, that 100 South African "students" had been picked up by Russian aircraft in Somalia and flown to Moscow. At least 300 Bantu from South Africa are being trained in Russia and Red China and arms are being supplied to guerrilla training camps of the Addis Ababa "African High Command" by Moscow.<sup>1)</sup> A report from New York also stated that the largest contingent of several hundred African "students" being trained in guerrilla tactics in Cuba are from South Africa.<sup>2)</sup> Elspeth Huxley estimates that trained guerrillas from camps in Algeria and Cuba are infiltrating Angola at the rate of 2,000 every eight weeks. After Angola, she says, comes the drive on Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and then South Africa.<sup>3)</sup> Richard Boyce also writes of the stepped-up Red Chinese campaign in Africa and of the "thousands of Peking trained revolutionaries" returning to organize military action against Western states in Africa, including South Africa. "Chinese instructors", he says, "are on hand in training camps of the "African Liberation Army" in Tanganyika."<sup>4)</sup>

Whatever the numerical discrepancies, the training of guerrillas by the "African High Command" in Algeria and Ethiopia (at Dabrasseur), and of saboteurs and guerrillas in Cuba, Russia and Red China are quite evidently linked in a campaign against South Africa.

A British magazine reports that Russia now intends to step up its activities against South Africa.<sup>5)</sup> In August 1963 the Soviet Union ordered the underground South African Communist Party to launch large-scale sabotage and guerrilla

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- 1) U.S. News and World Report, February 24, 1964.
  - 2) Southern Africa, London, January 31, 1964, p.85.
  - 3) U.S. News and World Report, February 16, 1964.
  - 4) New York World Telegram and Sun, May 15, 1964.
  - 5) Southern Africa, London, January 31, 1964.

activities and to organize armed revolts inside South Africa, according to a London report published in the RAND DAILY MAIL. The Communist Party - which still exists, although banned in 1950 - has also been told to step up its infiltration of the African National Congress and to strengthen its co-operation with the A.N.C.'s military wing. According to information reaching London, the orders to the South African Communist Party were drawn up at a recent meeting of the foreign countries department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Coinciding with this, reports the RAND DAILY MAIL correspondent in Hong Kong, a top A.N.C. delegation has just visited Communist China. After secret discussions with Chinese leaders, it was promised "unswerving support" for an armed uprising in South Africa.<sup>1)</sup> For this reason the documentary evidence submitted at the "Rivonia Trial" in Pretoria, whatever its merits for the particular charges against Bernstein, Mandela, Sisulu and the others, is extremely revealing. Apart from Nelson Mandela's meeting with Ben Bella there is evidence that Mandela had obtained support from Cuba, Czechoslovakia and Indonesia. Witnesses have testified that a camp in South Africa's Cape Province was run by Dennis Goldberg, whom trainee terrorists had to address as "Comrade Commandant", and that other camp staffers were addressed as "Comrade Captain", "Comrade Sergeant", etc. A letter by Arthur Goldreich refers to discussions with the Yugoslavs, Red Chinese and East Germans on arms procurement. Other A.N.C. documents - part of their "program for South Africa" - included a treatise on guerrilla warfare and a pamphlet, "How to be a Good Communist". The first sentence of the latter reads: "The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is guided by the Communist Party and inspired by its policies."

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1) The Rand Daily Mail is published in Johannesburg. It supports the opposition parties in South Africa and is one of the Government's most vociferous critics.

If the sabotage in South Africa (committed by members of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress according to evidence in various trials), the training of guerrillas in North Africa and the presence of South African "students" in Cuba, Russia and Red China were to prove somehow unrelated, it would be the most amazing coincidence the cold war has yet produced. In view of the Communists' attitudes toward Africa and their objectives in the cold war, such a coincidence seems hardly likely. Vernon McKay states quite clearly that the Communists have attained "a strong position" in virtually all the black political organizations.<sup>1)</sup> Even Nobel Prize Winner Albert Luthuli, the "spiritual leader" of the African National Congress said on March 22, 1962 that New Age, the propaganda mouthpiece of the Communists was "the fighting mouthpiece of African aspirations". On the basis of Luthuli's messages of support to the Communist Peace Conferences, the rantings by the A.N.C., at the time when he was still its active leader, accusing the United States of capitalist warmongering while praising Russia and Communist China as "progressive powers"<sup>2)</sup> it would appear as if the Communists have managed to swallow both the A.N.C. and Luthuli. Evidence led in the Rivonia Trial revealed that when the A.N.C. in 1961 embarked upon its policy of violence and destruction (the policy also of the Communist Party) this new policy of sabotage was discussed with Luthuli. The Nobel Prize-winner for peace gave it his blessing. During the Cuban crisis the South African Government sent a message of support to the United States. The A.N.C. sent a similar message to Fidel Castro.

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1) Africa in World Politics, p.209.

2) Quoted in a statement by the South African Minister of the Interior, November 3, 1961.

Consequently if the efforts of the militant Pan-Africanists and the A.N.C. with Red Chinese and Russian backing result in a violent political upheaval in South Africa in which the present political order is eliminated, the West could expect the ensuing government to be, at best, a Communist-sympathizing "neutralist" regime and, at worst, an outright Communist satellite. Either way, it could have disastrous consequences for the free world. When at the close of the Rivonia Trial the Deputy Attorney General named the "shadow cabinet" of the "provisional revolutionary government" the names of six self-confessed or card-carrying Communists appeared on the list of 16 persons.<sup>1)</sup>

The Communist position would obviously be strengthened if it gained control of the fantastic material riches on the African continent. In few other states is there such a concentration of mineral wealth as in South Africa. This includes such important material for supersonic aircraft as titanium and beryllium for various applications in the field of atomic energy. More important, South African gold mines produce 70% of the free world's gold, the monetary basis of United States currency. William L. McGrath, Chairman of the Board of Cincinatti's Williamson Co., an expert on Communist propaganda said: "The Soviet Union has launched a major propaganda offensive against the Republic of South Africa for the sole purpose of appending that gold-producing area to the Soviet bloc. The success of the Soviet effort would make the Soviet Union, in a very significant sense, the master of the world. Nearly everything it needed would be within reach." He added "In their South African campaign - as in most of their other efforts to gain dominance around the world - the Russians have found a false issue. In this instance, it is apartheid, the system whereby the South African government is seeking to build parallel white and nonwhite societies."<sup>2)</sup>

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1) The Johannesburg Star, May 25, 1964.

2) The Cincinatti Enquirer, "The Most Lethal Weapon", October 2, 1963.

Moreover, sea trade plays an important part in the trade pattern of the non-communist world. Interdiction of this trade could seriously affect the Western economy.

World trade must pass through trade routes best described as strategic bottlenecks. Military men agree that these are also the key to the defense of the free world. These bottlenecks are the Caribbean (Panama), Mediterranean (Suez), the South China Sea, the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn. Is it coincidence that the first three are centers of proxy disturbances? Political and social upheaval near the Cape of Good Hope they say would prove a powerful weapon for a determined bid by the so-called neutralist and Communist countries to rid Africa of the only unquestionably Western power on the continent - South Africa.<sup>1)</sup> The strategic value of the Cape sea route (also the ability of South African harbours to cope with heavy traffic) was dramatically illustrated at the time of the Suez crisis in 1956.

In mid-1964 this is the position in South Africa. The government of the only African state military and (ideologically) aligned with the free world against communism and the only industrially developed state in Africa finds itself the object of a Communist cold war onslaught. From within, the onslaught is being led by terrorist organizations, heavily infiltrated by local Communists and actively backed by Russia, Red China, Cuba and other Communist countries who have undertaken the training of terrorists, shock troops and guerrillas.

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1) The Cape Argus, London Military Correspondent, January 30, 1963.

Bearing in mind (a) that a significant part of South Africa's population is still illiterate and (b) that they are only recently emerged from a climate of witchcraft and superstition and are hence especially vulnerable to intimidation and incitement, it is easy to grasp why the communists consider this fertile ground for revolution and chaos.

It is not as if the communists had joined the A.N.C. and P.A.C. in a spontaneous nationalistic reaction by the black population to the "oppressive" policies of the present government.<sup>1)</sup> ("Comrade" J.B. Marks became Secretary-General of the A.N.C. in 1936, twelve years before "apartheid" became the official policy.) Nor is it possible to believe that the Communists are interested only in obtaining "human rights" and universal franchise for the blacks. Examples abound where independent peoples have been "liberated" or "peacefully conquered" and subsequently enslaved; why should communism ignore such a strategically tempting and apparently isolated target as South Africa? This, then, is the true nature of the so-called "black nationalist" opposition to the present government in South Africa.

Because they lack first-hand knowledge of behind-the-scenes developments many well-meaning individuals, newspapers and organizations are supporting the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanists still believing them to be bona fide nationalistic movements, essentially African in origin. (It may well be that these organizations have now become communist-financed and communist-controlled in much the same way as Fidel Castro's Cuban revolution was taken over by the communists.)

A remarkable illustrative example is the recent International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa (purpose: to get South Africa to accede to the wishes

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1) There are about 600,000 foreign Africans resident in South Africa and while black migration is numbered in tens, black immigration runs into thousands - poor evidence of oppression.

of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress) which was attended among others by Mr. Mongi Slim of Tunisia (a former President of the General Assembly of the United Nations), J.B. Priestly, Humphrey Berkely Conservative Member of Parliament, Sir Jock Campbell, Head of the Booker Group of publishing houses and other prominent British and foreign politicians and businessmen. These people undoubtedly have a sincere interest in South African developments but have been pulled unwittingly into this conference by organizers whose backgrounds reveal an all too familiar line. The National Executive which arranged the conference is studded with members of the British Communist Party. The most important is the Secretary, Miss Rosalynde Ainslie, and her fellow worker Miss Kay Beauchamp, a reporter of the Communist Daily Worker. Miss Ainslie significantly is also the secretary of the anti-Apartheid Committee in London and correspondent of the East German News Agency. She is both a member of Canon Collins Christian Action and the Communist Party!). Small wonder among the people which the national executive invited to the Conference were several members of the banned South African Communist Party including Solly Sachs, Yusuf Dadoo and Brian Bunting - whose names all appear on the list of the world's 500 top communists. One other, Vellanthum Pillay, is now a member of the British Communist Party and an employee of the Russian Bank in Moorgate. Another group invited to attend the Conference was the Movement for Colonial Freedom whose Executive also contains several members of the British Communist Party, among them Jack Woodis, one-time Secretary of the Far East Committee of the British Communist Party. (A former secretary was one Babu who later became Foreign Minister of the Peoples Republic of Zanzibar.)<sup>1)</sup>

Having outlawed the Communist Party, closed the Russian Consulate, fought Communist aggression in Korea and supported the West in the Berlin Airlift, South Africans now find - to

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1) Cf: The Sunday Telegraph, London, April 12, 1964.

their surprise - that an amazing volume of vocal public opinion abroad supports a communist-dominated movement and condemns the Government's efforts and measures to combat this movement. Inexplicably, some people seem to believe that, in order to contain and combat the communist threat South Africa must first discard strictly anti-communist measures.

South Africans are genuinely perplexed by this attitude. They recognize the enormity of their task at home in leading South Africa's black men to political fulfillment. They accept bona fide black nationalism as inevitable and are actually encouraging it in black-inhabited areas like the Transkei, which the South African government has irrevocably set on the road to independence. The people of this new State (3,000,000) already have the vote, their own legislative assembly, flag, national anthem, etc., and pay taxes only to their own government, a black one, and not to the white South African government.

But white South Africans and the overwhelming majority of black South Africans reject the precipitous revolutionary change as proposed by "nationalistic" organizations such as the A.N.C. and Pan-Africanists. Events in the Congo, Zanzibar and other parts of Africa have proved abundantly that only the communists benefit by these "revolutionary changes". Politically sophisticated black South Africans realize this.<sup>1)</sup> Kaiser Mantanzima, leader of the Transkei National Independence Party and Chief Minister of the Legislative Assembly, has also warned against the revolutionary changes preached by the communists.

South Africa's drive to root out communist influence in the country is encumbered by constitutional and political safeguards inherent in democratic government and the legal niceties of Roman Dutch Law. But its efforts have not been fruitless. The list of self-exiled "nationalists" reads like

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1) Jordan Ngubane, An African Explains Apartheid, Praeger, 1963.



a Who's Who of top Communists. Michael Harmel fled the country only days after anti-Communist legislation was passed in Parliament; he went directly to Red China. Brian Bunting is now working for the Soviet News Agency TASS. Arthur Goldreich and Volpe escaped detention and fled across the border. Moses Kotane is under the closest surveillance. Yusuf Dadoo is now resident in Britain and "testified" before the United Nations Committee on Apartheid. In South Africa four self-confessed Communists are on trial for documented acts of sabotage and subversion. Other supporters (co-conspirators) of the A.N.C. and the P.A.C. who have either fled the country or who are under close surveillance and whose political classification ranges from card-carrying Communist to fellow traveller or left winger are: Vivian Ezra, Julius First, Bob Hepple, Percy Hodgson, Ronald Kasrils, Arthur Letele, Tennyson Makiwane, John Joseph Marks, Joe Modise, George Naicker, Billy Nair, Duma Nokwe, James Radebe, Robert Resha, Joe Slovo, Harold Strachan, Oliver Tambo, Benjamin Turok and Cecil Williams.<sup>1)</sup>

Fully aware of all these perils South Africa has over many years taken strong action against Communists, communists and fellow-travellers. The Communist Party was declared illegal in 1950, the Russian Consulate was closed in 1956 and stringent legislation against sabotage and subversion, not always very popular, was passed. Security planning was brought up to date and the necessary military precautions taken.

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1) From the closing address to the Rivonia Trial court by the Deputy Attorney General, Dr. Percy Yutar, who has served as prosecutor for over 25 years under various governments, on May 25, 1964.

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