

Professor Murray

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political or military obligations. The very fact that the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp exist, their readiness to help the underdeveloped countries with their industrial development on terms of equality and mutual benefit, are a major stumbling-block to colonial policy. The imperialists can no longer regard the under developed countries solely as potential sources for the extraction of maximum profits. They are compelled to make concessions to them. Not all countries, however, have discarded the colonial yoke. A big part of the African continent, some countries of Asia, of Central and South America continue to remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence. They are still kept as agrarian raw-material appendages of the imperialist countries. The living standard of the population in the dependent countries remains exceedingly low. The contradictions and rivalry between the colonial powers for spheres of influence, sources of raw materials and markets for the sale of goods are growing. The United States is out to grab the colonial possessions of the European powers. South Viet Nam is passing from France to the United States. The American monopolies are waging an offensive against the French, Belgian and Portuguese possessions in Africa. Once Iran's oil riches were fully controlled by the British, but now they have been compelled to share them with the Americans. Moreover the American monopolists are fighting to oust the British entirely. American influence in Pakistan and Iraq is increasing under the guise of free enterprise. The American monopolies, utilising their dominating position in the Central and South American

countries have moulded the economics of many of them in a distorted, one-sided way, extremely disadvantageous for the population. They are hampering the industrial development and shackling them with the heavy chains of economic dependence. To preserve, and in some (5 places also to re-establish their former domination, the colonial powers are resorting to the suppression of the colonial people by force of arms, a method which history has condemned. They also have recourse to new forms of colonial enslavement under the guise of so- (10 called 'aids' to under-developed countries which brings colossal profits to the colonialists. Let us take the United States as an example. The United States renders such 'aid' above all in the form of deliveries of American weapons to the under-developed countries. This (15 enables the American monopolies to load up the industries with arms orders. Then the products of the arms industry, worth billions of dollars and paid for from the budget by the American taxpayers, are sent to the under-developed countries. States receiving such 'aid' in the form of (20 weapons inevitably fall into dependence; they increase their armies, which leads to higher taxes and a decline in the living standards of the population of the under-developed countries.

I should like to read from another document. I am referring (25 to "Stalin, Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." Exh. NRM.80 -- we have used this document -- and I am reading from page 35 -

The Second World War was itself a product of this crisis. Each of the two capitalist coalitions which locked horns (30 in the war calculated on defeating its adversary and gain-

world supremacy. It was in this that they sought a way out of the crisis. The United States of America hoped to put its most dangerous competitors, Germany and Japan, out of action, seize foreign markets and the world's raw material resources, and establish its world supremacy. (5

But the war did not justify these hopes. It is true that Germany and Japan were put out of action as competitors of the three major capitalist countries: the U.S.A. Great Britain and France. But at the same time China, and other European people's democracies, broke away from (10 the capitalist system and together with the Soviet Union formed a united and powerful socialist camp confronting the camp of capitalism. The economic consequence of the existence of two opposite camps was that a single all- (15 embracing world market disintegrated, so that now we have two parallel world markets, also confronting one another. It should be observed that the U.S.A. and Great Britain and France themselves contributed without themselves desiring it of course to the formation and consolidation of the new parallel world market. They imposed an economic (20 blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies, which did not join the Marshall plan system, thinking thereby to strangle them. The effect, however, was not to strangle, but to strengthen the new world market. But the fundamental thing, of course, is not (25 economic blockade, but the fact that since the war these countries have joined together economically and established economic co-operation and mutual assistance. The experience of this co-operation shows that not a single capitalist country could have rendered such effective and tech- (30 nically competent assistance to the People's Democracies

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as the Soviet Union is rendering them. The point is not only that this assistance is the cheapest possible and technically superb. The chief point is that at the bottom of this co-operation lies a sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress (5 of all. The result is a fast pace of industrial development in these countries. It may be confidently said that, with this pace of industrial development, it will soon come to pass that these countries will not only be in no need of imports from capitalist countries(10 but will themselves feel the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products. But it follows from this that the sphere of exploitation of the world resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand, but contract;(15 that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate, and that their industries will be operating more and more below capacity. That, in fact, is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the (20 disintegration of the world market. This is felt by the capitalists themselves, for it would be difficult for them not to feel the loss of such markets as the U.S.S.R. and China. They are trying to offset these difficulties with the Marshall plan, the war in Korea(25 frantic rearmament, and industrial militarisation. But that is very much like a drowning man clutching at a straw.

Milords, I think I should read one more passage in this connection from a speech by Molotov, Meeting of the Supreme (30 Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 1955, Speeches by Bulgagin and Molo-

tov.....

Is that the full information on the front page of that book, Professor Murray ?-- The date is February 8th & 9th, 1955.

Is it an exhibit in the case ?-- The Exh. No. is PJ.58 (5  
Who is it published by ?-- Soviet News.

Is that again the same agency you referred to before, the same publication ?-- We have referred to this publication firm before. I read from page 26, in the middle of the page, two lines in "Foreign Policy." It is from a (10  
speech by Molotov to the Supreme Soviet at a meeting of February 8th and 9th, 1955.

Does he make it in any specific capacity, that particular speech, on the face of the document ?-- Molotov is Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of (15  
Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. at this particular session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Is he described as such ?-- He is described as such in this pamphlet, in the opening page of his speech. He is talking about the international situation - page 26 (20  
and the heading is "Two lines in foreign policy." -

Both the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp firmly and confidently upholding the positions won by the people, are working to strengthen these positions more and more, and to secure untroubled (25  
peaceful conditions for their socialist construction. The camp of democracy and socialism is a camp of peace. Therefore it is called the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, upholding the interests of peace and socialism in its foreign policy of the Soviet Union, (30  
stands for the easing of international tension. To-

gether with the Soviet Union this foreign political alliance of easing international tension is upheld by all countries of the democratic camp. The peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union is counter-posed by the foreign political force of the United States, (5 expressed in the positions of strength policy; The aggressive nature of America's foreign policy is absolutely clear. Is it surprising then that the masses of the people take active interest in international development.... (10

I omit the next paragraph -

The Soviet Union holds a special place in international development. The Soviet Union in the country of the ....of socialism holds a place of honour in the active struggle for peace against the war-mongers. In our day the Soviet Union has become the chief mainstay of (15 peace and friendship among the nations. Together with the consolidation of the forces of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and all the people's democracies, and along with the mounting peace movement in all other countries, the people are growing increas-(20 ingly aware that the causes of peace lie in their own hands, and that they can prevent another war and safeguard peace if they spare no efforts, and when the need arises defend the cause of peace with the utmost resolution to the end. The Soviet Union sees as its main (25 task the strengthening of the forces of peace and the promoting of an easing in international tension. The line of Soviet foreign policy conforms most fully with the requirements of maintaining and consolidating peace. It serves at the same time to expose the aggressive (30

plans and manoeuvres of the war-makers, of those imperialist forces that are banking on strength which in reality is becoming more and more a policy of preparing a third world war. A struggle of two opposite lines of foreign policy is developing in our days. While (5 the peaceful line of foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. meets with ever more powerful support in the democratic camp and amongst democratic sections of the people in all countries the aggressive line of United States foreign policy rests on the setting up of ever-new (10 aggressive military blocs and grouping and finds its latest expression in open propaganda and preparation for an atomic war.

I think that will cover that point;

Now, Professor Murray, you have given a certain (15 opinion on that paragraph, beginning with "These victories..." (A.9) will you go on from there now to the next point, in that document, which you wish to mention?-- I read the third sentence in the fourth paragraph -

Let us think of our young brothers who are daily (20 murdered by the Imperialists in Kenya, in Malaya and Guatemala.

I refer to the phrase "are daily murdered by the Imperialists" -- there are several views of what Imperialism is and does. The view that Imperialism is aggressive and oppres-(25 sive, exploitive, and so forth, is a view that follows on Communist doctrine, and is held by Communists in connection with the oppressed countries of the world.

Professor Murray, you said it follows from Communist doctrine; is that so?-- It follows from Communist doctrine (30 because on Communist doctrine imperialism has now reached the

stage, as I have read, of having to entrench itself in military blocs, in order to continue its existence, and not to go to inevitable decay, which Communist doctrine prophesies for it.

So would you expect somebody holding the tenets of Communist doctrine, accepting the Communist doctrine, to say something of that kind, is that the point you wish to make, or is it not?-- The point I wish to make is that a statement like this "are daily murdered by the Imperialists" is the type of statement that follows on Communist doctrine. (5  
(10

Interpreting the meaning of a word like Imperialists in a document of this sort, of this nature, do you refer merely to the immediate context of the word itself or not -- do you have regard to the immediate context of the word in the sentence, or do you have regard to any further aspects in the document?-- I said a minute ago, there are other interpretations of imperialism, but in commenting on a document, on a statement, one reads the whole document of course, as I have been doing, and as I said before, such a phrase follows on and is part of Communist doctrine. (15  
(20

Do you see that phrase in the context of anything more than the sentence in which it occurs, or not?--

BY MR. MAISELS: My lords, my learned friend has put four leading questions, and we haven't objected at all so far. I do suggest that the question should not be put in a leading form. (25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Yes, you can put the question in a different form if you like.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: As Your Lordship pleases: Professor Murray, I merely want you to explain as fully as you can to the Court, how you come to a final conclusion on (30



the exact meaning which you attach to a word like "Imperialists" in a document like this; what do you take into account in coming to a conclusion?-- In the first case one knows various theories as to what Imperialism is, and in the second case, one reads a document of this sort as a whole (5 and if one finds there is a theory of imperialism which is perhaps liberal or communist, and one finds statements in a document such as this which support the liberal or the communist point of view, and the statements relating to imperialism which support the same view, then one has to (10 take note of the fact that that particular phrase derives from that particular view, the communist or the liberal. In the document before me I have to make the first statement that communism uses the term Imperialism in a certain sense. And that sense corresponds to the way it is used here. (15 Secondly, in the second place, that there are other phrases in this document which fall in line with communist doctrine. This phrase occurs in the document where other phrases fall in line with communist doctrine.

Falling in line with communist doctrine, could you (20 put it in other words; explain that phrase you use?-- It is a part of communist doctrine.

Now, will you proceed further?-- I go on to the next paragraph -- the second sentence, there occurs the phrase "relentless struggle against reaction and fascism in our (25 land." The term 'fascism' in political science basically refers to the system which Mussolini inaugurated and maintained in Italy for a certain time. On communist doctrine a new interpretation of fascism is given, as I said before, by which the term fascism is used for that stage of capita-(30 list development, when capitalism becomes, is supposed to be-

come on communist interpretation, dictatorial, and oppressive, and reactionary, and as I said earlier when the parliamentary system does not operate, is not allowed to operate properly any longer. Now, when the phrase occurs here, to "Wage a relentless struggle against reaction and fascism..."(5

BY MR. WELSH: "It is reaction of fascism."

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: No, it is reaction and fascism.

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, Milord, so is my photostat too.

BY MR. WELSH: I beg Your Lordship's pardon, I seem to have the wrong copy. (10

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Are you referring to a copy of the exhibit?

BY MR. MAISELS: Milord, we have a copy, what is supposed to be a copy of the exhibit; it may be that our copy is wrong. If the witness is reading from the original document then (15 our copy must be wrong.....

BY MR. DE VOS: The photostat shows "reaction and fascism."

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: ?-- I therefore refer to the phrase "relentless struggles against reaction and fascism" as being typical of communist doctrine on the present(20 situation.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: This word 'reaction' -- is that a word used in Communist doctrine ?-- Very, very much, and in a very special sense.

In what sense is it used ?-- It comes from the Marxist(25 discussion of trade unionism of the last century. Marx pointed out that the trade unions would be socialist and would go along with this movement up to a point, and then they would stop promoting the proletarian development and they would become -- and he said -- 'reactionary.' That (30 is, they would go back to, if you like, conservatism, capi-

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talism, and the phrase means that there is a certain movement  
the proletarian movement towards revolution and the change  
that must come, and by reactionary is meant the people who  
turn against that movement and try to put -- the phrase in  
that connection is, 'to put the clock back.' To maintain (5  
the old position and to strengthen the previous position.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Will you proceed to the  
further point, Professor Murray, when you prepared your  
material?-- I go to the last paragraph beginning "Friends,  
nine years ago...." I read the sentence "We in South (10  
Africa support the W.F.D.Y. because we realise that its poli-  
cy of fighting for Peace and Independence is in conformity  
with the wishes of the labouring and exploited youth the  
world over." The association of the words 'fighting for  
peace and independence,' while no doubt occurring also (15  
in other political doctrines is also part of the communist  
doctrine that as ~~the world decays~~, the oppressed countries  
will get their independence and peace will in that way be  
maintained. The reference to the organised youth is asso-  
ciated with communist doctrine in this sense, that commu- (20  
nism teaches that youth must be organised as a force to  
promote the proletarian development and ultimately the pro-  
letarian revolution. I turn to the last sentence "That the  
days of Imperialists are numbered in the world." That, of  
course, is the kernel of communist doctrine. (25

Professor Murray, reference is made here to WFDY. I  
want you to tell the Court what sort of organisation that  
could be interpreting the document as it stands; on inter-  
pretation given in this document, the way it describes the  
WFDY -- what would you expect that organisation to be; (30  
seen now in terms of communist doctrine, and using no data

at all, except what you find on the document itself, as  
it stands?-- Milords, the reference to the WFDY occurs  
in a document in which I have indicated there are various  
elements of communist doctrine embodied. It stands for a  
type of organisation which<sup>it</sup>/is part of communist doctrine to(5  
promulgate, and it is associated with expressions and pur-  
poses which are part of Communist doctrine and independence  
and various other phrases. I refer particularly to the  
last phrase, 'the days of Imperialists are numbered in the  
world,' in that connection. So that on this statement, (10  
one could say that it is possible that the WFDY had commu-  
nist affiliations, or that Communist people work in it.  
Or something to that effect.

Professor Murray, there is reference to the World  
Youth Day, at the top of the document, and certain things (15  
are said about the World Youth Day in there, in the first  
line of A.9. Will you have a look again at the phrases  
referring to World Youth Day, and what it is supposed to  
be, and give some opinion, if you can as to whether that  
festival, I think it is called "Day of Celebration" could (20  
have any connection with communist doctrine, on this docu-  
ment as you read it, and nothing more than that?-- Milords,  
I have to point out that in the first paragraph, the World  
Youth Day is said to be a day of celebration and rejoicing  
for the Youth of the whole world, for celebtrating the vic-(25  
tories won by the oppressed and exploited people in their  
struggle for independence, national existence and peace.  
Those expressions, of course, are part of communist teaching.

You have already referred to those phrases in your  
interpretation of the document, I think?-- I have referred(30  
to them. The document refers to the...in connection with the

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World Youth Day, to the great victories of the people of Indo-China and Korea, against the imperialist bandits, etc. It refers to the Western aggressors in connection with World Youth Day. It refers to other political situations which are interpreted as ...in terms of imperialists (5 being oppressive, bandits, etc. -- I have referred to the phrase "daily murdered by the imperialists" -- which is in line with the Communist doctrine. It refers to the World Youth Day as a pledge of youth, to fight against reaction and fascism. So that on the face of this, one would be (10 justified in associating the purpose or the significance of World Youth Day as being a day to celebrate and commemorate events interpreted on communist lines, on communist doctrine.

Yes, thankyou, I think that covers the point. I (15 proceed to A.14.....

BY MR. MAISELS: Milords, we have not interrupted during the last reading, deliberately, because we have just got to get on. We will submit at an appropriate stage that what the witness has stated to be communist doctrine is plainly not (20 such, and on the rulings of the Court should not be so, his evidence should not be admitted. If we have to interrupt at every stage it becomes quite impossible, and we propose, unless things in our view.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: He has given his evidence; that's (25 a question of argument.

BY MR. MAISELS: Well, actually Milord, in Your Lordship's rulings, we would contend that a lot of it is not admissible. But I don't want to go into that now. I only want to make our position clear that by keeping quiet at this stage (30

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we haven't waived the right to take the point. That's all.  
EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Professor Murray, I put  
to you the document, A.14; unfortunately there is only an  
original in this instance, and no photostat. It is called  
"Constitution of the People's Republic of China." It is (5  
page 170-175 of the Preparatory Examination Record, accord-  
ing to the note. It seems to me I should follow the procedure  
of reading out passages, and then ask Professor Murray to  
glance at that particular passage and ask him for any comment  
he may have on it. He unfortunately won't be in the position(10  
now to follow as I read, because as I say I have no copy of  
it. (Original handed to witness, P.E. Record read from by  
Mr. De Vos) Pages 3 and 4 were read into the Preparatory  
Record; is that the preamble, Professor Murray?-- Yes, that  
is the preamble to the Constitution. (15

Professor Murray, first of all, I read the preamble;  
you have it before you now: "In the year 1949, after more  
than a century of heroic struggle the Chinese people,  
led by the Communist Party of China finally achieved  
their great victory, the people's revolution against (20  
imperialism and feudalism.....

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY: Mr. De Vos, I'm sorry to interrupt,  
but isn't this all in the record? Is there any reason why  
it should be read again. Couldn't you refer Professor  
Murray to the part which you wish him to comment on. (25

BY MR. DE VOS: I could refer him to the parts, Milord. I  
mentioned it to him before in coming to Court; he considers  
that it will not really be a saving of time, because he has  
to read fairly slowly again the portions he wishes to refer  
to. (30

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY: At least it will save you reading it.

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BY MR. DE VOS: That is so, Milord.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY: If it is the same portion as is in  
in the record, it seems unnecessary to duplicate it. You  
can indicate to Professor Murray what portion you want to  
have him comment on. (5

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, first of all, Milord, I could do that.  
It is only that Your Lordships will have to bear with a  
certain amount of waiting.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: You will have to tell us too what  
you want him to read, because we have to read it too. (10

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, it is the preamble, Milord, first of all.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Is that the whole preamble?

BY MR. DE VOS: That is the whole preamble.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD. Professor Murray, will  
you please tell me when you have completed your perusal of (15  
the preamble, and when you are free to comment on it, in the  
light of your knowledge of Communist doctrine?-- I refer to  
the first paragraph of the preamble, beginning "In the year  
1949.... I will read the sentence -

In the year 1949 after more than a century of heroic (20  
struggle the Chinese people led by the Communist Party  
of China finally achieved their great victory in the  
people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and  
bureaucratic capitalism, and so brought to an end the  
long history of oppression, etc. .... (25

Clearly that accepts the interpretation of the situation  
which is involved in Communist doctrine.

Professor Murray, your evidence has already been to the  
effect that one of the people's democracies accepted as such  
by communist doctrine, is the people's Republic of China. (30  
?-- That is correct.

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You have already said so before?-- Yes. I refer to the second paragraph, the phrases "during the transition the fundamental task of the State is step by step to bring about the socialist industrialisation of the country and step by step to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture handicrafts capitalist industry and commerce," (5 That is in accordance with communist doctrine of what the procedure will be in the intermediate stages before the final form of communism is achieved.

Will you explain that a bit further, with reference to (10 what you have said before?-- Communist theory on this point is that feudalism and capitalism, or the remnants of those institutions that are still left, involve private control of land and finance capital and so forth, and that it is inevitable that these stages should pass and that in a (15 country moving towards the final achievement of communism, there will be a transition period in which industry will be socialised and the agrarian's position will be socialised too, through various steps.

And are those steps to which they have referred, are (20 there certain steps to which you have referred before, acknowledged in terms of Communist doctrine as being the steps that would be expected in that particular state you refer to?-- Particularly two steps, that are acknowledged in Communist doctrine. The first is the socialisation of (25 industries; that involves capitalist finance, monopolies, and so on. And the other is the agrarian policy by which land shall be taken from the large land-owners and in the second stage sub-divided among the people, and ultimately the third stage to be held collectively. (30

And those steps are they referred to in the Preamble?--



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In the phrases 'during the transition the fundamental task of the State is step by step to bring about the socialist industrialisation of the country, and step by step to accomplish the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce.' I refer to the (5 last three lines of the next paragraph -

Moreover it reflects the basic need of the State in the period of transition as well as the general desire of the people as a whole to build a socialist society. Clearly the urge is to build a socialist society, and the (10 reference is again clearly to a period of transition. I refer to the first sentence in the next paragraph -

In the course of the great struggle to establish the People's Republic of China, the people of our country forged a broad democratic united front, composed of (15 all democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and popular organisations, and led by the Communist Party of China.

It is a part of communist doctrine that the Communist Party must lead, must be the advance party in the new conditions (20 that have to be created. It is another part of the doctrine that especially at the earlier stages, united fronts must be formed of all people who wish to upset the existing position, with its elements of feudalism and imperialism. This paragraph gives an interpretation of what happens on communist (25 principles. The next sentence -

The people's democratic united front will continue to play its part in mobilising and rallying the whole people, .....

is again part of communist teaching, because the final (30 achievements must come at the earlier stages through the

co-operation of interested parties not merely by the domination of one party.

You have referred before under the heading of method or tactics, I'm not quite sure, to united front, not so?-- I read a passage of the document, I just glanced at it, to (5 the reference on it. At the top of the next page, I read the second sentence -

This unity of China's nationalities will continue to gain in strength, founded as it is on ever-growing friendship and mutual aid among themselves, and on (10 the struggle against imperialism, against public enemies of the people within the nationalities and against both dominant nations, chauvinism and local nationalism. I draw attention to the phrase there 'the struggle against imperialism' and to the phrases 'against both dominant (15 nations, chauvinism and local nationalism.' It is part of the communist doctrine that communism is international, that there must not therefore be a local, narrow chauvinism, and too narrow local nationalism. The last paragraph, I may refer to the statement that China has built an indestructible (20 friendship with the great Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the People's Democracies. It is part of communist doctrine as I have indicated that there is a camp, the so-called peace camp, consisting of the people's democracies in the U.S.S.R., and the reference here is to that. (25

What is the sentence there; could you just for a second repeat that -- if you haven't read it?-- The last sentence in the Preamble, "China has already built an indestructible friendship with the great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Democracies, and the friendship between our (30 people and peace-loving people in all other countries is

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growing day by day." That, I think, is all on that point.

Now, on the Constitution, I think you have in mind first of all, article 1 of the Constitution; that hasn't been read in, so I will ask Professor Murray just to read it in. Article 1 of the Constitution, which is a part of (5 that same document?-- The heading is entitled Chapter I, General Principles, Article 1. -

The People's Republic of China is a people's democratic state led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. (10

The statement of this particular country "is led by the working class on an alliance of workers and peasants," forms part of communist doctrine, of the transition stage, when it is clearly said that the remnants of feudalism and capitalism must be removed and will be removed when the (15 workers with the help of the peasant classes get control of the state machinery, and prepare for further development.

You have read in the whole of article 1, I take it?-- I have read in the whole article.

Now, does that complete your comment on article 1 (20?-- Yes.

Will you proceed to article 2 now?-- Article 2 - All power in the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The organs through which the people exercise power are the National People's Congress (25 and the local people's congresses. The National People's Congress, the local people's congresses, with other organs of state, without exception practice democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism is the form of organisation which (30 communist doctrine prescribes for the organisation of the

communist institutions.

You have already referred to that in your evidence on doctrine, not so?-- I referred to democratic centralism earlier.

And quoted also certain passages on the point?-- That (5 is so.

Now, article 4, will you read it out -- first, does that complete what you have to say on article 2; I don't want to hurry you, so please tell me if there is anything further?-- Yes, that concludes article 2. (10

Article 4 is the next?-- Article 4,  
The People's Republic of China by relying on the organs of state and the social forces and by means of socialist industrialisation and socialist transformation ensures the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation and the building of a socialist society. (15

I begin with the last phrase 'the building of a socialist society.' The communist doctrine is, of course, that a socialist society is inevitably coming, and that communism must promote the building of a socialist society. I refer (20 to the second last phrase, 'ensure the gradual abolition of systems of exploitation.' Communist doctrine is, of course, that capitalism and the remnants of feudalism are exploitive systems, or were exploitive systems. I refer to the third last phrase 'by means of socialist industrialisa- (25 tion and socialist transformation.' As I said before, Communist doctrine sees the process by which the State finally withers away and Communism is established as a process of social transformation, . at one stage of which there will be the socialising of industrialisation. I refer to (30 the first phrase, 'Relying on the organs of State and social

forces, the Communist doctrine as explained is that in the transformation period, especially of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the State will remain and the State will be the force by means of which these transformations are established. So that article 4 falls perfectly into line with the communist doctrine on the historical achievements, on the achievement in history of the final communist society.

Does that complete your comment on article 4 ?-- That is all.

Now, your next reference is article 5 ?-- I read article 5.

In the People's Republic of China the ownership of the means of production today mainly takes the following form: State ownership, that is, ownership by the whole people; co-operative ownership, that is, collective ownership by the working classes. Ownership by individual working people and capitalist ownership. (15)

I think I should read Article 10 at the same time.

Yes, please do so ?-- In Article 5 we are busy with the forms of ownership at a certain stage of transition. Article 10 on the same point says - (20)

The State protects the ownership by capitalists of the means of production and other capital according to law. The policy of the State towards capitalist industry and commerce is to use, restrict and transform them. The State makes use of the positive qualities of capitalist industry and commerce which are beneficial to national welfare and the people's livelihood, restricts their negative qualities which are not beneficial to national welfare and the people's livelihood, encourages and guides their transformation into various forms of state (25) (30)

capitalist economy, gradually replacing capitalist ownership, with ownership by the whole people, and this it does by means of controlled exercise by administrative organs of state, the leadership given by state-owned economy and supervision by the workers. (5 The state forbids any kind of illegal activity by capitalists which endangers the public interest, disturbs the social economic order, or undermines the economic plan of the State.

Milords, in these two articles, we have a clear description (10 of communist teaching on the process by which the final socialist or communist state should be achieved. First, at the first stages, there will be, as I said before, the co-operation between the workers and peasants groups under the leadership of the party, when there will be the nation- (15 alisation or as far as possible -- it says in the course of time, the nationalisation of industry, and of re-division of land; but for the time being, there will be a remnant of bourgeois capitalism left over. Paragraph 5 allows for capitalist ownership. Paragraph 10 goes on to say that ulti- (20 mately the State will take over all ownership; it will restrict the negative qualities of capitalism in order to achieve the socialist state. Paragraphs 5 and 10 describe in other words, the communist theory of what is going to happen in history when the new political forms arise. (25

Your next reference is to Article 6 ?-- Article 6 - State-owned economy is socialist economy owned by the whole people. It is a leading force in the national economy and the material basis on which the State carries out socialist transformation. The State (30 ensures priority for the development of State-owned

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economy. All mineral resources and waters as well as forests, undeveloped land and other resources which are state-owned by the law, are the property of the whole people.

The description here is of an economic system in which the (5  
States owns and controls economic activity for the people.  
It describes an economic situation, in which the State will  
carry out socialist transformation. On a liberal theory  
the transformation may be carried out on the open-market  
system. Here the State will carry out the socialist trans- (10  
formation, and the state has to ensure priority for the  
development of State-owned economy. Also finally, all  
mineral resources, etc., etc., are owned by the State or the  
people. That is an integral part of communist economic doc-  
trine. (15

That is your comment on article 6 ?-- Yes.

Now, on 7, Professor Murray ?-- Article 7 reads -

Co-operative economy is either socialist economy collec-  
tively owned by the working masses, or semi-socialist (15  
economy, in part collectively owned by the working masses.

Such partial collective ownership by the working masses  
is the transitional form, by means of which individual  
peasants, individual handicraft men, and other indivi-  
dual working people, organise themselves in an advance  
towards collective ownership by the working masses. (20

The State protects the property of the co-operatives  
encourages, guides and helps the development of co-  
operative economy. It regards the promotion of pro-  
ducers' co-operatives as the chief means for the trans- (30  
formation of its individual farming and individual handi-  
craft.

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Milords, here we again have to do with the transitional form in the development of this socialist state towards final communism, and the transitional form corresponds to the communist teaching on the various stages of the transition, until the final stage is achieved. One has here, a socialist(5 economy owned by the working masses, or semi-socialist economy, partly owned. One has the permission for individual peasants and individual handicraftsmen to own certain, to keep on owing certain instruments of production, but they will advance towards collective ownership by the working masses. (10 The paragraph describes, as other paragraphs have done, the Communist doctrine of the various stages, which the Society would have to go through in its transition forms.

Professor Murray, this part of Communist doctrine, under what heading did you deal with that; or are there (15 several headings that would deal with this particular part of the doctrine?-- I have dealt with that. It would fall under various parts, I should imagine; I dealt with it under 'Das Kapital', capitalism, and the achievement of communism before the state withers away. (20

And the notion of a people's democracy, did you deal with any of the material under that head too?-- It is associated with the notion of a people's democracy, and I may have handled it in connection with the people's democracy, because people's democracies have to go through these (25 stages on their way, on their course to the final heaven of communism.

Now, that completes 7, I take it?-- Yes, I think that is all I have to say.

Yes, now 8?-- Article 8 -

(30



The State protects peasant ownership of land and other means of production according to law. The State guides and helps individual peasants to increase production, and encourages them to organise producers, supply and marketing to sellers co-operatives voluntarily. The policy of the State towards rich peasant economy is to restrict and gradually to eliminate it. The doctrine is that at the first stage of the revolution, the large land ownership will be destroyed, and the land will be re-divided among the peasants, for their occupation, and the State will control the economic production of peasants. That is a stage in the further development when ultimately the State will take over the full ownership of land and <sup>a</sup> form of collectivism will be introduced. This paragraph again falls in line with the communist analysis of the stages through which society will have to go on its historical progress to communism. (10)

That completes 8 ?-- Yes.

Article 19 ?-- I don't think article 9 contains anything special. Article 19 - (20)

The People's Republic of China safeguards the people's democratic system, represses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities, and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries. The State deprives feudal landlords as bureaucrat capitalists of political rights for a specific period of time according to law. At the same time it provides them with a way to live, in order to enable them to reform through work and become citizens who earn a livelihood by their own labour. (25)

In my evidence on the dictatorship of the proletariat, I (30)

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pointed out that at that particular stage of the transition the feudal landlords and capitalists would be deprived of rights, they would be dominated by the dictatorship of the two working classes, and the position would be a dictatorship. Article 19 refers to that stage in communist doctrine, (5 of the transition.

That completes your comment on specific parts of that document, not so?-- On this part, yes.

Have you read the whole document?-- I have read the whole document. (10

Now, we proceed to the further document, Professor Murray. On the face of that document, Professor Murray, who are the publishers, or what is the publishing firm?-- A.14, Constitution of the People's Republic of China, adopted on September 20, 1954. (15

Is that the full phrase?-- The phrase is: "This constitution was adopted on September 20, 1954, by the first national people's congress of the people's republic of china at its first session." There is no printer indicated, or publisher. (20

Now, we proceed to A.15. On page 175 of the Preparatory Examination record, certain portions have been read in, though I am not quite sure which portions. Professor Murray, have you a photostat before you or not?-- I have the original.

The first reference you have indicated on a photostat (25 I have here before me is as follows: It is part of paragraph 2, under the heading "Aims and objects." The heading of the whole is Constitution and Programme of the African National Congress, then there follows paragraph 1, Name, and then paragraph 2, 'Aims and Objects,' and that paragraph (30 has been read in in full. You wish to comment on part of

the end of sub-paragraph (a) I think. I'm sorry, Professor Murray, I think you want read in the whole of page 1, paragraph 2 -- that has been read in. If you read that first page, you will note what you wish to comment on ?--

Milords, the first phrase I wish to draw attention to is (5 "Congress is a National Liberation organisation of the African people." The document would appear to be what one would call a liberatory document, but of a special kind. It believes in joining all the African people into one liberatory movement. There are many liberation movements (10 in the world. It is part of.....

BY MR. MAISELS: Is the witness purporting to be an expert qualified to give evidence on liberation movements? I have no objection if he purports to be.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: No, why don't you wait until you see (15 what his answer is.

BY MR. MAISELS: Because he started off, Milord, on that basis. "There are many liberation movements in the world..." I'm not objecting to his giving evidence if he is properly qualified to do so, if my learned friend will undertake to (20 qualify him on this, because he hasn't done so yet.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: But I think if you just wait for the answer you might not want to object.

BY MR. MAISELS: I think we have got sufficient.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Just let him complete his answer. (25 Then you can speak again.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Professor Murray, first of all refer to the words you have in mind on the document itself. ?-- The words, the sentences that are important are that Congress is a national liberation organisation of the (30 African people.

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If you wish to add any further sentences to that to explain your opinion to which you wish to proceed, then please add that and read all the sentences you feel are pertinent to your opinion relevant to the context on which you want to give an opinion?-- The next sentence I would read is two (5 lines lower: "And its aim in organising the African people and in taking active part in all matters affecting them political and economically and socially is to achieve true democracy in South Africa. I go on to (a). The aims and objects of the Congress shall be to unite the African people(10 in the Union of South Africa, the Protectorates and South West Africa into a powerful and effective instrument for national freedom and progress."

Now, in the light of your knowledge of communist doctrine, what do you say of what you read now, so far?-- (15 Communist doctrine recognises as part of its theory the liberatory movement which exists as part of the action against imperialism and capitalism. And communist doctrine holds that these movements should establish a united front to fight the oppression of capitalism and imperialism. (20 And this document maintains that position, that the people must unite in all aspects, politically, economically and socially to achieve a true democracy in South Africa. And I may say that communism teaches that they are achieving the true democracy, that parliamentary democracy as the West (25 knows it, they refer to as bourgeois democracy, but true democracy in communist teaching means the type of society which will be achieved when communism is achieved.

In your opinion so far on communist doctrine, have you referred to this part of the doctrine; can you recall?-- I(30 discussed democracy in connection with communism, somewhere.

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In any event, we will be able to check that, and if you have not done so, will you be able to quote your sources for that proposition?-- There are many sources on this point of true democracy and bourgeois democracy. Therefore, the lines I have quoted from this document contain doctrines (5 similar to that involved in communist doctrine.

Yes, that is as far as you wish to take the point on this part of the constitution, which you have before you?-- I think so, yes.

Does that complete your comments then on (2)?-- Yes.)10

Now, your next reference is to page 3, paragraph. This has not been read in. I propose reading this in up to the point if any, where the witness stops me on this particular paragraph. Professor Murray, please stop me if you feel that I am reading in too much - 15

Subsidiary bodies.(Organisational structure.)

(a) Women's section. The African National Congress believes in the fundamental principles of the equality of the human race, irrespective of nationality, colour, race or sex. In the Congress women members shall enjoy(20 the same status as men, shall be entitled to elect and be elected to any position, including the highest office. Notwithstanding this fact, however, and without in any way diminishing the rights of women members, the Congress may, recognising the special disabilities and (25 difficulties to which the African women are subjected and because of the peculiar problems facing them and in order to arouse their interests, to facilitate their organisation create a women's section in the machinery to be known as the African National Congress women's (30 section. Whenever a women's section has been created

it shall (i) be under the supervision and direction of the National Executive Committee nationally and under the provincial executive committee provincially. (2) have subject to the provisions of (i) above, autonomous rights in matters concerning work among women and in (5 connection with its routine internal organisation. (3) have branches which shall be directly responsible to it provincially. (4) use the official membership cards of the Congress. (5) Put African women into the Congress and educate them on the policy, programme and aims and (10 objects of the Congress. (6) Raise funds for the Congress (7) Hold meetings of women at times convenient to them and (8) Perform any duties assigned to them by the national executive committee, nationally, and by the provincial executive committees provincially. (15

?-- I think that will do, Mr. De Vos.

What about the next sub-paragraph (b) on page 4 ?--  
Shall I take sub-paragraph (a) first ?

Yes ?-- It is proposed in this section to organise women into an organisation under the supervision and direc- (20 tion of the national executive committee of the organisation which has been discussed, the African National Congress. It is part of communist doctrine on strategy and tactics particularly, to organise women's sections under the control of the Party, and such a women's section should be used to (25 promote the ideas of that particular body, and should especially help to make people, educate people into the purposes and programme and policy of the central body. One finds these features here, and the proposed organisation falls in line with the communist doctrine on organisation (30 to achieve the purposes of the Party.

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Is that the completion of your comments on this particular section ?-- I think so. There is one further point in the Communist doctrine, the instruction is "Special attention to be paid to the particular difficulties of any problem and difficulties of any section of the population by means (5 of these organisations, and that element is also included in this paragraph.

Where did you refer to that other part ?-- Page 2(a), page 3. "Recognising the special difficulties and disabilities to which the African Women are subjected, and because of the (10 peculiar problems facing them, to create a women's section within the machinery....."

You have, of course, dealt with strategy and tactics under other headings in your exposition of the doctrine ?-- That is so. (15

And you referred to these points under those headings not so ?-- That is so.

And quoted your sources too ?-- Yes.

Referring to the function of various organisations, and so forth ?-- That is so. (20

Do I proceed to sub-paragraph (b), to read that in -- Youth League ?-- Yes.

This follows immediately on what has been read in so far, and is sub-paragraph (b) -

It is a universally accepted fact that the youth of (25 today are the leaders of tomorrow. Recognising this as a fundamental truth the Congress shall organise the African youth into a youth's organisation to be known as the African National Congress Youth League. The A.N.C. Youth League shall be the training ground for (30 leadership and the duties and functions shall be to

(1) mobilise the African youths and to mould their political and social outlook. (2) Popularise the programme, the policy and the ....of the Congress among the youths. (3) Promote social and cultural activities among our young people, and (4) Promote friendly relations between the African youths and the youths of other races

?-- Milords, it is part of the doctrine falling under the heading of strategy and tactics and other sections of communism that the youth should be organised and should be brought up to know the policy and the purposes and the philosophy of that particular doctrine, and the phrase here is that a youth league should be formed and under (1) 'to mould their political and social outlook.' That conforms with communist theory on the question of method to propagate doctrines. (10

Now, I proceed to page 6, paragraph 8. The heading of this paragraph is "The National Executive Committee." And I read only the sub-paragraph (d) ?-- Yes, that will do, that is an important paragraph. (20

The heading is "The National Executive Committee," and I quote -

In between national conferences, the National Executive Committee shall have supreme control of the entire organisation of the Congress. It shall..... (25

(d) Be responsible for ensuring that all the Provincial Executives Committees and Provincial officers of the Congress discharge their duties properly and efficiently and that they shall provide political education and training for members. (30

?-- Milords, the expression "to provide political education



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and training for members," forms an important part of Communist doctrine on communist theory, on strategy and tactics, where it is stated that these various types of organisation shall be established with the purpose of making people politically conscious and providing political education and training for members. (5

In this connection, you made reference Professor Murray, to page 9, certain passages there under the heading of Provincial Executive Committees, which stands on page 8. Paragraph 13 on page 8, gives the heading. It reads (10 "Provincial Executive Committees," and "Provincial Executive Committees are the supreme authority for the Congress in the Provinces. They shall.....

(d) Build Strong and active branches of the Congress in the respective provinces and shall make every (15 effort to organise peasants, unions and trade unions.

And then page 9 goes on with the series of duties, and under (h) I read -

give members of the Congress in their respective provinces political education. (20

And then item (j), I quote -

do all things necessary to build strong and efficient branches sound finances and politically trained Congress personnel in their respective provinces: (25

I refer you to these items under the heading of "Provincial Executive Committees" and your reference is in connection with what you have just read before?-- Milords, I said before that the Communist teaching is that it is especially under the leadership of the workers and with the co-operation (30 of the peasants, that the Communist idea and ideal could be

achieved. On this page, paragraph (d), the statement is that there shall be built strong branches of the Congress in their respective Provinces, and shall make every effort to organise peasant unions and trade unions. In Communist theory of method, emphasis is laid on the point that the (5 nature of communist, the analysis of the political situation in terms of communist principles, means that trade unions must be used for communist purposes, and that the peasants should be organised to assist. I come to (h).

All that has been dealt with by you under the Commu- (10 nist doctrine, not so ?-- It has been covered under Communist doctrine.

And you have dealt with it ?-- Yes. I come to (h), the reference there is once again to "give the members of the Congress in the respective Provinces political education" (15 and (j) the reference is there again to politically trained Congress personnel. Once again, this is part of the theory of communism. Communism believes that what should be done on the basis of dialectic materialism, that theory should go hand in hand with action. I made that statement, I (20 think, when I analysed the documents, these dogma, and the attitude here is that you cannot have leaders, or you cannot achieve your purpose, unless you have a thoroughly well-trained, politically well-trained membership. On these points, these paragraphs correspond to communist doctrine (25 philosophically and as regards theory of method.

On page 10 of the same document, paragraph 16, under the heading of Branch Committees. I read in paragraph 16 -

'A Branch committee shall .....(c) organise house to house drives to take the message of the Congress to (30 the people, to acquaint itself with the moods and grie-

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vances of the people and to recruit members to the Congress. (d) take up grievances and demands of the people and make representations to the local authorities....(f) organise the people, instil in them a spirit of self-reliance and encourage them to solve their (5 problems and difficulties by collective efforts and united actions. (g) establish sub-branches and factory committees and appoint leaders for them.....

Are these the passages you have in mind under this heading of branch committees?-- Yes. The teaching of communism is (10 that the party should work among the people, the working classes, in such a way as to describe, to get acquainted with and to describe the needs and grievances of the people in order to understand the stage of social development which has taken place under those conditions. The theory is that (15 the grievances and the demands of the people should be studied and as far as possible relieved by the leaders of their section, and that the people should be organised into units in order to stimulate collective efforts and collective action, which -- I am speaking of one statement "may ultimately lead to strike action" and so forth, and that especially in factories, but also in other areas, branches (20 of the communist party, in this particular case that I am referring to in the text, should be established to achieve these purposes. Those are the principles on which communism (25 bases its action, described in the theory of strategy and tactics.

The reference to factory committees in doctrines, has that been given to the Court yet, Professor Murray, -- do (30 you remember whether that is mentioned in one of the passages you have quoted?-- I believe it is referred to in a passage

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quoted from the section on strategy and tactics in the Comintern Programme. I may have quoted it somewhere else. It occurs frequently.

Paragraph 17 goes on to "Sub-Branchees and Factory Committees," to deal in sub-paragraph 2 under that heading (5 with the following -

(2) Factory Committee: A factory committee shall consist of a minimum of three members working in a factory or workshop which shall explain the policy and programme of the Congress to the workers in the (10 factory or workshop concerned, and shall recruit members into the Congress.

?-- I read a passage in which Lenin instructed the people to join, to penetrate into the trade unions, and in that way to influence the working class people. Again on Communist(15 theory of method, the work in the factory and workshop, plays a very important part, and this paragraph contains a position extremely similar to the injunction contained in the work on method and strategy in Communist literature, in Communist doctrine. (20

A part of the document A.15 is another document entitled "Preamble to Declaration on basic policy and programme," ?-- That is so.

That page has been read into the record, page 176 to 177 of the Preparatory Examination record; I refer the (25 witness to paragraphs (b) and (c) ?-- In Paragraph B there is reference to the national liberatory movement in Africa  
.....

You quote now from the paragraph; you could perhaps quote the words you refer to verbatim ?-- I am quoting(30 The national liberatory movement of Africa.....etc.

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which resists this foreign invasion, -

is the direct product of the logic of historical events  
and material circumstances.

That coincides with the interpretation which Communist doctrine puts on liberatory movements. It regards the liberatory movement in the light of dialectic materialism, or rather historic materialism, as part of the logic of history, as it says here "and material circumstances," to organise against foreign invasion. The interpretation of liberatory movements there is in accordance with communist doctrine. (10

In the paragraph C, the significant words are -

The contemporary social order reflecting the social degradation, the political emasculation and the economic strangulation of Africa, all carried out in the interests of those foreigners and foreign powers, (15

.....

that is an interpretation of African conditions, under, if you like, under imperialism, which again is in accordance with communist doctrine.

What are you referring to now ?-- I am now going to (20 refer to the whole of C.

Perhaps you should read it out, it would be easier to follow your reasoning on that basis ?--

The contemporary social order, reflecting the social degradation, the political emasculation, and the economic strangulation of Africa all carried out ..... (25

Stopping there for the moment -- what is the interpretation of the contemporary African position in communist doctrine; you have referred to that, I think ?-- Communist doctrine, of course, teaches that Africa is a colonial, and (30 part of it a semi-colonial country, and that there is

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oppression from outside us, by outside capitalists and imperialists. -

.....all carried out in the interests of these foreigners and foreign powers.....

these lines follow the communist doctrine that imperialism (5 is oppressive, exploitive factors, harming Africa in the interests of foreigners and foreign powers. I go on -

.....and reflecting also the consequent reduction of the stature of man in Africa, the stunting of the social growth of the African in the community of (10 nations, serves to emphasise the urgent need for the intensification of the process of liberation and for the institution of a more civilised social order.

The interpretation here is that the liberation movement should be an anti-imperialist movement, according to the (15 interpretation of imperialism accepted in communist doctrine, and therefore that this movement, in view of the above analysis should be intensified. The attitude of this paragraph towards the African situation is in conformity with the communist interpretation of that situation. (20

Now, all this, if you say that, you base that on your knowledge of communist doctrine, is that so or not?-- I should say on communist doctrine.

Professor Murray will you look at the next paragraph?--

Guided by the practical and theoretical experiences (25 of the Africans own emancipatory movement....."

There is this point. The paragraph speaks of the full confidence of the ultimate triumph of the cause of Africa which suggests the Communist doctrine of the historical inevitability of the ultimate achievements of Communism in the world.(30

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Now, page 3 of the same portion of the document, that is, Preamble to Declaration on Basic Policy and Programme," paragraph (1); that is read in on page 177 of the Record -- the whole of that page, continuing to 181. On that page, Professor Murray, you wish to refer to a point under the (5 heading of "Land." ?-- The first two paragraphs are significant. The policy is -

- (a) The equitable re-division of land among the peasants.

That forms part of the people's democracy policy, and follows from Communist theory. It is the very first stage of the revolution towards the communist society, and point (b) follows the same lines -

The planned development of agriculture and the application of modern scientific methods of such development. That again follows the communist line of what shall be done with agriculture. I think that is all there.

Yes, under the next heading, Professor Murray, "Industry." All this falls, of course, under the heading of Economic Policy and Programme at the top of the page. Under that general heading you have now dealt with one item under land, and now with another item under industry you wish to deal. I refer to paragraph (d) under (2). It has to do with industry, and the reference is to the "democratisation of industry, to enable the worker to reap and enjoy the benefits of industrial development, and of general economic expansion." The phrase "democratisation of industry" occurs in communist doctrine on policy as regards the attitude to factory work and industrial production, and refers to the stage when private ownership of factories as instruments of production shall be abolished and the people or the

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state, alternatively, shall control industrial production. It is in line with communist doctrine on industry.

Now, page 5 and 6 of the same document, paragraphs 1 and 3 of page 5 and 6, "Civilisation and Culture policy and programme." ?-- It is page 180, line 12, of the P.E. (5 Record.

Paragraphs 1 and 2 on that page 5, under the heading I have mentioned ?-- Yes.

I think the reference in fact is to paragraphs 1 and 3, on pages 5 and 6 respectively ?-- Under paragraph 1 I (10 would draw attention to the phrase, the expression "The African people struggle for ....

The creation of the foundations of new standards of civilisation and of new values of culture for Africa. (Line 30 on page 180 of P.E. Record.) (15

And then paragraph 5, International policy, sub-section 2 there -

The African people are opposed to all foreigners or foreign powers that have designs on Africa and are totally opposed to colonialism and imperialism. (20  
....stand for democracy, self-determination and for peace.

These phrases that I have read occur in communist doctrine and follow on communist doctrine. There is a new value of civilisation which has to be created, and the opposition (25 to foreign powers, which will dominate, or that have designs on Africa, and the references to colonialism and imperialism. Also the reference to democracy and peace.

What do you suggest is the basis in dogma for those references; communist dogma; communist doctrine ?-- Communist (30



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doctrine today teaches that it will achieve the real democracy; its regards itself primarily as the democratic political theory, and it regards itself as the theory which makes for peace, because it will destroy the imperialists, colonial institutions, in the oppressed countries. (5

Now, Professor Murray, if you will proceed to the preamble to the constitution. It is a further document under the same number, A.15, attached to the other, as a unit; the heading is "Constitution of the African National Congress. Preamble to the Constitution." That is page (10 182 of the Preparatory Examination Record according to my notes. I refer you, Professor Murray, to page 1 of that preamble, the whole of it. Will you read that, and give your comments on it?-- I want to read paragraph A -

Whereas the African National Congress was founded (15 and established in January 1912 as a liberatory organ of the African people..... C. And whereas the organisational machinery and the theoretical formulations of the oppressed people's liberatory movement in Africa are today threatened both within and without by the (20 emergent forces of disruption.....D. And whereas it is more than ever imperative to accommodate the realignments of social forces, to consolidate the forces of liberation and to guide and control these in order to enable them to fulfil their historic mission....(25

I have to point out that there is a reference in the first sentence to a liberatory organ; the liberatory movement is recognised in communist doctrine as an inevitable part of the development at the present stage of capitalism, according to its analysis of capitalism. In the next para- (30 graph (C) which I read, I have to point out that the libera-

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tory movement is associated with oppressed people's movement in Africa, and that the interpretation of the condition of the African people as oppressed and the liberatory movement opposes the oppression of the people, is again a part of communist dogma, following on their basic analysis. (5 The phrase in the next paragraph D - "to consolidate the forces of liberation," is part of the dogma that the liberatory movement of all of Africa, and indeed of the whole world must co-operate, and it must be consolidated in this particular struggle that is going on between the two camps. (10 There are several points in which a communist interpretation, communist doctrine is accepted in the analysis of the African situation here, on this document.

Is that all you have to say on paragraph D ?-- There are words 'to fulfil their historic mission,' which agree (15 with the Communist theory that the revolution, the revolutionary change is inevitable and that people now performing these acts, are simply performing a natural historic mission, promoting that inevitable conclusion.

Now, Professor Murray, if you will turn to a further (20 document, also part and parcel of A.15, headed "Resolutions of the African National Congress Annual Conference 1954." This appears on page 183 of the Preparatory Examination Record. Paragraph 5 of that section, have you anything to say on that. "Conference realises that the problems of (25 Kenya....." Professor Murray, perhaps you should read in conjunction with that, the next two paragraphs 2, and give a considered opinion on 5, 6 and 7, in any way you deem fit ?-- I begin with paragraph 5. In paragraph 5 the Communist (30 doctrine is accepted in relation to imperialism, and imperial-

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ist action. The statement is here, with reference to Kenya, that "Consequently the British Government must be urged in the long-term interests of all the people in Kenya to end the emergency in Kenya."

How, do you say that links up with communist doctrine (5 ?-- Communist doctrine takes up the position as a result of its analysis of capitalism and imperialism that the Western Imperialists are the oppressive people who are exploiting the colonial and semi-colonial people, and the statement here assumes that position in the demand it makes on the (10 British Government to perform these various actions, to promote the liberation of the people. In paragraph (c) it says - "Stop all military measures against the peaceful population of Kenya and to withdraw unnecessary troops from the territory," and so forth..... (15

You say 'and so forth' -- are there any further phrases you wish to refer to ?-- Well, there is this phrase - "Release Jomo Kenyatta and all other persons charged with political offences and held in concentration camps....."

How does that fit in with communist doctrine ?-- On (20 the communist theory, British imperialism has used -- being an imperialist country -- has used power to create a certain situation, and used military force to create a certain situation, and is holding certain people, presumably in gaol or in concentration camps, and it urges these measures to (25 be removed.

Do you now import certain knowledge of the local situation in Kenya into your opinion, or is it purely on what you read there, that you make this inference ?-- Milord, I think it stands here; they say here "Release Jomo Kenyatta and (30 all other persons charged with political offences and held

in concentration camps."

I see. So quite apart from whatever the name of any person might be, that is the principle you are referring to of the way it is put?-- On communist doctrine, the western group, the imperialist group are using force to maintain (5 their position, in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. And holding people in concentration camps is using force. So from that point of view I regard this statement as falling in line, following on communist interpretation of the situation. (10

Will you proceed to paragraph 6?-- This paragraph assumes once again the communist interpretation based on the analysis of capitalism and imperialism, that the world is divided into two camps, and that the one camp is a war-mongering camp, which creates blocs and other military (15 institutions, preparing the way for a third World War.

I read -

Therefore Conference condemns the plans of the ruling clique of America to precipitate a third World War through the creation of war pacts such as NATO (20 and S.E.A.T.O., and the whole plan to rearm German Nazis.

In that statement, the document assumes the communist doctrine, or rather the interpretation of the local situation based on the communist doctrine that imperialism has divided (25 the world into two camps, and that the one camp is a war-like camp, taking war-like measures against the other camp. The next sentence is also important. In the statement on atomic and hydrogen bombs, which follows on the previous statement, ..... (30

This Conference considers that the modern weapons

praised by warmongers are inhuman and maintains that the energy in atomic and hydrogen bombs should be diverted to the peaceful reconstruction of the world. It is communist doctrine that there should be no wars, and that therefore communism professes to, or opposes the (5 manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs for what they conceive to be war purposes. Communism on its doctrines must regard itself as a peace-promoting, peace-loving institution.

But peace in what sense -- you have explained that (10 very often before?-- Peace in the sense in which it will be achieved when communism is achieved; peace which will be achieved on this doctrine when there will be no more production for profit, there will be no class struggle, there will be no international war camps, because of the (15 particular features of capitalist forms of production. It is peace on communist lines.

Paragraph 7, what is your comment there?-- In this paragraph the Conference proposes to co-operate with the trade unions. In its theory of world revolution, communism (20 teaches that it is the working class which has to carry the world revolution, with the aid of the peasant class. And since the phrase trade unions are the places in which the working class are organised, communist doctrine on method and strategy and tactics, urges, or teaches, that the (25 trade unions should be organised into larger units, that they should not limit themselves to wage problems and working conditions, but that they should take part in the cultural and political activities of the people. That is what is done in this paragraph where it suggests that the trade union(30

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movement should be strengthened to support the general policy of the Conference, and from that point of view, the methods proposed here are in line with communist doctrine and principles on method, and the place of trade unions in the revolutionary struggle. (5

That completes this document A.15 ?-- I think so, yes.

I now proceed to A.37, on page 234 of the Preparatory Examination record. You have the document before you ?-- I have.

It is the Annual Report of the National Executive (10 Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban on the 16th to 19th December, 1954. That is the full title on the front page, and will you turn to address delivered, after the foreword, by Dr. Naicker, President of the Natal(15 Indian Congress at the opening of the National Conference of the A.N.C. in Durban on Thursday the 16th December, 1954. And I refer you more particularly to the third, fourth and fifth paragraphs on that particular page. "Your conference meets at a time when grave issues face not only people...(20 We stand for the total banning of the atom and the hydrogen bombs." That is the bottom of page 237 of the P.E. Record. ?-- I start with the third paragraph, "Your Conference meets...." In this paragraph the communist doctrine is accepted, that the days of imperialism and colonialism (25 are rapidly coming to an end, and the theory of peace and freedom, which also forms part of communist doctrine is accepted here.

Will you quote the words you have in mind ?-- I quote the sentence - (30

Today in every country in all the Continents of the

world the forces of peace and freedom are making great headway. The days of imperialism and colonialism are rapidly coming to an end, and we see the emergence of free and independent nations on the Continent of Asia, a Continent which had been subjected to centuries of colonial exploitation. (5

It also follows the communist doctrine in that communist doctrine teaches that colonialism is a form of exploitation. Paragraph 4 accepts the liberatory movement.....

That is the paragraph beginning "Because the forces...(10  
?-- That is so. And it interprets the liberatory movement as a movement against those who have exploited Asia hitherto. The communist doctrine explains/<sup>accounts</sup>for the liberatory movement in this particular way.

Will you quote the passage you have in mind there, (15  
?-- "Because the forces of imperialism have received a shattering blow in Asia it is only natural that Africa should assume a place of tremendous importance to those who had exploited Asia hitherto. But Africa, long described as the Dark Continent is today astir. From the shores of (20  
the Mediterranean to the Cape Point powerful forces for liberation are making themselves felt to enable 150 million people of this Continent take their rightful place within the family of nations through their own democratic governments." In the next paragraph, the doctrine on imper- (25  
ialism and colonialism preached by communist theory is accepted, the doctrine that imperialism and colonialism involve exploitation of man by man. I quote from the paragraph - after the reference to imperialism and colonialism, the sentence occurs - (30

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We reject exploitation of man by man.

There is reference to peace, and opposition to the armaments race, and to the banning of the atom and hydrogen bombs. That again is in accordance with communist doctrine, which teaches that world peace should be achieved, and that it (5 stands for world peace, and that therefore communists should oppose the armaments race, and the banning of the atom and hydrogen bomb.

Now, on page 2 of the same document, paragraph beginning "movement for national liberation....." page 239 of the (10 Preparatory Examination record. This is still part of the same address, page 2. ?-- The reference to fascism in this country -- it uses the word 'fascism' as it is used in Communist doctrine, namely in terms of capitalism which has reached a certain stage of decay, or weakness, and is (15 therefore entrenching itself in a certain type of state. Perhaps I should read the whole paragraph before I comment on it -

A movement for national liberation can become reactionary in character. Nationalism under anti-democratic (20 leadership can become a great threat to the basic values for which we stand. Afrikaner nationalism is an example of how a movement essentially progressive in its initial stages has today become a great threat to democracy and has become the spear-head of fascism in (25 South Africa. African nationalism too, under wrong leadership can become an anti-democratic force giving rise to the emergence of black fascism in the Union. The second point occurs here. Communist doctrine of course is a doctrine of internationalism and it maintains the (30 position that while people should be national or nationalist



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in the sense of co-operating with each other, that nationalism must not lead to a condition of war or enmity or opposition between people, and that is exactly the position which is maintained in this paragraph in the statement under 'nationalism'. (5

Have you any further comment to make on fascism, Professor Murray, and you were saying something about fascism -- would you please explain exactly what you have in mind there, as far as you can?-- On Communist doctrine, the term fascism is not applied merely to the corporative state of Mussolini , but is applied to the inevitable situation which capitalism has reached today, when it has to entrench itself into the institutions of the State to maintain itself and fight the proletarians, the working class, from that side. It is a special use of the term 'fascism' not generally accepted in political theory. (10 (15

You have before spoken about reactionary, in a former explanation you gave this morning. I see here is reference to the word 'can become reactionary.' Does that deserve any attention at all or not?-- The communist use of the term reactionary, as I said before, refers to the type of movement which is first progressive in its sense, promotes socialism and socialising of activities, and then comes to a point when it will not proceed along those lines any longer, but becomes conservative, and for the communists therefore capitalist and therefore in the long run fascist. And the statement here 'a movement for national liberation can become reactionary' would on communist doctrine be interpreted that a movement for national liberation when it gets into the hands of a capitalist group, or an extremely nationalist (20 (25 (30

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group, chauvinistic group of a certain type, could become reactionary. That is in line with communist doctrine, the analysis offered by communist doctrine of both nationalism and the notion of reactionary.

Will you turn to the top of page 3, the first paragraph(5 at the top of page 3; I think it is page ... of the record. "I visualise the Freedom Charter as one of the most historic documents...." ?-- I refer to the first paragraph on that page. The words 'freedom' and 'democracy' as opposed to oppression and segregation, occur there. The words 'freedom(10 and democracy are used in amny contexts' -- in a communist context they have, in communist doctrine, they have a special significance. By freedom is meant the condition where people receive according to their requirements, and not according to their work, and in that sense all people are (15 equal, and so forth, and by democracy is understood the achievement of the social condition when all people shall be free in that sense, and shall not be free in the sense of a bourgeois democracy where one class dominates, and the other class is subservient. (20

In this particular paragraph, is there any indication you find that the words are used in a communist sense -- in this particular paragraph alone as it stands ?-- Excepting that the word 'oppression' may refer to bourgeois democracy, as involving oppressors. That is all. (25

You would not like to take it any further than that ?-- I can leave it at that.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES 2.15 p.m.

(30

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