

SCHEDULE No 6...

MARXISM - LENINISM.

DOCTRINE OF COMMUNISM.

SHORT SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE OF PROF. MURRAY.

1. INTRODUCTION.

- (a) Marxism Leninism is the doctrine of Communism and the classics of Marxism Leninism are in particular Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao-tse Tung.
- (b) Marxism-Leninism consists basically of dialectical and historical materialism and then goes on to a social philosophy and a political theory.
- (c) Marxist-Leninist political economy applies the principles of historical materialism to the economic world and the political structure, in which economic relations operate.
- (d) By Marxist-Leninist socialism is meant the type of society where private ownership of the means of production and production for profit is no longer the basis of the economic processes, when ultimately a position is achieved, strictly referred to as Communism when people receive according to their need.

- (e) Marxism -Leninism as a political doctrine consists of a body of coherent argument based on certain premises and worked up to their conclusion.
- (f) Communist Parties all over the world adhere to Marxism-Leninism. Members of Communist parties are expected to adhere to the doctrine.
- (g) Basically individual members **are** not allowed to interpret the doctrine. There is^a hierarchical form of internal criticism with the heads of the party ultimately laying down what is correct. Doctrine remains basically unchanged from period to period though the application may change.
- (h) Though the implications of the doctrine may develop to meet new situations, its principles remain constant.
- (i) Though Marxism-Leninism is indebted to other schools of thought, ideas which were adopted from such outside sources were in all cases adapted to fit in with the Marxist-Leninist pattern of views.

11. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM.

1. Marxism-Leninism consists basically of dialectical materialism and historical materialism plus a social philosophy and a political theory.

2. Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is a materialist philosophy. The nature of matter is the basis from which the nature of life including society derives.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society and its history.

The dialectical method holds that no phenomena in nature can be understood if taken by itself. Nature is not a state of rest and immobility, but a state of continuous movement and change. Dialectics regards the process of development as one which passes from small quantitative changes to open fundamental qualitative changes. The qualitative changes do not occur gradually but rapidly and abruptly.

Dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature. The struggle between these opposites brings about the

transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes. There is therefore a thesis, an antithesis, a strife between the two and then a qualitative leap leading to a synthesis. This clash between thesis and antithesis is also said to be a process of negation, the antithesis negating the thesis and producing as a result the synthesis, which is also said to be a negation of the negation (the antithesis).

This law of the negation (or clash between thesis and antithesis) is the philosophical basis for the Communist idea of violent revolution and excludes the concept of conciliation.

3. Historical materialism is the application of the principles of dialectical materialism to human history. A situation takes place, its opposite evolves and a new situation comes into being. Society is regarded as always having been in a struggle.

4. In the Marxist-Leninist political economy the principles of historical materialism are applied to the economic world and the political structure in which economic relations operate and exist. There is

a struggle between thesis and anti-thesis until a solution will be achieved with the disappearance of these opposites.

5. The world is not constituted by mind according to dialectical materialism but mind is a reflex of material conditions. Society is therefore conditioned by the material conditions on which it is based. The form of society, the institution of society, the ways of thinking of society are the outcome of the material conditions which according to Marxism-Leninism carry that society.

The theory of society is that it is a superstructure based on a substructure. The substructure is material and under capitalism consists of the material conditions of production, consisting of inanimate conditions i.e. the climate, soil, etc. on the one hand and the labour force on the other hand. But as people co-operate to make a living, they establish relations of production, and so arises the superstructure.

The superstructure consists of the institutions of society government institutions, legal institutions, social institutions, religious institutions,

artistic etc. The form and shape of these institutions reflect the sub-structure i.e. the material conditions of production. Even thoughts of people are conditioned by these institutions. The consciousness of man does not make society, but social conditions create the consciousness of man.

6. As conditions of productions develop the superstructure, the way people think, is apt to lag behind.

Institutions are not adapted to the new forms of production. Thus two classes appear; those who work and those who have to do with the superstructure, i.e. the ruling class.

Between these two classes exists merely a relationship of struggle. The class of the superstructure tries to maintain its interests based on the outmoded forms of production while the class of the substructure demands new conditions of existence because of the changed forms of productions.

The class of the substructure is termed the proletariat, under capitalism.

Proletariat.

This is the class which has nothing to sell but its labour power. The capitalist, or ruling class hold the instruments of production and thus dominate the

proletariat.

7. To Communism the class struggle is seen as an inevitable, always sharpening struggle leading to a decisive clash.

To bourgeois socialism the concept of class struggle is also known but it is not seen as an unbridgable contradiction, but as a method of producing co-operation, conciliation or collaboration. This idea of reformism or collaboration on a permanent basis is opposed by Communism.

8. Theory of History.

The argument is that throughout history (except in the first or primitive stage, when people supposedly lived by hunting), exploitation and the class struggle existed. After the primitive stage followed the stage of slavery (with slaves exploited by slave owners). Then followed the feudal system (with landowners exploiting serfs). Then came capitalism (with capitalists exploiting the proletariat). The final stage will be Communism when production for profit, the class struggle and exploitation will have ceased.

9. Unity of Theory and Practice.

Communism emphasises that theory and practice are united and are really identical for the mind reflects material development.

Theoretical understanding is necessary for a person to understand his position, and theoretical understanding is conditioned by the material conditions of a particular situation.

Therefore masses must be educated and made politically self-conscious. This is the task of the Communist Party.

Practice must be based on well understood well propagated theory.

111. CAPITALISM.

1. Point of departure of Communist doctrine on capitalism is the statement that at the present historical stage capitalism has come to the end of its development. It shows signs of disintegration.
2. Marx's criticism of capitalism is based on his theory of value. The argument is that under capitalism the proletariat has nothing to sell but its labour. The owner of the instruments of production i.e. the capitalist buys that labour on his own terms. The labourer works more, produces more value than is necessary for his subsistence but he is paid only a subsistence wage. The remainder of value produced, called surplus value, goes to the capitalist.
3. The labour theory of value or theory of surplus value though derived from Ricardo was adapted by Marx in the form finally accepted by him.
4. The surplus value thus produced accumulates, in terms of the law of accumulation of capital and becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, in terms of the law of concentration of capital.

This process causes increasing misery among the masses. Ultimately this process taken to its logical conclusion causes the breakdown and death of capitalism.

5. The three laws of capitalism mentioned above (paragraph 4) can also be found as concepts accepted by non-communist writers.

6. By the bourgeois class is meant the class which owns instruments of production, which lives by the property it owns. The petit bourgeoisie is the smaller capitalist as distinct from the big capitalist who is represented by the bourgeoisie.

7. The following main contradictions are said to be inherent in capitalism.

(a) The contradiction between the ever-growing proletariat becoming continuously poorer and the ever-shrinking capitalist class becoming continuously wealthier due to the laws of accumulation and concentration of capital. Ultimately capitalism must be destroyed by the force bred by itself. In terms of the dialectic, capitalism contains its own opposite, its own death.

(b) The contradiction between competing capitalist nationalist states inevitably leads to wars.

(c) Symptomatic of the contradictions in capitalism are the repeated crises, periods of deflation and inflation, the waste of over-production.

8. Capitalism is criticised by Communism for reducing the worker to the status of a commodity. His labour is sold on the open market at the best price he can obtain.

9. Capitalism is said to produce oppressor nations and oppressed colonial nations. This facet of capitalism is part of the analysis of imperialism which will be dealt with under a following head.

10. The Communist criticism of capitalism is connected with the Communist concept of revolution. The theory is that the growing proletariat must inevitably rise in revolt against the capitalists who have entrenched themselves in the institutions of state.

This dogmatic acceptance of the inevitability of revolution is an exclusively Communist concept.

IV. IMPERIALISM.

1. Description of Imperialism.

In communist doctrine imperialism marks the end of the capitalist period of history. Imperialism commences when capitalism becomes international leaves its homeland and penetrates other parts of the world for exploitation. This arises when accumulation and concentration of capital has already taken place so that a system of monopolies, trusts, cartels, and so forth arises, eliminating free trade and competition. Capitalism at a very high stage of its development becomes imperialism.

2. Imperialism displays inter alia the following five features:-

1. Concentration of production and capital to such a stage that monopolies are created.
2. Merging of bank capital with industrial capital to create financial capital.
3. Export of capital.
4. Formation of international capitalist monopolies which divide the world among themselves.
5. Territorial division of the world between capitalist powers.

3. Division of the World.

According to Communism the world is divided into two camps, inevitably opposing each other. On the one hand the communist bloc, on the way, as it considers it, to final achievement of communism. This communism regards as a peace loving bloc. On the other hand the imperialist or capitalist bloc, referred to in communist literature as the war-mongering bloc of countries where capitalism exists.

4. Communism, Peace and Imperialism.

Only the destruction of classes, the elimination of the profit motive and the ultimate achievement of communism will bring peace. Peace is therefore preached by Communism. Peace in this sense will not be attained until imperialism is destroyed and war against imperialism is therefore necessary and justified. Imperialism entrenching itself in the machinery of the state can only be removed by the use of force, by a violent revolution.

The propaganda for peace and against imperialism are therefore identical.

5. According to Communism in many Western states there is a joinder of feudal and imperialist elements. That is the position in South Africa.

In such cases the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolutions are therefore telescoped.

6. Liberatory Movement.

Under imperialism the people of the colonies and semi-colonies are oppressed and liberatory movements come into existence among them. Communists are instructed to co-operate with the liberatory movement and recognize their right of rebellion and revolutionary war because only when imperialism is destroyed can communism be attained and oppressed people really achieve liberation.

7. (a) The Communist doctrine on imperialism is inherent in Communism and it is not so fundamentally part of any other doctrine.
- (b) Though Lenin took over a lot from Hobson and others on the doctrine of imperialism, Lenin adapted the ideas to follow on the analysis of 'Das Kapital'.
- (c) Imperialism conceived as a cause of war does not play as prominent a part in bourgeois socialism as it does in Communism. To Communism imperialism has the quality of being an inevitable cause of war.

- (d) Acceptance of the idea of a world divided into two camps, the one the warmongering non-communist camp of the West led by the U.S.A., and the other the peace-loving communist camp led by the U.S.S.R. is not really part of bourgeois socialism, which nowadays tends to speak of Moscow imperialism.
- (e) The criticism of imperialism involving the open or implied support of the U.S.S.R. or a state of the Communist type is a sign of Communist influence or support of Communism.

V. LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

- I(a) In Communist theory the term liberation movement refers to the movement in colonial and semi-colonial countries among the so-called oppressed groups, for their improvement and freedom.
- (b) The indigenous people in these countries are said to be oppressed by the imperialist-capitalist exploitation of the rulers of the country concerned.
- (c) Communists of the whole world are instructed to co-operate with and support the liberation movements both in their own and in other countries to promote the achievement of world communism.
2. The liberation movement is regarded as international and since the interests of the proletariat are also international Communism supports the liberation movement on an international basis.
3. The oppressed people of the colonies and semi-colonies are said to be in a position analogous to the proletariat of the industrialist countries. They are dominated politically and economically by the imperialist ruler.

4. Communists by supporting the liberation movements aim at the achievement of communism on the theory that only by achievement of the ultimate Communist state through the stages of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the balance of the theory of revolution can the oppressed be liberated.
5. The view that national liberation is inextricably linked up with the fight for peace and against imperialism is part of communist doctrine.
6. Imperialism will only be removed by the use of force and therefore war and revolution aimed against imperialism is justified and necessary.
7. It is an exclusively Communist view to see the liberation movement as an international movement promoting wherever it exists not merely liberation from national oppression but also ultimately liberation from class oppression. In this aforesaid view the liberation movement in undermining imperialism serves as an instrument for the achievement of world communism and as such deserves support.

VI. FASCISM

1. Fascism according to Communism is the last stage of capitalism when liberalism and democracy have been destroyed and capitalism has been entrenched behind parliament which becomes a mere camouflage for dictatorship. At this stage the institutions of the State are completely dominated by capitalism and the legislative powers of the state are used for suppression. The ruling class resorts to force and terror. The police in particular are used to intimidate the people. At the stage of fascism the parliamentary opposition disappears as a factor of importance. At this stage the necessity of revolutionary action becomes clear to the workers.
2. The aim of Communism is to smash fascism. It must be fought by a united front of all the people. To achieve this Communists should be prepared to combine in temporary alliances with the social democratic Parties and other organisations prepared to oppose fascism.
3. The concept of a 'united front against fascism' is a particularly integral part of the policy of the Comintern.

4. At the stage of fascism the political consciousness of the working class increases and the workers realise more clearly than ever that a violent revolution is essential for the overthrow of the fascist state. The use of constitutional and parliamentary methods is said to become futile and the opponents of fascism are forced to resort to extra-parliamentary methods.
5. The extended use of the word 'fascist' may not be indicative of communist belief or adherence or advocacy of communist doctrine. The term may be used by a right wing writer with the obvious intention of ascribing to it the meaning found in communism. Whether the term in its extended meaning is used knowingly or unknowingly i.e. with or without knowledge of its communist meaning, or for what purpose the term is used i.e. to propagate communism or otherwise, must be inferred from its context.
6. The word 'fascism' may be used occasionally as a term of abuse.
7. The word fascism cannot just be said to be floating around. It generally involves a certain kind of critical attitude to the present democratic or pseudo-democratic state.

VII. THEORY OF STATE.

1. The state according to Communism is an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class. It uses subordinate bodies such as the army, the police and others for the domination and oppression of other classes. Even parliament is used to promote the interests of the ruling class.
2. According to Communism the bourgeois state should be destroyed. This is done during the period of the dictatorship of the Proletariat which is a dictatorship of the Communist party, based on revolution and using the tactics of force.
3. After the overthrow of the bourgeois state the dictatorship of the proletariat oppresses all remnants of the bourgeoisie until gradually all classes disappear and the state then withers away. This final classless society is the end aimed at by Communist doctrine. It is at that stage that people will receive not according to their labour but according to their needs.
4. The concepts of 'withering away of the state' and of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' are exclusively communist.

The concept of a 'classless society' emerging from this process of the withering away of the state is similarly an exclusively Communist concept.

5. Liberation according to Communism is only achieved after the process of breaking up the state through a violent revolution and the subsequent withering away of the state as described above has been completed.

6. COMMUNIST STATE.

The true communist state is strictly speaking in terms of Marxism-Leninism a misnomer because in the stage of perfect communism the state will then have disappeared. When the term however, is used it refers to the first two stages namely when the workers and peasants gradually take over control and the period when they have taken over control i.e. to the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the full blooded dictatorship of the proletariat.

VIII. TACTICS AND METHODS.

1. According to Communism all morality is class morality, a by-product of the economic stage of society. Communist morality is therefore entirely subordinate to the interests of the class struggle and the cause of destroying the old exploiting society. Therefore the use of all methods, legal or illegal, moral or immoral, constitutional or unconstitutional including violence is justified.
2. Since Parliament is considered by Communism to be an instrument of the ruling class, the solution of the class struggle cannot be found in Parliament and the proletariat is therefore justified in using any methods including extra-parliamentary methods against Parliament.
3. To Communism extra-parliamentary action includes action which is intended to settle the issues ultimately by force.
4. MASS ACTION.
According to Communist doctrine the Communist Party must lead the masses, must explain the theory to the masses and action must ultimately be mass action. The masses refer chiefly to the proletariat and the peasantry and small bourgeois elements in society, i.e. all the disaffected social groups.

5. ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN AND YOUTH

Communism requires that the women and youth be organized in a manner subordinate to the party, to serve the party. In the case of the Communist Party subsidiary organizations are more of an integral part of the whole policy and philosophy of the party than in bourgeois parties. Discipline does not figure as strongly in the bourgeois organizations as in the comparable Communist organizations.

6. PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY.

Communism in the first place emphasizes the importance of the role of the working class in the proletarian struggle. Communism also teaches that the working class will be assisted by the peasantry in bringing about the world revolution. The combination of these two groups is emphasized more strongly in Communism than in bourgeois socialism.

7. ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS.

Communism teaches that every Communist should belong to a trade union, even a reactionary one. Communists should attack reformism in the trade unions, defend trade union unity nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, subordinate all tasks to the

struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Communism trade unions should therefore not merely take active part in politics but should aim at the defeat of reformism, i.e. the idea of obtaining reforms through Parliament. They should insist on the working class unity even at the cost of loyalty to the national state. Thus e.g. trade unions should not support so-called imperialist wars. On Communist theory, also, trade unions should not attempt to reconcile differences based on class, or to co-operate with capitalists, but should assume the inevitability of continuous class struggle leading ultimately to the victory of the proletariat.

The idea of trade unions taking part in political movements is Communist but is not exclusively Communist. The anti-reformist trade union policies as set out above are exclusively Communist.

8. PEACE FRONT.

Communist doctrine sees in the organization of a broad peace front a powerful weapon to overthrow capitalism and to mobilize the support of wide sections of the population for this campaign.

9. UNITED FRONT TACTICS.

Communism accepts the necessity under
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varying circumstances of united front tactics. Especially in the struggle against fascism is this device often used by Communists.

10. TEMPORARY AGREEMENTS.

Communist doctrine accepts the desirability of temporary agreements with the bourgeoisie on condition that they do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

11. POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND LOCAL GRIEVANCES.

Communist theory teaches that people should be made aware of their own daily problems and should be organized on the basis of their grievances. In thus making them aware of their problems people become politically conscious. This is the particular task of the Communist Party.

12. Communism emphasizes the necessity of using flexible methods adapted to the exigencies of each situation as it arises.

IX. FRONTS OR TRANSMISSIONS.

1. Fronts (or transmissions) are organisations which are not professedly communist but are used by communists to spread communist doctrine (which doctrine involves action) to reach people or spheres of public opinion which a communist acting directly or openly as a communist could not reach. These organisations therefore serve as transmission agents for communist ideas and communist policy and therefore serve to promote the ideas of Communism for world-wide action.

X. DOCTRINE OF REVOLUTION.

1. The law of the negation (or the strife between theses and antithesis) contains the philosophical basis for the Communist doctrine of violent revolution. Applied to capitalist society this means that capitalism engenders its own antithesis, the proletariat. A violent clash inevitably occurs and a synthesis viz. the classless society is brought into being. The proletariat can also be said to be the negation of capitalism, destroying capitalism and thereby bringing to being a new entity.

2. Since modern capitalist states retain elements of feudalism while developing into the imperialist state at the same time the anti-feudal revolution is inseparable from the ^{and anti-capitalist} anti-imperialist/revolution which leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and the final communist stage.

3. (a) The first revolution viz the revolution to destroy feudalism is called the bourgeois democratic revolution. It aims to bring about a radical revolution in relation to the ownership of landed property in favour of the peasantry and to establish democracy.

(b) In the modern world the bourgeois revolution when led by the workers also liquidates big capital.

4. Though the bourgeois revolution in itself is not necessarily a violent revolution if it is associated with the socialist revolution then it would necessarily be associated with violence.
5. The national democratic revolution has the same aims as the bourgeois revolution except that it emphasizes the national aspect of the revolutionary process, the fact that a certain nation is involved.
6. The revolution known to Communism as the socialist revolution (also called communist revolution or revolution of the dictatorship of the proletariat) is a violent revolution aimed at the destruction of the capitalist or imperialist state. This revolution brings the elimination of the bourgeois class and private ownership of the means of production and leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat.
7. The view of Khrushchov and others that violence will depend on whether the Capitalist class shoots first, does not affect the doctrine of violence.

8. Communism opposes other schools of socialist thought which advocate the achievement of improvement in society by process of gradual reforms or by making laws i.e. methods falling short of violence, and deprecatingly termed reformism, legalism or gradualism. This doctrine of the inevitability of violent revolution distinguishes communism from other schools of socialism.
9. The two revolutions viz. the bourgeois (also called national democratic revolution) and the socialist revolution often merge or become interwoven.
10. Communists are required to support the bourgeois revolution and to press on to the socialist revolution.
11. The iron discipline of the Communist Party demands loyalty to the Communist idea of revolution.

XI. PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.

1. The concept of a People's Democracy is a Communist concept and refers to a type of state arising from a people's democratic revolution, i.e. a revolutionary process consisting of a combination of the bourgeois (or national democratic) revolution with the socialist revolution. The communist concept of violent revolution is therefore part of the concept of a people's democracy. In a developed form a people's democracy has the same aims and function as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

2. The immediate aims of the revolutionary process leading to a people's democracy is firstly to smash fascism which is identified with capitalism; secondly to expropriate land especially of the large landowner and to redivide the land among the peasants and thirdly to break down finance monopoly and banks.

3. The concept of people as used in the people's democratic dictatorship which is the same as people's democracy refers only to supporters of the leading group in the regime i.e. the Communist Party as leader of the workers and peasants in particular. The reactionary groups

such as landlords, and the monopolists, capitalists and bourgeois bureaucrats are not part of the regime and must ultimately be relentlessly eliminated on the principle that democracy is only for the people.

4. The Police force, the armies, the civil service of the bourgeois state must be disbanded as being instruments of oppression and replaced by representatives of the people so as to become a people's police force, people's army, people's civil service.
5. In the initial stages of its development a People's Democracy may be in some ways indistinguishable from a bourgeois socialist state unless certain decisive factors are known such as e.g.:-
the form of government, who governs, whether the Government Party has obtained or is gradually obtaining centralized control, the use of a list vote or other decisive features.
6. In terms of communist theory the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of Hungary, of Poland, of Albania, of Czechoslovakia, the People's Republic of China are included under the description of People's Democracy. The People's Republic of

Rumania and the German Democratic Republic are sometimes referred to as People's Democracies. The States of Vietnam and North Korea are referred to as People's Democracies although on a lower standard of development than the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe.

7. All known People's Democracies in existence are Communist States.

XII. INTERNATIONAL POLICY.

1. The Marxist-Leninist foreign policy is essentially a theory of internationalism.
2. The primary loyalty of the proletariat is to its own interests which have become international as a result of the development of imperialism. In as much as Russia stands for the protection of working class interests the primary loyalty of the proletariat must be to Russia. This attitude as a matter of logic is exclusively Communist.
3. According to Communist theory the world is divided into two inevitable opposites: on the one side, the peace loving Communist bloc comprising the U.S.S.R. China and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe and on the other side the war-mongering imperialist bloc led by the U.S.A. and consisting of Great Britain, France etc.

XIII. THREE INTERNATIONALS.

Communist doctrine accepts the facts regarding and adopts the attitude towards the so-called First, Second and Third Internationals as set out hereunder:-

I. FIRST INTERNATIONAL:

The First International established by Karl Marx in 1864. It was based on the idea of international unity of the proletarian parties of the world.

II. SECOND INTERNATIONAL:

The Second International was founded about 1869. During the First World War the Second International had become too reformist, according to Communist doctrine. Lenin objected to this reformist element in the Second International which had supported the so-called imperialist war because it believed it could achieve its aim through reform and parliamentary procedure. Lenin therefore broke away from the Second International insisting that the necessary changes could only be achieved by a proletarian revolution and not by reformist methods.

III. THIRD INTERNATIONAL:

(a) The Third International was established in March 1919 on initiative of the Bolsheviks
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under Lenin. It was an international revolutionary proletarian organisation, Communist (and Marxist-Leninist) in character, therefore opposed to 'class peace' and reformism.

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS POINTS ON COMMUNIST DOCTRINE.

(a) RELIGION.

(i) Communist doctrine is fundamentally materialist and therefore also anti-religious.

(ii) Communist practice, however, tolerates and cooperates with religious bodies and persons and admits religious persons as members of the Communist Party, provided they do nothing to obstruct the implementation of Communist Party policy.

(b) DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

(1) Communist theory is that the Communist Party must be based organisationally on the principle of democratic centralism. This means that the party is a tightly organised body controlled by hierarchical bodies with power very much centralised at the top and the higher absolutely controlling the lower. This ensures a rigid discipline on the part of every party member.

(c) RE-ACTIONARY RULERS.

The phrase 're-actionary rulers' is in line with Communist doctrine.

(d) TAILISM (TAIL ON).

Reference to tailing on comes directly from a quotation of Lenin and refers to the fact that certain groups should lead (not tail on or trail behind).

(e) "Real Militant Mass Organization".

This phrase is frequently used by Lenin and Stalin to describe the nature of the Communist Party Organization.

Schedule No.7.

T H E F R E E D O M C H A R T E R

ADOPTED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AT
KLIPTOWN, JOHANNESBURG, ON JUNE 25 AND 26, 1955.

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country
and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black
and white, and that no government can justly claim
authority unless it is based on the will of all the
people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to
land, liberty and peace by a form of government
founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until
all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal
rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all
the people, can secure to all their birthright
without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore we, the People of South Africa, black and white
together--equals, countrymen and brothers--adopt this
F R E E D O M C H A R T E R. And we pledge ourselves to
strive together sparing neither strength nor courage,
until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and
to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the adminis-
tration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of
race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and
authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-
government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH !

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THEY SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED.

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind, shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES: SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;
Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation ----not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates---Basutoland, Bechuana-land and Swaziland---shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the people of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close cooperation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

Collection: 1956 Treason Trial
Collection number: AD1812

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

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