

Is it accepted in political science, or what is the form of the state, the Soviet State, as accepted in political science?-- I think there are two theories. The first is -- I am now speaking not as a communist political scientist -- the first is that the U.S.S.R. is really the logical application of the doctrine generally called Marxism-Leninism, and then there is another general type of theory which points out that on certain features the U.S.S.R. had perhaps deviated to a certain extent, from Marxism-Leninism, but the basic theory is that the U.S.S.R. is within the bounds of practicality (10 a Marxist-Leninist state.

Is it possible that the U.S.S.R. today may do something, which in the opinion of the political scientists is something which does not fall within the scope of Marxism-Leninism?--There are arguments that actually the U.S.S.R. (15 has occasionally done things like that.

In that respect then, as far as your evidence goes, and your qualifications go, communism in your view is the same as Marxism-Leninism. ?-- Yes, as it is generally accepted. (20

And if Russia were to do something today which would go against Marxism-Leninism, that what she would do or say to her leaders, would not be communism?-- That would be the position, and has been the position.

And then, Mr. De Vos, if that is so, and if we are (25 dealing with communism being equivalent to Marxism-Leninism, how do you deal with this evidence?

BY MR. DE VOS: Milords, on the questions I have asked this witness, he has said that communism in theory, or the communist theory accepts certain policies..... (30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: How does it take the matter further if the witness then says that the U.S.S.R., the leaders of the

U.S.S.R. objected to a certain organisation; if what you want is that on principle, on Marxism-Leninism, the U.S.S.R. should logically adopt a certain attitude against certain blocs or organisations. What evidence is there that that is Marxism-Leninism? And if it is, if the author of the (5 speech relies on his view, relies on classics, to what extent does it help? How is it relevant?

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, the witness has said that he examined what is done, what is said, by the Soviet leader concerned, professedly..... (10

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: His evidence is that a particular act or speech of a Russian leader need not be within terms of Marxism-Leninism.

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, Milord, but he has also said that he is in a position to test that, and to express an opinion as (15 to whether a certain policy is in line, or not.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Why are we interested in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union?

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, because it.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: If that policy need not be a source (20 of Marxism-Leninism.

BY MR. DE VOS: But because it can be a source, and very often is a source, Milord, in terms of the evidence as I understand it; this witness says.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Once it is accepted in Marxism-Leninism (25 but a single speech unless it is accepted as a source and is treated with authority -- how is a single speech going to help?

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, that was the difficulty the witness was in; he was not in a position to give -- he quotes one source (30 which he says supports him, but that is not

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BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: We have had the argument.

BY MR. DE VOS: Not the total source.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: And until we have given a judgment a ruling on the question that has been argued before, now and particularly a few days ago, we are waiting for the (5 record, this question is not admissible.

BY MR. DE VOS: As Your Lordship pleases; that will stand over then, but I assume I may come back to any relevant points on that basis if it were ruled in that way.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: I may say that we have enquired (10 into the copy of the record, but apparently there is a delay in the department which does the roneo-ing.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Milords, I put a further document to the witness, B.79. Professor Murray, you have the original before you, and I refer your Lordships to page(15 1237 of the record. It is "South Africa's Way Forward," and it is apparently read in as a whole, according to the record on that page. I refer the witness to page 4 of the document, beginning with "If this ideology....." ?-- The sub-title is "The Basic Structure", and the sentence in the (20 second paragraph - "If this ideology of the Nationalists..."

That begins on the bottom of page 1238, Line 30, and proceeds to page 1239. Professor Murray, the reference goes down to the bottom of page 5 of the document...?-- "The people's alliance is being built up." (25

That is page 1241, line 27 ?-- I begin at my page 4, "The brief analysis of this structure shows it is characterised by the predominance of financial and gold-mining groups....

Do you read from the document, or is that your (30 opinion you are reading ?-- I am quoting from the text.

.....the predominance of financial and goldmining groups in alliance with big farming interests, the amassing by these interests of vast super profits, derived from the exploitation of non-white masses who are regarded purely as sources of cheap labour. The (5 granting of numerous concessions and monopolies to the European working and middle-class, due to buying their support, and maintaining some stability for this top-heavy structure.

The analysis there follows Lenin's analysis, and indeed (10 Marx's, of the social structure, before a revolution takes place, and of the capitalist policy before a revolution takes place. There are the finance and land interests predominating, and these interests buy over the petit bourgeoisie, the middle class, and some of the working class, to support (15 them. It goes on to say that the Nationalists differ from their predecessors in the Union Government chiefly in that they are carrying this infamous system to an extreme of barbarity and ruthlessness, destroying the last vestiges of democratic rights won by the people in former days, and fanning (20 to the utmost, the ugly passions of race hatred. The phrase "destroying the last vestiges of democratic rights," is part of the communist teaching on fascism. I read the next heading and sentences -

The True Alternative. The choice before South Africa (25 is not one between the various methods of maintaining white supremacy. The true choice lies between suffering and increasingly brutal fascist dictatorship on the one hand, and on the other, emancipating the majority of the people, from the oppressors and serfdom in a (30 multi-racial democracy, affording equal rights and

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opportunities to all men and women." The analysis there accepts this particular interpretation of fascism.

What particular interpretation do you refer to ?--
As given in communist doctrine. I read the next paragraph - (5

During the post-war years the ruling class of South Africa has been faced with mounting difficulties. These arise from the general international crisis of capitalism in which this country is involved, and so from the marked advance in the leadership and effectiveness (10 of the non-European liberation movement, which has evoked keen interest and warm sympathy throughout the world. In these circumstances the capitalists turn more and more to the use of terror and force in order to maintain the colour bar system, and the Nationalist (15 Party has proved a useful implement for the implementation of such methods.

Milords, it is part of the communist analysis of the present condition of capitalism, that capitalism is undergoing an international crisis, and therefore has to resort to force (20 and suppression to maintain itself. I refer to the paragraph -

The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was the biggest and most important mass action ever carried out by the oppressed people of South Africa. It was this campaign which showed up the general election of 1953 as a hollow sham (25 fight between rival oppressors.

The reference to the hollow sham fight refers to the theory held in communist doctrine that there is no real opposition, so that there is no longer any real liberal discussion of affairs in Parliament. I think that concludes what I have (30 to say. The analysis here of the situation is straightforward

from Communist doctrine.

Professor Murray, I refer you now to page 8, the words "It is vain...." Could you give the title of the specific heading in your book ?-- "The Labour Movement,"

Page 1243 of the record, it is the heading, and on (5 page 1244, line 19. Beginning there, Professor Murray, and continuing to the words "reinforcing it, apparently on the same page in your document; in the record page 1245, line 10 ?-- I read -

It is vain therefore for African organisations to (10 seek for their strength in elaborate office routine and administrative machinery. Their strength lies and can only lie in the building of militant rank and file bodies, with active committees ceaselessly attending to daily complaints in every factory and workshop. (15 The say is not by Government Departments which in fact are the employers, but by the consciousness, unity and determination of the workers themselves. To build such trade unions requires a searching review of their present methods by all the trade unions. It requires (20 discarding unsuitable methods, and the adoption of new methods which will bring them close to the workers. It is a task which will require the full and continuous co-operation of the liberation movement, and of all progressive people, but if this task is properly car- (25 ried out, it will result in the creation of powerful and indestructible trade unions which will not only succeed in raising the living standards of the members, but will be an integral part of the people's movement for freedom, greatly strengthening and reinforcing it. (30

The argument here is the communist argument, that the revolu-

tionary movement, is a workman's movement, a working class movement, and the trade union must form a very important part a basic part of this movement. It interprets trade unionism not merely as being concerned with the immediate working conditions of the particular industry, but joins it into a (5 political and social movement. That is in direct line with communist teaching.

Does that complete that extract ?-- Yes.

Now, still on page 8, I refer you to the heading "The Rural Areas." beginning from there, that is page 1245 of (10 the record, line 11, and continuing to page 10 of the document "Money Mad Warmongers." Line 15 page 1248 ?-- In the first paragraph headed "The Rural Areas" the argument is that the many landless people in the country should be organised in the fight against fascism. Page 9, the sentence is (15

In this as in every other field of South African life, unity and organisation is the key to the resistance to fascism as we advance to democracy.

It is a part of communist theory of revolution that the peasantry must be organised, and co-operate with the working (20 class in all stages of the revolution, from the bourgeois democratic stage through. The next paragraph refers to youth movements, and the position taken up there is in line with communist doctrine that youth movements must play a part in the people's struggle for freedom, and the youth must be (25 organised. The next paragraph is headed Workers Organisations, and that follows the Communist line in the emphasis it puts on the position that women must be organised for the struggle. The next paragraph is headed "For World Peace" and I will read a few lines from the second paragraph starting -(30

The aggressive forces in the U.S.A. and its satellites

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who seek to profit from war preparations and from war itself can and must be compelled to give way to the persistent and organised demand of the ordinary people of all countries, including America itself. To end the cold war and conclude a pact for peace between the (5 five Great Powers.

The line there is to stamp the United States of America and its satellites, and other imperial countries, as the aggressive forces, and that is in line with communist doctrine. I think that concludes what one has to say. In the last para- (10 graph the doctrine of world peace, I may say, forms an integral part of communist doctrine, based on communist philosophy and analysis.

Does that complete your remarks on that particular passage ?-- Yes. (15

Now, I refer you to page 14 of the document; "Towards a People's Democracy" page 1253, line 11. Your reference ends 'democratic state' page 15 of your document ?-- The heading is "Towards a People's Democracy" and the demands are summarised. I would draw attention to two elements in the (20 demands, demands that must be proclaimed through the freedom charter - the people must proclaim through the freedom charter their demands, and I read the second paragraph under that

That the rich farm lands of South Africa be shared among their rightful owners, those who plough them and (25 water them with their sweat.

It is part of communist theory on democratic people's democracies, that as a first step, land shall be expropriated from the big land owners to eliminate feudalism, and shall be re-divided among the peasantry who today work the land (30 without owning the land. I refer to the second sentence -

That the big mining and other monopoly owned industries of our country become the property of the people. It is part on the doctrine of the revolution leading to people's democracies, that to destroy feudalism and capitalism the second step must be taken, which is that the large (5 finance monopolies shall be nationalised and put in the hands of the people. I refer to the paragraph, about 7 lines later, beginning -

All these demands, of course, will not be attained (10 just by drafting a charter. They must be fought for. They will be realised only when the basic colour bar structure in South Africa has been abolished and replaced by a people's democratic state.

The term "People's Democratic State," has a particular (15 significance, in communist theory, and I have mentioned it before, it has been identified with the Soviet form of government.

Does that conclude your comments ?-- Yes.

COURT ADJOURNS:

COURT RESUMES ON THE 28TH OCTOBER, 1959.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

ANDREW HOWSON MURRAY, under former oath;

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTINUED :

Professor Murray, I put to you a document, B. 12. It is entitled "Resolutions Passed at the Eighth Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress, held on the 25th, 26th and 27th March, 1955." It occurs at page 1107 of the record, and I put to you - I refer you to the beginning, under the heading "World Peace". It occurs at page 1107, line 29? --- In the section referred to, this document supports the Communist approach in its condemnation of the United States of America as regards the People's Republic of China and Formosa, the colonial policy on which that is based is explained, and it opposes what is called "imperial domination, military bases, war pacts and colonial exploitation".

I think you should just refer to the sentences you have in mind, as you go along, and make clear where you quote from the document and where you give your opinion on any particular position? --- The first sentence I refer to begins "Conference condemns the attitude of the United States of America in regard to the claim of the People's Republic of China to Formosa, which is an integral part of China". The second sentence is marked (b). "The ending of imperial domination, military bases, war pacts and colonial exploitation and the withdrawal of the United States forces from all foreign countries".

Is that under the heading "Conference Calls for..."? --- That is under the heading "Conference Calls for..." item (b). Those items of policy follow on the doctrine of Communism.

In what way, very shortly? --- I stated before that the doctrine of Communism preaches peace and regards the imperial camp as the warmongering camp, establishing military bases, while it stands for a condition of world peace.

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If you have completed this reference, Professor, will you proceed to page 2 on your document under the heading of "Bannings and Police State", paragraph 3 of the document. This paragraph has not been read in, and I propose to read it in now. It is under the heading "Bannings and Police State" :

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"Conference most vehemently condemns the deep inroads made by the Nationalist Government on individual freedom by means of such obnoxious legislation as the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Public Safety Act and Criminal Law and Procedure Amendment Bill, which places into the hands of the Minister of Justice and his police force unlimited arbitrary powers. Conference notes with deep concern the tragic trend in South Africa towards a fascist police state and the government's insidious attack on freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of thought and freedom of speech. Conference therefore demands (a) The immediate repeal of all legislation aimed at subjecting the people of South Africa to a fascist dictatorship; (b) The immediate removal of bans imposed by the Minister of Justice on trade union and progressive leaders, who have stood firmly for the cause of justice; (c) The government recognition of the principles contained in the United Nations Charter on Human Rights. Conference welcomes the campaign of the Congress of the People and the

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Convention of a National Assembly for the formulation of a Freedom Charter, as the most effective declaration against Nationalist trends towards a fascist police state. Conferences therefore urges the Indian people not to be dragooned into silence, but to speak out in defence of human liberty and demand the recognition and extension of full freedom to each and every person, irrespective of race, colour or creed." --- I refer to the following paragraphs, the first paragraph beginning "Conference most vehemently condemns the deep inroads made by the Nationalist government on individual freedom, by means of such obnoxious legislation as the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Public Safety Act and Criminal Law and Procedure Amendment Bill, which place in the hands of the Minister of Justice and his police force unlimited arbitrary power". The next sentence, "Conference notes with deep concern the tragic trend in South Africa towards a fascist police state". I go on, "Conference therefore demands that (a) "The immediate repeal of all legislation aimed at subjecting the people of South Africa to a fascist dictatorship". Then I skip two paragraphs, and I read "Conference welcomes the campaign of the Congress of the People and the convention of a National Assembly for the formulation of a Freedom Charter as the most effective declaration against Nationalist trends towards a fascist police state". The sense in which the term fascism is used here follows on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of that term, and is used to interpret the situation in this country along those lines.

Does that complete your comment on this particular portion? --- Yes.

I refer you to page 9 of the same document,

paragraph 20, under the heading "Bantu Education Act".
That is page 1115 of the record, My Lord, line 6? --- I
read the first paragraph under that heading : "This Con-
ference reiterates its condemnation of the Bantu Education
Act which is aimed at preparing the African people mentally 5
to accept baasskapiism and fascist domination". I wish to
refer to the word "fascist" there once again.

I put to you the next reference, page 10 of
the same document, paragraph 25, page 1115, line 19 of the
record, My Lord, under the heading "Support for the South 10
African Congress of Trade Unions"? --- I wish to read this
paragraph, the heading is "Support for South African Congress
of Trade Unions. This Eighth Annual Provincial Conference
of the Natal Indian Congress, recognising the important
role a united, democratic trade union organisation could 15
play in the struggle of the people of South Africa for
freedom and democracy, welcomes the formation of the South
African Congress of Trade Unions, whose main objectives are
similar to that of the Congress Movement". The interpreta-
tion of trade unions and their functions has been more than 20
- limited to the actual interest of the particular factory
but as being joined up with a wider struggle and a wider
movement, is in line with the Communist doctrine on the
role of trade unions in the proletarian struggle.

Is that all? I am not quite sure whether 25
you have anything to add or not? --- That is all I have to
say. I could make one further statement there, the trade
union movement is identified with a body - not a trade
union body, namely the Congress Movement, which carries the
point one step further, that the trade unions do not limit 30
themselves to a particular work of a trade union, but joins
the wider body.

Page 12 is the next reference which I put to you, under paragraph 29, "Propaganda" and the second paragraph under that heading. It is also on page 1115, My Lords? --- I read the sentence beginning "Conference also requests the Executive to take energetic steps to build up the political awareness of its members by the holding of regular meetings to discuss political theory, and analyse political developments, relevant to the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy in South Africa." As has been said before, the great emphasise - great emphasise is laid on Communist doctrine in method and strategy and tactics, that political awareness and an understanding of the situation should be the basis on which action should take place, and this statement falls in line with that. I may point out that the phrase "peace, freedom and democracy" in that sequence, occurs frequently in Communist literature.

Does that complete this document? --- Yes!

I put to you B.13. It occurs on page 1116 of the record, My Lords. You have the document before you, Professor? --- I have the document.

The name is..? --- "Report of Mr. A. E. Jatel, Acting Secretary, presented to the Working Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress held on Sunday, 3rd April, 1955". Exhibit No. B.13.

I refer you to page 1 of that document? --- I read the first paragraph, beginning "This Working Committee of our Congress meets at a time when our community, with the rest of the South African people is facing the danger of the entrenchment of the fascist group into power. We can no longer speak of the threat of fascism, but of its stark reality. We are face to face with the ruthless police state of Strijdom, Verwoerd, Swart triumverate."

And I read the fourth paragraph from the middle - from the beginning : "The current session of parliament sets grim prospects before all our people and our country. All the major legislation now before parliament are aimed at the further...."

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I don't think that paragraph is in the record. It is being read in now by the witness. I couldn't find a reference to that in the record? --- "All the major legislation now before parliament are aimed at the further encroachment on the last remaining vestiges and the rights of the individual, and the further enslavement of the non-European people. For their attainment the government are giving wide, arbitrary and fascist powers to the Cabinet Ministers and the police force. Among the proposed legislation is a Bill to making it a heavily punishable crime, a criminal offence, to leave South Africa without a passport and so on". I read the fifth paragraph beginning : "Representatives and members...." Excuse me, must I read this whole paragraph in order to have it read in?

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Professor Murray, if you wish to comment on that particular paragraph, read it in, please? Professor Murray, will you make sure that what you comment on is read in? --- The section that I have to offer comment on has been read in. I continue the fifth paragraph : "Representatives and members meeting here must not fail to realise the serious situation that faces us in common with the rest of the country, because we amongst the oppressed, the danger is all the greater, for fascism strikes ruthlessly against those who are the greatest exponents of democracy." I have to point out the reference to fascism and the reference to a police state, and the fact that the interpretation put on these terms as applied

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to the situation here, follows on the Communist analysis of fascism. I go on to the seventh paragraph. "The main features of our approach to international..."

It has been read in, My Lord, on page 117, My Lord, line 22? --- "The main features in our approach to 5 international affairs are that that we stand for peace and reject imperialism, colonial oppression and racial discrimination. Countries of the world are beginning to realise that if lasting peace is to be established in the world and goodwill is to come to the entire mankind, then 10 all the causes of war must be eliminated. One of the chief causes leading to international conflict is the practice of racial discrimination, and when in this country we oppose the policy of apartheid, we are advancing the cause of peace. Colonialism, eliminated from the major segment 15 of Asia and with Africa's millions awakening to the historic task of liberation, of this continent from foreign and international domination, the days of oppression of one racial group by another is coming to an end. Racial discrimination having its origin in colonial and economic exploitation, 20 too, is receiving startling blows in all the countries of the world." The point I wish to make on those two paragraphs is that the interpretation of colonialism and liberation follows the Communist doctrine, and I have to point out that it is part of Communist doctrine particularly that racialism 25 is promoted by colonialism, and imperialism, in order to divide the people of the colonies. I read the next paragraph but one, beginning "The Government of..."

That has been read in, but insofar as you wish to make use of it to explain your opinion, you may 30 read it again. But just for your information, it is on record. It is page 118, line 10 of the record. Perhaps

if you could say how far you wish to make use of it, I could check whether the whole has been read in? --- I want to point out that the document supports the claim of China to membership of the Security Council, which - that attitude follows on the Communist analysis that there should be 5 international co-operation in which all countries are represented in the United Nations.

Is the mention of China of any relevance at all? --- The reference is to China and the support by this document that China should be allowed to join the United 10 Nations. There is a reference to Maa-Tse-tung and friendship and peace with the republic of India and Asia today, and a reference against imperialism. But I was referring to the support of China's claim to membership in the Security Council. 15

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Mr. de Vos, haven't we had this several times before? Why must we have it again? We had exactly the same thing on two or three occasions, that is a demand by the - that the Republic of China should be admitted to 20 the United Nations. In the one document this morning, we have had two expositions by Professor Murray on fascism and a police state. To me, really, this is unnecessary repetition. It is quite clear that in some of the B.'s that have been read in, there have been innumerable 25 references to what Professor Murray said several times. He has had to repeat his evidence, I feel certain on half a dozen points. Now, does the Crown want it that way? If so, why? Because if we had it once, must we have it time and time again? If it has been explained in one 30 document and it occurs again, or those phrases occur again, in almost the same context and meaning, if not exactly the

same.

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, in fact, it is really a question of degree, how far the Crown should go. Obviously the Crown is not attempting to put all the possible material before Professor Murray. That would of course be quite impossible. It is merely attempting to put a certain selection of material before the Court, which would enable the Court to build up a certain criterion on the basis of Professor Murray's evidence. That is the attempt of the Crown, and I quite agree beyond a certain point there shouldn't be any further repetition of the same sort of points. It is only a question really of where to stop.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Do you not agree that there has been repetition by Professor Murray on exactly the same points in regard to a number of these documents.

BY MR. DE VOS :

Yes, My Lord, but very often his comments are similar, but the way in which it is put it is not always so precisely similar that the Crown could be quite sure that that interpretation would be acceptable on argument afterwards on the basis of what has been said so far. That is really I think the point the Crown should be able to make.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

If you want Professor Murray to refer to the - to any particular phrase or any particular sentence, and it coincides with what Professor Murray has already said, can he not say, well, you have referred me to that, for the reasons I have already given, the same meaning on Communism can be given here.

I don't know if there has been any vast difference or vast shades of difference in any of these matters which we have got, and I am sorry to tell you, I think the Crown is making repetitious matter of a large number of these documents. I may be wrong, but that is my very firm 5 impression of at least 60% of the evidence which Professor Murray has given. I don't want Professor Murray to think that I am taking to task...

BY MR. DE VOS :

Not at all, My Lord. I appreciate Your 10 Lordship's remarks, and it is, as I say, it is a question of interpreting phrases that might occur in different contexts, under different circumstances, and in a certain sense it is repetitious as far as the comment is concerned, but the phrase itself might not, in the context in which 15 it stands, it may produce some difficulty if it were to be interpreted merely on argument of Counsel...

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

As an immediate example, there is not one tittle of difference between the evidence given by Profes- 20 sor Murray this morning on the admission of the Republic of China to the United Nations, and what he said before. It is exactly the same. I think the references are unnecessary. But if you feel, that is the only way you can cover these documents, then please do so, but for my 25 part, I think that a large number of the matters to which you wish to direct the Professor's evidence to, or attention to, might be avoided altogether, or it could be covered by the reply 'I have dealt with these matters and the reasons previously given by me, apply in their 30 particular context here'.

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, I...

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

I leave it on that basis, but please give it
some consideration. 5

BY MR. DE VOS :

I will certainly do so. I appreciate Your
Lordship's remarks, and Your Lordship will appreciate that
on the basis of evidence of this particular nature, it is
not very easy to ascertain the exact point where the evidence 10
should stop repeating or ostensibly repeating a certain
point. But I'll bear that in mind, and I can assure Your
Lordship that the Crown will attempt to do it on as short
as possible a basis.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS RESUMED :

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Will you proceed, Professor Murray? --- I
think that is all I have to say on that page, that completes
page 2.

And that is all on that particular document?

--- Yes.

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I put to you B.99. It is page 1285 of the
record, My Lords. It has been read in as A.81, at page
389. Page 1285 refers to it under this number, but at
page 389 it has been read in under the number A.81.

Will you read the full title of the document which is in 25
front of you? --- The title is "Tenth Annual General
Meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, held at
Johannesburg, 15th May, 1955, at the Duncan Hall".

I put to you page 2, from the phrase "South
African youth must naturally.." down to "Congress Movement 30
in South Africa"? --- In this section...

Could you give us the title under which that

is read in? --- The title is "Speech Delivered by Dr. G.M. Naicker, Acting President of the South African Indian Congress, at the Opening of the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Transgaal Indian Youth Congress".

That reference which I have given you, how 5
 long is it? --- Five paragraphs. I'll read the paragraphs :
 "South African youth must naturally formulate its national
 policies within the framework of progressive international
 trends. As part of the colonial and semi-colonial youth
 of the world, they stand for the ending of all forms of 10
 imperialism. The elimination of racial segregation and
 the ending of exploitation of man by man. They are at
 one with the world wide movement for peace, and hence call
 for the abolition of the atom and hydrogen bombs. We note
 with great pride the achievement of the Afro-Asian Conference 15
 recently held at Bandung. From Indonesia delegates from
 29 nations of Asia and Africa, have made a call to the world
 to end colonial oppression and racial discrimination.
 With the major part of Asia free from colonial oppression,
 and with Africa astir with new awakening, the people of 20
 these continents are making important landmarks in the
 history of man's liberation. The Bandung Conference has
 paved the way in particular for the youth of Asia and
 Africa to work in unism for the liberation of mankind
 and I have no doubt that ^{at} future Afro-Asian conferences 25
 the non-White youth of this country will play a signifi-
 cant part. When we review the happenings in our country,
 we note that Mr. Strijdom, the Union's new Prime Minister,
 has in no uncertain terms made clear what apartheid stands
 for. During the present session of parliament has - he 30
 has for the first time admitted our accusations in
 unequivocal terms. Mr. Strijdom has stated that his party

stands for baasskap, that is domination by the White man of the non-White population of this country. When the Nationalists remove the sheepskin in which at least some of them have sought to clothe themselves, the Union parliament presented a strange spectacle. The official opposition was able to offer no real alternative to the Nationalist conception of apartheid now clarified, for they too stand for white supremacy. In fact it is crystal clear that there is no single parliamentary party which stands for universal franchise and full democratic rights. The liberation of our country must of necessity come from sources which are today engaged in extra-parliamentary struggle, hence the significance of the Congress Movement in South Africa." My Lords, I may merely refer to certain phrases here which have been explained. The phrases such as "ending of all forms of imperialism", "elimination of racial segregation" type of phrase. "To end colonial oppression and racial discrimination", in the next paragraph. And then the argument goes on to point out that the opposition in parliament has faded out and the struggle will have to be extra-parliamentary. It has been explained how that fits into Communist doctrine.

I put to you Professor Murray, - does that complete your particular reference? --- That completes this reference.

I put to you the Secretary's Report, page 1, beginning with the words "The international situation...." on page 1 of the Secretary's Report, and it continues to page 2 of that report, to the words "better life". My Lord, that has been read in on page 394 of the record, line 10. The words "The international situation.." occur on page 395, line 5? --- My Lord, the first paragraph - in the

first paragraph the position is maintained that the Communist groups, in this case more particularly Russia, is promoting world peace. It has been explained how the place of world peace in Russian policy has been explained. Then the second paragraph, beginning "Unfortunately, however..." the statement is made that certain forces, led by the Government of the United States of America have used their power to sharpen war conditions. That is part of the doctrine. The argument goes on, that under this influence, rearmament of Germany has been forced through, and that the United States of America has attempted to destroy the results of the Geneva Conference by the military bloc called South East Asia Treaty Organisation. Those points have all been covered in previous statements.

The extract ends on page 397, line 29, with the words "for a better life". That is the extract on which Professor Murray is commenting now? --- The next paragraph begins, "The formation of military alliances and the establishment of war bases..." The argument here is that military alliances and war bases follow on a policy of colonialism, and the resistance to peace and the independence of colonial countries on the side of the war mongering camp. Those points have been explained. It is consistent with Communist doctrine as I previously explained on these particular points. The next paragraph begins, "The greatest threat to the future of mankind lies on the determination of the United States and Britain to prepare for a hydrogen war." That point too has been explained as following on Communist doctrine, as well as the reference to NATO and the use of atomic powered weapons by NATO.

Does that complete...? --- No, in the last paragraph mentioned, beginning "Through the World Federation

of Democratic Youth..." the condition in Spain is referred to as fascism which involves the extension of the word as is done on Communist doctrine. I have touched on that before. That concludes that section.

I put to you page 2 of the Secretary's Report, beginning with the words "South Africa led by..." on page 398 of the record, line 2, My Lord, and ending with the words "... than ever before", line 18 on the same page - line 23 on the same page? --- The paragraph begins, "Led by the most ruthless of its leaders...", reference is again to eliminating the last vestiges of democracy, and turning out country into a police state. That follows the Communist analysis - the analysis on Communist doctrine of the position, and towards the end of the paragraph there is the sentence "Although the so-called opposition in newspapers like The Star are cowed and intimidated and speak now with the voice of the Government," that refers to the interpretation of fascism which I have already given, following Communist analysis.

The same - does that complete your comment on that? --- Yes.

The same report, page 3, from the words "The whole might of..." down to "... all desire". That passage does not seem to be in. Will you please read it in, Professor Murray? --- "The whole might of the government, all its laws, and its police and intimidation, cannot stem the rising tide of the struggle for liberation. First the Defiance Campaign in which thousands of young people participated, then the other struggles since that campaign have forged an unbreakable unity among the democratic forces of all races. The Congress of the People will further strengthen the unity....."

(BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF:)

This appears at the bottom of page 400.

BY MR. DE VOS: That is so, Milord. I have just been able to check that; apparently that is so. I am sorry, I made a mistake about the repetition. ?-- The statement in this (5 paragraph is a further statement of the position we have already met, in which the Government is interpreted as standing against forces of liberation, an interpretation which follows the Communist analysis of the contemporary situation under certain conditions. (10

Does that complete your comment on this particular portion ?-- That completes that reference.

I refer you to Resolutions, the section of the document dealing with Resolutions, page 1, from Resolution (a) Never tolasting peace." ?-- The paragraph under (b) I will (15 read.....

That again, Milord, I am afraid has not been read in. I am unable to check that passage. Will you please read in that portion you are referring to ?-- Yes. -

Never to support any war plans of any aggressor; that (20 the atomic and hydrogen bombs be banned forthwith and the power of using these will commit a barbaric and criminal act....(unclear)against humanity and be banned as an aggressor. That Formosa be returned to the People's Republic of China immediately and American (25 aid to Chiang Kai Shek be withdrawn as it threatens the peace of the world. To do everything in our power to frustrate the efforts of the warmongers, and to intensify our fight for peace. Further we believe that peace could be maintained through friendly meetings and nego- (30 tiations. Congratulates the successful Afro-Asian

Conference held at Bandung, Indonesia, on the 18th-20th April 1955, which represented more than half the world's population, and a great landmark in the struggle for peace and freedom. Welcome the Fifth Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship sponsored jointly (5 by the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the international union of students to be held in Warsaw, Poland from the 31st July to the 14th August 1955, as a mighty effort in bringing the youth of all countries together so that peace can be ensured. Regard the World (10 Assembly of Peace to be held in Helsinki, Finland, on the 22nd to 29th June, 1955, as the greatest assembly of the forces of peace and pledge our assistance to the World Council of Peace to make it a great success. Condemn the atrocities committed by the British in Kenya (15 Malaya, Cyprus and British Guiana, the Americans at Guatemala and Formosa, and the French at Tunisia and Morocco, and demand that the Chinese people be publicly admitted to the United Nations Organisation immediately. That Britain give the peoples of Cyprus, Kenya and her (20 other colonies the right to determine their own destinies. The Five Great Powers, France, Britain, New China, United States of America and the Soviet Union immediately sign a pact of lasting peace.

The point that occurs there is in paragraph (b), the reference (25 to hydrogen and atom bombs, which joins up with the peace movement, as I said before. The reference to Formosa in the next paragraph, the reference to frustration of activities of war mongers, and in paragraph 4, the criticism of British imperialism in certain colonies and American attitude to Formosa and criticism (30 of French imperialism. The reference to the Chinese

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People's Republic and the British imperialist policy in certain territories. These have all been explained as following on Communist doctrine and the principles of Communist doctrine.

That completes that particular document. Professor Murray, that document you have in your hand, has there been (5 any blue pencil deletion on it?-- There are deletions marked in blue pencil on some pages.

You have already said that in all cases you read the whole document concerned?-- I always read the whole document.

And as far as the blue pencil parts are concerned, (10 have you taken that into account in any way?-- I have read the whole document and not worried about the deletions.

And have you also considered the document with the deletions taken away?-- I have read the whole document, and my comment is based on the document as a whole. (15

Yes, I realise that. But also have you read the document with the deletions subtracted --

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: How could he do that?

BY MR. DE VOS: He could do both, Milord. He could have read the whole document and he could have also read the document (20 with the deletions

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: What document are you referring to?

BY MR. DE VOS: The one he has before him, B.99.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Is it a composite document consisting of speeches, resolutions, reports? (25

BY MR. DE VOS: That is so.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Now, the quotations have been read in from the various parts of this document; what do you want him to deal with now?

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, I want him to explain the procedure (30 he followed, that he first of all read the whole document; he

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has already said that, and that he has also considered the document with the deletions, as I put it to him, taken off; with the deleted portions not included. ?-- I have paid more attention to the undeleted portions, from which my quotations come, but I have always considered the whole document. (5

Professor Murray, the point I want to put to you is this: Do the deleted portions whether they are in or out of that document, do they in any way affect your opinion ?-- No.

Have you considered that point ?-- I have been careful about that point. The statements I make are representative (10 of the document, of the whole document.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: This witness does not purport to give evidence on the portions that have not been read, does he? He is giving evidence on the portions which have been read into the record? (15

BY MR. DE VOS: Except, Milord, he purports to give evidence on the whole.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Is the object of your questions that the witness must say that what he has said about the portions that have been read into the record is not affected in any way (20 by the rest of the document which he has also read.

BY MR. DE VOS: Quite. And that also the deleted portions of the document, he has also considered that; and whether they are in or out, that does not affect his opinion on the document. That is the procedure. (25

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: On the document as a whole?

BY MR. DE VOS: That is so.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: But the document as a whole is not before us.

BY MR. DE VOS: But I want the witness to explain the procedure he followed. He has not come to a decision..... (30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: It was made very clear at the beginning of this case when all these portions were read in; it was on the understanding that what is before the Court is that which has been read in, or what may be read in afterwards.

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, but surely Milord, the witness is entitled to say that he read the whole of the document, as it stands.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: For what purpose?

BY MR. DE VOS: Because the witness.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: How can we compare that evidence with the evidence led before us? (10

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, the attitude of the witness is this, that he must see the whole thing in context. Now it is quite obviously unnecessary.....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: He is not giving evidence on the whole thing. (15

BY MR. DE VOS: Milords, he says that he has read the whole thing, and that the reading of the whole does not affect his opinion on the part. It is irrelevant as far as he is concerned, but he has read it, so that if there were something that might affect his opinion on the part, he would have told the Court. (20

can
BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: How/we judge that bit of evidence, unless it is the whole we have got before us? And if you say: "Here is a book, 'A', this is your opinion on book 'A'. Now here is book 'B' which is not before the Court and which is not going to put before the Court; have you read book 'B'?" "Yes, I've read book 'B'" "Does that affect your judgment or your opinion on book 'A'?" "No." Now, where does that take us. (25

BY MR. DE VOS: Merely to explain to the Court the procedure he followed. That is all. (30

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BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY: We have heard Professor Murray express his opinion on the part that has been read in. Now, surely it is impossible for the Professor to give us any opinion on the whole which is not before us.

BY MR. DE VOS: No, Milords, but he can say that his opinion (5 on the parts is not affected by a reading of the whole. In other words, it is irrelevant as far as

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY: As Milord the Presiding Judge pointed out, how can you test that?

BY MR. DE VOS: I am afraid it is merely a question of explain-(10 ing the procedure, not a question of testing him on that particular point. I am prepared to leave it at that.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: I put to you, Professor Murray, B.115. It is page 1300-1 of the record, and it has been read in in full. I put the document to you as a whole, (15 Professor Murray. I think the opening paragraph is the first reference ?-- The document covers points which I have mentioned. I merely refer to the points. The document expresses the view that China, now the People's Republic of China, achieved her freedom through anti-imperialist action, and is now (20 a free people, and that the People's Republic of China has joined the side which is working for world peace, assisting in the struggle for peace and friendship. And that the struggle is against the machinations of warmongers who are daily finding new excuses for disturbing world peace to perpetuate their (25 lust for domination. The points are covered, the interpretation assumes the doctrine that the one group to which China belongs works for peace and is anti-imperialist, and the other group is warmongering.

I put to you B.261. It is called "The Situation in (30 Hungary " Parts have been read in on page 1354. The part

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that has been read in, line 5 of page 1354, is from the very top "The situation in Hungary.....inferior to the King." That has been read in, and I ask you to read in any other portions on which you wish to comment. Also, Professor Murray, if you will bear in mind on page 1 of that document, from the word (5 "Hungarian People's Democracy"....."single decade" which has also been read in, (page 1355, line 1), and prior to that the words "Before the war the working class movements..... influence ended" has also been read in. And on page 2 -- starting on page 1, "Hungarian People's Democracy..... (10 compressed into the short period of a single decade." That also has been read in. I suggest you deal with those parts first. I refer them to you, if you have any comment to make on that particular portion?-- The document gives an interpretation of the Hungarian situation in terms of the Communist (15 view, Communist doctrine, that the system at the moment prevailing in Hungary is a socialist system which has been achieved in the fight against fascism or semi-fascist working class movements. The doctrine there has been explained. The whole document contains much of this kind of matter. I am (20 selecting merely examples here and there. I go to the second statement under "Advances, Problems Unsolved. Hungarian Peoples Democracy." -

Hungarian People's Democracy still face the difficult task of step by step over-coming reaction, breaking (25 its influence on the working people, carrying through the reconstruction, mechanisation of agriculture, industrialisation, and winning the people for the advance to socialism.

I skip the next paragraph, then -

(30

The Hungarian Communist Party at the time of liberation

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was very small indeed. The process of amalgamation with the social democrats took place. The fight against reaction was started, but the creation of a new state system had to go on and industrialisation proceed and all this had to be compressed into a short period of (5 a single decade.

The statement assumes the Communist interpretation of the situation, and, amongst others, that the Communist Party has to play an important part in this revolution.

What other ways is Communist doctrine assumed there ?--(10
It is assumed in the position of the Hungarian People's Democracy had to develop beyond thethe People's Democracy is regarded as a partial development, achievement, of the socialist state, socialist society, and it must carry on with reconstruction, mechanisation of agriculture and so forth, (15
"winning the people for the advance to socialism." That is part of the doctrine of the People's Democracy on Communist lines.

Does that complete page 1 of the document ?-- There are other points on page 1, but those are illustrative of what (20 is said there, and the other points have been covered.

Now, you pass on ?-- To page 3, "Important decisions were taken regarding social-democratic reform....." That is the middle of the paragraph,

Is that under "Poland, Communists United." ?-- I could(25 make a comment on the section "Poland, Communists United" also.

This paragraph is mentioned on page 1356, line 30, of the record, but it has not been read in; it is merely mentioned, and if you wish to comment on a part there, Professor Murray, please read that portion ?-- I will read in the (30 first paragraph under "Poland, Communists United."

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The Seventh Planum of the Polish Party took place in July and took the step of deciding on a line of systematic improvement of living standards, and socialist democratisation. At the same time the Planum paid tribute to the great achievement of the Polish Six (5 Year Plan.

It is part of Communist doctrine that when a Peoples Democracy is established, there should naturally be improvement of living standards and increased socialist democratisation, both of land and industry. I read the three paragraphs (10 lower -

The Resolution of the Eighth Planum stated that the Party must place itself at the head of the working class and all the leading socialist forces of the nation in the process of overcoming the survival (15 errors and distortions of the past period, in order to continue this process to the end, regardless of the inevitable transitory difficulties and hesitation against the manouevres of the reactionary forces.

It has been stated before that in the People's Democracy at (20 the first stage there is co-operation with the reactionary bourgeois classes, and that gradually the party must place itself at the head of the working class, and continue its process of socialisation, and fight the manouevres of the reactionary forces. This is a statement of that doctrine. (25. The next paragraph explains that -

It is only on this condition that false liberal bourgeois tendencies amongst vacillating elements could be overcome.

That is in line with the doctrine. That completes that. (30 Now, will you mention the next extract you wish to

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refer to ?-- Two paragraphs further -

Important decisions were taken regarding economic social and democratic reform. At the same time there was no illusion about the menace of reaction. The resolution declares the main front of the struggle (5 in the electoral campaign will be run between the forces of socialism, rallied under the leadership of our party on the one hand, and the forces of reaction on the other, forces which will undoubtedly attempt to take advantage of the difficulties of the political(10 situation of the country, as well as the economic difficulties to conduct the campaign directed against our party, to weaken the unity of the national front, and to utilise the still not overcome moods of embitterment and mistrust among the section of the working people for(15 anti-socialist agitation. Freedom may serve in our country only the working people, the builders of a new socialist system. There can be no freedom for the enemies of socialism and of the people's power.

These points have been made, that there will be a fight, (20 when once the People's Democracy is established, between the working people, under the leadership of the Party, and the bourgeoisie, which has to be removed, and that at the next stage there will be freedom only for the working people and not for the enemies. That point has been made previously as (25 part of Communist doctrine. The next paragraph under that heading is "Right Wing Plots Well Laid."

That is on page 1357, but it has not been read in.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: I don't want for a moment to suggest that we shouldn't carry on, but as far as I remember, isn't (30 this document, on the face of it, an apology for Russian

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armed intervention in Hungary., -- on the face of it -- an attempt to explain the armed intervention, that is so far as I remember.

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, I think it was.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: Why must this then be analysed in (5 detail, if that is the object, on the face of the document? You may go on ...

BY MR. DE VOS: It was merely to indicate the use made in the doctrine, Milord. Professor Murray, will you refer to the next point you have there?-- The paragraph begins "Right (10 Wing, plots well laid."

A difficult political problem involved in the change is therefore clear, that the change had to be decisive and the party had to lead. It will be for Hungarian Communists fully to analyse the event, but it would (15 appear to us that an internal party battle went on without sufficient thought to what was happening outside, which gave the supreme opportunity for^{which} Hungarian reaction together with United States imperialism had been preparing for years, and if there had been one (20 utilisation of slogans for democracy, for anti-socialism and anti-sovietism in Poland, as the comrade pointed out, how much more did it happen in Hungary in that particular situation. Behind the just demands of the people, all kinds of forces were organising (25 the army.

Once again the situation is described according to the analysis that there are reactionary movements in people's democracies, and the analysis accepts the communist interpretation of the situation in Hungary. (30

What is the next point you have to refer to, Professor

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Murray ?-- I could refer, among others, to a short paragraph on page 4, headed "SovietMemories are Short," the third paragraph "It is equally clear...."

That has been read in on page 1357, line 12, of the record ?-- The point made there is that the development, on (5 this interpretation, the development in this country, and in people's democracies, has the suppress the remains of capitalism and landlordism which want to destroy the people's power as such, and that is part of the communist analysis of the people's democracy, the theory of people's democracy. That (10 is what I have to say there. I could make one further point. I think this point repeats what has been said before, and I will not go on with it.

On the document as a whole, have you any comment to offer from the point of view of communist doctrine ?-- It is (15 a document which describes events in Hungary on the basis of communist doctrine, the analysis based on Communist doctrine and theory.

Professor Murray, I refer to you B.267, "Poland, Hungary, U.S.S.R." And on the title page: "Facts and docu- (20 ments issued by the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, Johannesburg, December, 1956. It is mentioned on page 1360 of the record, line 23, but it has not been read in at all. I refer the document to you -- first of all the introduction.....α have you any particular refer- (25 ence in mind on that document ?-- The first reference is to page 6, on "War Danger,"

The Hungarian people are proud of their socialist regime and will not allow it to be destroyed. If the counter-revolutionaries had triumphed in Hungary (30 there would have been direct danger of a new war. The

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facts prove that their aims were to penetrate a corner of the camp of the socialist countries so as to compromise the whole. Imray Nagi's Call to the United Nations. Under the pretext of neutrality in reality put Hungary and other countries on the brink of war.(5

The interpretation of the Hungarian situation there follows the Communist position.

BY MR. MAISELS: Milord, I don't mind the witness quoting at all, and I don't mind him quoting a section, but if it is a quotation of what somebody else said, a completely wrong im- (10
pression is given unless it is stated.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPF: I don't follow the point. We know this is a document, and there is a passage referred to, whether it is a speech or writing, or what it purports to be, I don't know. I only know that the contents of this para- (15
graph is as he says.

BY MR. MAISELS: Yes, Milord, I only thought that in the interests of getting some sort of correct perspective of what a document is, if it is before Your Lordships, it should be said that this is a quotation, purports to be a quotation (20
from the speech of somebody, but if that is not the way it is to be done, Milord, I have nothing further to say.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: ?-- What I read was in inverted commas, and is apparently a quotation of a speech by somebody, or writing by somebody. I turn to page 13, (25
and I need only read one line there, at page 12, the middle - (Wait and Think)

Don't forget please that.....It is the policy of the ruling class of the United States to bring about war against the Soviet Union..... dragging the British, (30
that means you, your husband, your son, into it.

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It is the policy of that ruling class, in support of its war policy to stir up ill will against the Soviet Union, whenever and however it can, and in particular to use the capitalist press everywhere to spread stories for that purpose. The Soviet Union (5 wants peace and works for it. Unlike the rulers of the United States, it has no motive for aggression and can make no profits from the armaments race.

In the light of these facts, think quietly a little about Hungary, and you will realise that nearly all (10 the information you have about it comes from the capitalist press. Much of it is plainly fantastic and it is not yet possible to sort out the truth from the lies.

The attitude taken here assumes the communist teaching on the (15 role of the Soviet State in relation to peace and the imperialist camp; that has been explained. I turn to page 13, and read one sentence, the middle of the page, under the heading "Chinese View on Hungary," an editorial from "China's Youth Daily," No. 21, 1956. (20

When the lessons of Hungary have been mastered, the world communist movement will take a gigantic stride forward. In a profound article analysing the Hungarian events, the paper says that efforts to show that the socialist world is disunited, are nothing but bankrupt (25 idealism.

The position is again maintained that the situation in Hungary can be interpreted in terms of communist theory, and I turn to page 17, lastly, Soviet Statements on Disarmament. I will read the first paragraph of the statement - (30

The U.S.S.R. Government has issued a statement on the

problem of disarmament and easing international tension. Noting that the armoured attack on Egypt by France and Britain and Israel has created a situation threatening peace, and has sharply placed before the people the danger of a third world war, the statement (5 goes on to say

I propose to put that whole reference to you under that particular heading, Professor Murray; I will read it in for you, you can comment on that. This is page 17, "Soviet Statement on Disarmament." I will read in the particular passage:(10 This is from the document B.267, and on the title page, inter alia, appears "Yamas Kadar, what happened in Hungary," then D.P. Shepilov, "Speech on Hungary at United Nations," then D.M. Quit, Q.C., "Anti-Soviet Hysteria," then a "Chinese View on the Situation," then "The Polish Soviet Agreement,"(15 then Soviet Statement on Disarmament. These articles are mentioned on the front page, of B.267. And I read from the heading "Soviet Statement on Disarmament."

The U.S.S.R. Government has issued a statement on the problem of disarmament and easing international ten- (20 sion. Noting that the armed attack on Egypt by Britain France and Israel has created a situation threatening peace, and has sharply placed before the people the dangers of a third world war, the statement goes on to say: In order to divert world attention (25 from the bare-faced aggression in Egypt, reactionary circles of the West are attributing to the Soviet Union, all kinds of absurd schemes against Western Europe, the Middle East, and so on. War hysteria is being whipped up to the utmost. However, those (30 who are resorting to these methods have been completely

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tangled up. The military gamble against Egypt has led to a serious weakening of Britain's and France's political position in Europe and military strategic positions as well. To a serious weakening of the military forces of the North Atlantic bloc on the European continent, and if the Soviet Union were actually guided by any considerations of present trends, of how the situation is shaping up for her from the point of view of the correlation of forces between the powers, and entertained the aggressive designs ascribed to her, (10 it would seem that the Soviet Union could utilise the situation now taking shape, to act against the armed forces of the Atlantic bloc and could carry out the military aims ascribed to her with respect to Western Europe, even without employing present-day nuclear and (15 jet weapons. However, as was the case at the end of the second world war, so today the U.S.S.R. does not have any aims other than to preserve and consolidate peace for which the peoples of all countries yearn. The Soviet Government declares that the Soviet Union (20 always has been and is today against settling disputes and differences between states by means of war. That is why at this important moment the Soviet Union again speaks out for any arms drive, the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons banning the testing of (25 these weapons.

That is the reference, Professor Murray?-- Milords, the reference expresses the policy that would be prescribed by the acceptance of communist policy on peace and world peace, I have explained that. (30

BY MR. MAISELS: Milords, it is convenient to raise a point.

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