

itself, as reflected by classics or other documents. What would be the difference between an author like this and an article in a paper in support of his evidence, except that this man Fadmore has been an adviser to the Ghana Government.

5

BY MR. DE VOS :

That is quite correct, My Lord. The witness has mentioned of course that he was a student of Pan-Africanism in the context of communism, that is as I understood it. But may I put a question to the witness on this point. Professor Murray, do you know whether George Fadmore, the writer of this book was in any way an expert in the field of communism, and to what extent would you say that he was? --- I don't know if he was an expert in the field of communism. I believe when he was young he was pro-communist - if he ever belonged to the Party I don't know.

15

My Lord, I won't take the matter any further. We were dealing with the Freedom Charter, and I asked you if you thought that it could possibly originate - that it could possibly have originated from - in the Union and the circumstances that you know in the Union, from a communist party, and you said yes? --- Yes.

20

Now, could this Freedom Charter have originated as you see it there before you from any other known political body - political body known to you up till 1956? In the Union? --- Not one of the official political bodies.

25

Any known political body? Any political body known to you? --- No, not known to me.

30

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

I am not quite clear, Mr. de Vos, we know

on the evidence that the Freedom Charter came into being at the Congress of the People, that body brought it into being.

BY MR. DE VOS :

Yes, formally speaking, that is so. 5

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

So what is the purpose of this evidence? Are you asking us to infer that therefore the Congress of the People was a communistic body?

BY MR. DE VOS :

I am trying to establish the probable origins of this Freedom Charter. 10

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

The Congress of the People is the origin.

BY MR. DE VOS :

In a certain sense that is true, but that isn't the whole truth, My Lord, in my submission. The whole truth would lie much deeper than that. Would it lie in any particular doctrine or in any particular ... 15

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

I understand what you are after. 20

BY MR. DE VOS :

Professor Murray, did you understand my question to be in the sense I attempted to explain it to His Lordship Mr. Justice Bekker, namely that when I ask you about a political body from which it might have originated, I did not ask you to comment on whether it originated from the Congress of the People or any of its constituent bodies, but whether it was a known political body embodying a known political doctrine in the Union, and I perhaps should qualify it further and not connect it not inside the non-European liberatory movement? --- No, 25 30

I thought the reference was to some recognised political body holding certain views and tents before it became public and so on.

You were referred to a number of writers on I think what my learned friend called Pan-Africanism , 5 the position in Africa as a whole, and the tenor of all of thewe was, as I understood it, and you must correct me if I am wrong, to show that the use of Marxist-Leninist phraseology and terms, really do not amount to communism in Africa, but in the view of many of those writers it falls 10 short of evidence of communism, and are really just so many words as far as tendency to communism is concerned. Is that more or less a fair summary of the sort of evidence that was put to you? You were asked then whether you agreed that these people, in view of the many observers in 15 Africa, of certain observers in Africa, the use of those terms and so forth really did not amount to evidence of communism, but to something less than that? --- I think that was the position. I think the position was - the argument was that the use of these terms did not mean that those 20 people were communists, but possibly belonged to other parties with other policies.

As I understood it the argument was that it could not therefore be inferred from the use of certain terms and so forth that communism as such existed, or was 25 an active or positive influence? --- I don't know what it was intended to prove, but I thought the intention was to show that those people were not communists, and the people with a ...

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

30

That non-communists used communistic terms,

communistic jargon.

BY MR. DE VOS :

Yes, but that was proof - not proof in itself of communism, did not amount to that. Now I want to put to you certain views, not for you to agree or to disagree with them, but merely to indicate that other people take a more positive view of the position in Africa as regards evidence of communism, and ask you whether you agree that that is possible that you could take a more positive view of the existence of communism in Africa.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Mr. de Vos, are you cross-examining your own witness?

BY MR. DE VOS :

No, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

That is what you are doing. You are telling him what to say. You are proceeding with the evidence as if you are cross-examining a witness.

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, with respect not. I am trying to explain...

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Do you want Professor Murray to alter (?) his views he has already given?

BY MR. DE VOS :

No, not in the least, My Lord, not in the least. I am very sorry if I gave that impression, because that is not in the very least my attitude. My impression was - may I explain to the Court, Professor Murray...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Just ask him the question that you want to

ask him without leading him or putting suggestions as to what he should do about it. What do you want to ask him about?

BY MR. DE VOS :

I want to ask you Professor Murray, whether 5  
- I want to put to you certain passages in this book of George Padmore, Fan-Africanism or Communism. Now do you agree that there are persons who take a more positive view of the existence of communism in Africa than those quoted by my learned friend Mr. Maisels, or do you disagree with 10 that view? --- No, I agree with that.

That My Lord, may I say, is not in conflict with anything the witness has said so far. Now I am putting to you certain statements on Fan-Africanism, made by George Padmore, and I want you merely to say whether this 15 is a sort of statement which can reasonably be held by persons - whether you agree with that particular view or not.

BY MR. KENTRIDGE :

My Lord, I don't want to interrupt my learned 20 friend unnecessarily, but with submission our cross-examination was as stated by His Lordship Mr. Justice Bekker to show that people did use communist jargon without necessarily being communists. We did not cross-examine My Lord to show that there was no communism in 25 Africa or that there weren't communists in Africa or anything like that. I rather had the impression that that was what my learned friend wanted to put. If that is so, My Lord, then I submit it doesn't arise out of cross-examination. 30

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFFF :

What do you want to put, Mr. de Vos? What

do you want to put to the witness?

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, I want to put to the witness that possibly ...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

5

Is it the opinion of the writer of that book or a statement by him?

BY MR. DE VOS :

It is a statement in this book - in these books as to the existence of communism in certain parts of Africa. I don't want him to agree with it or to disagree with it. I want him to accept it as something from a serious writer. 10

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

Then how is it relevant?

15

BY MR. DE VOS :

Merely on the position - I may be wrong, My Lord, but my impression of the cross-examination, of certain facets of it at least was this : The cross-examination was directed at obtaining from this witness an opinion that many people, many acute observers, whether he agrees with them or not, many acute observers of communism in Africa have come to the conclusion that there is... 20

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

25

I think, Mr. de Vos, your difficulty is this, what was put to this witness by popular writers, let us put it that way, were certain statements, and he was asked, do you disagree that a person may hold that view, a non-communist, and he said yes, I agree. He did agree. You are quoting something to him without asking him whether he agrees or not. 30

BY MR. DE VOS :

No, he wasn't asked whether he - he was asked do you agree that somebody might hold that view, not that that is your view. That is the way I understood the evidence My Lord. He was not asked, do you agree with 5 that view. He was asked, do you agree that somebody, - that there are persons holding that view.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Holding what view?

BY MR. DE VOS :

10

To the effect that there was no communism in the positions of Africa referred to, but only communist jargon.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

But that hasn't been dealt with in cross- 15 examination at all, that in certain parts of Africa there was no communism.

BY MR. DE VOS :

It showed the opinion of observers to that effect, and the witness was asked, do you accept ... 20

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMIFF :

Did the Defence seek to establish in cross- examination through this witness, that in some parts of Africa there was no communism, and yet communistic jargon was being used. 25

BY MR. DE VOS :

That is what I understood.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

That they didn't do.

BY MR. DE VOS :

30

May I quote to Your Lordship what my note says. My Lord, if I am wrong, on that particular point,

-I am afraid I can't check it on the note now as it stands, if I am wrong on that particular point, I agree that that is inadmissible.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

I remember many documents and authors being referred to, who made use in their analysis of a particular 5 situation of certain communist terminology, and which the witness admitted and who the witness admitted were not communists, - the analysis in various regards, Pan-Africanism and so on. But I certainly cannot remember that the Defence sought to establish that in any particular country 10 or a number of parts of Africa there was no communism, and yet communistic jargon was used. What is the note you have?

BY MR. DE VOS :

My note is to this effect, My Lord, that 15 various doctrines from different leaders, Hodgkin, Coleman and so forth, they have come to the conclusion that liberatory movements in Africa have certain common features, African Nationalism, and nothing beyond that, no communism. I think that was the tenor of the cross-examination as I 20 understood it, and the witness was asked whether he agreed in effect that there are people who hold those views.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

The point being canvassed then, was that 25 in Africa it may be said there are communists, but there is a new movement afoot and that is African Nationalism, which has no relation or bearing on the question of communism. That was the line that was being investigated. 30

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, I am afraid I can't take the argument further at this stage, I haven't got the record before me. My impression was different, but I may be wrong.

BY MR. KENTRIDGE :

5

My Lord, if I can assist my learned friend, possibly what he has in mind was that we put that there was no communist government in Africa, that none of the governments in Africa was communist. We did put that, My Lord, and it may be that that was in the note, but that is 10 I think as far as we went.

BY MR. DE VOS :

I'll leave it at that, My Lord. Professor Murray, on Bandung you were cross-examined for some time about the Bandung Conference and you mentioned in the 15 course of cross-examination that the communists put certain interpretations on Bandung, on what occurred there, they interpreted the occurrences there in a certain sense. Is that so? --- Yes, they tried to interpret it along their lines. 20

Could you perhaps elucidate in what way did they interpret Bandung, which distinguishes their interpretation from those of others? --- One of the points is this, that Bandung was pro-Asian and African, but not really anti-West, whereas - I have read some communist 25 statements, not here but outside, which try to pretend that Bandung was anti-capitalist, anti-West warmongering and so on. I am speaking from memory of course on that.

Is that what you had in mind? --- That and similar examples. 30

When dealing with documents you mentioned a certain phrase at page 5911 to 5912 of the record,

and you said the following - you were question on the interpretation of documents, and you spoke as follows ; you were asked : "Do we understand that where you constantly used the phrase 'is part of communist doctrine', 'is in line with communist doctrine', 'follows on communist teaching', all you meant is 'it could', 'might'." 5  
Your reply : "No, sometimes there is no alternative, sometimes there is an alternative." Is there anything you wish to add on that point to what you have said so far as to the differentiation between what is communist and 10 what is non-communist? I am not quite clear what you could have had in mind there? -- What I had in mind was this. One finds phrases like that, and in some cases you can't conclude from the phrase certainly the man is a communist or not, but the combination of phrases indicates 15 a possible communist influence or tendency, but then you can't say that that happens in all documents. There are some documents which were straight forward statements of communism. That is what I think might be referred to.

Could you mention possibly an example of 20 a straightforward communist document which you have in mind? -- I can't remember the title, but I can remember there are - I can remember the argument when a document gives a popular exposition of dialectical materialism straight from the shoulder down to historic materialism, 25 to the change in society, one recognises that document quite easily.

On page 6083 of the record you referred to certain documents which as I - I'll get the quotation in a minute, but I think it amounts to this - the question 30 was put by His Lordship Mr. Justice Rumpff : "There is just one question Mr. Maisels that I want to put. Professor

Murray, when you use the phrase that a particular document or a part of a document accepts the communist interpretation of a particular situation, do you mean thereby that the author consciously knowingly applies the communist analysis, or do you mean that the document accepts the communist interpretation in the sense that it coincides or is consistent with it?" Your reply : "I'll have to look at the documents. In some cases there are documents where I would mean that the author consciously does that. The documents I can recall, where I mentioned acceptance of this doctrine - that this doctrine was accepted because it is on this thing, but it may be unwitting or whatever it is, but it is communist doctrine." I refer particularly to this part of the phrase, "in some cases there are documents where I would mean the author consciously does that." What sort of document did you have in mind there? --- I think there are documents which write shall we say about an African or a South African situation, which gives an interpretation of the situation which is clearly communist and which you can see from the document the man knows what he is doing. There are other documents where a writer may use communist jargon, and it possibly shows communist influence, it is in line with communism, but the statement is not so clear that you can say certainly this man knows what the implication of these words are.

I think if I remember it, you explained also - this part of the cross-examination is not on the record yet either - you explained under cross-examination that in judging of a certain person's attitude on a question like communism for instance, you have got to have what you call the organic approach? --- Yes.

What do you mean by that? Could you just

explain it as far as you can? --- In reading a document by a person, one cannot of course simply take an isolated phrase and you cannot atomise the document and take the phrases out of connection with the whole. You have not only got to take the whole document or argument, but you have also got to take the situation about which he writes, and see phrases in terms of their context. Afterall, words don't get a meaning - words don't float like bubbles around the sky in isolation, words are connected and they get a meaning from a context. That is what I was referring to there.

What would your approach again on the same basis be in the question of a person? You explained it now on the basis of a document, and when it comes to a person I think you mentioned the same organic approach?

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

How do you mean in regard to a person?

BY MR. DE VOS :

Well, whether you would judge a person on the basis of communism or no communism, on the basis of being a communist or not?

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

How can this witness tell how to judge a person?

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, I think the question was put to him from the other side, but I am prepared to let it stand at that. I won't press this point any further.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Incidentally, that is what the witness has repeatedly said that he is not judging any person.

BY MR. DE VOS :

Yes, but he was cross-examined on the position

as to how he would - that was much later, My Lord, in cross-examination and I am fairly sure that that point was put to him in that form. Professor Murray, it was put to you that certain forms of passive resistance would be in accordance with the philosophy of Gandhi? --- Yes. 5

Now, will you look at B.25, a document in my possession, under the heading "Passive Resistance" and read out what stands there, and say whether you think that is in accordance with the philosophy of Gandhi. What is the heading of the document itself? --- "Political Organisation". On page 1 : "Passive Resistance. This great tactic has a long and varied history. It is best known as the tactic evolved by the great Indian leader, Gandhi, in his struggles, first in South Africa and later in the liberation of India. (a) It means: refusing to carry out a law or regulation, suffering its consequences without hitting back. It can, and often does mean deliberately breaking the law as a symbolic act of protest against it. (b), Passive Resistance can be a powerful weapon for awakening peoples' consciousness and arousing their support. It prepares them to - for future struggle by teaching them that readiness to sacrifice is always the price of victory in a struggle. It can thus be a lever, moving the whole struggle forward to mass actions of other types. (c), Often however, passive resistance is a weapon which serves not to whip up the enthusiasm and action of the people but to damp down the desire to mass action and to chain it to rigid, individual acts of sacrifice of leaders. This can serve only to disillusion the masses and destroy the will to struggle. (d), The history of passive resistance - especially of Gandhi's passive resistance movements in India - proves that it is

10  
15  
20  
25  
30

only an effective weapon when it is used to build up the movement and prepare the people for other forms of mass action and mass struggle".

Is that what you would call Gandhi's philosophy of passive resistance? --- I think paragraph 1 is and 2. I am not sure that 3 really belongs to Gandhi, namely to damp down the desire to mass action. Gandhi's passive resistance were always mass action movements. For the rest it agrees with the policy. I am not sure to what extent Gandhi's passive resistance movement was intended to lead to further action.

You have been - The Freedom Charter which purports to come from the National Councils in the Cameroons has been put to you in cross-examination, and I think it is now an exhibit before the Court. What shortly from the point of view of communism is your report on that? If you could mention any points that strike you seen from the aspect of the presence of communist doctrine in that document, if there is? --- I haven't got my notes here. The document seems to be mainly a liberal document. I am referring to paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Introduction, page 2, and I read paragraph 7 : "The land, its deposits, water, forests, mines, railways, banks, postal and telecommunications are state property or under state control, that is the property or control of the people." That is a limited socialist doctrine. "8. The right of personal property of citizens in the income of their toil or enterprise or inheritance is hereby guaranteed", which again maintains the right of private property, private income and inheritance. It shows signs of at least socialism in the opening preamble, where it writes that it is convinced that facets of capitalism and imperialism

have stultified the normal growth of Nigeria and the Cameroons in the community of nations and it wants to put all the - to work for the liberation of those nations. I think that is all I can remember here.

Do you know - that Charter is dated what? 5  
--- 1948.

Do you know what at that date Dr. Azikiwe's convictions were? --- No. I can guess, but I don't know.

You were referred to document F.A. 41, What the Congress Stands For, Election Manifesto - you 10  
remember this document? --- Yes.

Your report on that was to the effect that it was communist matter, that was at page 5578 of the record, and it was put to you that it was really a question of pinpointing ideas in that particular document, 15  
and on that basis you said that it was communist matter. Is that correct? Do I give you a correct summary of what happened? --- Yes, I am just reading the relevant paragraph. Yes, that was my opinion at the time, that is correct. 20

Now, you dealt with quite a number of documents in connection with the so-called Column 2 documents which were put to you by Mr. van Niekerk and Mr. Hoexter, and in quite a number of instances you referred to the document as containing communist matter? ---25  
Yes.

I have heretofore me on the record, page 5574 for instance, L.L.M. 76, speech by D.T. Shepilov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.F.S.U. at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet 30  
Union, February, 1956, Soviet News booklet No. 10, and you said it contains communist matter? --- Yes.

Now, in connection with a document of that particular type, when you say it contains communist matter, what were the standards you applied - take this as an instance? --- It is difficult to say what the standards are. As - If I remember Shepalov's speech he said in the first place that he is solving the problem - his policy is based on Leninism or Marxism-Leninism, and speaking from memory, there are various policies which he describes which are Marxist-Leninist policies.

5

Does it appear from the document itself that apart from matters of dogma there is any connection with communism?

10

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Can you raise this matter again, because it was dealt with so far as I know only in examination in chief?

15

BY MR. DE VOS :

No, My Lord, it was dealt with in cross-examination. F.A. 41 was dealt with, and it was put to the witness that in finding communist matter in that instance he had regard I think it was called to the pin-pointing of ideas, that was the criterion applied by the witness. We want to know exactly what the witness meant by the phrase "communist matter", what he included under that phrase, that is what it amounts to.

20

25

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Well, why wasn't he asked that in chief, when he was dealing with this?

BY MR. DE VOS :

It seems to me that this particular point arose further out of cross-examination. I didn't ask the witness in chief on that particular point of course, but

30

I think that is the position. I could deal with one ...

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

I understood the witness to mean when he said it contains communist doctrine that it fell into line with the dissertation on the theory of communism as expounded by him in his general remarks at the opening. That I take it was what Professor Murray meant. Did you mean that, Professor? --- I did. 5

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, I want to put a certain instance to the witness, to refresh his memory on the point that he is sure that that is what he did in fact mean. Your Lordship will remember he quite - quite a few hundred documents were put to him, and in certain instances he might have meant that. 15

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

Was he cross-examined on that document?

BY MR. DE VOS :

Not on the other document.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

Then how can you raise that? 20

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, it seems to me that the standard of - applied by the witness was in effect effected by the way in which he was asked on this one document. But I won't take the matter any further, My Lord, if Your Lordships feel that I shouldn't. 25

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

There were hundreds of documents dealt with on that basis, that broad basis, and left there. 30

BY MR. DE VOS :

In effect in certain instances My Lord, he

said classic and in another one something else again, it was not always the one phrase. In effect the position is, it seems, My Lord, that in certain instances the witness possibly did not mention that a certain book that was a classic was being dealt with. That is all, and I wanted 5 to get that from the witness, but I'll leave it at that if Your Lordships feel that I should not take the matter any further. Professor Murray, you were questioned about the meaning of extra-parliamentary? --- Yes.

What is the communist meaning of that 10 particular phrase? Do you know whether in communist doctrine a certain specific meaning is attached to that phrase? And may I refer you to a textbook on that subject, the Foundations of Leninism? --- Yes.

It is Exhibit F.J. 41, page 21. The title 15 of the book is Foundations of Leninism by Joseph Stalin. I think it has been used before? --- Not in this edition.

It is published in London by Lawrence and Wishart and by Joseph Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, and I refer you to page 21 and there onwards for the next two 20 pages on this particular point? --- Do you wish me to read this?

Yes, if you agree or if you feel that that is an elucidation of this particular point? --- It falls under "Method" : "First dogma : concerning the conditions 25 for the seizure of power by the proletariat. The opportunists assert that the proletariat cannot and ought not to take power unless it constitutes a majority in the country. No proofs are adduced, for there are no proofs, either theoretical or practical, that can justify this 30 absurd thesis. Let us assume that this is so, Lenin replies to these gentlemen of the Second International;

but suppose a historical situation has arisen ( a war, an agrarian crisis, etc.) in which the proletariat, constituting a minority of the population, has an opportunity to rally around itself the vast majority of the labouring masses, why should it not take power then? Why should not the proletariat take advantage of a favourable international and internal situation to pierce the front of capitalism and hasten the general issue? Did not Marx say as far back as the 'fifties of the last century that things could have gone 'splendidly' with the proletarian revolution in Germany had it been possible to assist it by 'so to speak, a second edition of the Peasant War?'. Is it not a generally fact that in those days the number of proletarians in Germany was relatively smaller than, for example, in Russia in 1917? Has not the practical experience of the Russian proletarian revolution shown that this favourite dogma of the heroes of the Second International is devoid of all vital significance for the proletariat? Is it not clear that the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses confutes and defeats this obsolete dogma? Second dogma: the proletariat cannot retain power if it lacks an adequate number of trained educational and administrative cadres capable of organising the administration of the country; these cadres must first be trained and - under capitalist conditions, and only then can power be taken. Let us assume that this is so, replied Lenin; but why not turn it this way : first take power, create favourable conditions for the development of the proletariat, and then proceed with seven-league strides to raise the cultural level of the labouring masses and train numerous cadres of leaders and administrators from among the workers? Has not Russian

experience shown that the cadres of leaders recruited from the ranks of the workers grow a hundred times more rapidly and effectually under the rule of the proletariat than under the rule of capital? Is it not clear that the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses ruthlessly smashes also this theoretical dogma of the opportunists? Third dogma: The proletariat cannot accept the method of the political general strike, because it is unsound in theory (see Engels' criticism) and dangerous in practice (it may disturb the normal course of economic life of the country, it may deplete the coffers of the trade unions), and cannot serve as a substitute for the parliamentary forms of struggle, which are the principal forms of the class struggle of the proletariat. Very well, reply the Leninists; but, firstly, Engels did not criticize every general strike. He only criticized a certain kind of general strike, namely, the economic general strike advocated by the Anarchists in place of the political struggle of the proletariat. What has this to do with the method of the political general strike? Secondly, where and by whom has it ever been proved that the parliamentary struggle is the principal form of struggle of the proletariat? Does not the history of the revolutionary movement show that the parliamentary struggle is only a school for and an aid in organising the extra-parliamentary struggle of the proletariat, that under capitalism the fundamental problems of the working-class movement are solved by force, by the direct struggle of the proletarian masses, their general strike, their insurrection? Thirdly, who suggested that the method of the political general strike be substituted for the parliamentary struggle? Where and when have the supporters of the

political general strike tried to substitute extra-parliamentary forms of struggle for parliamentary forms? Fourthly, has not the revolution in Russia shown that the political general strike is the greatest school for the proletarian revolution and an indispensable means of mobilizing and organising the vast masses of the proletariat on the eve of storming the citadels of capitalism? Why then the philistine lamentations over the disturbance of the normal course of economic life and over the coffers of the trade unions? Is it not clear that the experience of the revolutionary struggle smashes also this dogma of the opportunists?", and so on and so forth. 5

Is that the end of that particular description of extra-parliamentary struggle? --- Yes, I think so. 10

Do you consider that a correct setting out of the position of extra-parliamentary struggle as seen through communist eyes, in terms of communist doctrine? --- That falls in line with what Lenin and Stalin said in other places too. 15

You were referred to a certain passage, certain dictum spoken by Schreiner J.A., now Judge of Appeal, and may I put it again to you, you asked one morning to be allowed to give a further opinion on a certain question that was put to you on the possibility of a third way existing midway between the - on the one hand gaining a parliamentary majority and on the other hand gaining power by way of a violent revolution. Now I'll put to you the words of this particular judgment as I have it here before me, and I'll ask whether you have anything to add to what you have said so far: "Now in South Africa there is a lawful method of getting constitutional changes effected. That is by Act of Parliament. 20 25 30

And there is a lawful method of changing the government, that is by gaining a parliamentary majority through victory at the polls. These are the lawful constitutional methods and the only ones. No other method exists which does not rest upon the use of illegal force. There is no intermediate course between constitutional action through the ballot box and treasonable action through the illegal use of force. Members of an organisation may not themselves desire to use bombs or other weapons, but this will not avail them if their purpose is to act outside the constitution to achieve their ends."? --- I wasn't quite sure when the question was asked me whether it referred to a change in policy or a change in form of government, and that worried me a little later. I thought the question was put to me by Counsel, is there a third way to change policy. Do you know what the question was? My position is that if it is a matter of change of form of government, then I think there are only two ways, the ballot box, the constitutional ballot box method, or the illegal revolution. If it is a matter of a minor change of policy, I can see a government considering adapting its particular policy under pressure of what we say legal strikes, and pressure from outside, without necessarily going to the people to vote or allowing a revolution to break out. But under parliamentary procedure of course that method is limited. If the change of policy is at all a fundamental change of policy, then there must either be a ballot - the government must either go to the country or there must be a revolution. But I wasn't quite clear when the question was asked what exactly was asked, what the change was to be about.

CASE REMANDED TO THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1959.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES ON THE 24TH NOVEMBER, 1959.  
APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

ANDREW HOWSON MURRAY, under former oath;  
RE-EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTINUED :

Have you a Freedom Charter before you? ---

Yes.

I have here a book by Thompson and Adloff, that is apparently the one you referred to, the Left Wing in South East Asia. Is this the book? --- Yes.

I refer to page 61. The document which is quoted there is the one which was referred to in the course of cross-examination, if I am correct? --- Yes.

There are ten points in that particular document as quoted in that book? --- Yes.

Will you - you have already explained to the Court what that document is, I think, in the course of cross-examination? --- Yes.

I won't take you through that again. Will you read in those points one by one, and explain to the Court if you find any of those points comparable to what you find in the Freedom Charter which are before you. The points mentioned in that document in that book,

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

Is that the so-called platform of the Thailand Communist Party when they were seeking election? --- That is so.

BY MR. DE VOS :

I thought Professor Murray had explained that before, I am sorry, My Lord. Will you read the points in one by one? --- They are referred to as the ten principles outlined for communists in Thailand, page 61....

BY MR. FISCHER :

My Lord, it may be convenient - I make this merely as a suggestion - for the witness merely to refer in a summarised form to each point, because I understand they were all read in at the end of the cross-examination. 5

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Information is they were not - I don't remember them having been read in, but if I am wrong on that point - I think you had better read it in, Professor Murray? --- The first point is : "The maintenance of democratic principles and of co-operation with other political persons and individuals favouring democracy, with a view to reconstructing the country and making it truly democratic and independent." In the Preamble to the Freedom Charter there is a reference to a need for a democracy, a democratic state, and for change of form of government. Point 2 : "The right of the people to vote; the enlargement of municipal bodies into districts and communes throughout the kingdom; the abolition of second category members in the Assembly; and freedom of electoral rights for all local government and legislative bodies." This is the same as is in paragraph A of the Freedom Charter. Point 3 : "The right to all Thai nationals over eighteen years of age to vote, regardless of sex, property, or educational qualifications." The reference to sex and property and the principle of the universal vote corresponds to the Freedom Charter. Point 4 ; "The recognition by local governmental bodies of the rights of minorities." That is involved in the Freedom Charter, but I am not quite sure where. It is involved in the rights of the use of the home-language in the Freedom Charter. Point 5 : "The people's right to freedom of assembly, speech, press, religion, 10 15 20 25 30

strikes, demonstrations, and to establish political parties", that is contained in Section F of the Freedom Charter. Point 6 : "The improvement of the standard of living of the labouring class, through increased wages, fixed working hours, social insurance, unemployment relief, and unfair treatment to apprentices. This also should apply to soldiers, constables, and minor officials. Further, co-operative societies and professional labour associations should receive special state protection". That corresponds in principle and in some detail to paragraph G of the Freedom Charter. Point 7 : "The abolition of heavy taxation and tax collection placed on a basis of equality with special emphasis on the surtax. Industry should be protected, while foreigners must also be allowed freedom to invest in economic undertakings under conditions of equality and reasonableness." That is referred to in a general way in the Freedom Charter, not in detail.

What do you mean by "in a general way"? --- In the sense that a certain amount of individual right to trade, to manufacture, crafts and professions are allowed in the Freedom Charter. Point 8 : "Agriculture must be promoted; farm rentals and the interest charged to farms be reduced; poor farmers be given implements and paddy seed free of charge". That is local - concerns local conditions. It corresponds to the paragraph G of the Freedom Charter, where it is said that the state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and so forth. Point 9 : "The standard of living for teachers must be improved; primary education must be promoted, with special stress on social education. Vocational training must also be improved, while textbooks will have to be extensively revised". The attention paid to teachers

corresponds to the Freedom Charter, Section G, No. 7.

Finally, point 10 : "Diplomatic relations with other probably democratic countries should be encouraged". That does not occur in the freedom Charter.

You were asked yesterday a certain question 5  
about the party's - the existence of a party in the people's democracy. According to communist doctrine, is it possible at any stage of the people's democracy to have more than one party or should there always be one party only? May I, if you wish, refer you to the Introduction to Marxism 10 on this particular point by Emile Burns to refresh your memory? --- I would like to have that text.

I refer you to the bottom of page 59 and the top of page 60? --- The position in the people's democracies is this, that at the beginning of the develop- 15 ment in that line the various parties co-operate. The policy of the communist party is to form coalitions, co-operate with other parties, and then to get power until there is, at a second stage in what has been referred to as a bogus coalition, and finally the communist party 20 leads the workers and the peasants, and prepare to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The people's democracy goes through various stages of revolution, and have gone through various stages of government, the end of which is the domination by the communist party. That 25 is the position taken up here too.

NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

BY MR. FISCHER :

My Lord, there are two matters which I wish to raise. The first relates to certain passages to be read - which the Crown wish to read from Column 2 documents

My Lord, and we have a list of those which contain a large number of exhibits and specify the passages which the Crown wishes to read. If the Court would consent to the procedure, we suggest My Lord, that the Crown and the Defence should regulate this during - should agree about 5 this during the next few days, and should we agree as to which passages are to be typed into the record. The Defence unfortunately has not yet had time to do more than give this just a cursory examination. There may be other passages from the same exhibits which we wish to 10 read in. My learned friend and I have agreed that we shall be entitled to do that, so that the passages from each exhibit are kept together in the record. That, My Lord, by agreement with my learned friend, will not exclude either of us using further - reading in further 15 passages if we find that either of us have made a mistake.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFEE :

Yes.

BY MR. FISCHER :

My Lord, the next question is the question 20 of an adjournment, and I am applying now My Lords for an adjournment at this stage. I have consulted my learned friend about the next stage of the case. Your Lordships may realise that that will be an entirely different stage in which speeches will be testified to by various witnesses 25 and I understand that the first witness or more than the first witness will testify at some considerable length. It seems quite likely therefore for instance, that the first witness in examination and cross-examination will take a very considerable time. My Lords, an adjournment 30 at this stage would be very convenient to the Accused. If would in the first place incur no additional expense

for the Accused, and much more importantly, it would enable the Accused to - many of the accused to obtain employment for the calendar month of December, which I am asked to urge for Your Lordships as a very important reason for an adjournment at this stage, rather than in a relatively short time from now. On those grounds, My Lord, I ask for an adjournment, and I suggest it should be until the 18th of January, 1960. That is a considerable time before term commences again, but on the other hand I am asking for an adjournment at this stage, and not somewhat later in the year.

BY MR. DE VOS :

My Lord, in the circumstances, the Crown wishes to join the Defence in applying for the adjournment as stated by my learned friend, on those dates he has mentioned.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFFF :

Well, in view of the fact that both the Defence and the Crown apply for an adjournment at this stage, the Court is disposed to grant the application. It is a somewhat long adjournment that is suggested, but in view of all the circumstances we are also agreeable to grant the adjournment to the 18th January, 1960. Having regard to the fact that it is a somewhat long adjournment, we do wish to impress on Counsel for the Crown and the Defence that the time should also be occupied if possible in regard to the evidence that has been led, so that if and when at a later stage next year there may be an application by the Defence for any argument that may be raised on the evidence, at that stage a very long adjournment to prepare such argument should not be asked for. In other words, that the parties should utilise the time

6878.

(A.H. MURRAY)

which they now get at their disposal to consider the evidence that has been led and to bear that in mind. In those circumstances we are prepared to grant the adjournment to the 18th January, and this Court will now adjourn until the 18th January, 1960.

COURT ADJOURNS.

FA.19

"Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution"

Page 7: "In a revolutionary period it is very 1

difficult to keep abreast of events, which provide an astonishing amount of new material for an evaluation of the tactical slogans of revolutionary parties

The present pamphlet was written before the Odessa events.\* We have already pointed out in Proletary<sup>2</sup> 5

(No. 9 - "Revolution Teaches")<sup>\*\*\*</sup> that these events have forced even those Social-Democrats who created the uprising-as-a-process theory and who rejected propoganda for a provisional revolutionary government

actually to pass over, or begin to pass over, to the 10

side of their opponents. Revolution undoubtedly teaches with a rapidity and thoroughness which appear incredible in peaceful periods of political development. And, what is particularly important, it teaches not only the leaders, but the masses as well. 15

\* The reference is to the mutiny on the armoured cruiser Prince Potemkin. (Author's note to the 1907 edition - Ed.)"

Page 11: "It is exceptionally important at the 20

present time for Social-Democracy to have correct tactical slogans for leading the masses. There is

nothing more dangerous in a revolutionary period than belittling the importance of tactical slogans that are sound in principle. For example, Iskra,<sup>4</sup> 25

in No. 10<sup>4</sup>, actually passes over to the side of its opponents in the Social-Democratic movement, and yet, at the same time, disparages the importance of slogans and tactical decisions that are in front of the times and indicate the path along which the 30

FA.19 movement is proceeding, with a number of failures, 1  
errors, etc. On the contrary, the working out of  
correct tactical decisions is of immense importance  
for a party which, in the spirit of the sound  
principles of Marxism, desires to lead the proletariat  
and not merely to drag at the tail of events. In 5  
the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Russian  
Social-Democratic Labour Party and of the Conference  
of the section which has seceded from the Party,\*  
we have the most precise, most carefully thought-out  
and most complete expression of tactical views - 10  
views not casually expressed by individual writers,  
but accepted by the responsible representatives of  
the Social-Democratic proletariat. Our Party is in  
advance of all the others, for it has a precise pro-  
gramme, accepted by all. It must also set the other 15  
parties an example of strict adherence to its  
tactical resolutions, in contradistinction to the  
opportunism of the democratic bourgeoisie of  
Osvobozhdeniye and the revolutionary phrasemongering  
of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, who only during 20  
the revolution suddenly thought of coming forward  
with a "draft" of a programme and of investigating  
for the first time whether it is a bourgeois revo-  
lution that is going on in front of their eyes.

That is why we think it a most urgent task of 25  
the revolutionary Social-Democrats to study care-  
fully the tactical resolutions of the Third Con-  
gress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour  
Party and of the Conference, to define what devia-  
tions there are in them from the principles of 30

FA.19      Marxism, and to get a clear understanding of the      1  
concrete tasks of the Social-Democratic proletariat  
in a democratic revolution. It is to this task that  
the present pamphlet is devoted. The testing of  
our tactics from the standpoint of the principles of  
Marxism and of the lessons of the revolution is also      5  
necessary for those who really desire to pave the  
way for unity of tactics as a basis for the future  
complete unity of the whole Russian Social-Democratic  
Labour Party, and not to confine themselves solely  
to verbal admonitions.      10

N. Lenin

July 1905.

\* The Third Congress of the Russian Social-Demo-  
cratic Labour Party (held in London in May 1905) was  
attended only by Bolsheviks, while in the "Conference"      15  
(held in Geneva at the same time) only Mensheviks  
participated. In the present pamphlet the latter  
are frequently referred to as "new Iskra-ists" be-  
cause while continuing to publish Iskra they de-  
clared, through their then adherent, Trotsky, that      20  
there was a gulf between the old and the new Iskra.  
(Author's note to the 1907 edition - Ed.) \*

FA.19      Page 101: "True, the supplying of arms to the      25  
workers demands strict secrecy. On this point  
Mr. Struve is rather more outspoken. Just Listen:  
"As regards armed insurrection, or a revolution in  
the technical sense, only mass propoganda in  
favour of a democratic programme can create the  
social-psychological conditions for a general      30

FA.19 armed insurrection. Thus, even from the point of view that an armed insurrection is the inevitable consummation of the present struggle for emancipation - a view I do not share - the permeation of the masses with ideas of democratic reform is a most fundamental and most necessary task." 5

Mr. Struve tries to evade the issue. He speaks of the inevitability of an insurrection instead of speaking about its necessity for the victory of the revolution. The insurrection - unprepared, spontaneous, sporadic - has already begun. No one can positively vouch that it will develop into an entire and integral popular armed insurrection, for that depends on the state of the revolutionary forces (which can be fully gauged only in the course of the struggle itself), on the behaviour of the government and the bourgeoisie, and on a number of other circumstances which it is impossible to estimate exactly. There is no point in speaking about inevitability, in the sense of absolute certainty with regard to some definite event, as Mr. Struve does. What you must discuss, if you want to be a partisan of the revolution, is whether insurrection is necessary for the victory of the revolution, whether it is necessary to proclaim it vigorously, to advocate and make immediate and energetic preparations for it. Mr. Struve cannot fail to understand this difference: he does not, for instance, obscure the question of the necessity of universal suffrage - which is indisputable for a democrat - by raising the question of whether its attainment is inevitable in the 30

FA.19 course of the present revolution - which is debatable 1  
and of no urgency for people engaged in political  
activity. By evading the issue of the necessity of  
an insurrection, Mr. Struve expresses the innermost  
essense of the political position of the liberal  
bourgeoisie. In the first place, the bourgeoisie 5  
would prefer to come to terms with the autocracy  
rather than crush it; secondly, the bourgeoisie in  
any case thrusts the armed struggle upon the shoulders  
of the workers. This is the real meaning of Mr.  
Struve's evasiveness. That is why he backs out of 10  
the question of the necessity of an insurrection to-  
wards the question of the "social-psychological con-  
ditions" for it, of preliminary "propoganda". Just  
as the bourgeois windbags in the Frankfurt Parliament  
of 1848 engaged in drawing up resolutions, deolara- 15  
tions and decisions, in "mass propaganda" and in  
preparing the "social-psychological conditions" at a  
time when it was a matter of repelling the armed  
force of the government, when the movement "led to  
the necessity" for an armed stuggle, when verbal 20  
persuasion alone (which is a hundredfold necessary  
during the preparatory period) became banal, bour-  
geois inactivity and cowardice - so also Mr. Struve  
evades the question of insurrection, screening him-  
self behind phrases. Mr. Struve vividly shows us 25  
what many Social-Democrats stubbornly fail to see,  
namely, that a revolutionary period differs from  
ordinary, everyday preparatory periods in history  
in that the temper excitement and convictions of  
the masses must and do reveal themselves in action." 30

FA,19

Page 188: "The revolution in our country is one 1  
that involves the whole people, says the bourgeoisie  
to the proletariat. Therefore, you, as a separate  
class, must confine yourselves to your class struggle,  
must in the name of "common sense" devote your atten-  
tion mainly to the trade unions, and their legaliza- 5  
tion, must consider these trade unions as "the most  
important starting point in your political education  
and organization," must in a revolutionary situation  
draw up for the most part "serious" resolutions like  
the new Iskra resolution, must pay careful heed to 10  
resolutions that are "more favourably inclined to-  
wards the liberals," must show preference for leaders  
who display a tendency to become "practical leaders  
of the real political movement of the working class,"  
must "preserve the realistic elements of the 15  
Marxian world outlook" (if you have unfortunately al-  
ready become infected with the "strict formulae" of  
this "unscientific" catechism).

The revolution in our country is one involving  
the whole people, Social-Democracy says to the pro- 20  
letariat. Therefore, you, as the most progressive  
and the only thoroughly revolutionary class, must  
strive not only to take the most active part, but  
also the leading part in it. Therefore, you must  
not confine yourselves to narrowly-conceived limits 25  
of the class struggle, meaning mainly the trade-  
union movement, but, on the contrary, you must  
strive to widen the limits and the content of  
your class struggle to include not only all the  
aims of the present, democratic, Russian revolution 30

FA.19

of the whole of the people, but the aims of the sub- 1  
sequent socialist revolution as well. Therefore,  
while not ignoring the trade-union movement, while  
not refusing to take advantage of even the slightest  
legal possibilities, you must, in a revolutionary  
period, put in the forefront the tasks of armed in- 5  
surrection and the formation of a revolutionary army  
and a revolutionary government as being the only way  
to the complete victory of the people over tsarism,  
to the winning of a democratic republic and real  
political liberty. 10

It would be superfluous to speak about the half-  
hearted and inconsistent stand, which, naturally, is  
so pleasing to the bourgeoisie, that the new Iskra-  
ist resolutions took on this question because of  
their mistaken "line". 15

20

25

30

AMK.2

Page 10: "That is why Leninism is the further develop- 1  
ment of Marxism."

"It is usual to point to the exceptionally militant and  
exceptionally revolutionary character of Leninism. This  
is quite correct. But this feature of Leninism is due  
to two causes: firstly, to the fact that Leninism 5  
emerged from the proletarian revolution, the imprint of  
which it cannot but bear; secondly, to the fact that it  
grew and became strong in contests with the opportunism  
of the Second International, the fight against which was  
and remains an essential preliminary condition for a 10  
successful fight against capitalism. It must not be  
forgotten that between Marx and Engels on the one hand,  
and Lenin on the other, there lies a whole period of  
undivided domination of the opportunism of the Second  
International, and that ruthless struggle against this 15  
opportunism could not but constitute one of the most  
important tasks of Leninism.

Page 40: "This then, is the position in regard to Lenin's  
idea of the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing 20  
into the proletarian revolution, of utilizing the  
bourgeois revolution for the "immediate" transition to  
the proletarian revolution."

"To proceed. Formerly, the victory of the revolution  
in one country was considered impossible, on the 25  
assumption that it would require the combined action of  
the proletarians of all or at least of a majority of the  
advanced countries to achieve victory over the bourgeoisie.  
Now this point of view no longer accords with the facts.  
Now we must proceed from the possibility of such a 30

AMK.2Page 40 (Contd.)

1

victory, for the uneven and spasmodic character of the development of the various capitalist countries under the conditions of imperialism, the development, within imperialism, of catastrophic contradictions leading to inevitable wars, the growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries of the world - all this leads, not only to the possibility but also the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in individual countries. The history of the Russian revolution is direct proof of this. At the same time, however, it must be borne in mind that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be successfully accomplished only when certain absolutely necessary conditions exist, in the absence of which there can be even no thought of the proletariat taking power." "Here is what Lenin says about these conditions in his pamphlet "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder":

5

10

15

"The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, consists in the following: it is not enough for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses should understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old way, and when the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way - only then can revolution triumph. This truth may be expressed in other words: Revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis

20

25

30

AMK.2

Page 40 (Contd.)

1

(affecting both the exploited and the exploiters). It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should be passing through a governmental crisis, which would draw even the most backward masses into politics ..... weaken the government and make it possible for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol.X, p. 127.)"

5

10

Page 48: "Second conclusion: The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot arise as the result of the peaceful development of bourgeois society and of bourgeois democracy; it can arise only as the result of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine, the bourgeois army, the bourgeois bureaucratic machine, the bourgeois police."

15

"In a preface to The Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote, quoting from The Civil War in France:"

20

"The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes".

"In a letter to Kugelmann (1871) Marx wrote that the task of the proletarian revolution is:

25

"no longer as before, to transfer the bureaucratic military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it, and that is a preliminary condition for every real people's revolution on the Continent".

30

AMK.2

Page 48 (Contd.)

1

"Marx's qualifying phrase about the Continent gave the opportunists and Mensheviks of all countries a pretext for proclaiming that Marx had thus conceded the possibility of the peaceful evolution of bourgeois democracy into a proletarian democracy, at least in certain countries outside the European continent (England, America). Marx did in fact concede that possibility, and he had good grounds for conceding it in regard to England and America in the 'seventies of the last century, when monopoly capitalism and imperialism did not yet exist, and when these countries, owing to the special conditions of their development, had as yet no developed militarism and bureaucracy. That was the situation before the appearance of developed imperialism. But later, after a lapse of thirty or forty years, when the situation in these countries had radically changed, when imperialism had developed and had embraced all capitalist countries without exception, when militarism and bureaucracy had appeared in England and America also, when the special conditions for peaceful development in England and the United States had disappeared - then the qualification in regard to these countries necessarily could no longer hold good."

5

10

15

20

"To-day," said Lenin, "in 1917, in the epoch of the first great imperialist war, this qualification made by Marx is no longer valid. Both England and America, the greatest and the last representatives - in the whole world - of Anglo-Saxon 'liberty,' in the sense that militarism and bureaucracy were absent, have slid down

25

30

ANK.2Page 48 (Contd.)

1

entirely into the all-European, filthy, bloody morass of military-bureaucratic institutions to which everything is subordinated and which trample everything underfoot. To-day, both in England and America, the 'preliminary condition for every real people's revolution' is the smashing, the destruction of the 'ready-made state machinery' (brought in those countries, between 1914 and 1917, to general 'European' imperialist perfection)."  
(Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. VII, p. 37.)

5

"In other words, the law of violent proletarian revolution, the law of the smashing of the bourgeois state machine as an essential condition for such a revolution, is an inevitable law of the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries of the world".

10

"Of course, in the remote future, if the proletariat is victorious in the most important capitalist countries, and if the present capitalist encirclement is replaced by a Socialist encirclement, a "peaceful" path of development is quite possible for certain capitalist countries, whose capitalists, in view of the "unfavourable" international situation, will consider it expedient "voluntarily" to make substantial concessions to the proletariat. But this supposition applies only to a remote and possible future. With regard to the immediate future, there is no ground whatsoever for this supposition."

15

20

25

"Therefore, Lenin is right in saying:

"The proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and the substitution for it of a new one..." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. VII, p.124.)"

30

AMK.2

Page 70:

1

"Leninism replies to this question in the affirmative, i.e., it recognizes the latent revolutionary capacities of the national liberation movement of the oppressed countries and the possibility of utilizing these capacities for the purpose of overthrowing the common enemy, for the purpose of overthrowing imperialism. The mechanics of the development of imperialism, the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia wholly confirm the conclusion of Leninism on this score."

5

10

"Hence the necessity for the proletariat to support resolutely and actively to support - the national liberation movement of the oppressed and dependent peoples."

"This does not mean, of course, that the proletariat must support every national movement, everywhere and always, in every single concrete case. It means that support must be given to such national movements as tend to weaken, to overthrow imperialism, and not to strengthen and preserve it. Cases occur when the national movement in certain oppressed countries come into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement. In such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question. The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question: it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, subordinate to the whole, and must be considered from the point of view of the whole. In the forties of the last century Marx supported the national movement of the Poles and

15

20

25

30

AMK.2

Page 70 (Contd.)

1

Hungarians and was opposed to the national movement of the Czechs and the South Slavs. Why? Because the Czechs and the South Slavs were then "reactionary nations," "Russian outposts" in Europe, outposts of absolutism; whereas the Poles and the Hungarians were "revolutionary nations," fighting against absolutism. Because support of the national movement of the Czechs and the South Slavs was at that time equivalent to indirect support for tsarism the most dangerous enemy of the revolutionary movement in Europe.

5

10

"The various demands of democracy," writes Lenin, "including self-determination, are not an absolute, but a small part of the general democratic (now: general Socialist) world movement. In individual concrete cases, the part may contradict the whole; if so, it must be rejected."

15

(Lenin, Collected Works, Russian edition, Vol. XIX, p.p. 257-8).

Page 73: "Lenin was right in saying that the national movement of the oppressed countries should be appraised not from the point of view of formal democracy, but from the point of view of the actual results obtained, as shown by the general balance sheet of the struggle against imperialism, that is to say, "not in isolation, but on ..... a world scale." (Collected Works, Russian edition, Vol. XIX, p. 257).

20

25

2. The Liberation Movement of the Oppressed Peoples and the Proletarian Revolution. "In solving the national problem Leninism proceeds from the following theses:

30

Page 73 (Contd.)

AMK. 2

- (a) "The world is divided into two camps: the camp 1  
of a handful of civilized nations, which possess  
finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the  
population of the globe; and the camp of the  
oppressed and exploited peoples in the colonies and  
dependent countries, who comprise that majority;" 5
- (b) "The colonies and the dependent countries,  
oppressed and exploited by finance capital, consti-  
tute a very large reserve and a very important source  
of strength for imperialism;"
- (c) "The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed 10  
peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against  
imperialism is the only road that leads to their  
emancipation from oppression and exploitation;"
- (d) "The most important colonial and dependent  
countries have already taken the path of the national 15  
liberation movement, which cannot but lead to the  
crisis of world capitalism;"
- (e) "The interests of the proletarian movement in the  
developed countries and of the national liberation  
movement in the colonies call for the amalgamation 20  
of these two forms of the revolutionary movement into  
a common front against the common enemy, against im-  
perialism;"
- (f) "The victory of the working class in the developed  
countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples 25  
from the yoke of imperialism are impossible without  
the formation and the consolidation of a common  
revolutionary front;"
- (g) "The formation of a common revolutionary front is  
impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor 30

nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its "own country," for "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations" (Marx);

(h) "This support implies the advocacy, defence and carrying out of the slogan of the right of nations to secession, to independent state existence;" 5

(i) "Unless this slogan is carried out, the union and collaboration of nations within a single world economic system, which is the material basis for the victory of Socialism, cannot be brought about;" 10

(j) "This union can only be voluntary, and can arise only on the basis of mutual confidence and fraternal relations among nations."

"Hence the two sides, the two tendencies in the national problem: the tendency towards political emancipation from the shackles of imperialism and towards the formation of an independent national state - a tendency which arose as a consequence of imperialist oppression and colonial exploitation; and the tendency towards an economic rapprochement among nations, which arose as a result of the formation of a world market and a world economic system." 15 20 25

AMK. 6. Page 28: "Large-scale war, war between great Powers 1  
has been the outcome of the concentration of wealth in  
the hands of finance-capital groups in each country.  
What is apparently a purely economic process - the  
concentration of production and of capital - leads  
straight to the terrible social calamity of war. The 5  
Marxist approach to war is not pacifist. It con-  
demns imperialist wars of conquest and wars to hold  
down peoples fighting for their liberation. Such  
wars it regards as unjust. But wars fought by  
peoples against imperialist conquest or for liberation 10  
from imperialist rule Marxism regards as just, as  
also civil wars waged by the people to end exploit-  
ation. It is only through the victory of the  
peoples against the exploiters that the conditions  
which produce war can be ended. 15

"When the government of an imperialist country  
is waging an unjust war the working class in the  
country must oppose the war by every possible means,  
and if it is strong enough, bring down the govern- 20  
ment and take power to end the war and begin the  
advance to socialism".

Page 30: "In the imperialist stage the colonial  
struggle for liberation also becomes more determined  
and widespread. The conquest and capitalist pene- 25  
tration of a colonial country break up the old form  
of production, and destroy the basis on which large  
numbers of the people lived. Competition from  
Lancashire mills destroyed the livelihood of the In-  
dian hand-loom workers, driving them back to agri-  
culture and increasing the pressure on the land. In 30

AMK. 6. Page 30 (cont.): "the imperialist stage the pressure 1  
on the whole people is increased by taxation to meet  
the interest on loans and to maintain the apparatus  
of imperial rule, both civil and military. As a re-  
sult of this double pressure on the land and the forc-  
ing down of prices of colonial products by the big 5  
monopolies, poverty and literal starvation provide  
the basis for constant peasant struggles. In the towns  
industrial production is carried on under appalling  
conditions; working-class organisation is hampered  
and where possible suppressed. The middle classes, 10  
especially the intelligentsia feel the restrictive  
bonds of imperial rule. The rising capitalists see  
their development restricted. Thus a wide movement  
for independence grows. The same process goes on,  
though in different conditions, in every colonial 15  
country.

"Marxists see these struggles as the inevitable  
result of capitalist exploitation, and that they will  
only end with the overthrow of the imperialist groups.  
They therefore make common cause with the colonial 20  
peoples against their common enemy, the finance-capital  
group in the imperialist country.

"The First World War, itself the result of the  
struggle between the finance-capital groups of the  
Great Powers, marked the beginning of what is known 25  
as the general crisis of capitalism. In 1917 the  
working class of Russia, led by the Bolshevik Party  
under Lenin and Stalin, overthrew the rule of the  
capitalists and landowners, and began to build the  
first socialist State in history. From that time, 30

AMK. 6. Page 30 (cont.): the world was divided into a social- 1  
ist sector growing in strength and influence, and a  
capitalist sector in which all the contradictions of  
capitalism in its imperialist stage were rapidly  
undermining the political and economic foundations  
of capitalist society." 5

Page 32: "But the important point remained: every real  
revolution which aims at overthrowing an existing rul-  
ing class is not a revolution only of the class which  
is to succeed it in power, but a revolution of all 10  
who are oppressed or restricted by the existing rul-  
ing class. At a certain stage of development the  
revolution is led by the capitalists against the feudal  
monarchy and landowners; but when the working class  
has developed it is able to lead all the sections tak- 15  
ing part in the revolution. In other words, history  
shows that in every revolution wide sections of the  
people form an alliance against the main enemy; what  
is new is that in the revolution against the large  
landowners and capitalists the working class takes 20  
the lead in such an alliance.

"The revolution which puts a new class in power  
to bring in a new system of production is only the  
high point of the continuous struggle between the  
classes, which is due to their conflicting interests 25  
in production. In the early stages of industrial  
capitalism, the conflicts are scattered, and are almost  
entirely on issues of wages and conditions in a particular  
factory. 'But with the development of the industry  
the proletariat not only increases in numbers; it . 30

AMK. 6. Page 32 (cont.): "becomes concentrated in greater 1  
masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength  
more'. (Marx, Communist Manifesto, 1848).

"At this stage the workers form trade unions, which  
develop into great organisations capable of carrying on  
the conflict on a national scale. They form co-oper- 5  
ative societies to protect their interests as consumers.  
And at a relatively advanced stage they form their own  
political party, which is able to represent and lead  
the fight for their interests as a class.

"How is this fight conducted? 10

"Marx saw the aim of the working-class party as the  
preparation for and organisation of revolution - the  
overthrow of the ruling class of capitalists - and the  
organisation of a new system of production, socialism.

"The process of preparation involved helping all 15  
forms of working-class organisation to develop, es-  
pecially the trade unions, which increased the strength  
of the working class and made it 'feel that strength  
more'. It also involved helping every section of the  
workers which entered into any struggle for its imme- 20  
diate interests - for higher wages, better working con-  
ditions and so on. Through these struggles the workers  
often win better conditions; but these are not secure -  
'the real fruit of their battles lies, not in the im-  
mediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the 25  
workers.' In the course of these struggles the workers  
become conscious of the fact that they are a class, with  
common interests as against the capitalist class. The  
working-class political party helps forward that develop-  
ment, and explains why, so long as capitalist production<sup>30</sup>

AMK. 6.

Page 32 (cont.): "continues; the struggle between the classes must also go on, while economic crises and wars inflict terrible sufferings on the workers; but that the conflict and sufferings can be ended by changing the system of production, which, however, involves as a rule the forcible overthrow of the capitalist class. 5

"This general conclusion, reached from past history, was reinforced by Marx's study of the State.

"The State is sometimes thought of as parliament, But Marx showed that the historical development of the State had little to do with representative institutions<sup>10</sup> on the contrary, the State was something through which the will of the ruling class was imposed on the rest of the people. In primitive society there was no State; but when human society became divided into classes, the conflict of interests between the classes<sup>15</sup> made it impossible for the privileged class to maintain its privileges without an armed force directly controlled by it and protecting its interests. 'This public force exists in every State; it consists not merely of armed men, but of material appendages, pri-<sup>20</sup> sons and repressive institutions of all kinds' ( Engels, quoted by Lenin, State and Revolution, Ch.I). This public force always has the function of maintaining the existing order, which means the existing class division and class privilege; it is always represented<sup>25</sup> as something above society, something 'impartial', whose only purpose is to 'maintain law and order', but in maintaining law and order it is maintaining the existing system. It comes into operation against any attempt to change the system; in its normal, everyday working,<sup>30</sup>

**Collection: 1956 Treason Trial**  
**Collection number: AD1812**

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2011

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

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

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

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