to the aamount that each capitalist may produce.

- 7. Monopoly reduces competition, but does not do away with it. Competition takes on the form of a private war between big industrial giants, supported by finance capital, for the sole right to exploit new territories. In each country the big firms, with their great influence, use the government to drive out their competitors and to make wars for fresh markets. The State, or political force of the nation, becomes the open tool of the big capitalists in their fight for profits.
- 8. This tool is used, in the first place, against the working class in the fascist country itself. In wiping out all opposition, the fascists destroy the workers' protection against over-exploitation. When trade unions 15 are broken up and peoples' leaders are driven underground, the capitalists have a free hand to cut wages and bring down the workers' standard of living.
- 9. Thirdly, the monopolists use the State in order to make war on other countries: Italy on "Abyssinia, Japan 20 on China, Germany on Europe and recently America on Korea. Fascism tries not only to capture the colonies of other imperialist States, but also to turn capitalist States themselves into colonies. That is what the German fascists, or Naziz as they call themselves, tried 25 to do in Europe. Where their troops conquered, factories were closed and machinery removed to Germany. Other countries, they said, would have to produce foodstuffs and raw materials for German Industry, but they would not be allowed to build up industries to compete 30 with German capitalists.
- 10. The Nazis claimed the right to enslave other peoples

on the ground that the Germans were the 'herrenvolk'
or master race. One of the most evil sides of fascism,
shared also by the Japanese, is it's racial pride;
its boast that all who are not Germans (or Japanese)
belong to a lower breed and must be treated as infe
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riors. The Negro, said a Nazi spokesman, is a different
and lower race; they must not be allowed to receive
Western education, to become doctors, lawyers, engineers,
or to become the equal of the whites.

11. Now we understand why many capitalists in South

Africa, as in other countries, look with favour on
fascism, and why fascist parties like the Nationalist

and the Ossewa-Brandwag (Oxwagon Guard) have arisen.

These fascist groups promise to defend the capitalist

against the non-white peoples and to wipe out all

15 opposition to their reactionary policy; they stand ready
to destroy trade unionism and bring down the workers'

wage; and they demand brutal oppression of the non
European peoples in order to prevent working class

unity between all races.

Page 11:

"So long as Capitalism leads to imperialism and monopolies, so long will fascism remain a danger to mankind."

Lecture - the Next Lecture:

"Lecture No. 6. The Rise of the Working Class.

1. We have seen what capitalism is, how it works, and why it leads to unemployment, poverty, fascism and war. From now on we are going to talk about the challenge of the working and oppressed class to the capitalist 30 system. To understand how this challenge came to be made, and the form that it takes, we must look back into

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history of the labour movement.

- 2. We could go far back, to the time when capitalists were unknown, when people lived in much the same way as did the Xhosa or Sotho before the white man came. In Europe, Asia, America and Australia they lived in clans or tribes. Every family had its own land, which it worked with the help of friends, and neighbours. Every family built its own hut, made its clothing, tools and weapons. There was little trade and the men did not usually work for a wage.
- 3. But it would be too long a story to tell of how human society changed from those times through the ages until Capitalism, as we know it today, was born. It is a story of discoveries and inventions that gaveman the knowledge to produce more food and things for his 15 use of the movement of people, wars and conquests, of slavery and the growth of the property. Out of these changes grew the differences between the 'haves' and the 'have nots', between rich and poor, between capitalist and worker.

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- 4. There came a time when a worker, using better tools and methods of work, could produce a 'surplus', or a bit more than he himself needed to live on. It was then that slavery came into being. For, if a man could buy, or in war capture, men and women amd make 25 them work for him, he would be able to live on the surplus that they produced.

 HOW FEUDALISM WORKED.
- 5. Out of slavery, which was known in Egypt, Greece and Rome, the earliest class-societies probably grew. 30 With the downfall of the Roman Emp&re in the 5th century, the greatest and the last of the slave empires

of Europe came to an end. Capitalism was to bring back slavery, many hundreds of years later, in America and other colonies. But in Europe slavery gave way to feudalism.

6. Feudal government was very much the same as the 5 government of African tribes, with different hames for the rulers. Instead of paramount chiefs, chiefs and headmen, feudal England had kings, barons and earls, and lords. The king, like the African chief, ruled with a council made up of the leading soldiers and priests. 10 Only this Council could make laws and put taxes on the people, or declare war."

Page 12:

- "7. All the land was said to belong to the king. He gave areas to the barons and lords, who in turn bound 15 themselves to supply a certain number of soldiers for the king's army in time of war. Each lord, in turn, gave some of his land to his followers, and they also undertook to fight when called upon.
- 8. Still lower in the scale came the majority of the 20 people, known as serfs. They were the working people, but received no wages. Like the 'labour tenant' on South African farms, the serf was given a small piece of land on which he worked for three or four days out of the week for his own benefit. On the other days he 25 worked on the lands of the lord who, together with his 'labour dues', might also take a part of the crop grown on the serf's plot.
- 9. Serfs were not slaves; they could not be sold, and they could own property. On the other hand, a serf was 30 not free to leave his lord, while if the land was sold, he went with it to the new owner. As time went on the

labour service was changed into a money rent, and the serf became a tenant who hired the land. But right up to 1500 or so in England, the lord could at any time turn the tenant off the land and he, the tenant, had no right to take his case to the King's Court, for he was the 'lord's man'.

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10. In early feudal times there was little trade. Every manor or Estate of the lord supplied most of its own needs, the lord's servants including tailors, furniture makers and other workers. But there was some trade, 10 both inside and between countries, and men began to make things, not only for their own use or that of their lords, but also for sale on the market. Towns grew, with people in them who lived by trade and handicrafts and who did not want to obey the feudal rule of following 15 a lord to the wars. They bought themselves off, paying money instead of giving soldiers. Many of the smaller lords followed their example, and in time money payments took the place of military and labour service all down the scale. 20

11. These changes were spread over many hundreds of years, and they did not take place without much trouble and great social unrest. The towns had to fight the lords for their freedom, the kings fought the lords, who would not accept the authority of the crown, and 25 both lords and church fought the serfs, who tried to free themselves from bondage. The big revolt of the peasants, small farmers and serfs, in the 14th century in England, Germany and elsewhere, was one of the milestones along this road out of feudalism. 30 Out of the struggles came a stronger central government with the King at its head, having its own army,

collecting taxes from the lords and able to enforce his will with a force that was stronger than theirs. 12. By about 150, production for the market was going on all over Europe. In the towns were craftsmen, hiring two or three workers, called 'journeymen' and 'apprentices' who made goods for the markets. The master craftsmen in each trade came together and formed organisations called craft guilds, one for the blacksmiths, one for tailors, another for bakers, and so on. Later the journeymen, really the skilled 10 workers, formed their own guilds, known as yeomen guilds, which had often to work in secret because the masters did not want the workers to organise. 13. Feudalism came to an end in the 16th and 17th centuri es, though it was not finally swept away until 15 the French Revolution of 1789. Out of feudalism grew capitalish, and out of the serfs, freemen and journeymen with their peasant societies and guilds, grew the working class of today with its great trade unions and political organisations. " 20

Page 13:

"Lecture No. 7. Revolutionary Capitalism.

1. Workers there have always been. But it is only in the past 150 years that the working class has taken a leading part in the making of history. Before then, leadership was in the hands of the nobles, the kings and lords of high birth, or the big landowners or rich merchants, or the churches. At different times those classes fought one another, each side trying to win the support of the common people. So also, as capitalism grew out of feudalism, the new capitalist class led the fight against the kings and nobles.

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- 2. This fight did not take the same form and it did not take place at the same time in all countries. It first took place in England, where it led up to the Revolution of 1640. The capitalist chopped off the head of King Charles in 1649 and set up a republic, or government 5 without a king. More than 100 years later, in 1789, the French capitalists also led a revolution, and chopped off the head of their king. How is it that the capitalist class, which today used every possible means to prevent revolution, was at one time a revolutionary 10 class? Let us see what happened in England, the first big capitalist country.
- disappeared. That is to say, a big change had taken place in the kind of work done, the methodsof doing work, and 15 the way in which the land was owned and used, and the ties between master and servant, employer and worker.

 We have already seen what some of these changes were:

 The serf became atenant, hiring the land, or a labourer working for a wage; the lord paid taxes to the king, 20 instead of supplying soldiers for his armies; the handicraft worker became a master, with skilled workers under him; trade grew and men made things for sale on the market.
- 4. In fact, a new world was taking shape. After the 25 discovery of America by Columbus in 1492, English traders went there, and also to India, Turkey and Russia with woollen cloth, glass, soap and other goods.

 England supplied four-fifths of the coal to Europe by 1640, and produced tin and iron goods for overseas 30 markets. On the land farmers kept big flocks of sheep and grew more food to supply the towns. Land, which

used to pass from father to son, now became a thing to be bought or sold for a profit. Land values went up, rents were raised, and thousands of peasants or small farmers were turned off the land to make room for sheep and capitalist farmers.

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- 5. These changes were not favoured by many feudal landowners, who stood for the old order of things. They wanted to keep their rights and privileges, to prevent free trade in land, and to carry on the system of labour dues and control by the court of the manor over the 10 tenants. On the other hand, in the towns the master craftsmen tried to keep their monopoly over the local market by putting a limit on output, fixing prices and controlling the journeymen. They fought the traders who wanted a free market, bigger output and cheaper 15 goods.
- 6. The king took the side of the feudal landowning class and the craft guilds against the rising capitalists.

 In order to bring industry and trade under control, and to get in money, he sold monopolies, giving the buyer 20 the sole right to make or sell a certain article or to trade in a certain country. The feudalists looked to the Crown for jobs and protection, and therefore supported the system of monopolies, which covered a long list of things, such as butter, herrings, beer, salt, 25 soap and clothing.
- 7. A long strugglewent on between the Royalists, or supporters of the king, and the rest of the people. The king put the leaders of the opposition in prison or had them killed, he taxed people against the law because 30 the capitalists would not support him, and he tried to build up a private army and rule by force. In the end

civil war broke out and the capitalists, supported by
the mass of the people and with Oliver Cromwell at their
head, overthrew the monarchy, and took over the government. They did away with the feudal land system,
monopolies and royal control over industry and trade and 5
put all power in the hands of a Parliament elected by
the rich.

'PATRIOTS' IN SOUTH AFRICA.

- 8. Turn now from England of 1640 to South Africa of 1780. Here, took did a capitalist class carry on a 10 struggle against feudalism, represented by the monopolist Dutch East India Company. Influenced by the American Revolution of 1776, the ideas of French and English revolutionary writers and the democratic movement in Holland, the colonists at the Cape formed themselves into 15 a party known as the Patriots and tried to bring about a change in the system of government.
- 9. They complained, in the first place, against the trade monopoly of the Company, which had the sole right to buy the farmers' produce at prices fixed by it, and 20 to sell to ships that called at Cape Town. They attacked the company's policy of treating the Cape as a mere half-way station, where ships could restock with food, and preventing the growth of industry. Company officials, they said, were dishonest and robbed the colonists. 25 They demanded economic freedom, to export produce.

 They wanted their land rights to be safeguarded. And more than anything else, they demanded the right to elect their own representatives to the government council, and the appointment of colonists to half the seats 30 on the Councilof Justice.
- 10. These colonists were also slave owners. They did not demand for the slaves any of the freedom they wanted

for themselves. Without the support of workers their fight was bound to be weak, and they did not succeed in any great measure.

11. In Europe the capitalists did have the people behind them in the fight for democracy and freedom from feudal bonds. When this fight had been won, however, the capitalists became afraid that the people would grow too strong and want things for themselves. So they brought the revolution to an end, and, having become themselves the ruling class, continued the oppression of the 10 people. Out of this oppression grew the class struggle between capitalists and workers that we find today. 12. At one time a progressive force, the capitalists made a revolution in order to be free and remove the brakes that feudalism placed on economic development. 15 Today it is the capitalists who act as the brake and who prevent the people from being free, while it is the working class that has taken over the historical task of organising a struggle for freedom and economic progress." The next lecture : 20

"Lecture No. 8. Capitalist Democracy.

- 1. The freedom for which the capitalist class fought in its revolutionary days was the freedom to exploit man and soil. Political power was to stay in the hands of the rich, for whom freedom would be a class monopolyl Not 25 until the workers organised and struggled, did they gain political rights.
- 2. A hundred years after the English Revolution, in about 1750, there were six million people in England and Wales. But only 245,000 had the right to vote. In country dis- 30 tricts only landowners but not tenants had the vote, and not more than one in every twenty voters could freely use

his rights without fear of oppression from the rich. In the towns only small groups of property owners and old residents could vote. Electoral or voting areas were called 'rotten' and 'pocket' boroughs, names which showed that votes were bought and that the election was controlled 5 by some or other rich family.

3. By 1830 the population had grown to 14 million, but Parliament was still elected by the same smallclass of property owners. Big new towns had grown up which had no members in Parliament; industry and trade had made a great10 adgance, but factory owners and shopkeepers as well as workers had no say in the government. Capitalists and workers joined hands in a bitter struggle for parliamentary feform, and in 1832 forced the ruling class to pass the Reform Act. This gave the vote to tenant farmers in 15 country districts and to occupiers of houses valued at over £10 a year in the towns. in other words, the industrialist had been given the vote, but not the working people, who had done most of the fighting for a change. 4. The workers now saw that they would gain nothing by 20 following the leadership of the capitalist class. They began to build up a separate movement known as the Chartists Movement, the first political working class organisation in the world. Their charter of programme had the following demands: The vote to every man over 21 years; 25 everyone rich or poor, to be able to stand for parliament; secret voting; the same number of voters in all election areas; a new Parliament to be elected every year. Great mass demonstrations were held, big meetings took place all over England, three petitions demanding the vote were 30 put before parliament in the years 1838 to 1948. The Government arrested the leaders, broke up meetings, and

sent soldiers against demonstrators.

- 5. After a long struggle laws were passed in 1867 and 1884 that gave many workers the vote. By 1900 all men over 21 years had the vote. Women in England then took up the fight, in which many of their leaders were also 5 sent to prison. At last, in 1918, after the war, they won the right to vote. England now has universal suffrage, and everyone over 21 has the vote.
- 6. At every stage, as we see, democratic rights have had to be fought for against the will of the ruling class. 10 Only when the people are organised, united and clear in their minds as to what they want can they throw off their chains. Freedom is never given to a people; it must be won through struggle.

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OUR FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY:

- 7. Here in South Africa we are still 100 years 'behind the times'. Most of our people do not have the vote. All Europeans, men and women of the age of 21 years and more may vote and stand for parliament. But all non-Europeans cutside the Cape Province are disenfranchised, that is, are voteless, while in that provice the Coloured people have no more voting rights than the poor had in England over 100 years ago. Even that is threatened today. Like Africans in the Cape, they must be able to write and must have earned £50 a year, or lived in a house worth 25 £75, before they may vote. Africans in the Cape are on a separate roll, and can elect only three members to the House of Assembly, African voting units throughout the Union also elect four senators. No non-European women have the vote and no non-uropean may be elected to 30 Parliament.
- 8. All the arguments that are brought up against giving

political rights to non-Europeans were made at one time or another against giving the vote to workers in Europe. As late as 1866, when the English Parliament was asked to give the vote to townsmen living in houses valued at £7 instead of £10 a year, there were capitalists who objected, 5 because they said, the workers were not fit to have the vote.

9. We must demand full political rights, including the vote and right to be elected to parliament, for non-Europeans, women as well as men. Only in this way can 10 South Africa become a real democracy where government is by the people, through the people, and for the people. All democrats, all who want to see our country go forward, must join together in a great movement, as did the Chartists in England 100 yearsago, and force the ruling class to open 15 the doors of Parliament to all races and colours. 10. We must not, however, make the mistake of thinking that all difficulties will be settled by giving the vote to all the people. So long as capitalist remains, so will - so long will the State, or parliament together with the 20 civil service, the army and police, be under the control of capitalists. A capitalist state will always be used to keep down the workers in their fight for economic democracy, or the right to take over and manage the factories, mines, farms and other means of production. 25 11. What is more, if the people's movement grows strong and it appears that they will get most of the votes and form a peoples Government, then the ruling class will try to do away with parliament and overthrow the democracy that their own class fought to build. In Germany, Italy, 30 Spain, Greece and other countries the capitalists destroyed democracy and set up fascist dictatorships in order to prevent the march of the workers towards freedom from

oppression.

12. All the more reason, therefore, why we must value democracy, struggle to get it, and fight as hard as we can to defend it. We know that only freedom can do away with the big evils of poverty, unemployment and class or race oppression. But we fight here and now for political rights, as did the Chartists of ola-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 5265).

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BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

Mr. Maisels, it seems to me that according to what Mr. de Vos thinks, we may still have quite a number of days of reading material that has not been read into the record before. Now it seems to me that the procedure 5 will now be that the witness is asked to deal with that document. I think you may have a copy.

BY MR. MAISELS :

We have a copy of that one, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF :

You may also be able to get copies of the other documents. We haven't got a copy. It is now read into the record, it has now been read into the record. That doesn't help us at this stage when the witness now deals with the document, but that is immaterial, strictly 15 speaking. It also seems that the witness, as he has done before, will now give his opinion on certain portions of the document and in all likelihood quote certain paragraphs that have just been read. That is the procedure that will probably be adopted. Now you remember that at the time 20 when the reading commenced of the other documents, there were various attempts to shorten the proceedings. I don't think that in this case we can hope to get any summary by the Crown, which would only be useful if they were agreed upon by the Defence, because otherwise there wouldn't 25 be evidence, on which the witness could give his opinion. The only alternative that I can think of, and I am putting it to you to consider, is the same as was put in regard to the other documents. There you mentioned quite rightly that the Accused wanted to hear the evidence against them, you didn't have copies of the documents and didn't know what the position was.

BY MR. MAISELS :

The same thing applies, My Lord, in regard to this sort of thing.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

Now, if may still apply. But as far as we 5 think, the only way to shorten this would be to let this - the contents of this particular document be read into the record not before us, but by indication that this will be typed in and that the witness then deals with the particular document. That is the only way. But if the Accused 10 think, or the Defence think that the - that this should be read out for them to know what the case against them is, then of course there is nothing further to be done.

BY MR. MAISELS :

My Lord, if tt is a question of giving us a 15 sufficient number of copies so that they can read it on their own, perhaps we could do that at this stage. I may say, My Lord, that it is a convenient stage for me to mention to Your Lordship semething which I haven't raised at all. This witness gave evidence in the lower Court on a 20 certain number of documents, and he made certain comments in regard to those documents. A few weeks ago, the Crown served on us a Notice in which it was stated inter alia, that the witness would testify in regard to some hundreds of documents, that these documents contain communist 25 matter and propaganda. No proper statement was ever furnished in that connection, and the position really is, My Lord, that we are working under the gravest difficulty, because we have to try and find out if one is not covered in the Preparatory Examination, why it is said that these contain Communist matter or propaganda. Now My Lord, if we were given in advance a sufficient number of copies

as indicated by Your Lordship, the witness then could refer to specific paragraphs. It seems to me to be quite - the only workable way of doing it, because at this stage, My Lord ...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

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Except that if the witness is asked at the end of his evidence on a particular document, what is your view on the document as a whole, then the document as a whole should be before the Court.

BY MR. MAISELS :

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Well, it is, it is put in, My Lord, it is already before the Court in the sense of it being an exhibit, and all I am concerned with, My Lord, is that my clients should at least know what the document is about which the witness is speaking. If those copaes are fur— 15 nished in advance, as they should be, then My Lord, subject to

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

I don't think there are copies, the copies are not there. It is the same difficulty that we had 20 before. The only thing that I thought of was that the witness in each case of the document being read into the record, will refer to passages from the record on which he relies, so that there is a repitition, and an indication of why he thinks a particular meaning has to be attached 25 to it. It is not as if he gives his evidence on a piece of paper without any of the contents being divulged.

BYMR. MAISELS:

Of course, it depends on the way he does it,

My Lord. He can say paragraph 6 is this, or that. I 30

don't know how it will work out.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

We also of course have reached the stage where to a certain extent the pattern has been fixed in wide terms. We are now dealing with this specific topic. The documents that you dealt with originally comprised every 5 part of the Crown's case, one wouldn't know for what purpose the document is handed in. Now we know that these documents are to be treated for a certain purpose only. But anyway, I am putting it to you. As far as we can see, it is the only sclution, if it is possible - we know that 10 the Crown cannot supply us with a reasonable number of copies, they haven't got them. We know, if I may say so, with respect to Mr. de Vos, that it will be an idle hope to think that we get summaries which are satisfactory to the Defence and which will go in by consent, at this late 15 stage. I don't think so. As far as we worked out, the only alternative was the one which I suggested. You might consider it in the meantime, and discuss it.

BY MR. MAISELS :

is when would we get it. If My Lord, one would say that this document which Professor Murray is referring tok if say the copies were furnished to the Accused not today, but tomorrow. In other words, if the typing proceeds in that sort of way, then at least one has an opportunity of 25 hearing something or getting instructions or discussing it. But the present position of the record, if Your Lordship knows, has become intolerable. We have received no dopy of the record, certainly since Professor Murray began evidence, excepting for one day, which we paid for. 30 Other than that we have nothing. It is quite impossible My Lord. We are so far behind that I don't know what is

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going to happen.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

Well, anyway, on this part of the case, we have one pattern, let us put it this way, and you might consider it. Do you think there is a possibility of a consideration bearing fruit, if the Crown were to Indicate to you in advance what the exhibit numbers are that may be dealt with.

BY MR. MAISELS:

They have given us that, My Lord. They 10 have given us a list of the exhibit numbers of the documents to be dealt with. We know that, and we are following. But in no case have they given us the passagel For example, My Lord, there are documents, long exhibits, and it is not said page so and so, page so and so. Had that 15 been said in advance, My Lord, we might well have agreed to the suggestion Your Lordship makes without worrying when it is typed in, because then we would have known what is being referred to.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

But you might keep in mind the distinction between the position before and now, which is that the witness undoubtedly will refer again to passages.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

He has got to give reasons why he says 25 this - take this hast document. I suppose now the debate will be, is this a Communistic document or not. The witness will have to say, for these reasons, it is this type of document, and in that sence the Accused may be apprised here and now. Of course, Mr. Maisels, from the 30 procedural point of view, inasmuch as the actual document is not before us, we, the Court, will not be in a position

to note - to quote Jacobs' case - whether he is drawing the correct conclusion.

BY MR. MAISELS :

My Lord, I was about to say with respect,
that I didn't know how Your Lordships could really follow
the evidence that Professor Murray would give on this
last document.

BY MR. JUSTICE BEKKER :

From the practical point of view it has been read in. If examination in chief followed now, speaking 10 for myself, it would be impossible to know what this document is all about.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

Except if the witness quotes the passages.

BY MR. MAISELS :

Which he would have to do in any case, and so we have it twice. My Lord, there is another way which perhaps might be a way out of it. If the Crown would indicate to us now the passages in the documents that have not yet been read in - most of these have been read in, My 20 Lord, in fact, as far as we can see - which are sought to be relied on, we may tell them straightaway, don't bother to read it in, let the witness comment. That is the least that we should have, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

I think it was much what I suggested to Mr. de Vos previously. We don't know what is going on, as it is being read, Professor Murray will have to repeat various passages, presumably the majority of the documents again.

BY MR. MAISELS:

May I give Your Lordship an example of one

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of the documents which it is said to contain Communist matter. It is one of these thick Agenda Books. No single passage is marked. Now that is just impossible, and the Crown has been merrily proceeding, My Lord, and we have just been listening and waiting and waiting. My Lord, if my learned friend would consider doing what I have suggested, we may be able to save an awful lot of time.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

Mr. de Vos, couldn't you in the meantime proceed with documents that have been read into the record, 10 and in respect of those that haven't been read, and have to be read, couldn't you prepare in advance some indication of the passages on which you rely and give it to the Defance? It will save everybody a lot of trouble. It will save the Court, it will save Professor Murray sitting here 15 and listening for days to things that he probably has read already, and of which part has to be read by him again.

BY MR. DE VOS:

I realise that, My Lord. I take it, My
Lord, that the Defence would not object to small passages 20
being read in, as I have been doing earlier today. Earlier
today, for instance, I have been reading in from time to
time - I have told Your Lordships, this particular paragraph has not been read in, and I have read in a particular paragraph only, or say half a page or so. I take it 25
the Defence does not insist of being apprised of small
paragraphs like that, Your Lordship is merely referring to
whole documents.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF:

But shorter ones too, two or three pages. 30 You have plenty of material that is available that has been read into the record, haven't you, to proceed with.

BY MR. JUSTICE KENNEDY :

You see, at least up to now we have been able to look at the record, and read it and follow it, and we hope understand it. But it is going to make it very difficult if we haven't got a record to which to refer.

BY MR. DE VOS:

I realise that, My Lord, I realise the difficulties. It hasn't been very easy for the Crown either really to prepare this side of the case. We have had to check all that has been read in, so far as we could find it, but I'll try and follow Your Lordship's suggestion as far as practically possible, and in the meantime hold over those documents which have not been read in to the major extent, and deal with those documents which have been read in to the greatest extent, and see whether on that bases we could perhaps obviate delays. That is as far as I can take it at present My Lord, without looking at the documents themselves and seeing what the position is.

CASE REMANDED TO THE 27TH OCTOBER, 1959.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES 27/10/1959:

BY MR. MAISELS: Milords, we have considered the matter that Your Lordship raised with us just before the adjournment yesterday, and as far as we are concerned, Milords, as Professor Murray in the manner of giving evidence apparently(5 goes into great detail through the document, insofar as any documents have not already been read, we don't require them to be read. The witness can in giving his evidence refer to the document and refer to the particular passage.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: I take it that does not mean that (10

BY MR. MAISELS: The Crown can do what they like, Milord. I am merely saying that is what we are prepared to do.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Yes, but does that imply a consent to

...for the document to be typed in, in full? (15)

BY MR. MAISELS: No, we hadn't considered that; we thought that might fall away, the document would be handed in.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: As was pointed out yesterday, the difficulty might arise that the whole document is then not before the Court, it is not on record, and they are not entitled to (20 express an opinion on the document as a whole.

BY MR. MAISELS: I see, Milord; we are only trying to be help-ful. We are only trying to shorten the procedure. The wit-ness can say on this whole document or on this particular passage whatever he likes, I don't care. As long as the pas-(25 sages then referred to are commented on.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Yes, obviously. But the point really was -- I take it that in a document that was read yesterday a number of passages will be referred to, but not all -- the whole document will not be re-read by the witness; let's put(30 it on that basis.

By MR. MAISELS: Yes.

Professor Murray

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: So that if it is not put in the record, only those parts which the witness reads are on the record; that is the only difficulty.

BY MR. MAISELS: Milord, the document can be handed in as an exhibit; it is already an exhibit in the case, and he says (5 "I refer to Exhibit so-and-so," and "insofar as that, I deal with that, this, or this." I think Milord, with respect, that the requirements of the law there are satisfied.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: That is one matter as far as this document is concerned, but you will remember that the problem(10 that arose in regard to the other documents was this, that insofar as part of those documents were read, those parts are part of the record; those parts of the document handed in that have not been read are not part of the record. That is the difficulty. (15

BY MR. MAISELS: Yes, I understand that, Milord. One of the difficulties of course, Milord, is in the procedure suggested that is to have the document typed separately, which of course is convenient, to which we wouldn't ordinarily object; at the present rate of progress we will never get any record(20 at all at any stage. It is just hopeless.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Thank you, Mr. Maisels.

BY MR. DE VOS: Milords, the difficulty, of course, at times is that the whole document sometimes contains really one argument, and the basis of the expert opinion is that whole document (25 read as a unit. It is very difficult in certain cases to take extracts. Wherever possible that has been done. But that is the practical difficulty as far as the expert is concerned. I have in fact tried to take for consideration documents put before the expert, documents in the first (30 instance today where the extracts that have to be read in are

fairly short or very few of them. I have also prepared a further list of documents where the reading matter for the purpose of the expert opinion is more voluminous. I am prepared to put that further list to the defence and see whether they are prepared to have those portions referred to con- (5 sidered as part of the record. That may, of course, expedite the proceedings to some extent. I understood yesterday from my learned friend that he was prepared to consider that. In any event, that is as far as the Crown can take it at present. BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Both parties have to come to an agree-(10 ment.

BY MR. DE VOS: Yes, I realise that, Milord.

ANDREW MURRAY, still under oath:

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Professor Murray, you have before you NA.82, as well as A.302; NA.82 was read out yes- (15 terday in Court, and you had, while the reading was going on, A.302 before you as well, and I take it you have noticed that the two documents are identical ?-- That is so.

Except for two further pages added on to NA.82 ?-- That is so.

Now, will you please report on the document NA.82, that is the full document ?-- NA.82 is entitled "Notes for Lecturers." The first lecture is entitled "Capitalism." And the first paragraph gives a brief analysis of what is meant by capitalism, fully according to the Marxist-Leninist teaching(25 of the nature of capitalism. It ends up with the point that private ownershipthe features of capitalism are: Private ownership of means of production, employment of wage labour, production for private profits. And the rest of that paragraph follows Marxist-Leninist analysis. (30

The Marxist-Leninist analysis on that basis, or

?-- Of Capitalism.

As you have explained up to this point ?-- As I explained at an earlier stage. The argument goes on to a description of conditions as they were supposed to be before the capitalist system came into existence, when people did not (5 produce for profit, and did not produce on the profit motive, and especially when the tools of production were in the hands of the people who produced, and were not owned by another class. That analysis followed the Marxist description.

The Marxist description -- how does that connect up (10 with the doctrine ?-- According to Marxist theory capitalism developed, the particular features, when the tools of production were removed from the hands of the workers and came under the control of a certain class, and Marx and Engels argued that before the ...at the very early stage of human exper- (15 ience, people lived under conditions when every man owned the tools through which he made his living, The argument goes on to discuss the source of profit and the nature of the profits, and the introduction of money. The point is made that all these things became part of the capitalist (20 system, only when they were used for a profit purpose. That again follows the Marxist analysis of capitalism and the particular features of modern capitalism. I read paragraph (g)

The capitalist buys the workers strength and skill for training because he wants to make money out of (25 him.

And the argument goes on that way. That is in direct accordance with the Marxist teachings of the separation of the ownership of the tools of production and the workers labour power.

Lecture 2 has to do with "Wages under Capitalism." The (30 chief topic here discussed is the Marxist theory of profit

Professor Murray

or the surplus value, and the various problems that are discussed under this heading are directly in line with Marxist discussion, especially "Das Kapital" and elsewhere. He discusses the relation of the level of wages in relation to profit, and adopts the Marxist attitude that the wages are (5 paid on a subsistence level, and not according to the real value produced by the labourer. Paragraph 9 goes on to discuss the factors which keep wages low. The argument following the Marxist analysis is that on the open market system which previaled at that stage of capitalism, the labourer (10 had to sell his labour power, which is all he can sell, on the open market, and if wages drop he has to accept the lower wage, and if wages rise, he accepts the higher wage. The wage is not paid according to the value produced, but is a commodity sold by the labourer in the open market. That fol-(15 lows the Marxist analysis. The document goes on to discuss the fact...or it assumes the fact that there are usually more workers than jobs under capitalism; in other words, that wages remain low, and it uses the phrase 'the industrial reserve army' which is a phrase used by Marx and Communist (20 economists. He goes on to plead for, to point out the value of trade unions in the organisation of labour, to promote the interests of labour. That also is in accordance with the Marxist analysis. In Lecture 3, the title is "Unemployment and Crises." The document discusses the problem of crises (25) and the fact of frequent unemployment in capitalist economics. I read paragraph 2:

> Now on the market there is competition between capitalists. When the owner of a shirt factory tries to sell his shirts to shopkeepers, he finds that other (30 shirtmakers are doing the same thing. Each capitalist

tries to get a bigger share of the market, that is
to sell more shirts than his competitors. In order
to do this he must under-sell, or offer the shirts to
the shopkeeper at a lower price, than the price of
other shirts of the same kind. Othershirtmakers (5
will, however, follow his example, until prices fall
to the lowest point at which they can make a profit
that satisfies them.

And from that he deduces, following the Marxist principle, the fact why there are frequent crises and unemployment in the (10 capitalist system; that is achieved by the fact that the capitalist cuts wages, lengthens the working hours for the worker, speeds up the work and makes them work, as he says here 'twice as hard in the same time. In that way the capitalist achieves a larger surplus value. That follows direct-(15 ly on the Marixst -- that is a direct re-statement of the Marxist position. He then refers to the tactics used by the capitalists to increase the productivity of labour and that introduces the machine into the economic system, and it discusses the effects of the machine on the social conditions(20 of labour. That again directly follows Marxist analysis.

In what way does that follow Marxist analysis, Professor Murray?—— Marx developed the third law of capitalism, namely, the increase of misery, and he argued that under capitalism, the capitalist uses introduces various methods (25 by which he can increase his production and pay lower wages and employ fewer workers, and one of the factors in this process is the introduction of the machine. And these paragraphs follow that argument closely. That brings it to what Marx has called the law of the increase of misery; the head-(30 ing here is "Poverty in the midst of renty." One of the

capitalist criticims ... I'm sorry, one of the Communist criticisms of capitalism is that it consists of various contradictions; one being that there is always poverty in the midst of a system which can produce abundance or over-abundance. In paragraphs 8, 9, 10 and 11, that point is discussed, and ex-(5 plained in a very simple way, closely following the Marxist line. This section ends up with the statement: "We cannot blame the machines for unemployment. No, the machine can be used to lighten the burden of heavy labour and to supply man's needs. Machinery should be the servant of man, and be used (10 It is not the machine that is at to build a better life. fault, but the system in which it is used." That refers to the Marxist analysis of capitalism that productive methods have changed, so that we should not have an economy, an economic system based on a theory of plenty, whereas the capi- (15 talists, on the competitive system, still work on an economic theory of scarcity. Marx did not object to the introduction of the machine. His argument was that the introduction of the machine needed a new type of economics and therefore a new type of society. And this paragraph 15 is a re-statement(20 of that position, taken by Marx. Lecture No. 4 is entitled: "Imperialism." It starts again with a brief history of imperialism, very briefly put. Along the lines of Engels and Marx and ultimately Lenin, it refers to the position that originally there was not a capitalist system, but in the (25 past 300 years capitalism has developed and spread over the world. It goes on to the argument that capitalism, by the nature of the case, wants raw markets, raw materials, and new fields for investment. It is the market-urge on the capitalist economic system that sets up these demands, and therefore (30 capitalism must develop into imperialism. The question is

then raised here, as in Marx, why colonies, as for instance in Africa should bring a bigger profit than conditions, than work, production, in England, and the reply is that the price of land is low, wages are low, and raw materials are cheap, and therefore capitalism seeks colonies to increase its (5 profits. That follows the theory of the Leninists, and also the Marxist analysis.

Is this all reference to which paragraph ?-- I am busy with page 8, paragraph 5 -- really, paragraphs 1 to 9, under the title of "Imperialism." (10

And you have just been referring to a specific paragraph ? -- There are small paragraphs and large paragraphs, with headings, and I have taken the first large paragraph, "Imperialism." I come to the next general paragraph under imperialism, which is headed "The Cost of Imperialism." (15 The document argues that capitalism does not conquer colonies, and develop them to make the people happier, but that the profit motive is the primary motive of capitalist activity, which means that when the capitalist sets up a system in a country, or in a colony, he develops that colony for pur- (20 poses of making profit, not for the sake of the people. In that way imperialism, the argument goes on, breaks up the old way of living and is in fact itself a revolutionary principle. It changes theway of living of the people, but always for profit purposes. I may say it appears that (g)...(25

You say the argument goes on; is that the argument in the document or the argument...?— The argument in the document. I may say it appears that these lectures are really notes to guide lecturers. There is a note here in brackets "Lecturer, quote the example ofBritish Guiana." (30) That position that I have just described from this document.

Professor Murray

is part of Marx's and Lenin's analysis of capitalism, that imperialism has a revolutionary effect on the social system of the colonies, and that imperialism oppresses and suppresses the colonies, because it is based on an economic system which in turn is based on the profit motive, and (5 not on the considerations of social welfare of the people. The argument then follows imperialist analysis closely. It concludes that section by pointing out that these people who read this document should oppose imperialism. I read -

Imperialism must be opposed by us. We must demand (10 that colonies be given their freedom to govern themselves; the peoples in Africa and the colonies need help from more advanced nations to educate themselves and build the industries, but the price paid for this help must not be the loss of the independence and (15 exploitation by foreign masters.

That is the position taken up both by Lenin in his writings, and by Stalin, namely that the peoples of the colonies must fight for their independence, must build up their own industries, but not at the cost of national independence. (20 I go on to lecture 5, entitled "Fascist Dictatorship." The argument goes on that from imperialism there must develop fascism, or there develops fascism. The development is from democracy to dictatorship. The document gives a description of fascism, how it started with chiefly Hitler in Germany (25 and Mussolini in Italy, and then it applies the term fascism to France, Spain, Portugal, Japan and elsewhere, saying that fascist parties took over the government and set up dictatorships, thereby changing the essentially liberal nature of the parliamentary government of those countries. He goes on to (30 say they destroyed free trade unions and working class parties

they destroyed the national movements, and they took the vote from the people and filled their parliaments with fascists.

BY MR. MAISELS: May I just interrupt, Milords. The witness used the word "France," isn't it Franco?—— Yes. The sentence(5 reads — "Under Hitler in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain...." I'm sorry the last letter there, the 'o' is completely obliterated in this document.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Is it clear on your document whether it is Franco or France.?-- No, it is meant to be (10 Franco I should say -- it has got just a slight little black mark here.

On the photostat it is very unclear too. You accept it as Franco in Spain?—— I accept it as Franco in Spain. The argument goes on that in fascism, at this stage of capitalist(15 development, the capitalists remain the ruling class, and oppress the people, and that fascism is in fact a form of capitalist dictatorship.

Is that all in the document still? You are referring to the argument in the document?—— I am summarising the argu—(20 ment in the document. It goes on to point out that in the capitalist class it is the strongest class of the capitalists, namely the monopolists, and big finance capitalists, that stand behind the dictatorship of the government, that these people control great sums of money, land, mines, and so (25 forth, and in fact are monopolists. This argument follows closely the lines of analysis which is made of fascism in at Communist doctrine, where the argument is that/the stage of imperialism......proletariat, large monopolies develop and the monopoly parties have to entrench themselves and do (30 entrench themselves in the government of the state on the

Professor Murray

theory the government may remain on the face of it parliamentary, but the fact is that features are introduced which destroy the parliamentary nature of the government, on this theory, so that the government is really a sheer dictatorship. The argument in this section of the document entitled "Fascist(5 Dictatorship," the first seven paragraphs, is a direct restatement of the analysis of fasicsm contained in Communist doctrine. The next heading in this chapter is "The Aims of Fascism." where the argument again follows the communist analysis that the aims of fascism are to exploit people for the (10 increase of the profit of certain large monopoly groups, of various kinds. The argument goes on in paragraph 11, under the same heading, to point out that the fascist groups, to strengthen their position, have to defend certain bourgeois groups, to support their reactionary policy, in order to be (15 able to oppress the working classes more efficiently, that the fascist groups are prepared to destroy trade unionism and therefore to bring down the worker's wage. I will read the paragraph. I am reading the last sentence of paragraph 11, (20 on page 10 -

These fascist groups promise to defend the capitalists against the non-white people and to wipe out all opposition to the reactionary policy. They stand ready to destroy trade unionism and bring down the workers wage, and demand brutal oppression of the non-European people(25 in order to prevent working class unity between all races.

Page 12 -

So long as capitalism leads to imperialism and monopolies, so long will fascism remain a danger to mankind.(30 That is paragraph 12, page 12. The analysis of fascism

here follows closely the description offered in Communist doctrine. Lecture 6 has to do with the rise of the working class. It starts with the re-statement of the criticism of capitalism - "We have seen what capitalism is, how it works, and why it leads to unemployment, poverty, fascism and war." (9) And then it says it is going on to discuss the socialist solution for these problems. I read paragraph 4 -

There comes a time when the worker using better tools and methods of work could introduce a surplus or a bit more than he himself needed to live on. It was (10 then that slavery came intobeing. For if a man could buy or in war capture men and women and make them work for him, he would be able to live on the surplus that they produced.

This again refers to asummary of the argument that has gone (15 before. The next section is entitled "How Feudalism Works." and is a re-statement of the analysis of feudalism, particularly where it is found in the Communist Manifesto. Page 12 continues the historical survey along those lines.

The survey covering feudalism ?-- The survey chiefly (20 covering feudalism, and the beginning of capitalism and the end of feudalism, arguing that capitalism itself was a revolutionary doctrine, a revolutionary event in history. Lecture No. 7, on page 13, is entitled "Revolutionary Capitalism."

These pages follow the argument which occurs in the Communist(25 manifesto, and elsewhere, that capitalism itself was a revolutionary event, that it upset or destroyed the previous system and that it created a new system with new institutions to suit the new class which had managed to get on top, under these new conditions. That argument.... (30

What is that particular class ?-- In this case the cap-

italist class, the bourgeois and the capitalist class. The argument that capitalism itself was revolutionary at a certain time, is one of the main arguments to be found in the Communist manifesto. I turn to page 14, Lecture No. 8, Capitalist Democracy. In this section there is described (5 what is referred to as capitalist democracy, and in communist doctrine also referred to as bourgeois democracy. It is a type of democracy in which political power is in the hands of the rich and basically in the hands of the monopoly classes, and the workers will be oppressed, until they have (10 actually fought and struggled to gain their own political rights. The criticism goes on that at every stage -- I read paragraph 6, page 15 -

At every stage we see democratic rights have had to be fought for against the will of the ruling class, (15 only when the people are organised, united and clear in their minds, as to what they want, can they throw off their chains. Freedom is never given to a people. It must be won through struggle.

In these paragraphs, under the heading "Capitalist Democracy"(20 paragraphs 1 to 6, the communist interpretation of capitalism and the social conditions prevailing under capitalism, and capitalist history, is accepted and re-stated in a popular way. The last heading is "A Fight for Democracy." It argues that the fight for democracy entails the fight for full political(25 rights, including the vote, and the right to be elected to Parliament, the vote for non-Europeans, women as well as men, and other items. I read No. 10 -

We must not, however, make the mistake of thinking that all difficulties will be solved by giving the (30 vote to all the people. So long as capitalism remains

Professor Murray

so long will the State or Parliament together with the civil service, army and the police, be under the control of capitalists. A capitalist state will always be used to keep down the workers in their fight for economic democracy, for the right to take over (5 and manage the factories, mines, farms, and other means of production.

The point being made is again according to communist doctrine that a merely parliamentary struggle will not be sufficient to achieve what is wanted in the real democracy, for while the (10 capitalist system remains the power of the State will be controlled by the capitalists. I read paragraph 11 -

what is more, if the people's movement grows strong and it appears that they will get most of the votes and form a people's parliament, then the ruling class will(15 try to do away with parliament and overthrow the democracy that the old class fought to build. The argument here follows the communist analysis that if the proletariat class becomes too strong, the capitalist class, that is the owning class, will do away with Parliament and (20 in that way overthrow democracy, in that way establishing a fascist dictatorship. There are references to that in recent history in the next few lines. And therefore the conclusion is that the struggle must go beyond a mere struggle to achieve parliamentary power and to work through parliamentary (25 methods, but that freedom must be achieved in other ways.

That I think concludes this document. The last section of the

Professor Murray, I put to you document A.309, called

(30

argument, taking the analysis beyond parliament, and pointing

out the control by capitalists of parliament is an intrinsic

part of communist doctrine.

"No Easy Walk to Freedom," by N.R. Mandela: It has been read in at page 945 of the record, Vol. V. It has been read in in full. Professor Murray, I refer you to begin with in particular to page 4 -- unless there is anything that precedes that on which you wish to comment ?-- I think I will (5 start with page 4.

It is on page 953 of the record, line 19; in the document the reference goes on from page 4 to page 5, to the end of the second last paragraph, ending with the words "gravitating towards one central command." That is on page(10 957 of the record, line 10.?— I start at the bottom of page 4. Various parliamentary measures are discussed in this section of this document, and at the bottom of the page, the paragraph beginning "The cumulative effect of all these measures is to prop up and perpetuate the artificial and decaying (15 policy of the supremacy of the white man..."

Page 955, line 13 ?-- The interpretation of the situation here is that given by communist doctrine in the sense that capitalism is an exploitive doctrine, comparisons made with China, Indonesia and Korea, and reference to American, (20 British, Dutch and French imperialism, based on the communist interpretation that imperialism is there to exploit these countries. In the next paragraph beginning "The intensification of repression, and the extensive use of the ban," the assumption again is that the government activity is there (25 to immobilise -- I quote here "immobilise every active worker and to check the national liberation movement." There is reference to racial policies, and there is a reference to ruling circles, and the forces of reaction. The analysis there follows the Communist analysis of fascism. as a domina (30 ting form of state, opposed to the interests of the workers,

and the reactionary forces, against the forces of freedom, which the worker represents.

What phrase have you in mind in that paragraph when you refer to the forces of freedom; have you got a sentence there which refers to that point ?-- I read the five lines from (5 the bottom of the paragraph, beginning "The intensification of" "The ruling circles seek to maintain their position by inhuman methods, then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain."

That is line 13 of page 956 ?-- The analysis of the (10 situation that the problem existing between the two classes will be solved, can only be solved by a clash if the ruling circles pursue certain policies, is also part of the communist doctrine of the class struggle, developed at this stage.

What stage do you mean ?-- When capitalism has become (15 fascism and the proletariat is organising itself.

Does the next sentence follow on to that, or is that any further elucidation of your argument, or is it not of any further assistance?— The next sentence develops the point that the proletariat may have to resist to death, that means(20 presumably by force, the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule the country. It refers to the argument in communist doctrine, or it is similar to the argument in communist doctrine that if the proletariat, the socialist idea is to be achieved, the resistance will be experienced from the mono- (25 poly owners and big capitalists, and the working class will have to be prepared to fight, to use violence to achieve their ends. I go on to the next paragraph; the point made there is that the various working people have formed a unity, have come together, and that it is on the workers that the change, (30 the policy of change must depend. The trade union organisa—

tions are mentioned, I read the sentence -

Leaders of trade union organisations are at the same time important officials of the provincial and local branches of the A.N.C.

The point there is that it is part of communist doctrine on (5 strategy and tactics that trade unions must be used in the battle, in the whole political battle, for improved conditions, and the socialising of the state, and the trade unions should not be limited merely to matters of local wages and working conditions. The argument in this para-(10 graph is that a united front has been formed consisting of all the oppressed groups, and the policy of the united front is an instruction on communist theory of method, that the various groups must at a certain stage come together to achieve, to promote the revolution up to a certain stage, (15 when after that other developments will take place. The paragraph assumes the communist analysis of the nature of the struggle of the oppressed people, and the method by which the struggle should be carried out.

Does that complete your comment on this passage (20 ending with the words "central command." ?-- I may refer to one more sentence which has struck me here. In the paragraph beginning "but in spite of all...." I will read the two lines -

But in spite of all the difficulties outlined above (25 we have won important victories. The general political level of the people has been considerably raised, and they are now more conscious of their strength. Action has become the language of the day. The ties between the working people and Congress have been greatly (30 strengthened.

It is part of Communist teaching on method that at a certain

stage, when the parliamentary struggle is futile, the situation demands action, and that the people form a united front and should not hesitate to act. That is all I can say.

I refer you to page 6, that is on page 958 of the record. Professor Murray, it is the second paragraph on (5 page 6, the second half of it, beginning with the words "The hard, dirty and strenuous tasks...." ?-- The paragraph referred to reminds one strongly of the statement, I think read in by me from The Science of Strategy and Tactics, in which the various points are made as regards method and the (10 various conditions. The statement here is made that activity must at this stage not be confined to speeches and resolutions. It is pointed out that the work must be extended to contact with the masses, and especially contact with the working people, and that trade unions must be defended. Also that (15 meetings must be held, both publicly and privately, and that the propaganda and the work must be carried on into villages and shanty towns and so forth. And the emphasis is specially put on the point that the trade union movement must be established, and must never surrender its position. That follows (20 closely on the sections in the strategy and tactics of the Third Comintern.

In the Third Comintern, you refer to a particular document ?-- I refer to the programme of the Third Comintern, the sections of which have been read in. (25)

Now, I refer you to page 7, that would be on page 960 of the record, beginning with the words "Here in South Africa," line 20; Professor Murray your reference continues down to the end of that page, to the words on page 962, "We express our solidarity with the cause of the Kenya people." ?-- In (30 that section, the first point is that the situation is inter-

Here, as in many parts of the world a revolution is maturing.....

the revolution being the revolution of the oppressed people against the overwhelming majority of the country, against the (5 oppressive government.

Are you now referring to passages in the document itself ?-- I am referring to the document.

Perhaps you should just read out those passages you are referring to ?-- (10

Here in South Africa, as in many parts of the world a revolution is maturing. It is the profound desire the determination and the urge of the overwhelming majority of the country to destroy forever the shackles of oppression that condemn them to servitude and slavery.(19)

That is part of the communist doctrine, that where capitalism is in control, you have to do with an incipient revolutionary situation, which doesnot merely want to seize hold of parliament, but wishes to change the situation. The next sentence reads -

If elements in our organisation wish to impede the realisation of this lofty purpose then these people have placed themselves outside the organisation and must be put out of action before they do more harm.

To do otherwise, would be a crime and a serious neglect(25 of duty. We must rid ourselves of such elements and give our organisation the fighting power of a real militant mass organisation.

The phrase 'real militant mass organisation' occurs frequently both in Stalin and in Lenin's description of the nature of a(30 communist party organisation, if it is to achieve its ends.

And both those people emphasise the point that people who are not absolutely loyal, absolutely subservient to the party, should not be allowed to stay in the party. So these lines are in full accord with the policy and instructions of Lenin and Stalin on this point. The argument was that this type(5 of revolution that had to be achieved, can only be exhieved by militant organisations of the mass of the people. In the next paragraph I read the lines beginning ..eight lines from the top -

We are exiles from our own people, for we have un- (10 compromisingly resisted the efforts of imperialist America, and her satellites, to drag the world into the rule of violence and brutal force, into the rule of the napalm, hydrogen and cobalt bombs, where millions ofpeople will be wiped out to satisfy the criminal (15 and greedy appetites of the imperial powers.

That, of course, adopts the communist interpretation of the international situation, and of America's position in that situation. I read on -

We have been gagged because we have emphatically (20 and openly condemned the criminal attacks by the imperialists against the people of Malaya, Vietnam, Indonesia, Tunisia and Tanganyika, and called upon our people to identify themselves unreservedly with the cause of world peace, and to fight against the (25 war policies of America and the satellites.

It is of course, part of communist doctrine, that capitalism wants to oppress colonial powers, and therefore it interprets the situations referred to here as criminal attacks by the imperialists against these particular people. And it refers(30 to the cause of world peace, and the fight against the war

policies of America and her satellites, again on Communist lines; as I said before, Communism believes that world peace can only be achieved when the capitalist system has been destroyed, and that America and her satellites are pursuing a war policy. Communism on the other hand teaches that the (5 proletariat must fight against this in order to establish a condition of peace. The argument goes on -

We are being shadowed, hounded and trailed because we fearlessly voice our horror and indignation at the slaughter of the people of Korea and Kenya. The (10 people massacre of the Kenya/by Britain has aroused world-wide indignation and protest.

That again, is a continuation of the previous point, that
Kenya is exploited and oppressed by the imperialist power
Great Britain. (15

BY MR. MAISELS: That is a matter of doctrine, is it, Milord, because so far there has been a good inter-mixture in the last few minutes, of doctrine and fact. I have sat quietly, but

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Well, it is quite easy to follow (20 when this witness summarises a document and he gives the doctrine.

BY MR. MAISELS: No, Milord, I was about to draw Your Lord-ships's attention to an...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: I have been listening to him very (25 carefully, and if one follows that, one can see it.

BY MR. MAISELS: Yes, when there is doctrine and when there is not doctrine, and I am objecting to anything that is not doctrine.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Proceed, Professor Murray.

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: ?-- The interpretation of the international situation in this last paragraph, follows the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these points, and is in accordance with those teachings.

Whare you referring to -- to the last paragraph as (5 a whole on that page ?-- I made a comment on the last paragraph on that page. That, I think is all.

Professor Murray, I am just for a moment trying to make out a reference you have here to page 7, where the words occur 'we must give our organisation the striking power of (10 a real militant organisation.' Is that part of what you have commented on ?-- Yes.

That completes this document A.309. I now put to the witness B.2, I have no copy of it, and I ask the witness to read out what the name of the document is. It is on page (15 1057 of the record, and it has been read in in full -- in any event as far as the portions are concerned on which Professor Murray will rely. Your references, Professor Murray, are pages 1 and 4 -- page 1057 line 15 ?-- I read from the middle of page 1 - (page 1060 line 27) (20

Because Swart's fascist hammer struck first at this great son of our country, he is prohibited from writing to us. This throws out a challenge to every Indian youth wherever he or she may be. But how long are we going to allow this fascist madman to arbitrarily re-(25 move from our ranks leaders whom we have elected, whom we love and respect. Are you playing your part in the great struggle that is raging throughout our land, to win and secure for us and for generations to come a life of freedom, decency and respect and sanity. (30

There is a reference there I should like in that

connection to read from page 4, the settence beginning "In the days ahead of us......Therefore, since its inception."

(Page 1064, line 24) -

Therefore, since its inception our Youth Congress has always held its outstretched arms to the young people (5 of the world. This we have pledged as a lifelong mission by being affiliated to the W.F.D.Y. which unites in its ranks scores, millions, of young people like us from all over the globe. Our young members together with other South Africans have participated(10 in various international festivals, conferences, etc. and conveyed our friendship to the young people of other countries. In the days ahead of us, this mission will become more and more difficult. The men who rule our country today do not see eye to eye with us on this (15 question, while we who in this respect express the views of the overwhelming majority of our countryment, assure our friendship and love to the peoples of the world, our rulers pledge larger and larger supplies of uranium to the war-mongering powers for the manufacture of (20 atomic and H-bombs. They are afraid of us, these sadists, whose camp is rapidly narrowing, but as I say, they are afraid of the people of the world, just as they do not want us to meet each other in our own country, so even more do they want to prevent us from making friends of our young brethren in other parts of the world. But they cannot succeed. Just as they and their counterparts, their American and British masters are meeting with increasing difficulties all over the world, so in South Africa they too (30 will have to face the people on the offensive.

The statement here is very clearly that the analysis of the situation is that there is fascism in South Africa, as interpreted on Communist doctrine of that term fascism, and that as in accordance with that doctrine, the fascism forms a war-mongering camp, where the one supports the others (5 or the weaker are forced to support the stronger capitalist countries, and that this camp is a war-mongering camp producing atomic and H-bombs, for which South Africa supplies the uranium. The interpretation of the situation here follows the Communist line of the two camps, the Soviet camp, or (10 the Communist camp as the peace camp, and the interpretation of the position that capitalism has reached the stage of fascism in government.

Professor Murray, does that complete your comment on this part ?-- Yes. (15

I proceed now to a further document, B.11, read in at page 440, under the number A.83; and under the number B.11 it was mentioned again at page 1107. Professor Murray, your first reference is to the report of the joint secretaries, page 2 of that report, in this document, page 545 of the (20 record, beginning with the words: "We salute..." line 31; this particular extract is the reference for Professor Murray; there is one sentence at the beginning of 544; the closing words are "for freedom and democracy in our country" on page 546, line 10-11. ?-- I read from page 7, (25 the middle of the paragraph -

We thank him for the peaceful work he has done in uniting all the exploited sections, including the democratically minded Europeans, to oppose fascist tyranny.

I read from paragraph 8 - (30

The victory of the Nationalist Party brought about a

changed situation as its policy threatened all the people of South Africa with fascism. Consequently the fascist resistance struggle was extended by the Congress.

And I read from paragraph 9 -

(5

The implementation of recommendations contained in the report of the joint planning council of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, which devised ways and means of conducting a mass action, and which laid the basis for the broad— (10 ening of the liberatory movement ushered in a new era in the struggle of progress/for freedom and democracy in our country.

The interpretation put on the problem here for these people is clearly that the situation is fascist, there is a reference to fascist tyranny, using the word in the Communist extension(15 of it, according to Communist doctrine. The same phrase occurs in the second paragraph, and the reference to mass action reminds one of the statement made in sections on Method in which it is pointed out — statements made in communist literature on method — in which it is pointed out that mass (20 action is essential at a certain stage of this struggle, That is all.

I refer you now to page 3 of the same report, page 546 beginning with the words "This mass action brought sharply to the fore...." line 28. Your reference begins with para- (25 graph 11, and includes also paragraph 12 on the same page, ending with the words "establishing a truly democratic South Africa," line 30 on page 547. ?-- I read from paragraph 11, the middle sentence -

It attracted democratically minded Europeans who grasped (30 the vital truth that the real alternative to fascism

Professor Murray.

is genuine democracy, to rally round the African and Indian Congresses....

and I read a statement from the next paragraph -

Armed with the added strength of these absolute powers the government is vaingloriously strutting along, re- (5

lying on the use of brute force to subdue the people.

The notion of fascism on this doctrine is associated with the use of brute force and absolute powers, and the interpretation adopts the communist use of the term 'fascism' -- the use in communist doctrine of the term 'fascism.' (10)

I wish to point out that on the record, page 547,

line 6, the word is used "imperative." The word is used

"alternative." ?-- I should perhaps read the last paragraph

12 --

The African and Indian Congresses strengthened by the (15 alliance of the Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation, met the challenge of the Nationalist regime by opening up a way forward in which all the people of South Africa, regardless of race or colour can play an effective role, defeat fascism, (20 and make progress in the direction of establishing a truly democratic South Africa.

The term 'fascism' is again used as a basis for the interpretation of the position.

That completes that extract, on page 3, and I now refer(25 you to page 4, page 548 of the record, beginning with the words "The S.A. Indian Congress and its affiliated bodies" on line 30. That whole page 4 has been marked by you as a reference

BY MR. MAISELS: I object to this method of leading the wit- (30 ness. It has been going on for a long time and I have not

objected. It is not theway to do it, and I object.

BY MR. DE VOS: Milord, I assumed the position was that I had to put certain references which have been marked by....

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMPFF: Well, you should ask the witness if he wishes to make a reference to a particular sentence, or (5 you should draw his attention to a particular paragraph, and say "Will you please deal with that paragraph?" or "Do you want to deal with it?"

EXAMINATION BY MR. DE VOS CONTD.: Professor Murray, at page 4, I refer you to page 4, the whole of it. The reference (10 is from page 548 to 551 of the record, "The whole question of race conflict in South Africa was placed on the agenda of the United Nations which appointed a commission of inquiry to prepare a report for further discussion. Line 13, page551.

?-- I refer to paragraph 15 -- I need only refer to the (15 concluding line there -

We call on every Indian worker to join his trade union and help to organise other workers of all races. A good Congressman is also a good trade unionist.

The statement is in line with communist analysis of the sit- (20 uation, according to which the working people had to carry the revolution and the trade unions play a part, not merely in the immediate interests, the wage interests of the people, but in the whole revolutionary situation in all its aspects, on the teaching of communism. The same point is made in (25 paragraph 16 -

We know that the advanced progressives of the S.A. Congress of Democrats have already joined us, and we look forward to the members of the South African Labour Party, the S.A. Liberal Party, the churches and the (30 trade unions to play their part side by side with the Congress movement.

And I refer to paragraph 17 -

The fallacy of race superiority, the most dangerous myth of our times, was fostered and cultivated by the forces of imperialism for the purposes of exploiting subjugated peoples. Perpetuation of this kind of (5 inhuman rule by colonial and semi-colonial states presented a serious problem to the nation that assembled at San Francisco to find means of saving humanity from the holocaust of wars.

We find there the analysis of imperialism which follows (10 communist doctrine that imperialism exploits subjugated peoples, and makes the effort towards world peace difficult. I think that is all on that page.

May I refer you to the sentence in the middle of paragraph 16; "The Western Areas of Johannesburg is being turned (15 into a battleground between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction." Is that worthy of comment at all ?-Putting the two forces opposed to each other, and calling them 'the forces of progress and the forces of reaction,' is part of the teaching that the capitalist government are forces of (20 reaction against the proletariat and the proletariat movement, the workers movement, leads on to progress. I am afraid I missed that in my reading.

I now proceed to page 5 of the document; it is one paragraph which has not been read in. Paragraph 20 of the (25 secretarial report, part of B.ll. I read from page 5 of that report, paragraph 20 -

In this connection we may not overlook the role of imperialist powers such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Holland in the (30 matter. These states in fact support the racial

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