

gaged in shaping the destiny which she has long been denied in world affairs; From being an object of history, the African people have become the subject of history, planning and shaping their future destiny. And from the same report, page 11, there is a passage (5 dealing with Volunteer Corps. I am referring to page 12 Resolutions adopted by the Provincial Conference of the African National Congress (Cape) held at Cradock 15/16th of August, 1953.

I am referring to page 13, resolution No. 8 - (10 "That this Conference notes with interest, the remarks of the President on the need for the establishment at the instance of the African National Congress and under its leadership of a "CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" in South Africa, to draw up, inter alia, (15 a "FREEDOM CHARTER OR CONSTITUTION" embodying a vision of the future South Africa, as we in Congress see it. Conference instructs the incoming Executive to make specific recommendations in this regard to the African National Congress headquarters. Such a (20 Congress of the People would serve to unite all the democratic forces in South Africa among all races into a front against the dangers of Fascism, and would enable the A.N.C. to demonstrate in a practical manner its policy for the solution of the problems of the (25 country.

You hand in Exh. B.17 ?-- I do.

The next exhibit, Captain Buitendag, is Exh. B.18. Would you just identify the exhibit ?-- It is a printed booklet, it is called "Afrika" "Journal of the African (30 National Congress Youth League." "Afrika, the journal

of uncompromising Africanist youth and their national liberatory organisation the 'African National Congress Youth League.'" "

EXAMINATION CONTD. BY MR. TRENGROVE: Now, would you turn to page 2. There is an article "Subjective Liberation -- (5 An Immediate Necessity." ?-- That is so.

Have you compared that article with an article in Exh. A.204 ?-- I have.

Which is an African Lodestar, pages 4 and 5 ?-- That is correct. (10

Exh. A.204 has already been handed in, Your Lordships will find on pages 4 and r an article "Subjective Liberation -- an Immediate Necessity." Is the article in the Bulletin before you the same as the article in African Lodestar A.204 ?-- That is so. (15

In this bulletin, at page 4, there is an article "Ballyhoo" which reads as follows:

"Of all the propaganda stunts emanating from the camp of the reactionaries in Africa none is more cynical than the constant cries of "Indian Imperial- (20  
ism in Africa." The most vicious imperialists and oppressors the world has ever known have dismembered the continent and destroyed the independence of its peoples. For centuries they have practised a ruthless economic exploitation of the African people and now (25  
suddenly these imperialists accuse India of harbouring designs on Africa and of desiring to dump her surplus populations on this continent. It is being suggested that if the Africans succeed in throwing the  
white man out of Africa, the Indian will step in as (30  
the new imperialist oppressors. This is not skillful propaganda at all, it is utter bunkum and ballyhoo.

We are not innocent of the true nature of the ruling classes in India today, and it is possible that they may or may not have imperialistic ambitions on Africa. Whether they have them or not the position is that they could never embark on any imperialist adventure (5 of any size for a long time yet."

Then there is a paragraph dealing with the position in India, which I omit, the next paragraph, which I omit, and then there is a paragraph which starts -- "What really makes nonsense...." It reads as follows - (10

"What really makes nonsense of this anti-India propaganda however is this. If the African liberation movement has been able to organise up to a point where it has "thrown out the White man". If, to be exact, the democratic forces in Africa has defeated (15 the powerful combination of reactionary imperialist forces that prey on this continent today, then we say it will be able to deal with any other imperialist combination, India included. Having been oppressed for so long and having attained freedom from racialism (20 even for a week, the Africans will teach any imperialist power that wants to re-impose the system, a lesson. We can assure the world in advance; after defeating Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium and America, the Africans will be able to deal with anyone else ade- (25 quately. In any case anyone looking around the world today, without being an expert, ought to realise that the tendency is for empires to shrink as the area of freedom advances, and expands. Anyone who has not allowed himself to degenerate and swallow (30 the pernicious lie that the end of capitalism and imperialism is the end of civilisation and culture, will



be able to see that mankind, united and collectively, is ready to make one mighty leap towards a new and higher stage. Mankind under the influence of the advanced ideas to which all humanity has contributed is ready to create a common society in which racialism (5 imperialism and war will be a thing of the past. As an important and vital part of humanity the African people are playing their part in bringing about a new world. For the world is not free if Africa is not free. If it is true that India has imperialist de- (10 signs on Africa then realities in India, realities in Africa, and realities in the world situation today, say she "will be stupid to pursue them." The fact of the matter is that we, in Africa, are face to face here and now with the imperialism of the Malanites (15 and their international supporters. To fight and defeat these must be an obsession with us. Let us not be diverted from our present dangerous enemies by talk of improbable, remote future imperialism by others. There is an African proverb that says (20 On discovering a snake's nest it is wise to look for and destroy the parent snake first before turning round to destroy the eggs which represent a future danger. We will be wise to concentrate on the most difficult task of defeating adult Malanist oppression (25 before bothering about an Indian Imperialism that is still in its embryonic stage."

Then there is an article dealing with the Congress of Democrats. It reads -

"Last month a very important Conference was held in (30 Johannesburg consisting largely of progressive Europeans. The aim of this conference was to establish

an organisation in South Africa of all those Europeans who believe in and are committed to struggle for the achievement in this country of the principles of the African National Congress. This is a most significant step in the political history of this country. The (5 Defiance campaign can be regarded as the effective and proximate cause of the establishment of the Congress of Democrats. This is, in itself, a pointer to future developments. As the leaders of the African National Congress have often pointed out (10 to their followers, the stronger and more powerful the African National Congress, the more will it precipitate from the ranks of the Europeans and indeed other groups, genuine democrats. This is a National movement of the Europeans pledged to a policy of (15 working with and under the leadership of the Congress. We would like to pause here and draw attention to a fact that is often lost sight of. The expression 'liberation' from the point of view of a European democrat cannot bear the same meaning as when it is (20 used by the African. Thus 'liberation from the point of view of a democratic European would concretely mean freedom from class oppression. In other words every time a European in this country speaks of liberation his mind must jump to the concept of freedom from (25 economic exploitation under capitalism. Being relatively free from national oppression this concept is the one that occurs immediately and spontaneously to him. As for the African the tendency is for him to think in terms of the removal of caste or national op (30 pression whenever the expression Liberation is employed. The fact that National oppression and class

oppression are twin problems, interlinked and inter-  
locked is what occurs to him when he thinks again.  
This crudely put is the contradiction that has always  
existed as between the European and African Democrats  
in this country. The path of liberation for the colo- (5  
nial peoples in the 20th century lies in the building  
of powerful National movements which, united with the  
progressive forces in the metropolitan countries will  
defeat the imperialists. South Africa is both colonial  
and imperialist at the same time. The National liber- (10  
ation movement having to be built in close physical  
proximity with the advanced elements in the oppressor  
group. The formation of the Congress of Democrats is  
an important step in the resolution of the internal  
contradiction within the democratic camp. The Demo- (15  
cratic camp consisting of the advanced elements in  
the "oppressor group" as represented in the Congress  
of Democrats, strongly allied with the National Movement  
of the Oppressed peoples, particularly the A.N.C.,  
will see the end of oppression in the country. The (20  
Congress Movement now covers all sections of the popu-  
lation, hence the alarm of the Fascists and their  
international friends. LONG LIVE THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT  
IN SOUTH AFRICA! "

Then there is a paragraph at page 10 - (25

"Read the Lodestar, A.N.C.Y.L. Tvl., Liberation  
Fighting Talk and of course Afrika and Advance."

I beg leave to hand this in.

Captain Buitendag, Exh. B.19. Now, have you compared  
Exh. B.19 with Exh. A.37 ?-- I have. (30

Which is already before the Court ?-- That is so.

And what is B.19 ?-- It is the Annual Report, under



the caption of "African National Congress." The annual report of the National Executive Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban, on the 16th to 19th December, 1954. (5

And having compared it with A.37, what is your conclusion?-- It is identical.

Will you hand in B.19?-- I do.

B.20. B.20 appears in the further particulars to the policy of the organisation at pages 104, 106, 110. (10 What is B.20, Captain Britendag?-- It is a typed document under the caption "Have you joined S.A.C.P.O. yet."

It is a roneod document?-- Yes.

On the first page of the document the Crown refers to "What is it?" Which shows that this is a circular (15 setting forth certain matters in connection with the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation. The paragraph says -

"S.A.C.P.O. is the South African Coloured People's Organisation, designed to be the mouthpiece of the (20 Coloured people in political, economic and other matters."

We refer on the same page, the first page to "Who Controls it?"

"The members control S.A.C.P.O. The Executive Com- (25 mittee and the officials carry out the wishes of the members. The...

And then certain names are given. The Crown refers to the name of S.B. Lollan, and R. September, in that paragraph.

Do you know S.B. Lollan?-- I do. (30

Who is he?-- He is an accused person.

Will you identify him?-- I will. (Witness identifies Accused 5)

Under the paragraph "Who Controls it?" on page 1, there is a statement that the Transvaal Chairman is Mr. S.B. Lollan. And page 2 of this circular document is headed "Are you Satisfied?" and the first paragraph of this reads -

(5

"A liberatory struggle is in progress. A struggle with the aim of achieving full citizenship rights for all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of our country."

(10

And then in paragraph 3, it refers to the fight for freedom of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., and S.A.C.P.O. Then there is a paragraph referring to the Western Areas Removal Scheme, and in the last paragraph it says -

"Such an organisation has been formed already and is known as the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation with branches throughout the Union. Therefore join your branch of S.A.C;P.O. and remedy the position or continue in your attitude of 'it couldn't worry me' and very soon find yourself workless, homeless and a slave of the Sate."

(15

(20

You hand in this document ?-- I do.

I come to Exh. B.21. What is the heading of that document ?-- "The World we Live in."

Have you compared that with Exh. A.84 ?-- I did.

(25

And are the contents identical ?-- They are.

You hand in the document (B.21) ?-- I do.

Exh. B.22 -- would you just read that exhibit ?--

Yes -

"Lecture for Volunteers, (Contress of the People) (30

Dear Volunteer, the third lecture in the series "The World we Live in" will be delivered by Dr. Omar



Hasshim, at the Shri Vishnu School, 559 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg, on Sunday the 12th June, 1955, at 2.30 p.m. You are earnestly requested to be present at this important lecture. Yours fraternally, S.B. Mungal and M.M. Mabida. Hon Secretaries (5 Natal Midlands Regional Committee (Congress of the People."))

You hand in the document ?-- Yes.

The next exhibit is B.23. What is the title of the document ?-- Lecture three, "A Change is needed." (10

Have you compared that with exhibit A.86 ?-- I have.

And are the contents identical ?-- That is so.

You hand in the document ?-- Yes.

B.24. What is that document ?-- "Nationalism in South Africa." Mr. L. Forman. (15

It is a rounded document ?-- Yes.

The document is headed "Nationalism in South Africa L. Forman." -

"When we talk of the national question we sometimes incorrectly pose the problem as being one of the (20

choice between two different viewpoints. On the

one hand, you can see the struggle for liberation

as being essentially a class struggle, with the

proletariat of all national groups fighting the capi-

talists of all national groups. Or on the other (25

hand you can have all the people of the oppressed

nationality whatever their class, pitted against the

dominant national group as a whole. I don't think

there will be anyone here who will not agree that for

South Africa, neither approach is by itself completely (30

correct -- that the correct path to liberation is by

means of joining together into one unity the many forces

opposed to the South African ruling class, of welding together into one the struggle against capitalism and the struggle for national liberation. It may be most fruitful to begin with the things on which we have definite agreement, and to move on to the (5 things which are still doubtful -- not because we disagree, but because we have never got round really to thrashing them out. We all agree that basic to everything in South Africa is the capitalist system. The primary laws of the country are designed to (10 assist the capitalist class in exploiting the workers. The capitalist exploitation is basic and it is important that we always remember that. It is sometimes said that it is the "racialist policies" of the Government which are basic. That is incor- (15 rect. For proper understanding it is necessary to go behind the racialist policies to the economic system underlying them. But at the same time, we will all agree on the second point. That distorting the class struggle in South Africa is the double yoke of oppres- (20 sion. The vast majority of Africans face oppression not only as proletarians, the value of whose labour is stolen in profits, but also they suffer national oppression. Their language rights are not equal. Schools are not provided for them. They are confined to par- (25 ticular jobs. And the development of a petit-bourgeoisie and a bourgeoisie is hampered and restricted. Nationality cuts across class in that there are things the humblest white can do which the richest African can't do. The national oppression is designed to (30 serve the ruling class in two ways. First it is a means of ensuring cheap labour and limiting competition. And secondly, national oppression serves the capitalist

class -- for by bribing the white workers, and by spreading the race lie, they obscure the class struggle and even win a section of white workers as allies. But as is the case with everything the capitalist class touches, the national oppression in turn creates (5 the conditions for the overthrow of capitalism. In capitalist states which are not multi-national the ruling class relies on the intellectuals and the petit-bourgeoisie as allies against the people.

In South Africa, as a class of intellectuals of the (10 oppressed nationalities grows larger, and as a petit-bourgeoisie comes into being it finds itself implacably opposed to the government for it is frustrated and not bribed. Together with the proletariat, these groups are strong opponents of the government. But the (15 intellectuals and the petit-bourgeoisie do not see the class oppressor so clearly -- they see mainly the national oppression. So you have a proletariat aware both of class and national oppression, the intellectuals, petit-bourgeoisie and peasants concerned with (20 national oppression. (For to the peasant it is always the oppressing national group which is seen coming to take his land or his cattle or his money. Now comes the problem of the best way to ensure that these, anti-government forces combine most effec- (25 tively to fight and defeat the entire economic system on which oppression is based -- not only to defeat national oppression but also to defeat class oppression. So far we've dealt with things we've got to be in agreement with before we can really understand (30 each other to argue further. But <sup>it</sup> is the next stage



that we have to begin feeling our way a little. During the war there was a substantial body of opinion which argues like this. The national liberatory movement is lead by the bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie. They are fighting for a bourgeoisie (5 democratic revolution which we must support. When there has been such a revolution it will then be possible to talk in terms of a class struggle and the achievement of socialism. Developments since the war have gone a long way to show the falsity (10 of this approach. To a great extent the direction of the national liberatory struggle has been wrested from the hands of the bourgeoisie and more conservative elements, and the leaders who understand the need for struggle against both national oppression and its (15 imperialist economic roots have come to the fore. The process is far from complete. But the basis certainly exists for the national liberatory movement to be a truly people's movement -- one which will not allow a mere transfer from national oppression to economic (20 oppression, as is the case in Nehru's India, but will push forward to people's democracy, as in China. For the most advanced elements to retain the support of the national liberatory struggle it is necessary for them to be, in fact, advanced. They must know before (25 the events, the direction in which matters are tending. They must be able to anticipate trends and popular demands, so that they may be completely identified with them and influence them and speed them on. This is only possible when the advanced elements pay par- (30 ticular attention to scientific theory. If we read some of the Chinese theoretical writing we find again

and again the great care with which the leaders set about marking out and defining the different groups. There are essays on "What is the Proletariat?" "What is the Middle peasantry, and what is the poor peasantry, what the landed gentry?" and (5 so forth. The reason is clear. Given a similar condition, the poor peasantry in one part of China have much the same demands, will react in much the same way all over China, so that, once one really understood the problems and demands of poor peasantry, (10 and once one knew how to identify which groups were part of that class, one had considerable assistance in one's analysis of likely developments. In the same way it is essential for us to understand what is the nature of the oppressed nationalities in (15 South Africa. One possible answer is that there is no need for such an analysis -- that there is no national question, only a proletarian question. Now, this is an attractive formulation, but the fact is that there exist strong liberatory organisations (20 based on national lines. And these organisations are not artificial but are based on strong national feeling among the people. In how far is this really a national feeling? Certainly the resentment of the ordinary African takes the form expressed by "This (25 country belongs to the Africans and the White man has stolen it." But this feeling is not in itself really a national feeling unless it has a far more complex basis. A struggle for national liberation requires, if the words have any meaning, that an (30 oppressed nation or national group is doing the struggling. And if the people struggling are indeed

nations, then an important part of our policy must be the demand that these nations have the right to self-determination. If they are not nations, and if they are national groups, aspiring to be nations, then in turn they have the right for the conditions (5 to be created by which they may become nations with the right to self-determination. This means that it will become part of working-class policy to guarantee to those nationalities which have not their own territory that they will be given territory which they will (10 be able to administer autonomously, in which their own language will be one of the official languages and in which their national cultures may flourish. We know what a nation is. It is a stable community who have lived together for a long time in the same territory (15 speak the same language, have an internal economic bond and a common psychology and culture. Which of South Africa's peoples are nations? I would not like to say. Possibly there are several communities in South Africa which are full-fledged nations. (20 But I think the majority of communities which have common language and psychology in South Africa are not full nations, but national groups."

I omit paragraphs 37 to 40, and continue reading from page

7 -

(25

"But in their own national lands they will have every opportunity of developing the wealth of the country to their own benefit and for the benefit of all.

Such is for example the case in the national republics of the Soviet Union, which were backward and (30 starving before the revolution but now have flourishing national industries and universities while



students are able also to study at the Moscow university or at those of the other republics if they wish. The encouragement of people's nationalism is a great progressive force. For the ability to do this, we must know more about the demands of our different (5 national groups and the desires which, though not yet expressed, will ring the strongest chords among the people. I hope the contributions this evening will help towards achieving this clarity."

Then at page 5, there is a commend made following part of (10 the discussion, and under it is the name L. Forman, which reads as follows -

"I must express surprise at the interpretation Dr. Simons has put on what I said. It is particularly difficult because no matter how badly I may have ex- (15 pressed myself, I feel sure that he knows that the right to national self-determination does not imply that one advocates that the people of Zululand be confined to a pastoral life and "perhaps take up fishing." Nor does it imply that one is not in (20 favour of the obvious end aim -- one single, united South African nation. I would go further -- National self-determination makes possible not only one South African nation -- it lays the basis for an eventual single world culture. But the only cor- (25 rect path towards a single South African nation is through the creation of conditions by which the different national cultures in South Africa may first flower, and then merge.....

And then the last paragraph on that page --

It has been argued that the African people don't want to study in African languages -- that they want to

learn in English and that it is the Nats who are trying to enforce study in African languages.

While it is perfectly true that the present economic set-up makes it essential for Africans to have the opportunity to learn in English -- because text- (5  
books are in English because the economy of the country is conducted in English, it is hard to see how it can be argued that when these conditions are changed by a people's government, national groups should not have the right to study in their own (10  
language."

Then there is an article at page 6, "What are the national groups in South Africa? A contribution to the symposium by K.A. Jordaan. And the article reads as follows -

"The National Question: General Considerations - (15  
I might mention that this article will be read into the record because at a later stage when evidence on Communism will be led, they will be relevant for that purpose.

"According to the classical meaning of the term, the national question presents itself as the problem (20  
of altering the relations one nation has with a foreign nation. The one is the oppressor, the other is the oppressed; the one is the hammer; the other is the anvil. The oppressed nation seeks to alter this relationship with the oppressing nation by its (25  
struggle for national independence and its demand for self-determination, that is, the right to separate state existence. The Polish question of the nineteenth century is the classical example of the nationalities problem. For more than a century the (30  
Poles lay under the heel of Russian absolutism as well as of German militarism. Thus, on the one hand, they

were subjected to a rigorous policy of Russification, and on the other, to a policy of Germanisation. These policies were a calculated attempt to stamp out these traits and characteristics whereby the Poles justified themselves as a separate national group with (5 their separate interests, and ipso facto their right to a separate state existence. To this end, therefore, the Polish language was not recognised; the chief posts in the Polish government were filled by members of the foreign nations and sucked dry, economically, culturally and politically. India furnishes us with the second example of the national question. Because of the multi-national set-up in that country, there are two prongs to the national question: firstly, the political liberation of all (15 the Indian national groups from Imperialism: and secondly the right of every Indian national group to complete cultural and political autonomy within the orbit of an independent India. This movement for autonomy by the Indian national groups is a very (20 strong one, because they had since time immemorial existed as distinct cultural groupings. Their desire for a separate existence is theirs as of historical right, like the Poles or Czechs. Four main conclusions can be drawn from these two examples (25 of the national question. Firstly, a homogeneous national movement develops strong centripetal forces whereas a heterogeneous national movement generates powerful centrifugal forces. Thus, on the one hand, the movement for German unification led to the assimilation of all the disjecta membra of the German (30 nation under one central state, while, on the other



hand, the dismemberment of the multi-national Austro-Hungarian Empire culminated in the formation of various states. Secondly, national liberation involves the combined movement of all classes and groups composing the oppressed nation. Thirdly, the national struggle is primarily directed at the overthrow of political and legal discrimination between one nation and another. It does not necessarily involve a change in the economic structure of the nation liberated. And finally, a successful national struggle, while it means the liberation of the oppressed nation from the oppressing nation, does not necessarily imply the extension of full democracy to the constituent elements. To be sure, the political oppression and economic exploitation of one class by another or of one group by another can still continue within the liberated nation itself. What then, are the differentia specifica of the national question in South Africa? How are we going to apply the classical slogan of "national independence and the right to self-determination" to our problem of national liberation? There is no doubt that we are not dealing here with the problem of changing South Africa's Statute of Westminster 1931, the Statute and Seals Act, 1934, all gave South Africa its full political independence as a nation as well as its right to independent state existence. Our national question revolves around the question rather of the internal arrangements of the South African State. The form of this multi-national state must be distinguished from its content. Within the framework of this independent nation, four-fifths of the

people are oppressed by other one-fifth. Concretely speaking, certain African, Indian and Coloured South Africans are oppressed by British, Afrikaner and Jewish South Africans. Our national problem therefore presents itself as the struggle of four-fifths of (5 the nation to alter their status under the state within that nation and to attain the same status enjoyed by one-fifth of that nation. This involves three things: the equalisation of political and legal rights (the full franchise); the right to sell one's (10 labour power in any field of economic activity (the abolition of the industrial colour bar); and the right to buy and possess property in any area (the abolition of the reserves and so-called native territories, as well as the abolition of laws which re- (15 strict on the grounds of colour the right of buying and selling.) The South African national question therefore differs from the national movements in other countries in that it does not aim at establishing new and different relations with an outside. (20 ~~Nations~~ establishing new and different relations within the South African nation itself. Secondly our national question is unique also in this respect, that the solution to the national question is at one and at the same time the solution to the question of (25 democracy. More concretely: our movement is national because it aims at the overthrow of the oppression of peoples by other peoples within the same nation; our movement is democratic because the overthrow of such oppression automatically leads to the extension of (30 democratic rights possessed by one-fifth to four-fifths

of the nation. Ours is, in short, a truly national democratic movement. In determining the character and the future of our national democratic struggle, one must beware of using as the point of departure those artificial Herrenvolk racial divisions. It is unfortunately an indication of our political primitiveness that certain political groups and individuals can conceive of our struggle, our organisational forms and the future of South African Society only in terms of those racial categories foisted on us by Herrenvolkism. Thus there are people who conceive of our struggle as a purely African demand for land, as if the Africans would be satisfied with land alone. Others consider the democratic struggle purely as a non-European struggle. And there are some who are perpetuating the tradition of racial separatism by incorporating into their political organisational forms those racial divisions which Herrenvolkism is preserving in society at large. Our movement is, on the contrary, a movement which embraces all those people who are opposed to the present system of national oppression and race discrimination. Our movement has a place for every person who subscribes to its programme. It follows therefore that there is a place for every South African in the society of the future. This must necessarily be so, because the movement does not only offer the oppressed peoples but the whole nation a solution to the present-day problems facing the country. And in freeing the oppressed peoples, the movement also frees the whole of South African humanity. For no people oppressing other people can be free. It must not, however, be taken to



mean that the national movement will make the slightest concession to white arrogance or chauvinism. It emphatically asserts that in establishing a democratic republic the majority of the nation, the Africans, will clearly leave their imprint on the (5 form the state is to assume. From the point of view of their numbers alone, it is indubitable that the Africans will dominate the councils of the new nation....."

There follows then paragraph 3, "The Problem of National (10 Groups," which I omit, and I continue reading from page 10 of the document, paragraph 4, headed "The National Struggle in Relation to Socialism."

"Every national movement has as its objective the triumph of capitalist democracy. This is a funda- (15 mental proposition of the materialist conception of history which it is necessary to reiterate in view of many misconceptions on this score. While it is clearly linked up with the struggle for socialism and while it is true that historical stages can (20 be telescoped, a national liberatory movement must not be confused with the movement for the social ownership of the instruments of labour. The one involves a political revolution, nothing more, nothing less; the other argues a social revolution (25 to change the very economic basis of society. Let us take two examples to confirm this postulate. The Indian national movement has as its task the complete elimination of British imperialism as a political factor from the Indian body politic. A bloc (30 of three classes was formed to this end; the capitalists, the peasantry and the proletariat. Each class,

let it be noted, temporarily liberated itself from its own peculiar economic interests to join in a united front with other classes for the political liberation of the oppressed Indian nation. The question of the radical alteration in the economic base (5 of Indian did not and, indeed, could not crop up. For how can it be tackled by a bloc of classes with conflicting economic interests and aspirations? In South Africa, secondly, the national movement is not directed against the present property relations. (10 It is calling for a radical change in the form and application and not the content of capitalist laws. The demand for the full franchise, the demand for the abolition of the colour bar and race discrimination -- these all involve political changes, not (15 changes in the basic capitalist system of production. The question now arises; Can our democratic struggle be consummated within the framework of the existing capitalist system? It is here that we have to distinguish between the formal programmatic demands (20 of the movement and the practical results of their implementation. The theoretically possible must be distinguished from the practically probable. Our revolution is clearly bourgeois, or more correctly, capitalist democratic, in its formal aspect. But (25 who is going to make this revolution. The white capitalists have consistently displayed their impotence to consummate their own revolution by fighting against absolute institutions which are stultifying the free development of capitalism. Does this task (30 therefore devolve on the non-White bourgeoisie? Once again, South Africa is singular in the respect that,

unlike India, Indonesia and China, she has no native bourgeoisie of any numerical significance. For at every turn in its evolution, capitalism has prevented the emergence of any large non-white either in the form of industrialists or peasants or (5 trading and commercial classes. Our movement does not consist of a bloc of three classes. The Proletariat constitutes the preponderant majority in our national struggle. It seems to me that the belated historic task of the capitalist class is now being (10 shouldered off on the proletariat. This, to be sure, is nothing new in the history of revolutions. It is part of the law of the uneven development of capitalism. The oppressed have had no tradition in private ownership under capitalism. I venture to (15 suggest, therefore, that the proletariat will emerge at the head of the national movement and proceed to solve the contradictions of capitalism by proletarian methods of class struggle. More concretely, the national movement will find it impossible to solve (20 the problem of democracy and the aspirations of the dispossessed elements within the framework of capitalism. Two examples will suffice. The abolition under capitalism of the possession of the moneyed classes and leave the landless more landless. The (25 abolition of the colour bar in the economic sphere will not satisfy the aspirations of the proletarian majority in the national movement to enjoy the fruits of their own labour; The democratic struggle will therefore be uninterrupted and permanent in character (30 by transforming the political revolution into a social revolution and reconstructing society on socialist



principles. This task will greatly be facilitated, not only by the presence of a weak and insignificant bourgeoisie, but by a tottering capitalist system on a world scale. That is the main conclusion we can draw from this analysis." (5

Then there is an article "What are the National Groups in South Africa?" which I omit. There follows then an article "Nationalism in South Africa," by Dr. H. Simons, which I shall read.

"Every political question ought to be examined in (10  
the light of (a) the theoretical principles relevant  
to the problem and (b) the specific and historical  
conditions applying at the time and place under con-  
sideration. The 'national problem' which we are  
discussing is, firstly, what are the 'nations' or (15  
'national groups' in South Africa and, secondly, and  
mainly, what is the correct attitude towards them --  
correct, that is to say, for South Africans who wish  
to replace the existing system of exploitation by a  
free and harmonious multi-racial society. Our (20  
theory provides us with a definition of 'nation' that  
can be applied anywhere. It is an aggregate or com-  
munity of persons having a number of specific charac-  
teristics in common: language, territory, economy,  
traditions, and psychology. Some students would in- (25  
clude another attribute: the desire, realised or  
unfulfilled, for self-government. Leaving aside for  
the moment the question as to which groups in South  
Africa fall within the scope of our definition, let  
us examine the standards by which we are to measure (30  
the value of nationalism as a political force. We can  
do no better for this purpose than look at the com-

parable experience of other countries where the related issues have come under scientific scrutiny by persons looking for a guide to the reconstruction of society on a rational basis."

Then there is a heading "Multi-National States of Europe" (5 and I read paragraphs 6 and 8 -

"One important source of experience comes from the controversies over the multi-national empires of Austria-Hungary and Tsarist Russia, which had spread outward, absorbing border regions and their inhabitants(10 and subjecting them to alien rule. The policy of the dominant classes in each empire was to hold it together by force, resisting separatist movements and repressing the language and culture of the minority groups. .... The Austrian and Russian social (15 democrats who urged the former policy wanted equal recognition for the Slav,s Magyars, Czechs, Poles and other "national" minorities, which were however, to remain within the framework of the multi-national society. Each 'nation' would have its own represen- (20 tatives in the central legislature (a form of 'communal' representation), and its language would be given equal status with any other in schools and official circles. It would manage its own affairs as far as possible." (25

Paragraphs 9 and 10 under that sub-heading are omitted, and then there is a further heading "Colonial National Movements." It starts at paragraph 11 -

"Before considering the lessons to be drawn from the European experience, we might turn our attention (30 to another type of nationalism which developed during the course of this century in Asia and Africa under

the domination of European imperialist states.  
The conditions shaping the national movements in Asia and Africa differed from those operating in Europe in the following respects: (a) the imperialist state and the colony were situated in different (5 continents; consequently conquest and domination were carried out by relatively small numbers of emigrants from Europe who became the ruling class in the colonies. (b) the colonial peoples differed from the imperialists not only in culture but also in physical type, and the (10 physical differences rather than the cultural became the basis for discrimination; (c) cultures in the colonies were tribal and feudal, but in any event pre-industrial, and the effect of imperial conquest was to undermine and reshape the traditional cul- (15 ture in the process of exploiting resources by modern techniques; (d) contact between the imperialist representatives and the upper social classes of the colonial peoples was slight and formal, in contrast to the intimacy of the relationships be- (20 tween the upper classes of the dominant and minority nationalities in the multi-national states of Europe."

I omit the further paragraphs on page 13 and paragraphs 16 and 17 on page 14, and commence reading again at paragraph 18 - (25

"The African, Indian and Coloured people are not deceived by the Nationalist appeals to "respect and preserve their way of life," to "develop along their own lines," or "build a separate Bantustan" (this last proposal being varied in the case of the Indians (30 with the insolent demand that they return to 'their'



own country.) The oppressed nationalities recognise in these formulas of apartheid a thinly veiled attempt to perpetuate non-European backwardness and inferiority for the purpose of an exploitative economy. It is the racist in the European (5 ruling class who stresses the 'peculiar' features of 'Bantu' culture, urges the African to "respect the ways of his forefathers," forces him through the Bantu Education Act into a separate education system, revises the traditional rule of tribal chiefs under (10 the Bantu Authorities Act, and instructs him that his 'national' home is in the reserves, not in the European towns and cities. We all know that similar efforts are now being made to transform the Coloured people into a 'nation' by such means as the Group Areas Act (15 Population Registration Act, Mixed Marriages Act, a Coloured Affairs Department and the rest of the segregation paraphernalia. Our hatred of apartheid and the other varieties of racialism should not blind us to the advantages of a genuine, healthy and (20 dynamic nationalism. It is necessary, however, that we examine carefully and even suspiciously any theory, no matter how well-intentioned, that savours even if only superficially, of the Nationalist formula: "development along our own lines." That, certainly, (25 is not what the movement for national liberation wants in any shape or form."

Then there is a sub-heading "The Demand for Equality" - "The national liberation movement demands equality. And that demand is not the same as the programme (30 of cultural autonomy or 'secession.' Equality does not imply a withdrawal from or expulsion of the European population. It contemplates a common

society with the Europeans on a completely equal basis. Equality means in the first place, equality in law; the removal of all statutory and public forms of racial discrimination, in short, of the colour bar. This kind of equality is implicit in the theory (5 of the 'liberal' state, based on private ownership of the means of production, free competition and parliamentary democracy. Legal equality does not itself ensure social equality. The latter can only come about through the elimination of the taproot of (10 inequality, namely private property. To achieve actual equality the people will have to introduce social ownership of the productive section of the economy. The national liberation movements in South Africa limit their demands to the first kind of (15 equality and must therefore be described as a form of inter-class nationalism which embraces both an exploiting and an exploited class. This kind of nationalism is progressive as long as it opposes discrimination and oppressive policies, but the ex- (20 ploiting element is always a source of potential support for class discrimination, that is inequality caused by private ownership of the instruments of production. A recent case of the emergence of the exploiting element in colonial nationalism comes (25 from the Gold Coast, where the Prime Minister, Dr. Nkrumah, associated his government and party with the attack upon socialism. India and Indonesia provide other similar examples. Prediction is always tempting, if dangerous. Yielding to temptation, (30 I should say that the influence of the exploiting element in the South African national liberation

movements is likely to decline because of the effects of the colour bar, which is designed to stifle the growth of the social classes above working class level in the African, Indian and Coloured communities. While the 'middle class' grows very (5 slowly or even declines, the number of urban workers grows rapidly because of the rise of industry. We may therefore expect to find that the national movements acquire a definite working class character." There then follows a heading "More or Fewer 'Nations'" (10 which I do not propose reading, and at the bottom of the page a sub-heading "Objectives" -

"To conclude, I should say that the African, Coloured and Indian people are not trying to drive the Europeans out of the country, or to break away from (15 a common society and form a separate, independent state, or to divide the population along racial lines into distinct 'cultural communities.' On the contrary, their struggle is aimed at the creation of a common South African society guaranteeing equal- (20 ity of rights and opportunities to all sections and races. In this struggle the working class is likely to become the dominant and leading factor, and its policy will centre around the common interests of all workers regardless of race. It would be wrong to dis- (25 turb or deflect this development by stressing tribal, racial or cultural differences. On the contrary, the stress should be placed wherever possible on the values and interests common to all persons in the national liberation movements. This inter- (30 national outlook is quite consistent with the demand for the full and equal recognition of the languages used by the different sections of the people."



You hand in this document ?-- I do.

You refer now to Exh. B.25 ?-- I do.

What is it ?-- "Political Organisation"

Is it a roneod document ?-- That is so.

Headed "Political Organisation" ?-- Yes. (5

Will you read the whole of it ?-- Yes.

"Every political struggle is a long drawn out war.

During its history it will pass through different

phases. Its forces will develop or dwindle, shift

their position, change allegiance. And in addi- (10

tion, the circumstances in which the struggle is

being fought will change. A thousand outside fac-

tors not under the control of those who launched

the struggle will arise to affect it -- a world war

or the threat of it, a depression and unemployment; (15

an election; a strike or struggle somewhere else.

All these affect the course and future of any poli-

tical struggle. No struggle can hope to succeed if

it is so rigid from the start that it is unable or

unwilling to respond to changing circumstances. The (20

plant that does not bend before the storm snaps and

dies; the plant that does not rise again in the sun

after the storm gets trampled underfoot. In a long

drawn out political struggle it is essential that

forms of struggle be based not on 'eternal' prin- (25

ciplcs but on the needs of the struggle at each

stage of its development, and that the form changes

to meet changed situations. This is the essence

of political leadership - determining correctly at

each stage of a struggle what organisational steps (30

must be taken, what form the struggle must take to

lead to the next stage and on towards the final

goal. To decide correctly it is necessary to con-

sider: (a) the human forces ready for the struggle, the forces the struggle will win over once it starts, and the forces the enemy can assemble; (b) whether the struggle is going forward, winning new supporters and new victories, or whether it is dying down. (5

Forms of Struggle. Let us consider some of the forms of struggle people have used in other times:

**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 (10 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 (15 protest against it. (b) Passive Resistance can be a powerful weapon for awakening peoples' consciousness and arousing their support. It prepares them for future struggle by teaching them that readiness to sacrifice is always the price of victory in a (20 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 for mass (25 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 -- (30 proves that it is 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.

BOYCOTT: Boycott is really a form of passive resistance -- a refusal to co-operate in the operation of a law, custom or regulation. (a) Boycott can be a mere withdrawal from activity as a silent protest. This is the character, for example, of (5 the 'boycott' of elections as practised by the so-called 'unity' movement in the Cape. The boycott produces no activity -- only silence. It thus leaves the field open to the enemies of the people to contest the elections and to be elected, unless (10 the boycott is 100% effective. Such boycott as this can never produce change; it can only act as a demonstration. 100% effective boycotts can only be achieved by intensive organisation, agitation and action. (b) Boycott can be active when boycotters (15 do not withdrawn from action but enter into vigorous action to make a law unworkable and thus to force its change. This type of boycott would be, for example, a mass refusal to pay taxes, a campaign to get others to refuse to pay until representation (20 in Parliament has been won, or a mass burning of passes throughout the country. This type of boycott is not a passive, armchair act of protest but a mass action requiring preparation and sacrifice.

AGITATION: (i) At all stages of all struggles de- (25 signed to lead to mass action, mass agitation is needed to mobilise people, win their support for struggles and widen the basis. Once correct decisions for struggle have been tkane, everything depends on agitation. (ii) Agitation in itself (30 accomplishes nothing unless designed to lead to action; e.g. nationwide agitation by the All African Convention against Hertzog Bills produced



greatest agitation in our history, but achieved no purpose other than educating people to the character of the Bills because there was no leadership of the people in action. (iii) The secret of agitation is to win people for struggle by relating the wider (5 struggle to the local small issues on which they feel strongly and to show how only by success on the issue being campaigned for can local issues be fought and won.

STRIKE ACTION: (i) Strike action is essentially a (10 weapon of industrial, shop and farm workers against bosses for better wages and conditions, but it can be turned into a weapon of political struggle against the ruling class by: (a) the introduction of political demands which bosses and Government both oppose. (15) (b) widening the action from action in a single factory or industry to action in whole districts or the whole country for political demands, up to and including change of Government, e.g. Finland - universal franchise secured by general strike in 1921. Belgium - (20) deposed a king by general strike in 1950. May Day - Freedom Day - was a political strike, designed to demonstrate the will of the people for 'political demands. Such a strike carried on would be not just a demonstration, but would initiate a struggle (25) with the workers on one side and the employers and the government on the other. (ii) Strike action can be wider than just action of industrial workers; can include stoppage by school students, close-down of shop-keepers, etc., and thus draw in all classes in a (30) nationally-oppressed society. (iii) Strike action calls for great discipline, unity and a high level

of organisation, since often necessary to call strike off in orderly fashion and return to work with only partial success or no success; must take care to keep organisation intact despite this, and prevent split away of less militant from most (5 militant sections, destroying their unity and setting whole movement back. (iv) Strike action, representing direct clash between working class and ruling class for mastery can, and often does, lead to rebellion, revolution and armed clashes, since (10 ruling class will resort to violence if thinks its rule threatened. Such a situation, for example, was seen in the African Miners Strike of 1946. The whole apparatus of the state - its police force, the Native Affairs Department, the press and radio - ranged (15 itself on the side of the bosses, trying to make the strike out to be an armed rebellion of the workers. No consideration of laws or justice prevented the Government from using the most brutal measures to smash the strike. The workers, faced with such an (20 attack, often find their peaceful strike transformed into a minor war, a civil war, in spite of themselves. This was the situation on the Rand in 1922, when European workers, headed by the miners, organised a general strike. Armed force was used against them (25 by the Government. The strikers in turn organised armed detachments to defend themselves and prevent the smashing of the strike. The strike turned into a civil war, in which the Government came out victorious because the white workers refused to unite with the (30 black for the demands of the non-Europeans for liberation. THE PEOPLES PRESS. (i) At every stage of

political struggle, the press supporting the peoples struggle plays a great role. It explains the aims of the struggle to the whole country. It organises and wins new support for the struggle. It acts as a constant voice carrying the views of its leadership to the rank and file of the struggle. (i) The press is a vital part of the agitation which must surround every struggle. It can only fulfil its role to the utmost if it receives the full support of those engaged in the struggle, in the form of news views and sales of the paper. (5

THE ROLE OF LEADERS:

(i) No movement can develop without leaders - people who rise to the forefront because of their courage, their ability to lay down clearly a course for their movement to travel and their ability to win active workers for the movement. (ii) Leadership in a struggle consists of: (a) Giving the correct guide and direction to the movement at every stage of its development. (b) Teaching the rank and file of the movement how to act, as well as listening to rank and file views and learning from them. (c) Learning never to run too far ahead of the views and readiness of the rank and file, and learning also never to lag behind the rank and file. (iii) While leaders are always necessary, no leader in a struggle is indispensable. Leaders at one stage might prove too timid or too adventurous at another. No movement can afford to keep leaders who no longer serve their purpose. No living movement need fear getting rid of such leaders if it is necessary, since a living movement throws up its own leaders from the rank and file in the course of the struggle. (10

It is a task of leaders to look for and train new rank and file leaders at all stages as the struggle (15

(20

(25

(30



develops. BUILDING A PEOPLES' MOVEMENT. To sum up then, a peoples' movement can only be built: (i) by militant struggle, in the course of which local issues close to the people are constantly related to the struggle as a whole; (ii) by being (5 flexible about forms of struggle, always watching to see whether new conditions and circumstances do not call for new forms of struggle; (iii) by constant mass agitation and propaganda amongst the people as a whole; (iv) by courageous, bold leadership leading (10 the people and learning from them; (v) by working at all times to maintain the widest unity of the people compatible with continued struggle."

You hand in Exh. B.25 ?-- Yes.

Will you identify Exh. B.26 ?-- B.26 is "Official (15 Organ of the Midlands Regional Committee of the Congress of the People." C.O.P. News.

This document is mentioned in the Schedule 67, under "Volunteers." I am reading page 1, from the Introduction.

"On December 1953, at Queenstown, the African (20 National Congress took a decision which was destined to be of historical significance. This decision was to launch on a great campaign which was to be known as the Campaign of the Congress of the People, and the aim of which was to call a great (25 assembly at which the elected representatives of the people of South Africa were to meet and formulate a Freedom Charter, which would enshrine the hopes and the legitimate aspirations of all the people of South Africa. The Freedom Charter was to be drawn (30 up after the widest possible consultation with the

people of South Africa -- black, brown and white. Towards this end the A.N.C. invited the democratic National organisations of the Indian, Coloured and European people to sponsor the campaign of the C.O.P. conjointly. The four national organisations, i.e. (5 the African National Congress, The South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation thus became the sponsors of this great campaign. 50,000 Freedom Volunteers were called for by President- (10 General A.J. Luthuli, and C.O.P. committees set up in every corner of the land with a view to enrolling volunteers and establishing contact with the broad masses of the people in order to ascertain their grievances and demands so that the Freedom Charter (15 may embody the demands of the people. The campaign of the C.O.P. for the Natal Midlands Region was launched at a regional conference held in Pietermaritzburg in December, 1954. It is the aim of this Bulletin to furnish information of the progress of (20 the campaign in the Natal Midlands...."

Then on page 2, appears under the heading "The Congress of the People" -

"The Successful Conference of all democratic and progressive organisations, held in Maritzburg on the (25 7th December, 1954, formally launched the Congress of the People campaign in the Natal Midlands region. Since then the campaign has been gaining momentum steadily. The 75 people who came forward as the first batch of Freedom Volunteers, and who were (30 reformed into groups on street and area basis, meet regularly to discuss and carry out the C.O.P. direc-

tives and build up the volunteer forces of the organisation. Unfortunately certain groups have not been carrying out their duties. The Regional Committee is going into the matter of having these groups made active in the coming weeks. It is the (5 duty of each and every volunteer to help and encourage new and young volunteers, and to discuss with them ways and means of overcoming the innumerable difficulties involved in the successful carrying out of our C.O.P. tasks. Volunteers must attend all our (10 meetings, where theoretical and practical aspects of the organisation will be discussed and clarified. Only through thorough discussions of our organisational difficulties will our task of organising the people - behind the great congress of the people -- (15 become easier and success will be assured...."

I then omit the rest of the first column and continue in the second column -

"Many more meetings are planned to be held from now until the great assembly. Groups are urged to con- (20 tact the Midlands Regional Committee with a view of holding meetings in other areas. Activise your group - work a little harder till the great assembly - every hour counts. Our volunteers have done excellent work in the collecting of grievances and (25 demands from the people. There are now 147 Freedom Volunteers in the Natal Midlands Region, and the need has now arisen for serious political study classes. The Committee has planned out a series of study classes and discussion meetings for the bene- (30 fit of volunteers. The first study class was held on 24th April, 1955, at which Dr. M.M. Muthala delivered



the first lecture "The World We Live In." It is essential for each and every volunteer to attend these lectures, where they will be trained to understand, analyse and correctly assess the local and national situations, and study the link-up of the historical (5 international happenings that are connected with conditions in our land. They must study and understand the struggle of the workers and the underprivileged the world over, so that they will be able to give the correct lead to the people of South Africa. All (10 volunteers and sympathisers will be notified by circular of the next study class....."

I am referring again to page 1, in the second column under the heading "In Our Opinion" there appears an article on Bantu Education. You hand in Exhibit B.26 ?-- I do. (15

What is Exhibit B.27 ?-- It is a pamphlet called "To the Coloured People" "Speaking Together."

By whom is it issued ?-- It is issued by the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation, Box 9207 Johannesburg.

You hand in this document ?-- I do. (20

This document also appears in the Schedule, under "Liberatory Movement" page 105 and page 106. I am referring to page 1, the introduction -

"This is addressed to you and every Coloured person.

A liberatory struggle is in progress, a struggle (25 with the aim of achieving full citizenship rights for all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of our country. In the pursuance and ultimate achievement of the above aim, organisation (30 of the people is necessary, for only a united body of all oppressed peoples can make their democratic

aspirations powerfully heard throughout South Africa, heard as the voice of a united people demanding freedom and heard especially by our oppressors the Strydom Government who, with every sitting of Parliament, make inroads on our rights and liberties."(5  
And then on page 2 appears -

Join the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation and enter the struggle to make South Africa a land of freedom.

And under the heading "What is the Congress of the People?"(10  
The idea of the Congress of the People came into being through joint discussions of four organisations of the people. The African National Congress, S.A. Indian Congress, South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation and South African Congress of Democrats. (15  
The Executives of these four Organisations have appointed a National Action Council to prepare for the Congress."

You hand in Exh. B. 27 ?-- I do.

What is exhibit B.28 ?-- Ex. B.28 is a pamphlet. (20

Have you compared it with exhibit A.116 ?-- I did.

Are they identical ?-- They are.

You hand in that exhibit ?-- I do.

Exhibit B.29, what is that ?-- "A Call to the People of Natal Midlands." (25

We are only reading portions of this document. Issued by the Natal Midlands Regional Committee of the Congress of the People, Pietermaritzburg. I read from the first paragraph -

"Never before have the people of South Africa stood (30  
on the brink of such disaster as they do today. What was until recently only a threat of totalitarianism

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