

1. A cursory glance shows that the bulk of the material deals with different types of social systems, the structure of social institutions, social change, relations between groups, theories and beliefs about all these, and the specific nature of institutions and policies in South Africa. This is what one would expect to find in the possession of people who belong to a political movement that is both highly critical of social institutions, and bent on changing them in accordance with an ideal. My task is to evaluate their conception, as disclosed in the documents, of the present and future, and of their choice of means to effect change.

To do this, I have tried to classify the documents according to ~~the~~ Subject Matter. Most of them deal with a variety of topics, and must therefore be dissected before a synthesis can be made in terms of the categories adopted. One disadvantage is that the unity of each document is likely to be overlooked, but, nevertheless, the method adopted seems the best for giving an overall picture.

The standard of evaluation is, of course, Marxist doctrine. Since it is manifestly impossible to make a textual comparison, I have to rely on my own interpretation, without reference to Marxist works. This is undoubtedly an inferior procedure to that followed, for instance, in the examination of the Lecture Notes Series, and its limitations should be recognised.

One further preliminary point needs to be made. Marxist doctrine is an entity; it a number of distinctive elements which, according to the theory itself, form an integral whole. To be a Marxist, one must adopt this whole.

It does not follow that a Marxist would think it necessary to assert all parts of the theory on every occasion. In discussing ~~the~~ political or economic institutions, for instance, he would not feel obliged to state the principles of dialectical materialism, even though he may think that his exposition is consistent with the philosophy.

On the other hand, many parts of the doctrine have become detached, as it were, from the main body, and have passed into general circulation. Or, looking at the problem from another angle, Marxists have taken over many concepts from non-Marxist scholars. As I have mentioned elsewhere (see my comments on the Lecture Notes Series), concepts such as class, nation, nationalism, imperialism, socialism, capitalism are tools of modern sociology, and a great many non-Marxists use them in a way ~~to~~ which Marxists would not raise strong objection, even if they draw different conclusions. The mere occurrence of a similarity between the meaning attached to these terms in a document and a Marxist text would not, in the absence of other indications, prove that the document is "Marxist".

These considerations ~~greatly~~ complicate the business of making an evaluation, and different authorities may well arrive at ~~form~~ conflicting opinions.

## 2. Political Education

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Some of the documents deal with a specific issue, related to one or other of Congress's campaigns, such as against pass laws or Bantu education. This is especially true of the "Speakers Notes", evidently drawn up for the guidance of Congressmen when addressing meetings. Most are more broadly educational, and a few words should be said about their general purpose.

Most movements engage in propaganda with the object of gaining adherents. Political movements which seek to bring about big changes often, in addition, provide education in a wider sense, i.e. disseminate information and ideas that are both critical of existing institutions and provide an alternative, and professedly superior way of life. One has in mind the kind of education given in England by the Workers' Educational Association, which was closely associated with the Labour Party.

Political education of this kind is not provided in the schools, but is an important part of adult education. Jennings made the comment that the British workers acquired political education, eg in the Chartist Movement,

before they received formal education in the government schools. He attributes to this factor the ability of the masses to utilize and operate the franchise after its extension in 1867 and 1883.

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Luthuli's emphasis on the need of political education is couched in similar terms, and is worth quoting because his position and outlook. After having a tilt at the "experts" - a "necessary evil" - he argues that owing to the complexities of modern life

"We ordinary folk should be generally informed on important matters of life in order that we may intelligently follow the advice and lead offered by our leaders and our experts. We must be intelligent followers and not sheep-like followers"

In addition to preparing people for full citizenship, education is needed, he continues, to enable them to recognize the real nature of government policy. He complains that the administration is making special efforts to "indoctrinate non-white to accept its Apartheid policy", and Congress will not win mass ~~support~~ support unless it "counters

the propoganda by having in communities well-informed and intelligent local leaders and followers.

These remarks were made to the Summer School run by the Youth League of Natal in 1954. Such organised "schools" seem to have been rare. Most of the lectures in the file appear to have been given ad hoc, and not as spokesmen of Congress.

### 3. Man and Society

Living in a society in which they are regarded and treated as inferiors, Africans (and other dark-skinned people) show an understandable interest in the evolution of civilization and the relationship between race and culture. Speakers lectures on these subjects tend to emphasize the contribution made by the non-white races to social progress.

6. The rise of civilization is traced to Egypt at a time when Europeans were barbarians, and African societies are said to have had a high level of culture before the European era. (Lecture 4). Marxists ~~to~~ agree with this interpretation, which is acceptable to modern scholarship.

6, 12, 25

Theories of racial supremacy are strongly condemned and stigmatized as scientifically false and a myth. Race prejudice is attributed to the conditions resulting from expansion & conquest by Western Europe in other continents. This movement is described as imperialism (Lowe, Simons)

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Many scholars, of different shades of opinion, agree broadly with this outline (cf. Toyubee) and I doubt if it would be seriously contested by any reputable scholar (cf. UNESCO publications on Race)

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Beginning with the postulate that races are equal in biological endowment, lecturers assert a moral claim to "full citizenship" and "equal partnership" for all men (Ngubane). The goal is defined ~~by all who give their minds to it~~, as the creation of a common and equal society (Njisiene, Simons). The contrast between this view and the Marxist theory of "self-determination" will be discussed later under the heading of "Nationalism".

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#### 4. South African History

A number of lectures attempt to give the historical background to existing institutions and policies. Little of the material seems to be based on original research, and the sources relied on are, for the most part, standard works. No attempt is made to give a complete and rounded account; the lectures deal with specific topics, and are concerned wholly with the development of some aspect of race relations and policies. I note the main topics, before proceeding to an evaluation.

- (a) Growth of colour prejudice, discrimination, and segregation systems, with special reference to the franchise and administration, and the volume of "Native Laws", such as the pass law
- (b) Labour, emergence of wage-earning class, industrial legislation and colour bars, trade unions (Yengwa)
- (c) Movements and struggles against discrimination; rise of the A.N.C., working class parties, trade unions

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## Comment:

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2 This "historical" material is mainly factual and evidently strongly influenced by the orthodox sources from which it has been derived. One finds occasional signs of an analysis on class lines, as in the description of the Rand Revolt 1922 as a conflict between capitalists and workers; or in the statement that "the period of colonial exploitation by finance capital" began with the opening of the mines. These

3 are not, however, peculiarly Marxist. ~~Further references will be made to~~ Some of the documents examined in this section will be mentioned again, in discussing material dealing with the present social order.

## 5. South African Society

One could hardly expect to get a detailed and comprehensive examination in lectures of the kind here assembled. Each deals only with one or two aspects, and these only briefly.

13 Few of the lectures attempt to provide a conceptual framework for the analysis of the society. The survey by Simon could perhaps be so described, but it consists only of a bare outline. He distinguishes (Lecture IV) the concepts of "class" and "caste", and

finds that while S.A. constitutes a class society, it contains caste-like features that ~~to~~ tend to dominate class divisions. This has been asserted by other writers (eg Hoernlé, and, in the case of America, by Myrdal), but is not acceptable to Marxists or to some sociologists (cf. O. C. Cox, Class, Caste and Race; Z. Kuper)

27 The familiar Marxist categories are applied to in an examination of S.A.'s class system in "Economics and Politics in S.A.": Monopoles, "small" capitalists, petty bourgeoisie, workers and peasants including an "aristocracy of labour". Unlike the other documents, this one uses the analysis to serve as a basis for a suggested programme and action: the "petty bourgeoisie" supply the "worst reactionaries and also the best revolutionaries", the N.E. working classes "are the vanguard not only of the National Liberating struggle but also of a further advance to a higher plane", racialism would be weakened, eg among white workers, "if there is a strong party in existence which clearly understands the line of march and is able to take immediate advantage of any favourable situation". This "programme" will be referred to again later.

falling in this section,

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Sociological analyses are found also in the ~~series of~~ lectures given to the Dublin Summer School (Copro). Since they form a connected series, I shall discuss them together.

J. Matthews describes S.A. as a multi-racial society with features similar to those of Tsarist Russia, before the revolution. Established "complete equality and an end to racial discrimination and national oppression"

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He also says that S.A. is a "colonial country" of a special kind. This may be considered together with (a) the assertion by Simone that S.A. combines "an imperialism and its dependent colony in a single political and geographical region" (p. 2) and (b) the statement in "Imperialism" that "S.A., while not a colonial country has present many of the characteristics of colonialism, with the Europeans fulfilling "the role of the imperialist power, and the Non-Europeans that of the colonial people". (p. 4) This thesis has been propounded at length by Leo Marguard (Presidential address to the S.A. Inst. of Race Relations, 1956?)

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S.A., continues Matthews, is "feudal with a modern facade"; Africans are oppressed both as a class and as a nation. Conco, ~~with~~ in this series, describes the relationship between the white and non-white peoples as part of "the general pattern which has

been imposed by Western European Imperialism". Corco gives a psychological interpretation of group domination, and proceeds to consider the "Caste concept", which he finds is not "easily applicable in SA." He follows Mc Broun and American writers on colour class systems in a diagrammatic representation of S.A. classes. He then examines race attitudes on both sides of the colour line, again in psychological terms, and ends with the comment that African nationalism is a reaction to white domination.

Yengwa's long, detailed and scholarly account of the growth of an African labour force contains original material, but follows closely the lines of Scheila van der Horst's Native Labour in SA. He maintains that the "aim of industrial legislation" has been to entrench and consolidate the discriminatory system which has been obtaining since the slave days. This idea, that "segregation" serves to perpetuate the Master-Servant relation between white and Black is a familiar theme in works on South Africa's race policy.

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The lecture on the "National Economy" follows the teachings of orthodox economists. Wealth is a product of co-operation between Capitalist, Worker and organizer (entrepreneur). This proposition is advanced as "one of the greatest reasons against Apartheid". Deficiencies in agriculture are discussed and ~~a~~ reforms reforms are suggested. The low standard of wages paid to Africans in the mining industry are ~~are~~ criticized, as compared with European wages and "the profits the mine Capitalists realize in this business. Mining policy is said to "rest on the cheap migrant labour of the Africans"; this serves the interests of the mining "monopoly".

The conclusion drawn is that "on the whole the S.A. National Economy is unsound". The oligarchic numerical minority seems complacent over the whole situation because behind them are the African masses who for a while to serve to cushion them against the cold hard inevitable results of their bankrupt policy."

The lecture complains that the African "is deprived of his legitimate share of the national product", is prevented from getting his rights "through full Trade Union effort"; He must organise himself, for "trade union privileges have been fought for, throughout history, there is no other way".

Industrial laws are described as "unjust laws" which "can not stand in the way of the people". All "sensible South Africans" must oppose the policy "which seeks to make the African" a "tool of the white man's welfare".

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The last lecture contains a denial of the concept of "Bantu Society" which involves setting up "social myths" and equating "Culture with race". It represents development "away from and outside the S.A. Society in which we believe we have our being". The goal is "The right to vote ~~and~~ which means full citizenship and political participation".

Comment:

The series, taken as a whole, is didactic, and not an exhortation to action. It is academic in tone and, with the exception of Matthews's

Lecture, reveals little direct influence of Marxist theory. Yet most of the views expressed and the method of analysis would not be rejected by Marxist sociologists.

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The outstanding exception to this generalisation is the analysis of S.A.'s class structure contained in "Economics and politics in S.A." (Supra). This seems to be a frankly Marxist exposition, both in content and design. The ~~sharp~~ contrast between it and ~~the~~ other documents considered in this section throws the latter, such as the lectures given under Congress auspices, in sharp relief. As academic exercises, designed to discover and expound the anatomy of S.A. society, in terms that are familiar and widely acceptable to modern sociologists.

lecture, reveals little direct influence  
 of Marxist theory. ~~For most of the~~  
 sentiments & views expressed

## 6. Segregation and Discrimination

④. The rest of the "sociological"  
 writing consists of discussions of  
 segregation, or a particular facet  
 of racial discrimination. Much  
 of it is descriptive. I shall limit  
 my remarks under this head  
 to the more theoretical sections.

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The argument for segregation  
 ("separate development") is stated  
 and refuted, in terms of particulars  
 and general disadvantages. The  
 results probably effects of its  
 abolition are considered in relation  
 to white workers, farmers, mine-  
 owners and businesses. The  
 writer concludes that, though some  
 groups would gain an immediate  
 advantage, they, like rulers  
 of capitalist countries, prefer  
 workers to be "subservient".  
 S.A. is said to have become  
 a "Fascist" state (pp 10-12)

Capitalism generally. S. A. is described as a  
 "fascist state" (pp. 10-12)

"Fascism", unless used as a term of abuse, has a special meaning in Communist literature. It implies, not only an autocracy, but also a specific relation between capital and the state. In this lecture, however, "fascism" is made synonymous with "police state".

Not all the lectures maintain this academic note. Apartheid is described as a "cheat", a "trick to take away the little rights the people had before". This assertion is supported by a list of grievances: ~~"bad laws"~~, ill-treatment from the police, incitement to race hatred by Nationalist politicians, poverty, money spent on war, and "apartheid laws", some of which are described and criticized. An appeal is made for support of the Defiance Campaign - the period to which this document belongs.

### Comment:

"Apartheid", as found in S.A., is in many ways peculiar. The kind of analysis and criticism made in these documents occur in the works of many observers who are far removed from Marxism.

As I have mentioned, many of the lectures include a purely factual account, written from the Congress standpoint of opposition, of discriminatory laws and policies. I list these, with brief summaries of contents:

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- (a) "Technique of domination" is illustrated with S.A. Act, Native Affairs Act, Native Administration Act, Representation Act. Separate administration is said to condemn Africa "to a form of organisation antagonistic to advance in modern society" (p. 5). Similarly, "territorial segregation" (illustrated with Native Land Acts), is said to cause stagnation in reserves, prevent emergence of "a new dynamic economy" and preserve "remnants of tribal society... which are one or more chains to bind a backward people". Industrial Legislation (Mines & Works Act, Wage Act, F.C. Act) limits competition (a quotation from de Kiewit in support) and keeps the black man "separate and lowly". Native taxation is "contrary to ordinary democratic practice". Native education (interpreted with citations from ~~Common~~ Government Commission Reports and Haerude) prepares blacks for subordinate status.

- 5 (b) An account of the Parliamentary system (which might have been taken from Murray's Die Volksraad) is followed by a list of discriminatory laws, passed to "consolidate 'White Supremacy'": Land Acts, Mines & Works Act, Labour Laws, Natives (Urban Areas) Act (under which "hundreds of Africans are regularly deported from the cities to platteland slave camps"), Native Administration Act (which "establishes a virtual dictatorship by the Cabinet over all Africans"), Representatives of Natives Act, Group Areas Act, Bantu Authorities Act, Suppression of Communism Act (which "empowers the Government to take repressive measures against the people's liberatory movements").
6. (c) This includes another list of the laws, with very short descriptions. The laws "have been cruelly unfair" and "favoured only rich farmers, mine-owners and employers of labour". Things have become "much worse" since the Nationalist Party ("the most anti-European and anti-working-class Party") came into Government. Its policy is "apartheid and white baasskap". It is a policy of "Back to Slavery".

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(d) A lengthy memorandum on the pass system, which is described in summaries of statutory provisions and quotations from published works. Arguments for and against are canvassed, and conclusion is reached that real purpose is to "intimidate African worker and keep down his wages". Protests and demonstrations against pass laws are listed.

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A similar evaluation ("Pass laws stand at the very basis of S. A.'s cheap labour policy and colour bar systems") is reached in this account of the extension of the system to women, who are told: "To fight the pass laws means to fight the full force of the government and every thing they stand for. We must appreciate this, to know what we are up against, but at the same time we must swear never to rest until this threat to women has been removed, all pass laws have to be abolished".

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(e) Discussion Notes on Western Areas Removals. Gives a brief account of policy in urban areas, discusses the administrative reasons for slums (without reference to poverty and economic system), and describes the proposed removals as

"this ruthless and inhuman scheme, evolved by the Nazi agent, Dr Verwoerd". The anticipated legislation "would be well in line with the marked Nationalist trend towards abolition of the vestiges of democratic and judicial procedures and public engines and representations".

Comment:

The material considered in this section is educative and agitational. Much of it is in the form of "Speeches" or "Discussions" Notes, and probably may be taken as a reflection of Congress policy. There is very little indication of a specifically Marxist influence; e.g., the analysis is seldom couched in terms of the class-struggle theory. The issues are defined in terms of conflict between Non-European rights (to freedom of movement, property, employment, and participation in government) and an autocratic regime practising discrimination against Non-European. By and large, the lectures express the defensive role of Congress against legislative and administrative invasions of traditional rights.

## 8. Imperialism, and Colonialism

I now turn to lectures of a broader nature which attempt to relate S. A.'s problems and social organization to a wider framework of reference.

### "Imperialism"

- 12, 13 The word occurs in articles or lectures by <sup>Luttwak</sup> Matthews, Cerco, Simons; and in an "Elementary Course on Politics and Economics", "Notes on Lecturing" "Imperialism", "Economics & Politics in SA".

### (i) Definition

- 12 (a) <sup>Luttwak and</sup> Matthews do not define the term. The former uses it restrictively in the phrase "American Dollar Imperialism"; Matthews associates it with the possession of colonies, and a type of "nationalism".
- 12 (b) Cerco describes it as "a relationship which has been established by superior power or force of conquest".
- 13 (c) Simons treats it somewhat more fully. He refers briefly to the different senses in which the word has been used, and then outlines in more detail, and without comment, the general features described in standard works on the subject, including Lenin's. He does not, however, assert, as did Hobson and Lenin, that the "export of capital" has been a distinguishing feature of latter-day

## Imperialism.

- 20 (d) This assertion is contained in in "Notes on Lecturing": "the special feature of imperialism is the export of capital, as distinct from the export of ordinary commodities". The whole description corresponds closely to Lenin's treatment.
- 21 (e) The Hobson - Lenin thesis is repeated also in the lecture on "Imperialism" in the paragraph entitled "Export of Capital". (p. 2-3)
- 27 (f) Lenin's phrase: "Imperialism is the last phase of capitalism" occurs in "Economics and Politics in South Africa". It stresses the link between imperialism and monopoly capitalism, but does not refer to the role, alleged by Marxists, of "finance capital" and the export of capital in the process of expansion.

### (ii) Themes of ~~Colonialism~~

- 13 These are mentioned in passing by Sumner, as part of his description of imperialism: "exploitation of colonies as sources of raw material, markets for manufactured goods and outlets for capital investment" (p. 1)
- 20 A similar statement appears in "Notes on Lecturing", but it is over-shadowed by the stress placed on the "export of capital" (supra). This is given a more extended



Settlement", He puts S.A. in the second category, but is mainly concerned with the relationship established in each case between the colonial power and the indigenous population.

19 In the "Elementary Course", stress is laid on economic aspects: the greater profitability of investment in colonies. The progressive features are mentioned, "but treated as incidental and subsidiary to the main aim of making profits" (pp 6-7)

20 The "Notes on Lecturing" limit the discussion under this head to the results of competition between imperialist states: wars, economic crises, working class revolutions, the revolt of colonial peoples

21 Competition between imperialist states is discussed also in "Imperialism". This lecture treats also of the type of class differentiation that develops in colonies, and the growth of a "liberatory movement" under working class leadership, which transforms the "bourgeois-democratic revolution" into a "people's democratic revolution" (p. 3)

27 National Liberation is also a theme of "Economics and Politics in S.A.". It departs from Marxist writings on the subject, by alleging that "farist mass parties" are created in the colonies themselves to "Crush the rising opposition of the

## Workers and National Liberation Movement" Comment

The discussion of "imperialism" in the documents here reviewed conforms generally to Marxist theory, subject to such variations as I have ~~also~~ noted in the summaries. As I have mentioned, there is a great deal of overlap between Marxist and other writing on the subject. Perhaps the greatest divergences occur in connection with the estimation of ~~estimation~~ <sup>(a)</sup> the part played by "finance capital" in colonial expansion; ~~and~~ (b) the progressive, constructive role of colonisation with regard to the indigenous populations, and (c) the extent to which imperialist ~~to~~ set themselves the aim of self-government for the colonies. These are all debatable questions, on which non-Marxists are by no means agreed (cf. Leonard Barnes, Empire and Democracy, Blanehard's study of the West Indies). Speaking professionally, I find it difficult to ~~to~~ conceive of a reasonably accurate and adequate treatment of imperialism that would not show many points of correspondence with Marxist theory.

## 9. Nationalism

13 The only systematic discussion of the subject is found in the two lectures by Simone. In the one, he describes the phenomenon, and mentions its growth in the 19th century in Europe. He illustrates his point that it developed under middle class leadership by referring to African nationalism. He then examines the relationship between nationalist and socialist movements, and discusses the controversy over the principle issue of "national autonomy" or "self-determination". He concludes with an examination of the distinctive features of "colonial nationalism", suggests that it takes different forms under varying conditions; and ends with the suggestion that in SA the working class section is likely to lead the movement for national liberation along class lines.

14 His other lecture is concerned mainly with the principle of "self-determination". He gives a definition of "nation" which conforms to the standard, sociological definition, as also to the one given by Stalin. He distinguishes European national movements from the colonial counterpart, and then discusses the features of African nationalism in the Union. After criticising the aims of "apartheid" as a social theory, he examines the demand for "equality".

In each the liberal and socialist meaning. He concludes that the "particularist" aspects of nationalism are less conspicuous in the SA African variant than in European nationalisms, and that "self-determination" or "cultural autonomy" is not the goal of African nationalism.

The approach and the conclusion differ significantly from the theories propounded by Stalin, and which are reproduced verbatim in part in the lecture on "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question". Eg. Stalin asserts that "there is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages", whereas Simone considers that language is not an essential element of African nationalism. Stalin asserts that "self-determination" is the only correct policy for a working class movement, whereas Simone contends that this is "not desired and, in his opinion, should not be claimed, by Africans, including the workers."

Matthews lists different kinds of nationalism: fascist, imperialist, and fraternal or non-aggressive. He places African nationalism in the third category, and states that its aim is to unite "all the different tribes and peoples of Africa into a single Nation within a single Pan-African State".

22 This suggestion, which disregards differences of tradition, language, and socio-economic circumstances, is opposed to Marxist thought on the subject. Her observation that the "only weapon" of the oppressed "lies in the creation of a powerful National Movement based on the toiling masses and led by the revolutionary intelligentsia" is not in agreement with Stalin's thesis (viz. that while the proletariat ~~may~~ should support and take part in a "progressive" national struggle, it is essentially a "bourgeois" movement favourable to the bourgeoisie). Matthews's formulation should be compared, however, with Comintern texts.

12 The lecture on "African Nationalism" in the Summer School series asserts that the Congress Programme of 1949 "openly declared the claim of the African people for the right of Self-Determination, which is the right to full and unimpeded independence". This claim, as I have pointed out, is the principle advocated by Stalin for Socialist (Marxist) Parties.

It is, also, of course, the banner under which "bourgeois" national movements rallied in the last century. It was one of the basic principles of President Wilson's Ten-Point Programme, and was applied in the

Versailles Treaty. It has been asserted by African Nationalists to justify their apartheid policies.

12 Considered in the context of the lecture, it is essentially "bourgeois" in content. The writer, after discussing briefly "methods" of struggle (boycott, strikes, civil disobedience) describes the "national building programme" in terms of economic, cultural and educational activities. All this is designed to create a 'national unity', and resembles closely the kind of policy advocated and pursued by African Nationalists.

### Comment

The meagre harvest on this theme, so close to the central problems of Congress, calls for an explanation. It leaves out, I think, the thesis I advanced in the lectures examined above, viz. that the Congressmen do not see themselves or their people as distinct, national entities, claiming for themselves a separate place in the Sun. There is very little of the emotionalism, sentiment of "loyalty" to the nation, fetishism of language, culture, tradition. This is a movement for equality in a common society with the whites. It wants to

no discrimination, no colour bar, but it does not want withdrawal.

This, I think, is why the idea of "self-determination" (even if it is included in the 1949 Congress programme) is so seldom heard. It is also one of the reasons for the absence of an aggressive nationalism, which in our circumstances would inevitably take ~~or~~ the form of a racial, anti-White appeal. That SA has been spared the growth of Non-White racialism to match White racialism, must be attributed largely to the policy and leadership of Congress.

12 In this respect, too, I think the lectures given at the Summer School deserve special mention. All the contributors, if they touched on the point, adopted an inclusive, universal approach to their themes. Maitland, the only one to adopt something of a class analysis, and to denounce sharply imperialism, defined the aims of African nationalism in terms that embraced all people (p. 4), and that were not "inherently" opposed to any nation or group (p. 5). This was stated more explicitly by Corico (p. 10) and Ngubane, who expressed his vision "a real partnership with my countrymen of all races" through equal, full citizenship (p. 17).

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**RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961**

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

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