

What is your opinion of that document? --- There is no direct Communism in it, but it has a Communist background, it contains Communist propaganda and I think its reference to the South African Government is fascist and in its reference to the ideals of democracy which is purely what I would call Communist jargon. The general outlook of the document is Communist and if it is associated with known Communist organisations, if it could be associated with known Communist Organisations, I would regard it as Communist but on the face of it there is nothing directly Communistic.

BY MR. ROSENBERG :

Your Worship, the Witness has given evidence on a document and your Worship will remember he stated four tests and my learned friend has put the document to him and the Witness has answered in general terms, would the Witness indicate what part of the document is ... (Inaudible. Mr. Rosenberg not speaking directly into the microphone)...

BY THE P.P. :

Would you do that please? --- In the first place, I would point out that the second paragraph reads "The process of fascism has reached a stage in our unhappy country where it is becoming increasingly difficulty for an organisation.... etc.""Of the limited character of the Legion, an Ex-Service Organisation to make any effective impact on the situation". One knows that the accusation of fascism is often used, generally used by Communists against capitalist countries. The second statement is this, the second paragraph. "The aims and objects of the Legion are aspirations for ex-soldiers, economical, political and social are now inexplicably tied up with a state of democracy in South Africa, increasingly over the last few years the emphasis of our efforts have had to be directed towards the struggle for democracy." Democracy in Western countries means one thing. In Communist language

it means another thing and if this document can be shown to be associated with Communist organisations, in any other way which I don't know, that sentence could be regarded as meaning democracy in the sense of a Peoples' Democracy in the satellite states. I may say that I can produce a statement by the well-known ex-secretary of the Comintern which has said that the Governments of the Peoples' Democracy are the same as that of the Soviet Union. The next sentence falls into line. "It is necessary now for us to recognise and accept the fact that the issue before our country and ourselves is that of total democracy or total fascism and to consider how to make the maximum contribution possible to a victory for total democracy". The next sentence is the same as what one reads in a great deal of Communist literature. "The strategic need in the struggle against Fascism is to mobilise the people in active opposition to the fascists and their programme and to prepare the people for decisive action to defeat the fascists". I'll read the next sentence too. It contains a vocabulary of the same sort. "In the situation which obtains in South Africa, where the non-White peoples are being effectively mobilised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, the need is for a national organisation among Whites capable of mobilising all who are prepared to wage a militant extra-parliamentary struggle for democracy in South Africa and who will accept the non-White organisations and people as allies". Two paragraphs lower, the sentence is also - at least, agrees with Communist tactics, expressed Communist tactics. "To meet this need at the moment there are the Springbok Legion, the Congress of Democrats and the Democratic League. None of these for various reasons is national in the sense that Branches are established throughout the country. All of them are acting independently. There is a duplication of effort. All of them are relatively weak. It is obvious that it is in the interest of all that we should come together in one organisation." Militant centra-

lisation is a very important part in Communist tactics. I think that is all, your Worship.

BY MR. ROSENBERG :

Could you do that with the other documents coming to you, just the salient points, please.

BY THE P.P. :

The next document is C. 294, headed "Springbok Legion, National Conference 1953, Resolution". Could you please express an opinion on this document? --- Again there is no direct quotation from Marx or any Communist master in this document, the document is full of words used in Communist documents generally and have a Communistic meaning given to them. The impression one gets is that the underlying outlook is Communist I would refer to the following, in line 3, the word "Oppression" occurs. The sentence reads : "The Annual Conference of the Springbok Legion reiterates profound opposition to the Nationalist Government to its practices of race discrimination and oppression and to the anti-democratic paths which it is pursuing towards a fully fledged Nationalist dictatorship". The term "oppression" there deserves attention. "Fully fledged dictatorship" deserves attention. In line 5 the word "fascism" again occurs and in line 6 the term "uncompromising democratic policy". This is a slogan now used by Communists in satellite countries and by Mao-tse-Tung. The sentence reads: "It records its conviction that through the co-operation of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C. and the South African Congress of Democrats all based on programmes of full and unrestricted democracies, the present trend can be reversed and victory for the democratic cause be secured". In line 7, the phrase occurs, "Opponents of reaction". That phrase is a straight Communist phrase. The sentence reads, "It proclaims its belief that the present trend to fascism can only be reversed by an uncompromisingly democratic policy advocated and worked for by all opponents of reaction united

without regard to race or colour". The phrase "opponents of reaction", of course, is an integral part of Communist doctrine and tactics. Line 10 to 11, you again get the emphasis on "democratic" and the point is to see in what way the term must be applied. That is the position.

BY THE COURT :

What are the reactionary forces referred to by writers of Communism? --- Writers on Communism have argued that the tendency to socialism and the Communistic revolution is inevitable but that the people now in power - that is generally the capitalists or the property classes - resist the tendency to change and revolution and it refers to them as the reactionary element. I may say Marx criticised the Trade Unions on that point, he said Trade Unions could go so far and no further, they would not become revolutionary but they would be reactionary and set the wheels of history back or something to that extent. By reactionary, the Marxists mean people who oppose the tendency to revolution.

BY THE P.P. :

What do they mean by the word "opponents"? --- The opponents of reaction are the Communist people who promote the revolution against the reactionaries.

The next is a copy of Exhibit C. 284, "Congress of Democrats, Johannesburg, August, 1953, Notes for Speakers"? --- This whole document seems to form part of Communist propaganda. The basis of the argument is that the present Government is moving towards full blooded fascism which is part of the Communist agitation against capitalist states and the sentence ... I'll read the sentence in a minute. The document uses the argument that this particular group, that is the Congress of Democrats, is a real democratic group and that what it stands for is the true democracy which falls in line with Communist tactics and there are tendencies in the document to encourage extra-parliamentary action. Page 4, at the bottom, "European

political forces in South Africa are inclined to fix their eyes on Parliament as a place where changes will be planned if they are to come at all, but political change can only be brought about where the country and the Government and Parliament respond to popular organised pressure in the country as a whole. This pressure must come not only from the recognised European opposition parties but from even more important and powerful forces of organised non-Europeans". On page 6, "The Liberal Party advocates campaigning only by parliamentary constitutional means.." - it has got 'unconstitutional' here - "... The Nats are steadily whittling away Parliament's powers and the constitutional rights of the individuals. This attitude rules out possibility of Liberals fully supporting the struggle of the vast bulk of people who have no parliamentary powers and can't campaign by constitutional means." I think that is the position. I have here a statement from the text, a statement made by Stalin about destroying parliamentarism and the bourgeois democracy. I do not know if that is relevant. It is merely to carry out the first point of criticism.

Read it please? --- The document presents the Government as moving increasingly to full-blooded fascism and that is a Communist position. Stalin wrote "This, as a matter of fact, explains the fact that the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, which might be used by the working classes in its struggle against the oppressors. In fact, they are driving the Communists underground and resorting to open terrorist methods, in order to maintain their dictatorship". The quotation is from the Stalin's report at the C.P.F.U., 1934, page 920.

The next is C. 52, "The Road to Liberty", by L. Bernstein. --- This document falls in line with the Communist interpretation of the situation in this country. The basic argument is that the forces of reaction must be fought and the document

is aimed at the fascism in South Africa.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I don't know whether the Witness is giving evidence from notes, reading his notes, or whether he is giving evidence in the ordinary way.

BY THE COURT :

Yes, I think it is apparent that the witness is now giving evidence ex tempore and not reading from the documents? --- Based on the documents and from the notes which I have made. I couldn't see the documents originally in Court, but I was presented with documents by the Crown and I had to make notes on them.

BY THE COURT :

Have you got notes on the documents? --- There are notes on these documents, but they refer to pages and lines. I could point out these.

MR. BERRANGE :

I understand it to be a typed note made probably by the witness attached to the document he has in his hand. So far as I can see the witness is reading that note? --- I am not reading the whole note, I have read from the notes.

He might be reading portion of the notes. I am not interested.--- Yes, I have read portion of the notes.

BY THE COURT :

Are you registering an objection to the procedure, Mr. Berrange?

MR. BERRANGE :

I would like to know what the procedure is. I would like to know whether the witness is, in fact, reading from his notes, that's all.

BY THE COURT :

You are referring to your notes. Is that to refresh your memory? --- Yes. Notes that I made when I read the documents.

By yourself? --- By myself.

When you read the documents? --- When I read the documents.

MR. BERRANGE :

I have no objection to that at all, Sir, as long as the notes go in. May I put it this way, as long as the Defence first have the opportunity of seeing the notes from which the Witness is refreshing his memory and then enabling us to decide whether we'll ask for the notes to go in.

BY THE COURT :

You have no objection to that, Mr. Prosecutor?

BY THE P.P. :

I have no objection to that.

BY THE COURT :

Will you continue? --- The document falls in line with the Communist interpretation of the South African situation. The basic argument is that the forces of reaction must be fought, which is Communist argument over the world, and there is a reference to "fascism in South Africa". There are references to "reactionary forces". There is a continual reference to democracy and progress used in the same way as it is used in Communist literature and it seemed to me that this document did not mean by "democracy" what we understand by it, namely the parliamentary form of government and freedom. It refers to new forms of democracy and seems to imply that the Peoples' Democracies are the satellite states. One statement occurs in this document which seems to me quite Communist and that is on page 4, "For no group in this country will allow more bitter government persecution than ours, which challenges the whole basis and source of fascism so directly. Already we have been the victims of oppression of the anti-Communism Act".

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I would like to know through you, Sir, whether the witness has read the whole of the note which is attached to this Exhibit, or whether he has only read a portion of that

note. If he has only read a portion of that note, I would be glad, the Defence would be glad if he would mark that portion which he has read.

BY THE WITNESS :

May I finish the last note?

BY THE COURT :

Yes? --- If we take this last paragraph which was read in conjunction with the opening paragraph, we see that the change of system of Government which is there referred to, is revolutionary. I reads, : "We will work for a change whereby the power of Government will be entrusted to all the people of South Africa".

BY MR. BERRANGE :

We request, Sir, that the witness in future at all times marks that portion of the note which he is reading.

BY THE P.P. :

The next is A.M.K. 41, "Draft of the Immediate Programme of Action, by J. Hodgson"? --- This document seems to me full of Communist activities adapted to the conditions of a colonial country. It involves the basic assumptions of Communism, in its implications, which are not always stated, and in its purpose. As regards the basic assumptions, behind the proposed new movement is the assumption that the political and economic situation in South Africa is that of fascism and a war-mongering capitalist state as against the new Peoples' Democracies. We read on page 1 : "The movement as a whole is the peoples' answer to fascism and a drive to War". Also : "The oppressed non-White majorities". Also : "Relief from intolerable conditions". Also : "The social, economic and political structure of South Africa has imposed on us this sectional form of organisation". Also : "We are presented with the need to withstand and defeat fascism". This is a non-deviation argument which interprets the South African situation according to the Communist interpretation. The implication is further that we

have no democracy in South Africa and that a new Peoples' Democracy must be established. Page 2 : "Fascism can be defeated only in some decisive action which asserts the will of the people for democracy". And also: "A Peoples' Democratic Government". I pointed out before that that phrase and attitude is Communist. Communist terminology used implies the Communist interpretation of the situation and tactics. Such phraseology is militant democrats, asserting militantly and actively the legality of democratic concepts and aspirations; the alternative is a democratic peoples' government and the use of the word "reactionary". On page 4 there is a reference to the South African situation as "A national liberatory movement of resistance to fascism and war". Now, that is the Communist interpretation of colonial policy over the world. The next phrase which is significant is this : "The people are ill-prepared, ideologically and educationally to meet the onslaught of fascism, they are fumbling for a strategy and have not yet evolved effective tactics". Every Communist statement which usually refers to the importance of tactics and ideological training. The following phrases occur : "Militant democracy", "Democratic Peoples' Government", "Resistance to fascism and war", "Campaigns for peace". Those are phrases which constantly recur in Communist statements. In the concluding paragraph the purpose of the new movement is described : "Preparation of people for the defeat of fascism". This is a relatively long-term objective which requires the education of the people by means of experience and tactical activity and by appropriate propaganda material, it prepares them for appropriate action and for the acceptance of other allies in what is a common struggle. That is also consonant with tactical and methodological descriptions from the Communist Party.

The next is C. 297, "Report of the South African Congress

of Democrats, Trades Hall, Kerk Street, Johannesburg, 10th and 11th October, 1953"? --- The document seems to have Communist tendencies and a Communist purpose although there is no directly Communist statement by way of a quotation from one of the masters. In paragraph 2, line 9, the racial conflict and oppression which is supposed to occur in South Africa is linked up with the international class struggle and a capitalist threat of war. The Communist tactic is to link up any local struggle of this sort with the Communist interpretation of international affairs. In the same paragraph, line 13, they appeal to world peace, ending of national oppression and they appeal to world liberty in line with current Communist slogans and Communist tactics. Under the aims and objects in this document, the aims and objects be the emphasis on the equality and independence of all nations, is in line with statements made by Stalin and later by Malenkov and others who profess they stand for the sovereignty of all nations. Under paragraph 7(b) the emphasis on the importance of Trade Unions and on the working class is in line with Communist tactics and the words "National Liberation" are in line with Communist words involving a Communist interpretation of the political situation. Equally, Communist tactics is suggested in the phrase "We must make a serious effort to disseminate S.A.C.D. propaganda among working class and Trade Union movements and at all times try to win support of workers and the Trade Unions". The Communists make a special point of getting into the Trade Unions. Under 7(c) the argument that the S.A.C.D. condemns the action of the British Government in deposing by armed forces the elected government of British Guana, is in line with Communist international policy. "This action taken solely on the grounds of the political view of the Guana Government, are unacceptable to Whitehall is a flagrant violation of democratic principles", is flagrantly Communistic in direct line with the Russian Communist attitude to the situation. We have

here an example of non-deviation.

The next is a document, Exhibit No. C. 344, a letter from the South African Congress of Democrats dated the 19th January, 1954, Dear Friend, re : National Council Meeting, and attached thereto is the National Council Meeting, S.A.C.O.D. held on the 13th February, 1954 in Johannesburg. --- The document seems **clearly** Communist in intention on the following points. In Paragraph 7, there is the objection to South African troops being sent to Kenya which is a clear example of non-deviation. "Council demands that the proposal to use South African troops against the people of Kenya be firmly rejected. Council also takes the opportunity of calling upon the people of Britain to unite in protest against the brutal method of oppression, of victimisation, or murder and torture at present being practised in Kenya". In paragraph 11, there is the support of the Peace Movement which has recognised Communist affiliations. There is through the document the emphasis on democracy in a somewhat new connotation and there is again the emphasis on the necessity to maintain (?) with the Trade Unions - several times - which is in line with Communist tactics.

The next is C. 350, a document entitled "The South African Congress of Democrats. Notes on the Political Situation by the National Executive Committee for Discussion at Conference". It is undated. I'll leave this document over. I see the document I have here is not the complete document. I will refer to this later again. The next is C. 160 - that is a "Counter Attack". No. 1, November, 1953, Bulletin of the South African Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg. --- The document contains words and expressions which are not directly Communist, but it contains words and expressions commonly used in Communist documents and expresses clearly a non-deviation policy, that is supporting Soviet international policy and it emphasises the

importance of a militant unity among the working people. It refers to democratic rights, it objects to the British policy in British Guana and it protests against Communist banning in this country.

The next is A. 15, the "Constitution of the African National Congress". Attached hereto is a preamble to Declaration on Basix Policy and Programme on the Economic Policy and Programme? --- The document shows Communist tendencies - page 1 ...

BY THE COURT.

Which document are you referring to? --- A document marked A. 15.

Yes, but there are two documents marked A. 15. The Constitution of the A.N.C. and then the Preamble to Declaration.

They are marked the same and the paging runs through, so I will try to indicate as I go along. I am first referring to the Constitution of the A.N.C. Page 3, demands the equitable re-division of land, page 2 the democratisation of industry to enable the workers to reap and enjoy the benefits of industrial development in the general expansion. Page 5, the present system of South Africa is rejected and the creation of foundations of a new standard of civilisation and of new values of culture for South Africa are indicated. Page 6, the creation of new social institutions to give concrete expression to the aspirations of the people along the lines of this new system of organised human relations, is advocated. Also page 6, the establishment and promotion throughout Africa of one common African language and as an auxiliary to the mother tongue as a vehicle of national culture. Also page 6, the establishment of the right of each national group or sub-group to use on a regional basis their mother tongue in all spheres of public life. This is in accordance with Stalin's policy of self determination in colonial and national questions. My copy if page 817, 863 and 868. Page 6, "The African people

are opposed to all foreigners or foreign powers that have designs on Africa and are totally opposed to colonialism and imperialism. And page 6, "the African people supports the legitimate struggle of all people for democracy, self determination and peace".

What do you say about that? --- I believe that that shows a Communist tendency running right through the whole document.

The next is A. 40. It is a Presidential address of the African National Congress, Transvaal, submitted to the 42nd Annual Provincial Conference in the Communal Hall, Western Native Township, Johannesburg, 9th to 11th October, 1954. --- This document follows the Communist pattern of argument. The speech adopts the current Communist interpretation of the world situation in which the imperialist powers are seen as reactionaries and having the intent of plunging the world into a blood bath. The speaker speaks of the indebtedness of enslaved people to the U. S. S. R., to China and the new democracies. The quotation is : "Were it not for their existence together with the peace and freedom loving peoples in the world, slavery would have been the order of the day in every colonial and dependent country". The document speaks of fascist conditions in South Africa and links the struggle of the non-Europeans with that of the liberatory movements over the world. The document says that the Government is forcing South African into a Police State. The document follows the Communist pattern of argument adopted in all countries.

A. 101. Message by W. M. Sisulu, Secretary General of the African National Congress. There is no date on this document. --- I would say this document is indirectly associated with left-wing tendencies. It refers to the police state in the usual terminology and the fascism of the Government and it associates itself with the liberatory movement.

BY THE COURT :

You might just explain what is meant by left-wing tendencies? --- In political talk we distinguish between right-wing tendencies which embody the series of capitalist forms of government, - commonly called free forms of government - and left-wing tendencies which refer to more or less extreme socialist and communist forms of government.

BY THE P.P. :

The next is A. 203. "African Lodestar", issued by the African National Congress Youth League, Transvaal, November, 1953, --- Some of the articles in this journal argue on a Communist basis for liberatory action. On page 4, it is argued that Trade Unions should not limit themselves to economic issues but should join the liberatory movement, and on page 5 there are references to working class organisations in connection with freedom and democracy.

Has that "freedom and democracy" a special meaning in communist phraseology? --- In Communist phraseology democracy means a form of government based on the Soviet form of government. Dimitrov, the previous Prime Minister of Bulgaria said that the new democracy is based on Soviet example and Mao-tse-Tung said the same.

BY MR. SLOVO :

Who was the first person mentioned by the witness? --- Dimitrov, Georgi Dimitrov, Prime Minister Bulgaria and sometime Secretary to the Comintern.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

ON RESUMING: May it please your Worship, I am again instructed, sir, that great difficulty is being experienced amongst the Accused in hearing both my learned friend and the Witness. May I again ask your Worship to direct an appeal, especially to the Witness, to speak slowly and distinctly.
(Loudspeaker tested)

BY THE P.P. :

The next document is A. 204, the "African Lodestar", official organ of the African National Congress Youth League Transvaal, May, 1954. Will you please give your opinion on that document? --- This document falls into line with the current Communistically orientated liberatory movement. On page 4 it argues in favour of the destruction of the old system and the creation of a new system. Page 4 also, it argues that the political consciousness of the people will be heightened as a subjective factor if aligned and linked with constant and, above all, revolutionary conditions and activity. Also page 4, the ruling class in each society will, of course, move heaven and earth to ensure that the people remain at a low level of political understanding. On page 5, the writer, pleading for action, says "What I have to offer you is fatigue, danger, struggle, death". On page 5, the writer says "We are interested in the liberation of all oppressed people in the whole of Africa and, indeed, in the world as a whole". On page 7, the South African Peace Council is described as an organisation which supports and assists in the struggle for world peace and national independence. On page 7, I quote, "On the question of world peace the President said 'Africa likes to enjoy peace and prosperity and freedom and would like to align itself with forces of peace and freedom and so does not like to be made a war zone in any war that war-mongers may plunge the world into'. It is in the interest of the liberatory movement to united with all the forces of peace throughout the world". That statement is in line with the customary Communist liberalistic W.P.C. statements. The African National Council Youth League, at its annual conference held at Johannesburg, in 1953, adopted the resolution which directed the National Executive to affiliate itself to progressive international organisations, the National Executive accordingly affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the World Federation of Democratic Youth

is known to be under Communist control. That is all.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Referring to page 7, I see the notes refer to the African National Youth League. I am not quite certain what expression the witness used, or what interpretation the witness used for those letters A.N.C.Y.L.

BY THE WITNESS :

I think the letters A.N.C.Y.L. stand for African National Council Youth League.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I am not interested in what the witness thinks. I only want to know what words he used. We will find out later on what the witness...

BY THE P.P. :

Professor, will you just look at the front page of that document that you have got there. Is there anything about A.N.C.Y.L. in that document? --- On that document A.N.C.Y.L. stands for African National Congress Youth League.

The next is A. 205. "African Lodestar", Volume 6, Number 1, official organ of the African National Congress Youth League, January, 1954.---- The context of this magazine runs according to the pattern of the liberation movement based on Communist views. On page 1, we read, I quote "Let then the sons and daughters of Africa hold a post mortem on the whole sordid history of colonialism and imperialism in our beloved mother land". On page 2, "Make 1954 a year of mass youth activity to wipe out fascism from the country of our birth". Both statements fall in line with Communist works. And on page 5, the phrase is used "To resist the march of fascism in our country".

The next is C. 1. Resolution on the Political Lives of the P.P.S.U. Can you express an opinion on that document? --- I believe this document is directly Communist. I don't know

if it is necessary to read the whole document? I could read the first two paragraphs.

BY THE COURT :

The letters F.O.S.U. what do they stand for? --- Friends of the Soviet Union. I am reading the first two paragraphs to illustrate my judgment. "In the world today we see side by side two irreconcilable systems, on the one hand the capitalist economy involved in ever deepening crises, accompanied by the decline of production and rapidly worsening conditions of industrial workers and the agrarian population. On the other hand the rising socialist economy of the U. S. S. R. which, in spite of imperialist hostility, the intervention and the financial blockade rose from strength to strength. Under the Five Year Plan of socialist construction, industry makes colossal progress catching up and surpassing the achievements of the most advanced capitalist countries. The economic, social and cultural conditions of the workers improve daily. The once backward peasantry now demonstrate on their collective farms the superiority of socialist co-operation in agriculture!" Second paragraph. "These two systems cannot exist side by side. The growth of the one inevitably means the collapse of the other. The constant improvement in the standard of living of the workers and toiling masses in the Soviet Union on the one hand and on the other the unheard suffering, starvation, unemployment and pauperisation of the industrial workers and toiling peasantry and poor farmers and the growing fascist terror in capitalist countries strikingly illustrate the difference between the system of decaying capitalism and advancing socialism. The toiling masses in capitalist countries are realising rapidly the hopelessness of their own position. They see in the Soviet system the stirring example to be followed. They see of the workers, peasantry, lower middle class and intellectuals. The bourgeoisie in its efforts to solve the crises

at the expense of the working class and the toiling masses in colonial countries is leading a general attack on the toiler. This offensive is inseparably connected with the preparation for war against the U.S.S.R."

What is your opinion on the whole document? --- I do not know if the Court wishes me to read any further, my comment on the document is that the line is directly Communist.

The next document is a Peace and Friendship Meeting, 9th February, 1954. This document is not before Court yet, the number will be G. 594. Evidence on this meeting has not yet been led, it is a short-hand transcript of a Peace and Friendship meeting held in the Trades Hall at 8.30 p.m. Johannesburg, 9th February, 1954. --- It is a part of the Communist Party policy and tactics to preach that the Communist World Revolution should be centralised round Russia and on page 1 of this document we read the statement, "Our purpose is to tell people here how people live in the Soviet Union". The references to the statement by the Communist Party in Communist Party policy, on this point, are these. I read from the Comintern programme. "In view of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat the principle bulwark of its achievement and a most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist reconstruction in the U. S. S. R. and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all means in its power. In the colonies, particularly in the colonies of any imperialists attacking the U. S. S. R. the International proletariat must retaliate by organising bold and determined mass action and struggle for the overthrow of the imperialist government with the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and align with the U. S. S. R. In the colonies and particularly in the colonies of the imperialist countries attacking the

U. S. S. R. every effort must be made to take advantage of a diversion of the imperialist military forces, to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organise revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence. The development of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the growth of its international influence, not only arouse the hatred of the capitalist states, and a social democratic agent against it, but also inspires the toilers over the world with sympathies towards it and stimulates the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship in the event of an imperialist attack thereon. The development of the contradiction in modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably leads to a mighty revolutionary outbreak. It must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilised countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus with tremendous drive bring the final world victory of socialism." I am referring to the Comintern Programme. As late as 1952, Stalin at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party said, "Our Party and our country have always needed and always will need the trust, sympathy and support of fraternal peoples abroad. The interests of the Soviet Union are indivisible from the cause of peace the world over. Our Party cannot remain indebted to fraternal parties the world over, and must in its turn render support both to them and to their people in their struggle for liberation for the preservation of peace. Careful attention must be paid to the situation of those workers and peasant parties which are still suffering under the heel of cruel bourgeois law. Their task is difficult, but not as difficult as was ours in the period of Tsarism. Russian

Communists were not afraid of difficulties and emerged victorious in the end. The same lot awaits other Communist Parties." This line underlies much of what is said in this document. I go on to page 1. On page 1 there is a statement, I quote "In the interests of South Africa to have friendly relations with the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union are doing a good job, not only for the country, but for the people of Africa". And this is clearly a piece of international Communist policy and propaganda. There is a further statement on page 2 by the same speaker, I quote "And they said that between the time they were under the Tzar and the present leaders there was no comparison". In other words, the suggestion is that the people in Russia are today very much better off than they were under the Tzars. The statement was made to this particular speaker. On page 3 and all through, there is a constant emphasis on the worker in line with common current Communist language and on page 3, there is a constant emphasis on the point that the U.S.S.R. stands for peace. That also is in line with current Communist propaganda. On page 4, I quote : "They eat what they want and the resources are not to be used for other countries". The reference is to the capitalist countries which will not help other countries. Page 7 ...

I didn't quite follow that last bit you read? --- "They eat what they want and their resources are not used for other countries".

What do you say about that? --- It is a criticism of colonial countries which are exploited and in colonial countries, according to Communism, their commodities are taken away and exported to capitalist countries whereas that does not happen in countries where Communism rules. On page 7 there is a proposal to hold an exhibition dealing with aspects of life in the Soviet Union and that is part of Communist tactics, namely to propagandise facts about Russia in other parts of the world.

The clearly Communist points in addition to what I have indicated above, in this document, are, I believe, the following. The emphasis that is put on the point that the U.S.S.R. wants peace. At the 19th Communist Party Congress held in Moscow in October, 1952, Stalin in his speech made the main point the inevitability of capitalist imperialist wars, maintaining the tradition of Marxist analysis and putting all its emphasis on the point that it would only be with the classless society of the U.S.S.R. that peace would be achieved. Immediately after Stalin had spoken Malenkov embroidered further on this point. Speaking of post-war Soviet policy, he said that the Soviet Government had pursued since the war a foreign policy aimed at securing peace. I quote : "The Government of the U.S.S.R. attaches great importance to the United Nations, believing that it would be an important means for the maintenance of peace. At the present moment, however, the U.S.A. is converting U.N.O. from the organ of international co-operation that it should have been into an order of U.S.A. dictatorial policy. In spite of the enormous difficulties created by the United States voting machine in the United Nations, the Soviet body is championing in that body the cause of peace". And further, the description of conditions in the U.S.S.R. in this document, clearly by indication involves the comparison of countries in which no proletariat revolution has as yet taken place, suggesting that a proletarian revolution is necessary.

The next document N.A. 76. It is a pamphlet "For Peace and Friendship", special information bulletin, March, 1956, on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, issued by the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. --- This document contains a very favourable summary of the discussions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. held in Russia. It is a summary which is favourable

and therefore, from that point of view, pro-Communist.

The next is a booklet, J.S. 2, speech by E. P. Shepilov, Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. at the 30th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February the 16th, 1956. --- In this speech Shepilov in 1956 restates the Communist position,-the positional Communist position. On page 3 he said "The Congress maintains the Marxist-Lenninist analysis of the economic world situation. On page 4 he argues that the present era is an era of capitalist disintegration. On page 11 he puts the absolute opposition.. he compares the absolute opposition of socialism with capitalism and argues that the former must overcome the latter by virtue of its own excellence. Page 12 he says that revolutions cannot be made to order; the socialist revolution comes through the leadership of the working class in that country, and he suggests that the revolution may be parliamentary. The theory of scientific Communism teaches us that the transition from the capitalist mode of production to the socialist mode is a revolutionary process, affected under the leadership of the working class. This distinguishes Marxists from Reformists and Opportunists who on the pretext of propounding gradual evolutionary transition from one mode of production to another, actually upholds the capitalist system. However, revolutionary transformations take different forms". My interpretation there was that he meant that it could lead to parliamentary revolution.

BY MR. SLOVO :

The only reason for my standing up at this stage, sir, was to make the point that the witness should not give the impression that he is quoting from the author of a particular book when he is merely summarising what he thinks the author said. I suggest, sir, that he should indicate when he refers to a page.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I wonder whether we could be informed whether any other such startling interpretations have been placed by the witness upon what has been said ...

BY THE P.P. :

I object, Your Worship, I object to that form of interruption.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

May I say to me a startling interpretation has been placed by the witness and what I am asking the Court is whether this witness could indicate whether in the past, during the time that he has been giving evidence and supposed to be quoting, he himself has instead of quoting put what appear to be to be startling interpretations upon that which Marxist writers are alleged to have said - whether he has done this in the past. If so, we will have to go right through his evidence again.

BY THE COURT :

Mr. Berrange, it would be impossible, I think, for a witness to indicate unless he were to recount all the evidence that he has given.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Perhaps the witness knows whether he has been interpreting on other occasions or whether he has been quoting.

BY THE COURT :

I think that should be clear that he has quoted and then he has expressed an opinion.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I am not interested so much at the present moment with his opinions, but I am interested in the manner in which he purports to interpret quotations and then puts them forward as being quotations. I want to know if he did that in this instance. I want to know if he has done it in the past. If so, Sir, we must know about it.

BY THE WITNESS :

I don't think, Sir, I have in any single case quoted without stating that it was a quotation and I think my notes are available and I have on the whole stayed very close, extremely closely to them.

BY THE P.P. :

Please continue? --- I go on to page 13. The argument continued. "Under certain conditions the working class will have to break the opposition by violent means". And then the argument goes on "that the many current forces operating towards a better world should unite in a common struggle against imperialism." On page 15 Shepilov follows the Marxist argument that the basis of society is in its material conditions of production..."

MR. BERRANGE :

9 Is this an interpretation. That is the sort of thing I want to know.

BY THE P.P. :

Will you please read from page 15.

MR. BERRANGE :

Is the last piece of evidence an interpretation or a quotation. That is all we want to know at the present moment, because it is not clear to us.

BY THE WITNESS :

I did not quote and I did not mention the quotation. I am summarising. I am referring to the points in this document which seem in my opinion to be communist and on page 15 the point I was referring to is this and now I read from the text : "Marxist theory teaches us that material being the mode of production of material wealth is that decisive force which determines the basic features of a society and the level of its development". And on page 18, the document concludes - this document of 1956 by Shepilov -

concludes, and I quote "Long live Leninism", close quotes. The document is a straightforward statement by a modern leader of Communism of Marxist and Leninist Communism.

BY THE P.P. :

And the next are two documents, D. 44 and D. 45 - D. 45 is a document "Peace Movement of the Congress of the People" and D. 44 a document "Problems of Organisation". --- Part 1 of this document, there are two parts, is entitled "Peace Movement and the Congress of the People." This document is a piece of undiluted Communism, clearly written by a person who knows traditional Communist strategy and literature as well as contemporary policy. It follows closely on the Party line and its interpretation of international affairs as well as of local conditions. Its purpose is to propagate the contemporary Communist slogans of peace movement and national liberation movements. My analysis of the document has to fall into two parts. Firstly, it is concerned with the underlying doctrine and principles and then after that detailed points and references. The underlying doctrine on which the interpretation of the situation, both internationally and locally is based in this document, is firstly the peace movement. Now, the peace movement, with which the W.P.C. is connected, was started under the influence of Suselov and adopted by the Cominform as its policy. It was also adopted by the Soviet Government. It was adopted by the Cominform formally in 1949 when it called for peace organisations in all countries. It is based on the interpretation of the international situation as a struggle between the war-mongering imperialist nations and the peace loving Soviet people. I should point out that Stalin has held that the doctrine of peace would be possible only in a fully Communist economy - his discussions of peace have always implied the interpretation of the international situation as being one in which the

capitalist imperialist system was going to play itself out in the second half of this century. It should be noted that Stalin repeatedly said that the changeover can only come through war and violent revolution. The other policy which underlines the argument in this document is a liberatory movement policy. The policy was started by Lenin who insisted that the liberation movement in the colonies and semi-dependent countries was necessary as part of the world revolution leading to a world of Communism. He argued that imperialism was the final development of capitalism and that after that the liberation movement would arise and Communism would establish itself and Lenin said that the Soviet Republic, I quote: "Must build around itself a national liberatory movement". Since 1945 the U.S.S.R. has harped on this theme and the World Peace Council has harped on this theme as well as the Cominform and that line clearly underlines the argument involved in this particular document. I go on to detailed points which occur in this document. Whenever this document interprets a political situation in any country it follows the Moscow interpretation of the local situation. On page 2 its reference to Korea, and the signing of the armistice in Korea. The quotation reads as follows, I quote: "Victory which was not won without a most difficult struggle to overcome the activities of those circles who are determined to maintain the cold war to increase the division of the world into hostile groups and even to plunge the nations into a terrible Third World War". That follows straight on Soviet policy. Similarly on page 3, in relation to Germany, I quote: "The reconstruction of the German Army as part of the military coalition which still remains the objective of certain governments would perpetuate the division of Germany, sharpen the opposition between the two parts in which Europe has been arbitrarily separated has stimulated the armament race." I close the quotation. Open quotation: "The solution of this

problem lies in the re-establishment of a democratic peace-loving Germany on the basis of Free German elections". I close quotes. Open quotation : "Germany must not be allowed to become part of any military alliance but must be included in a general European security agreement". That policy is non-deviation, the policy propogandised by the Soviet Government. Page 4, on Asia, I quote : "Peace in Asia can only be assured on the basis of a disarmament of Chiang-Kai-Shek, the return of Formosa to China and its inclusion in the United Nations and a dissolution of the S.E.A.T.O. military alliance". I close quote. That again is non-deviatory. The paragraphs in this document on military alliances, page 4 to 5 follow the same non-deviation line. I quote : "To prevent the crime of those who are seeking national independence and liberation, the aggressors are trying to mobilise other people and drag them into their military adventure. That is why they seek military camps for war and colonisation. That is why they re-arm countries and force them to bear the weight of military expenditure". Page 7, I quote: " The South African Government is thus committed to a policy at home and abroad of preparing for war for aligning itself with military circles in order to defeat the movements for national liberation and independence, in order to prevent the victory of the forces of liberation and peace". I close quotation. That is in line with non-deviation propoganda. Finally, the non-deviation policy appears very clearly in the very concluding paragraph, page 8. I quote: "The immediate ending of the brutal wars in Malaya and Kenya with a recognition of the rights of the people and more particularly the peaceful unification of Germany and the return of Formosa to China and the expulsion of Chiang-Kai-Chek." Close quotation. It appears that it is the intention of the Peace Council that the Freedom Charter should be interpreted in terms of this document. On page 8, I quote : "The

C.O.P. through the Freedom Charter will express its view" and again I quote: "Thus it is the specific task of the Peace Movement to ensure that the demand for peace and friendship of all peoples be written into the Freedom Charter". On page 8, the following occurs, I quote: "In our campaigning on this, we must put before the people our demands for the peaceful unification of Germany and the return of Formosa and China and the expulsion of Chiang-Kai-Chek". Close quotation. These are all straight Soviet Government policies. I go on to part Two. I beg your pardon, before I got to Part Two, the give aims of the Freedom Charter formulated in this document, are all in line with the Communist World Peace Council Policy. I go on to Part Two. That deals with the "Problems of Organisation". The heading is "Peace circles have strengthened the Peace Movement". This document follows on the above document. It is concerned with problems of organisation and is straightforward. The following points may be noted. The document envisages the erection of a series of organisations in South Africa which is closely associated with the World Peace Council. It mentions in detail the principles on which the W.P.C. has worked in the give years of its existence. Paragraph 4 : It prescribes the programme for local peace circles which is the same nationally and internationally as that of the W.P.C. The following are a few of the non-deviation references to international politics which brand this document has Communist. Paragraph 1, referring to Kenya and the interpretation of the Mau-Mau as a liberatory movement. Paragraph 2, in support of the policy described as peaceful co-existence of negotiations instead of war and the Five Power Peace Trace which at that time was the proposal put forward by Moscow. Paragraph 5, it remarks on the campaign against German re-armament. It is also in pursuance of Moscow Government policy. This organisation must be joined up

with the Congress of th People and with the Freedom Charter. Paragraph 6 reads, "A great movement is at present taking place among the people of South Africa, namely the Congress of the People. Peace must be one of the pressing and urgent needs of the people for inclusion in the Freedom Charter".

The next is D. 51, Report of the First National African Peace Congress. --- This document follows the World Peace Council policy directly. On pages 2 and 3 it supports the Soviet Government's international policy. On page 6 it supports the World Peace Movement policy. On page 8 the argument follows the usual pattern of colonial exploitation, anti-imperialism, war-mongering imperialists, which are the current Communist propaganda. On page 9 there is objections to Africa as an imperialist war base which also forms part of the Soviet propaganda. On page 10 it expresses sympathies with the national liberation movement. On page 14 it defends the U.S.S.R. policy and on page 22 it protests against the use of Africa as a war base.

The next are a set of lectures, D. 94. A set of lectures and the stamp shows they were taken from Leon Levy. --- The lectures are on "How to organise Trade Unions". The lectures begin with a description of labour conditions from the Marxist angle, Western labour history from the Marxist angle, and then goes on to Trade Union Organisation. I am referring to Lecture I. It is called "Our Modern Society" and it gives an analysis of society on Marxist principles and in Marxist terminology. Lecture 2 is on "What are Trade Unions" and this lecture gives the history of the Trade Union movement which is an innocent history but it associates the development of the I.C.U. with the Trade Union movement. There is nothing directly Communist in this lecture. Lecture 3 describes the history of the International Trade Union Movement. It gives the history of the International Workers' Movement as a Trade Union movement and associates it with the First International Marx established

suggesting that Karl Marx established the Trade Union movements. There are other interpretations of history. That is not necessarily the correct one. It then gives an account of the First International, that is the First International Communist Organisation. It criticises the I.L.O. as capitalists ...

What is I.L.O.? --- International Labour Organisation.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Once again, Sir, it would appear as if this witness is interpreting that which is appearing in the notes before him or in the document. To that I take exception. The witness can quote the contents of this document and the witness can say how that, in his opinion, is associated with some form of Marxism or Communism but the witness is not entitled to place his own interpretation upon words which are clear to anybody to read who wants to read. This is what the witness is doing here and that is what the witness has been doing on an earlier occasion. To that I must take exception. It is for Your Worship to decide what is the meaning of the words which appear in any document which are placed before this Court as an Exhibit.

BY THE COURT :

He was asked what these letters stand for. He speaks as an expert and would be acquainted with these matters and is in a position to help the Court.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

The witness is not an expert, Sir, in the use of language.

BY THE COURT :

He would be an expert on the use of those terms.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I have no objection to the witness testifying to what certain terms or certain words mean. I have every objection

to the witness telling the Court what a certain sentence or what a certain paragraph is intended to mean. That is for Your Worship to decide. The English language is easy enough and clear enough for us to be able to understand that.

BY THE COURT :

I can see no objection to the witness telling us what the contents of the documents are and then expressing his views, instead of reading the whole document. If that is your objection, he is merely recounting the contents of the document, instead of reading the whole document.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

He is giving Your Sorship in certain instances a precis of what is contained in this document and I in many of these instances am not prepared to agree that the precis which this witness is giving is a truthful or an accurate one.

BY THE COURT :

You may by cross-examination show that he has not given a correct precis. I cannot uphold your objection to this form of evidence, Mr. Berrange.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

9 With respect, Sir, I am not here in order to cross-examine the witness as to his interpretation of the meaning of certain words. The only point I am placing before Your Worship is the fact that this witness, in my submission, is not entitled to tell your Worship what a document means. This witness is entitled to tell Your Worship what is in this document and thereby the only...

BY THE COURT :

I think th t is what he is doing ...

MR. BERRANGE :

May I proceed, Sir. The only way in which, in my submission, he can do that is to read out the document. If thereafter the Crown wants to say that black means white and that white means black and ask the witness to say "Does this mean something

to you", then the witness can do so, in my submission. One of the things I understood the witness to say - I may be mistaken - but I didn't get everything down - one of the things I understood the witness to say is that it is stated that Karl Marx is the founder of Trade Unionism. Now if the witness did say that, I would like to see where that is to be found in that document - and various other matters of that sort. I can't be jumping up every five minutes in order to query that which the witness said. All I am asking is for a Ruling from this Court that it is not for this witness to interpret ordinary basic simple English. If there are certain peculiar expressions which are peculiar to politics, political philosophy, political economy, which are not generally well know, then this witness in his present capacity as an expert can be heard to say what those words and what those sentences mean. But so far as ordinary basic English is concerned, we are as well qualified as this or any other witness to understand the meaning thereof.

BY THE COURT :

I can see no objection at all with the method adopted by the witness in summarising the contents of documents. This is a somewhat lengthy document and it would take an hour or more to read the whole of the document. He is merely summarising in order to place the contents of the document before the Court. If he is misquoting by summarising then I think that the Defence can show that he has misquoted but I am not prepared to disallow this form of evidence. The objection is overruled.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I ask Your Worship once again whether we are entitled to expect that your previous Ruling will be adhered to, namely that this witness is to say when he is quoting and when he is interpreting.

BY THE COURT :

The witness can do that. He can indicate when he is sum-

marising and when his summary ends.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I used the word "interpreting", with respect, Sir, and not "summarising".

BY THE COURT :

Mr. Berrange, I think I have given my Ruling.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I am not querying your Ruling. It is not my function or habit to do so.

BY THE COURT :

I disagree with you that the witness is interpreting. He is merely summarising and I should like the witness to indicate when he is summarising and where his summary ends and where he expresses a view on the contents of a document.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Without Your Worship being possessed of this document, I don't know how Your Worship is in a position to come to a conclusion whether the witness is summarising or interpreting.

BY THE COURT :

Mr. Berrange, you are criticising my decision. I have decided ...

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I have indicated to Your Worship that it is not my function either to criticise or to...

BY THE COURT : I am sorry ...

MR. BERRANGE :

I have indicated to Your Worship that it is not my function nor my habit to protest the Court's Ruling.

BY THE P.P. :

Before you proceed, the difficulty might probably be overcome if you will first read from Lecture 3, that small portion referring to Karl Marx and the Trade Union movement.

--- Page 1. I'll read the relevant paragraph. "In this

aspects of the organisation of the Workers Internationally, reference will be made to what are considered to be the most important efforts made to obtain unity of the Trade Unions of the world". The first attempt of note was the formation in London in 1864 of the International Working Men's Association or to give it its well-known first name "The First International". The main sponsors of this movement were the Trade Unions of Britain and France, or to be more specific, those of London and Paris. Historically, The First International is famous because it was the first attempt of the workers to unite to meet their exploiters and oppressors on a world scale. Judged by present-day organisation the First International was weak and confined only to the workers of Western Europe, with some connection with the workers of the United States of America. But it was also famous for the fact that its inaugural address and constitution was drafted by the great Karl Marx, the revolutionary philosopher who exposed capitalism in his monumental works and he showed the way forward to a better form of society. In his inaugural address, Marx proclaimed the necessity of the workers organising independently on a class basis in all countries of the world and the First International accepted this basis. The First Congress of the International was held at Geneva, Switzerland, and was attended by fifty delegates from Britain, France, Germany and Belgium and other Western European countries and they approved the address of Marx as well as the Constitution he had been asked to draft.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

That exactly gives point to my objection, Sir. So far from that stating, or purporting to state, that Karl Marx was the founder of Trade Unions it is just the opposite.

BY THE P.P. : I will ask the witness not to reply to that question.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

We want to know where we are. Here we have a deliberate

example...

BY THE COURT :

No, Mr. Berrange, I am afraid I can't allow this form of the case being conducted. It is quite unusual - you must know that. If you have any objection to the evidence then you can have that rectified. If you feel that you are being prejudiced you can have that rectified by cross-examination.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Why not by an appeal to Your Worship?

BY THE COURT :

It is a procedure which I can see no fault with. The witness has been trying his best to quote and to indicate where he is quoting and where the quotation stops and then to express an opinion on that. That is the line that the evidence is taking and I can see no objection to that.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I always thought, Sir, that if the Defence felt it was being prejudiced it could appeal to the Court rather than resort to cross-examination.

BY THE COURT :

That would be the correct way of appealing to the Court...

BY MR. BERRANGE :

That is why I am appealing to

BY THE COURT :

By exposing this evidence to cross-examination

BY MR. BERRANGE :

That is not an appeal to the Court with respect, Sir. That is the assertion of a right which I have. I am only pointing out to the Court - I am asking this Court what is this Court going to do in regard to a statement which is patently not correct.

BY THE P.P. :

BY THE COURT :

I can't allow it to be done at this stage. You have been jumping up and down now and it is just impossible to proceed.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

It is my function, Sir, to rise to my feet in defence of my client whenever I regard it necessary to do so. I propose to continue that, Sir, with respect

BY THE COURT :

Yes, but I shall have to stop you if you continue to do this

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I beg your pardon, I didn't hear Your Worship?

BY THE COURT :

Then I shall have to stop you if you continue this form of

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Stop me doing what? Representing my client?

BY THE COURT :

Interjecting - that is what you are doing now.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I am entitled to interject when I consider it my duty to do so.

BY THE COURT :

I have been very helpful. I have allowed you many liberties.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I don't ask for liberties, Sir. I ask for rights.

BY THE COURT :

In putting your case but I am not going to allow you to continue like this. You are just making it impossible for the Court to conduct the hearing properly.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I say, Sir, I don't ask for liberties I ask for an assertion of the right to assert my rights.

BY THE P.P. :

Will you please proceed, professor. You were referring to Lecture 4? --- There is one point of Lecture 3 still, it gives an account of the First International - I beg your pardon, I have finished with that. Lecture 4, it discusses Trade Unions as a weapon in the struggle of the workers, and gives, in my opinion, an interpretation of Trade Unions as if they naturally form part of Communist organisation. Lecture 5 discusses Trade Unions for the struggle for liberation in South Africa. There are references to some New Age articles on page 2 and the lecture describes the function of Trade Unions in terms of the Communist theory of national liberation. I skip the lecture given in 7. I go on to Lecture 8, on Workers' Solidarity, which urges the policy of the South African Congress of Trade Unions to allow also Africans as members of Trade Unions. My comment is that the issue in these lectures is a Communist basis on which they are founded as appears especially in the first few lectures, that is the class struggle, a tendency to identification of Trade Union movements with Marxism historically. I suggested to that - the word I used in Lecture 3 was, that the lecture suggests that Karl Marx established Trade Unions and a further point occurring is the world unity of workers which emphasise the liberatory movement.

THE COURT ADJOURNS TO 21.5.57.

21.5.57. COURT RESUMES.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

ON RESUMING :

BY MR. COAKER :

The position with regard to the Accused is the same as yesterday, Your Worship, with the exception of Accused No. 114, who, Your Worship will recollect left the Court yesterday afternoon during the proceeding is now back in Court. No. 100, reported to Court this morning but he was so obviously ill that I advised him to leave immediately and see a doctor and the certificate will be handed in as soon as possible. No. 131 and 149 are both ill and I will hand in their doctors' certificates as soon as they come to hand. I have to make an application on behalf of Accused No. 35 that is July Mashaba who is required to attend the Baragwanath Hospital today for treatment, I have shown his hospital card to my learned friend and I ask that he be allowed to leave the Court after the tea break.

BY THE P.P. :

I am accepting the position, Your Worship, there is no objection.

THE CROWN PROCEEDS WITH :

PROFESSOR DR. ANDREW MURRAY : duly sworn;

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. :

The next document is A. 302, this is a note for lectures, "Elementary Course on Politics and Economics", will you kindly state what your opinion is on that document? --- I believe the analysis of the political situation in this document is based on direct Marxism. I will read the first paragraph. The first paragraph reads as follows: "In South Africa, as in other capitalist countries, the capitalist class owns the means of production. Means of production are the land, the mines, the factories, the machines, the banks. All these riches, forming almost the entire wealth of the country are in the hands of a

few persons. This small class, known as the capitalist class, therefore, is much richer than the rest of the people put together. The capitalist, of course, cannot work the mine, or farm or factory all on his own. He hires others to do the work for him and pays them a wage. The workers produce or make goods which the capitalist sells at a profit. Capitalism can, therefore, be said to be a system in which are found (1), private ownership of the means of production, (2) the employment of wage labour and (3) production for private property". I believe this analysis offered in this set of lectures is directly based on Marxism.

The next is S.E.M. 79, Youth League Summer School Lectures. There is a foreword by M. B. Yengwa, a message from A. J. Luthuli, a lecture by J. G. Matthews, one by Dr. W. J. Congo, one by J. K. Ngobani and another one by M. B. Yengwa and a couple of others. Have you seen that document? Will you express an opinion on the contents of that document? --- I have seen this document. The first lecture implies Communist doctrine as the background of its interpretation of the social situation. The speaker refers to South Africa on page 3 as a colonial country clearly with Communist teaching in mind. Page 4, he says "The liberation movement must come from a large landless labouring group". Also on page 4 he makes use of Marxist analysis of capital into use value and real value. On page 5, on imperialism in Africa the speaker adopts the current Marxist interpretation on imperialism and recommends the Africans to join the liberatory forces of the rest of the world in accordance with current Communist doctrine. Page 5, the following Communist position - the writer says: "As regards the method whereby their aims will be achieved, African Nationalists believe that this will not come about through smiling reasonably with the imperialists. The only weapon in the hands of the Africans and the oppressed people lies in the creation of powerful national movements based on the toiling masses and led

by the revolutionary intelligentsia". Also on page 5, I should like to quote "The African is a realist and therefore African nationalism takes into account the fact that this continent of ours is the last playground of the imperialist powers. It is ruled by no less than six different Western Powers, including Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, etc. This means that the struggle to free Africa, involves a struggle against the major Western Powers who are supported in their plans by the U.S.A." "In other words, the freedom of Africa, the second largest continent will be a tough struggle which end will see the end of imperialism in the world. In other words, the freedom of Africa, with its vast resources which are desired by all, is not a local problem, it is an international problem that calls into question the existence of imperialism all over the world. It is for this reason that in recent times African Nationalism has developed a clear and unambiguous international policy of aligning itself with all oppressed and colonial people in the world who are fighting the Western Imperialist Powers and also with those independent countries which supports the African struggle for freedom generally and with no strings attached". The argument there is against imperialism in line with the Soviet argument and policy - propaganda - against imperialism of the West.

The next is R.F. 68, lectures by Dr. H. J. Symons, being lectures delivered to the Summer School, organised by the Study Circle from 5th to 13th January, 1954. --- I believe that this stuff is straight from the shoulder of Communism. On page 2 the writer gives the Communist interpretation of imperialism that the inhabitants of the colonies are all sacrificed under imperialism, that imperialism leads to martyrdom and all this is in line with Communist propaganda. Page 3 to 4 contains a statement of Communism in the guise of socialism. Page 5 simply substitutes the term "Socialism" for "Communism", in its interpretation, and I should point out that Marx and Lenin

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