

PREPARATORY EXAMINATION.

IN THE MAGISTRATE'S COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF JOHANNESBURG  
HELD IN JOHANNESBURG.

IN DIE MAGISTRAATSHOF VIR DIE AFDELING VAN JOHANNESBURG GE-  
HOU TE JOHANNESBURG.

BEFORE MR.: F.C.A. WESSELS.

VOOR MNR.:

REGINA VERSUS: FARRID ADAMS AND OTHERS.  
KONINGIN TEEN:

CHARGE: HIGH TREASON.

AANKLAG:

FOR THE CROWN: MR. J.C. VAN NIEKERK.  
VIR DIE KROON: MR. LILBENBERG.

FOR THE DEFENCE: MR. V.C. BERRANGE  
VIR DIE VERDEDIGING: MR. COAKER.  
MR. WEINBERG.  
MR. ROSENBERG Q.C.  
MR. MAISELS Q.C.  
MR. ZWARENSTEIN.

INTERPRETER:

TOLK:

-----  
VOLUME - 24.

PAGLS:

4601 - 4800.

of parliament. Paragraph 5, the words "militant action" are important. The Comintern programme - this part, writes "An absolutely essential condition preceded for this form of action is the organisation of the masses into militant units". Lenin laid very great stress on the importance of militant action on the party of the Party and Stalin equally puts emphasis on the militant character of Communist activities. On paragraph 6 there is again reference to "militancy". In paragraph 6 again we read, I quote : "We do not pay enough attention to the type of work which brings us closely in contact with people - this knocking on doors and talking to people, etc." Also paragraph 12. We can compare the Comintern Programme, this part, on tactics, I quote "When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class, nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilise these everyday minor needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power". And the same paragraph from the Comintern refers to paragraphs 8 and 10 of the document. In paragraph 7 we read, I quote "Political understanding must go hand in hand with organisational work." Marx made a point of urging that ideology must be understood clearly. Communist ideology was as important as Communist activity. Stalin made the same point at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. In paragraph 10 we read, "The progress of the people will not of itself bring about radical changes in Africa. It is a stepping stone to the changes that our programme calls for". My comment on that is that this seems exactly the line of doctrine by the Comintern Programme, in its advice on

when the European population has had so clearly before them the stark fact that we alone offer them an alternative to the dark future of fascism which all political parties in South African in one way or another uphold. Nor has there ever before been a time when the rights, privileges, and future of white South Africans has been so systematically attacked and wittled away to preserve the social basis of emerging fascism. All thinking Europeans are being driven, slowly but certainly to see our programme as a way out for themselves. We must help that programme along now while opportunity still exists". This line of argument of wittling away the rights and of impending fascism is part of the contemporary Communist stock-in-trade. It follows the Marxist analysis of the process of fascism being changed and violent revolution. No other political of any importance anywhere takes up this line of argument. In paragraph 12 we read, "Political education must be made into a permanent feature of our Branch life. For this the lectures issued in connection with the Congress of the People are a start but only a start. We must pay great attention to our own education and make the organisation of such education a special charge on our National Executive. The need now is for the Congress of Democrats to make an appeal to people not by speaking to them all at one time with one type of interest, but making specific propaganda to specific sections of people starting from their specific interests and problems". My comment is this is in line almost verbally with the Comintern Programme tactics described by page 1039 which gives detailed instructions for the propaganda in the spheres of labour, politics, international politics, the present problems and in colonial countries etc. etc. In paragraph 12, "In addition we must be more wide awake in seizing opportunities for making our own point of view public and in election campaigns". This again is in direct line with Comintern Programme instructions. "By organising mass

action upon which all branches of Party education propaganda including parliamentary activity must be concentrated". "In championing universally the current every day needs of the masses, and utilising the bourgeois platform as a platform for revolutionary education". I give another quotation from paragraph 12. "And in particular we have not produced enough material designed to reach and appeal to particular sections of the people, women, trade unions, etc." It is interesting to note that the Comintern programme lays special emphasis on the work to be done in trade unions. "Unlike the reformists whose policy is to split the trade unions, the Communists defend trade union unity, nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union. The correct application of the united front tactics and the fulfilment of the general task of winning over the masses, presupposes in turn systematically the persistent work in the trade unions". And as regards a reference to the women, Comintern Programme, I quote "Systematic work must also be carried on among working women and peasant group. The work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and the struggle of the working and peasant women". Paragraph 13, I quote from the paragraph, "We must make a start also of extending our organisation by establishing special sections for women and for youths". One has to compare the Comintern Programme here which urges that systematic work must also be carried on among proletarian and peasant youth, mainly to the young Communist International and imperialist section and a frequent mention is made of the Communist Youth Movement in the Programme. It is mentioned in the well-known Stalin report of 1934 Congress to the C.P.S.U. as forming an integral part of Communist tactics. To conclude, I believe that this document is an out and out Communist document in the following respects:- It contains nothing which is

not found in the Comintern Programme and, secondly, the underlying social doctrine which it implies and refers to is the Marxist interpretation of history and, thirdly, the interpretation of the contemporary situation in South Africa as fascist and the bankruptcy of the parliamentary system etc. is Stalin's and the Comintern interpretation of the contemporary politics and, fourthly, the tactics it proposes for its organisation and the points on which it lays emphasis all come directly from the Comintern instructions.

The next is a set of three documents, A.84, A. 85 and A. 86, entitled "The World we Live In", "The Country we Live In" and "Change is needed". --- I start with Lecture 1, "The World we Live In". This document is purely popularised Marxist ideology. In paragraph 1 the theory is that our world is basically divided by oppression is the main theme of the Communist Manifesto. The opening sentence is, I quote from the Manifesto "The history of all hitherto existent society, is the history of class struggle". And thereafter the argument goes on to describe the struggle between oppressor and oppressed classes in our day. Paragraph 2, the theory is that in our day there are two classes no longer equal - employers and workers. This is a theme of the Communist Manifesto and the argument is worked out in detail throughout "Das Kapital". The Marxist argument is that under the capitalism of our times, the owner of capital owns the factory and the products of the factory which he sells for his own profit. The worker does no longer own the implement of his productive labour so he does not share in the profits made by the sale of his product. He sells his labour energy and has to live on the price he gets when his labour energy fails. That is he is dependent on the capitalist for a living. Paragraph 3 has to do with slaves. This is taken from the Manifesto and occurs at various times in Marxist Policy of Philosophy, Engels Article "The Origin

of the Family" and so forth. I quote from "The Origin of the Family" by Engels, "With slavery which in civilisation reached its most complete development, came the first gleaning of society into an exploiter and an exploited class. This period lasted throughout the whole period of civilisation". This theme is often used in Marxist ideology and it is the basis of Communist philosophy of history. Paragraph 4 has to do with feudalism. Again we get a popularised version of the Manifesto. I don't think I need read the detailed quotation the Manifesto is before the Court. Paragraph 5, in this paragraph the doctrine of the growth of the proletariat is taken over from Marxist writing. The theory is that the modern worker no longer owns the tools with which he produced commodities as it is under the feudal system for example so that the workers are at the mercy of the employing classes for their living although apparently free. The references are given here. Paragraph 5 continues. The paragraph also refers to Marxist theory of modern capitalism. The features are increasing fuller concentration of capital to a necessary smaller class of society. Paragraph 6 refers to "Bitter struggle for freedom and for the good things of life go on everywhere all the time". In this paragraph are assumed three Communist principles that history consists of the class struggle, that history is made of economic forces and thirdly the doctrine of a concentration of capital and surplus values, that is that the one class lives by owing the other by working. This paragraph I would call unadulterated Communism. Paragraph 7 is an attempt to put Marxist theory of variable and constant capital, the reckoning of profit and the surplus profit theory in popular language. Marx argued that it is wrong to pay the worker a wage based on open market competition for labour, the worker should be paid a share of the profit of the commodity he produces. Under the present system of capitalist economics, Marx argued the worker produces enough

values to pay for his wages. The rest of the value he produces goes to the owner of the factory; thus the owner of the factory is able to make a surplus profit before he has already calculated his ordinary profits on the basis of a profit on wear and tear, replacements, etc. - that the worker is exploited. Paragraph 8 refers to division by nations. This is a bald statement of Marxist argument that capitalism is international and that some nations are capitalist nations and others are worker nations. The colonies must therefore be liberated. This is a well-known Communist argument. Paragraph 9 continues paragraph 8 on the colonies and paragraph 10 continues the statement on the exploitation of colonies and the reference there is in the Comintern Programme. Paragraph 11 gives a standard Marxist analysis of imperialism which will be found in "Lenin Imperialism", especially Chapters 7, 8 and 9. The document is before the Court. Paragraph 12 describes the Communist doctrine that the proletariat is in world revolution because capitalist imperialism has come to an end. That is featured in the Communist Manifesto in the Comintern Programme, and the teachings of Karl Marx and so on. Paragraph 13, the doctrine underlying this paragraph is Communist Internationalism. For example, the reference to two classes have and have not countries, Russian socialism in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, anti-imperialism, steady movement towards a better life etc. It should be noted that here the Congress Movement is directly associated with this international movement. That is the first Lecture.

THE COURT ADJOURNS.

ON RESUMING :

MR. ROSENBERG APPLIES THAT ACCUSED 100 REVEREND CALATA BE  
EXCUSED FOR THE REST OF THE WEEK. APPLICATION GRANTED.

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE WILL BE PRODUCED.

PROFESSOR MURRAY CONTINUES, under former oath,

EXAMINED BY THE P.P. :

Now, Professor, you wanted to start on Lecture 2, "The Country we Live In", just prior to the adjournment, will you continue on your opinion thereon? --- The following Marxist features occur in this lecture. On page 1, there is the attempt to describe South African history in Marxist ideology. That is in terms of imperialism and capitalism, which oppress the people. There are phrases such as to "Break the peoples' independence", I quote: "Imperialism worked together with the White farmers making allies of them against the Black people". And there is a reference to "The Conquest by force" and "The Conquest by Law". All this is an ideology of Marxist criticism of modern capitalism, and his theory of the class struggle. On page 2 the analysis of wages in South Africa implies the Marxist analysis of value and super profits. On page 2 the argument that a whole system of laws have been passed by parliament is in a piece with the Communist argument that imperialism becomes fascism entrenching itself in Parliament to make laws to oppress the people. On page 3 the same argument continues. The background is the Marxist teaching of the two classes, the one class oppresses the other, the refusal of legal rights, the entrenchment of capitalism behind the law and parliament, the phrase "This is a system imperialism has built to protect its high profits at the expense of the people of South Africa". I quote "A system by which a small group of men grow rich". These are Marxist principles. Page 4, on imperialist tactics, the argument here follows in the Lenin and Stalin tradition. My reference



is to "Lenin's Theory of Parasitism in Imperialism", Chapter 8 and to the Communist International Programme, the Third Comintern Programme. Page 4 to 5 contains the standard argument that in our period capitalism has become a system. These are all Marxist features in this lecture. I go on to Lecture 3. On page 1 the doctrine of the classless international society contained in line 14 and following is in accordance with Marxism. On page 1 the first paragraph deserves careful study. It is a clear statement of Communist tactics. I quote: "When the whole imperialist system will be overturned" - this is in line with Marxism. I quote: "It does not follow the Congress Movement is uninterested in changes that can be brought about within the present system of South African society". This is in accordance with instructions on tactics contained in the Comintern Programme part 5, which clearly envisages intermediate stages of education and reform to prepare the way for the final revolution. I quote: "It would be childish to say that because these others are not prepared to go all the way with us in seeking to end imperialism, therefore, there can be no short-lived alliance. It is from campaigns like this in which we work with allies whom we know will not always be with us, that we build up our strength and our support for the great sweeping changes that must be made before imperialism is ended". This is direct Communism. The reference to Lenin on tactics, Marxism, Communist International Programme on tactics and so on. Still on page 1, the phrase "Parliament is an exclusive club for the formers, the imperialists and the hangers-on" comes from the phrase quoted by Communists by Marx "Parliament is a committee of the capitalist class". Page 2, the paragraph starting "Is it possible....", this paragraph adopts the Marxist interpretation of the state as being associated with armed force. The references to education, radio, cinema and the press as instruments in the

hands of the ruling class to maintain its power is sheer Communism. I quote page 2 still, "It is clear that such a rule as this cannot be set aside by minor concessions and reform.

In the end such a state apparatus built on foundation of oppression and exploitation can never serve the ends of the people and of the Congress Movement". This seems to me to be a possible aesopism, that is the Communist tactic of saying something in other words. These words seem to me to contain a strong suggestion of revolution in them. Page 3, there the phrase occurs, I quote: "Not only small concessions and reforms, but which will work also to overturn the very basis of imperialist oppression". This is Marxist and Leninism. Page 3, "What is the Peoples' Democracy", these points taken together go beyond mere liberalism or even socialism and are interpretable in a fully Communist sense. I think that concludes that.

The next document is not an exhibit yet. I will give a number in due course as soon as I get the list of exhibits. It is a shorthand typed script of the speeches of the Congress of the People held at Kliptown, 25th to 26th June, 1955. The number will be G. 595. --- The purpose of the speeches reported here is to discuss the Freedom Charter. There is little direct Communist doctrine. Phrases, and occasionally an argument, occur which show the background of Communist literature and a Communist interpretation of politics. Page 12, the words, I quote: "Choose between the forces of democracy and the forces which are leading towards a distatorship" contain a typically Communist comment on the political situation in a capitalist country. Page 13, the phrase, I quote: "Fascist Nationalist Government" is a typical Communist terminology. Page 18, line 10 to 20 the theory of monopoly industry which is explained there is part of the Marxist argument. Page 18, line 24 to 34 - the idea in this paragraph of workers running

the mines, etc. is Marxism. Page 19, line 11 to 37 is straight Marxist theory. Page 28 line 23 following, contains a statement of extreme socialism and really also Communism. One phrase is, I quote: "Nationalising all the industry in the country". Page 30, the reference to democracy in this context seems like the modern Communist use of the term democracy.

The next is the Freedom Charter, A. 10. Will you please explain that in conjunction with speeches that have been made at Kliptown? --- It seems to me that this document if read in conjunction with the explanations of the various sections which were given to the meeting at Kliptown, at which it was officially accepted, it is clear that at least some sections of the document are intended to be interpreted in Communist terms. So page 11 to 12, I quote: "Those people who have political rights in South Africa and are now going to have those rights snatched away from them, will have to choose between the forces of democracy and the forces which are heading towards a dictatorship". This position is current contemporary Communist propaganda. Page 13, the phrase occurs, I quote: "Fascist Nationalist Government" carries the Communist interpretation of modern Government in the free world and the statement, I quote: "It is now time that people should take over", is also associated with Communist propaganda in the free world. Page 16, the speaker mentions, "The greatest contrast between rich and poor", "the exploitation of the workers has always gone hand in hand with an oppression", has a background to his argument. His argument that "the gold mines means the feeding of labour of the people", is Marxist. The description of industry as "monopoly industry" page 18 is a Marxist theory as also the description of the industrialists as "the enemies of the people". I am quoting from the notes of the speeches which the speaker made at the Kliptown Conference which were speeches on the various sections of the Freedom Charter, interpreting the Freedom Charter in various ways.

The description of industry as "monopoly industry" is a Marxist theory as also the description of the industrialists as "the enemies of the people", in terms of Marxist theory of the class struggle. Page 18, "The Freedom Charter says the ownership of the mines will be transferred to the ownership of the people. Wherever there is a gold mine, there will no longer be a compound boss, there will be a committee of the workers to run the gold mines. The workers will take over and run the factory. In other words the ownership of the factory will come into the hands of the people". It involves Communist theory and teachings. Similarly, page 18, the theory that the banks serve the interests of the bourgeoisie is expressed. "That money does not come back to you, it goes to our friends living in Lower Houghton. Let the banks come back to the people. Let us have a Peoples' Committee to run the banks ", involves Communist theory. Page 19, in speaking on section 3 and 4, the speaker said "The people shall share in the country's wealth and the land shall be shared amongst those who work". This statement maintains a Marxist interpretation that capitalism is oppressive and stands opposed to the ordinary people and that the factories, the land, the industries is owned by a small group of people who are the capitalists and who - quote - "In the people". Similarly, this speaker teaches the Marxist theory that "the industries, the lands, the big business and the mines and everything that is owned by a small group of people in this country must be owned by all the people in this country" which is in accordance with Marxist teachings. Page 21, the speaker speaking on "All shall be equal before the law" here two positions are maintained which are held by Communists, firstly, I quote: "The Courts shall be representative of all the people". On page 22 the view that the action of the Government is reactionary - the word "reactionary" is a quotation, "The united stand of all sections of the people of South Africa must and

will stem the tide of reaction" is a part of modern Marxist propaganda. Page 24, accepts the Marxist position. "The whole history of mankind is full of struggle for his freedom", which reminds one of the opening sentence of the Manifesto and the speaker uses the form of address of "Comrades", at least twice. On page 25 the speaker wants to use the Freedom Charter as a basis of action. I believe on these points which I read to the Court there are Communist elements in the Charter, that the Charter can be interpreted in Communist ways but the opening remark was that if this document is read in conjunction with the explanation to the various sections which were given to the meeting at Kliptown and which were accepted, it is clear that at least some sections of the document are intended to be interpreted in Communist terms.

The next is A.111. This is a letter from the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the Congress of the People dated the 24th February, 1955, to the Secretary, African National Congress, Johannesburg? --- This letter proposes to use the C.O.P. to establish a people's democracy. The wording of the letter is according to the customary Communist pattern.

Now, I am going to ask you what your opinion is on certain dicta and also for your authorities on those dicta. I take it the Witness may refer to authorities which we want to use in this case. I will ask him in each case whether that is a recognised standard authority.

BY THE COURT :

Subject to any objection the Defence may have.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I don't want to raise any point at the present moment but I would like to know whether these authorities are in English or in any other language and if they are in English whether they are translations or whether they are in the original.

BY THE P.P. :

Will you please tell the Court whether these documents are in English? --- The documents are all in English. They are translations of Lenin's works, selected ... I beg your pardon, the works of the authority here are in English, the one is Lenin's works published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow. The other one is Marx's Kapital translated into English, published in the Modern Library, New York. The other is Stalin's Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow and I will use Emil Burns' translation in the Handbook by Emil Burns, a Communist. All the documents I will refer to are available to the Court in original form.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Are these originals or are they translations, sir?

BY THE WITNESS :

Emil Burns is a collection of documents written by various people. I should imagine most of them are translations.

B MR. BERRANGE :

If the originals are available, may we know to whom we must apply for them?

BY THE P.P. :

I might say, Sir, that all the authorities that are going to be quoted by Professor Murray in this case already form part of this case. I think all the authorities he will refer to form part of the Exhibits in this case already. They were exhibits handed into this Court taken from Accused persons and Organisations.

BY THE COURT :

Those are translated copies of these works?

BY THE P.P. :

Yes, Sir.

BY THE COURT :

The originals are they available anywhere?

BY THE WITNESS :

I'm sorry I used the word original. By original I meant an authorised translation. I don't think the originals are available anywhere. Some may be available in the British Museum. I am busy with authorised translations, recognised translations.

BY THE P.P. :

And are these translations recognised as standard translations? --- I think so, anyone of them.

BY THE COURT :

Are you satisfied, Mr. Berrange?

BY MR. BERRANGE :

I am not making any comment at the moment. I merely wanted to ascertain exactly what was happening in the matter.

BY THE P.P. :

Now, the first dictum I am going to put to you, is "The teaching of the class struggle exists in a capitalist country", is that, in your opinion, a Communist dictum? --- That is an accepted part of the Communist doctrine. If I may read one of many references, I will read from Engels "The Housing Question". Engels wrote "The corner stone of a capitalist mode of production is however the fact that our present social order enables the capitalists to buy labour power of the worker at its value but it extracts from it much more than its value by making the worker work longer than is necessary in order to reproduce the price paid for the labour power. The surplus value produced in this fashion is decided upon the whole class of capitalists and land owners together with their paid servants, from the Pope to the Kaiser down to the night watchman and below. We are

not concerned here as to how this distribution comes about but this much is certain, that all those who do not work can live only from fragments of this surplus value which reach them in the one way or the other".

I am sorry, I think you misunderstood my question. My question was "On the class struggle"? --- Oh, I beg your pardon. The Communist Manifesto is a standard work on the class struggle. One can read the concluding passage. The Communist Manifesto is before the Court. That is the title of the work, "Communist Manifesto" and it is written by Marx and Engels in conjunction. It is a standard Communist work. I think I can read the very first opening lines of the Communist Manifesto, that should be enough. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle" and then the argument of the Manifesto goes on to describe the class struggle in the 19th Century and is continued into our time, according to Lenin and Stalin. I am reading from Emil Burns edition of the Communist Manifesto, page 22.

The next one is "Teaching that the one class is concentrating property in its own hands, withholding it from other classes, thus causing power concentration", what is your opinion on that dictum? --- That doctrine is especially taught in the first volume of Das Kapital. Before that it was explained by Engels in a shorter statement which I can read. I will give the reference. I am reading from Engels' "The Housing Question", Burns Edition, page 340. Engels writes, "The corner stone of the capitalist mode of production is however the fact that our present social order enables the capitalist to buy the labour power of the worker at its value, but to extract from it much more than its value by making the worker work longer than is necessary in order to reproduce the price paid for the labour power. The surplus value produced in this fashion is divided among the whole class of



capitalists and land owners together with their paid servants, from the Pope and the Kaiser to the watchman and below. We are not here concerned to show how this distribution comes about, but this much is certain, that all those who do not work can live only from fragments of this surplus value which reach them in one way or another". The argument is really developed in Das Kapital, Volume 1. The quotation is from the argument by Engels, showing that under the capitalist system surplus value is achieved by the producer and that means there is a concentration of capital into the hands of the capitalist. (MR. BERRANGE ADVISES THE COURT THAT ACCUSED CANNOT HEAR THE WITNESS)

Now, the next dictum is teaching "That the property owning class referred to as the bourgeois or capitalist class must be destroyed", what is your opinion on that? --- One of the central doctrines of Marxist teaching; it is taught in the Communist Manifesto. The best example of it is Lenin's "State of Revolution", Chapter 1.

Now, the next one is "Stating that the South African state has reached the stage wherein capitalist imperialism has developed or is developing into fascism"? --- That is a part of Communist teaching nowadays. I could read a passage from Stalin's Report to the 1934 Congress in the C.P.S.U. I am using the Burns Edition, page 920. 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 vestige of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in a struggle against the oppressors. The fact that they are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods in order to maintain their dictatorship show that a preparation for war is the main element of foreign policy, bribing the working class in terror to secure the whole policy and the

necessary means for strengthening the future war front. This is what is particularly engaging the minds of contemporary imperialist politicians. It is not surprising that fascism has now become the most fashionable commodity among bellicose bourgeois politicians. I do not mean fascism in general, I mean primarily fascism of the German type, incorrectly called national socialism which a searching examination will fail to reveal even an atom of socialism in it".

Now, the next one is "Teaching that parliament as it is at present constituted should be abolished", what is your opinion on that statement? --- The theory that parliament should be abolished occurs especially in the Comintern Programme. The passage I will read is from the Comintern Programme, Burns Edition page 990-991. "The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully capturing the bourgeois as a ready made state, the state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its territory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conflict of power by the proletariat is a violent overthrow of bourgeois power, and the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus, bourgeois army, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, judiciary, parliaments, etc. and the substitution in its place of new organs of proletarian power to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiter."

Now, the next one is "Stating that parliamentary opposition has withered away", what is your opinion on that? --- Stalin maintained that position 1934. The Comintern Programme maintains the same position and Stalin maintained that position

just before his death. I should read a passage from the Comintern Programme which explains the argument used. I am reading from the Burns Edition of the Comintern Programme, page 978. "The epoch of imperialism, the sharpening of the class struggle, and the growth of the elements of civil war, particularly after the imperialist wars, led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism, hence the adoption of new methods and forms of administration, for example the system of inner cabinet, the formation of oligarchial groups acting behind the scenes, deterioration and falsifications of the function of popular representation, the restriction and annulment of democratic liberties, etc. Under certain special historical conditions the progress of this bourgeois imperialist reaction to the offensive, assumes the form of fascism." And let us read the other passage too. I am again reading from Stalin's Report to the C.P.S.U. 1934 - I think I have read that passage, on the withering away of parliament.

Now, the statement "That the South African state is a colonial state wherein the liberatory movement must be promoted", what is your opinion on that? --- That is a doctrine particularly preached in the Comintern Programme. I quote page 983 of the Burns Edition of the Comintern Programme. "Simultaneously the antagonism between the imperialist home countries and the semi-colonial countries are growing. The relative weakening of European imperialism as a result of the war of the development of capitalism in the colonies are the influence of the Soviet Revolution and its centrifugal tendencies revealed in the premier maritime and colonial empires, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, has helped to stimulate the movement of rebellion in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese Revolutions which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system" and I quote the

Comintern Programme again, page 1035 . "The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionaries, liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially or politically dependent. The Communist Party must openly recognise the rights of the colonies to separation and the right to carry on propaganda for this separation, that is propaganda in favour of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state. They must recognise their right of armed defence against imperialism, that is a right to rebellion and revolutionary war and advocate and give active support to this defence by all the means in their power. The Communist Party must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations".

Now, the next statement is "Teaching that it is not reform that is aimed at but a complete change of state form is the purpose"? --- The argument is common to Communist argument. It occurs again in Lenin's "State of Revolution". It is really the main theme of that book. I am reading one passage from "The State of Revolution", the first chapter as far as I know. In my edition - Burns Edition - page 739. "The replacement of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution. The abolition of the proletarian state, that is of all states, is only possible through withering away" and I think I should read from the Comintern Programme, page 990. "The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully capturing the ready made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resort to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its territory property and political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past the

bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is a violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus, the bourgeois army, the police, bureaucratic hierarchy, judiciary, parliament and the substitution in its place of new organs of proletariat power to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters".

Now, the next statement is "That a dual authority should be created"? --- The issue of the dual authority is discussed by Lenin in his works I am reading from Lenin's Selected Works, the two volume Edition published in the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, Volume II page 27, where there is a long article entitled "A peculiar dual power and its class significance".

Now the statement that "Under the present regime in South Africa the laws, the Courts and the officials serve the interests of the exploited classes", what is your opinion on that? --- That is a common statement made by the Communists in their analysis of so-called capitalist society. The best analysis of it is probably Lenin's "State of Revolution" - there are others. I will read from the "State of Revolution". My text is Burns' text page 725. "According to Marx the state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of the one class by the other. Its aim is the creation of order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes". This whole chapter goes on to analyse this method of keeping order through the Police and I will read page 722 in my text where the title of the Chapter is "The State as a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms".

Teaching "That the present judicial system should be

abolished and the people's Court substitution", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That again is found frequently in Marxist teachings. I think the best reference I can give is "State of Revolution" Chapter 1, by Lenin. There are several other references.

Now, the statement "That the land is in the hands of the exploiting class", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That is well-known Communist teaching. Lenin wrote about that several times. I am reading from "The Teaching of Karl Marx", page 557, Burns Edition. "Moreover the equalisation of profit in all branches of industry and national economy in general presupposes complete freedom of competition. The free mobility of capital from one branch to another. But the private ownership of land, creating monopolies hinders this free mobility. Thanks to this monopoly, the products of agriculture where a low organic composition of capital prevails and consequently individually a higher rate of profit can be secured, are not exposed to a perfectly free process of equalisation of the rate of profit. The land owner, being a monopolist, can keep the price of his produce above the average and this monopoly price is the source of absolute rent. Differential rent cannot be done away with so long as capitalism exists, but absolute rent can be abolished even under capitalists for instance, by nationalisation of the land, by making all the land state property. Nationalisation of the land would put an end to the monopoly of private land owners with the result that free competition would be more consistently and fully applied in the domain of agriculture. That is why as Marx states in the course of history the radical bourgeois have again and again come out with this progressive bourgeois demand of land nationalisation which, however, frightens away the majority of the bourgeoisie for it touches upon another monopoly that is highly important, and

touching in our day the monopoly of the means of production in general".

Now, the statement "That the land, that is the instrument of production should be transferred to the State", what do you say about that? --- That occurs in the document I have just read. It also occurs in the Communist Manifesto. I will read a short statement from the Burns Edition, page 46, where Marx writes, "Abolition of property and land and application of all land rents for public purposes". The same argument is carried out in the Comintern Programme, and in other documents.

Now, the statement that under the "Capitalist System property is centralised in the hands of ruling class", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That statement forms the basis of Marxist criticism of Western capitalist institutions and Western society. I think the best reference is to "Das Kapital", Volume I, Chapter 32, on the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation and to Volume I, Chapter 7, referring to the production of surplus in value, it is part of the whole analysis of capitalist economics.

Now, the statement that "The present stage capitalist production leads to crises, contradictions and disintegration of that system", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That statement is also a basic part of the Marxist analysis and criticism of the capitalist economic structure. It occurs in "Das Kapital". The last time it was announced was by Stalin in his "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.", pages 34 to 41. I think I need only give the reference.

Now the statement that "Ownership of property means control of political power", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That principle was particularly developed in the Communist Manifesto, it is one of the basic principles of Communism. I will read the statement from the Communist Manifesto, my Edition, page 39, "Capitalism is therefore not a personal but

it is a social power". It goes on to say "And therefore capital is converted into common property, the property of all members of society, and personal property is thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed".

Now, the next statement is "Teaching that under capitalist system wages are calculated upon the basis of the subsistence level of the labourer, so that the labourer does not share the profit made on the market price which goes to the owners of the means of production while, in fact, the labourers should own the instruments so that the whole value of the commodity can go to the labourer", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That statement again forms an intimate part of Marxist analysis of capitalism and his account of how the class struggle arises. It is particularly analysed in "Das Kapital", Volume I, Chapter 7. It occurs at other places too, but that is the standard volume.

Now, the statement "That the capitalist system must be overthrown nationally and internationally", what is your opinion on that statement? --- That statement occurs right through Marxist literature from the time of Marx and Engels to the time of Stalin. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels wrote, I am quoting page 59: "In short, the Communists everywhere supports every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. In all these movements they bring to the front as the leading question that is the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time. Finally they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of democratic parties of all countries. The Communists **disdain** to conceal their views (a) they openly declare that their ends can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing sociable conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at the Communist revolution, the



proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win" and in his very last book Stalin said that there will be not world peace and order until imperialism is destroyed.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Before we proceed, I wonder if it would be of some assistance to the Defence and, possibly, to the Court, if the quotations which are being referred to by my learned friend - which he is questioning this witness about - we would like to be informed whether are alleged to be taken from documents or speeches that have already been handed in because it seems to me that that must be the object. If so, I wonder whether it would be possible for the Crown as it refers to these quotations to the witness to indicate where it comes from in the Crown case? It might be of assistance to the Court, Sir, and certainly would be of assistance to us.

BY THE P.P. :

All I can say, Your Sorship, is that every one of these dicta are taken either from documents or from speeches on which evidence has already been led and where it has not already been led on it. To say where every specific one of these has been taken from would be an impossibility at this stage unless I start off with analysing the whole of the evidence. Every one of these statements will be covered in evidence.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

If my learned friend can't do it then, of course, he can't do it. I take it that at some stage when he has been able to gather the sources together he would be so kind as to assist the Defence by intimating to the Defence where it comes from. When my learned friend, however, refers to documents we would like to know whether that includes the books. When my learned friend in addressing your Worship says these

are either taken from documents or speeches, whether that includes books as well - books in the sense...

BY THE COURT :

Are they from text books?

BY THE P.P. :

No, they were not taken from text books. They were taken from speeches or from documents ...

MR. BERRANGE :

I am not making any accusations against my learned friend. I only wanted to know from the point of view of clarity.

BY THE P.P. :

I think, Your Worship, it is impossible for me to go and indicate where these specific items come from. That would be part of the Crown's argument after the case is closed - that is an analysis of the evidence. We are in the course of drawing up such a schedule.

BY THE COURT :

It should be made available to the Defence, I think.

BY THE P.P. :

I don't know, Sir. After all said and done it would be argument. Unless there is an objection raised to the points that they have not appeared in the evidence.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

It is perfectly apparent now what the attitude of the Crown is now, Sir. Quite apparently the Defence will have to seek its own remedy. It is perfectly apparent that the Crown in presenting this case hopes in some way or another to take the Defence by surprise, but I think we will be able to meet that type of tactics coming from the Crown, Sir.

BY THE P.P. :

I must object to those remarks.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

The point is at the present moment it is a complete impos-

sibility for any one of us and if I may say so, with respect, including Your Worship, to be able to say in regard to each and every quotation my learned friend is referring to this witness where it comes from, or whether it has ever been given in evidence either in the form of writing - that is in documentary form - in the form of some verbal expression and the context in which it was given. Now that being the case, after consultation with my learned leader, Mr. Rosenberg and Counsel, we may find it of course necessary to challenge the relevance of every quotation which my learned friend refers this witness to on the basis of suggesting to the Court that until such time as the Crown can clearly and decisively indicate to the Court that such evidence has in fact been put in either in documentary or in verbal form, it obviously cannot be relevant to the Crown case. Now we don't want to do that and quite apparently when I raised this matter in the first instance it was for the purpose of seeking - I make no bones about it - a concession from the Crown - a privilege from the Crown - a little bit of assistance from the Crown, and the Crown in due course is going to compile a schedule it seems from what my learned friend for the Crown says, indicating where each and every one of these quotations comes from. It would have been of assistance, of course, to the Defence and to the Court, I take it, too if the Crown had provided the Defence with a schedule in advance so that we could know what case we have got to meet. If my learned friend doesn't do so, I can't ask your Worship to force him to do so. I can only protest in the strongest terms at this method of conducting the proceedings on the part of the Crown.

BY THE COURT :

I would say Mr. Prosecutor, that as you are basing your questions on the evidence that you have and though perhaps Mr. Berrange's criticism is justified to some extent, you want to give the assurance, I take it, that it is no deliberate

tactic on your part to leave the Defence and the Court in the dark as to where these quotations come from. If that is so, then I understand your objection and Mr. Berrange owes you an apology.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

No, Sir, assuredly I will accept it. I never suggested it was a tactic to put in quotations which in fact have no substance. That is not my suggestion.

BY THE COURT.

You have suggested that it seems to be a deliberate tactic on the part of the Crown to leave the Defence in the dark.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

No, no Sir, what I said to Your Worship was that my learned friend will be in possession - obviously he has completed his schedule of sufficient dicta to enable him to acquaint both Your Worship and me with the sources of these quotations. My learned friend says he is not going to do that until such time as he addresses the Court though he may be in possession of this a long time beforehand. In reply to that I said it would appear therefore, that my learned friend is endeavouring to take the Defence by surprise in the sense that he doesn't present this to the Defence until he opens his closing address.

BY THE COURT :

I may say that I understood that the Prosecutor is not at the moment in possession thereof...

BY MR. BERRANGE :

But I understand he is never prepared to do so. It was for that reason that I say this is a tactic to take the Defence by surprise.

BY THE COURT.:

That is what I think I understood you to say that you are not prepared to place all your cards on the table, Mr.

Prosecutor.

BY THE P.P.

Your Worship, I am prepared to draw up a schedule of every one of these points that I am going to put to this witness and I shall see that the quotation covering that point will be made available to the Court and the Defence, but not today, but in good time that will be made available both to the Court and to the Defence. I have nothing to hide. There is no such idea of any tactics to try and catch the Defence.

BY THE COURT :

Yes, I think the situation must be accepted.

BY MR. BERRANGE :

Yes, that is all I ask for and I am grateful if the Crown will do that.

BY THE P.P. :

I just want to mention something about the argument before the adjournment, Sir, it seems that I have conveyed the impression that the phrases that I have been putting to Professor Murray, have been taken word for word out of documents and speeches. That is not the position. The position is that these are what I think are Communist phrases, or phrases with Communist import and I intend to classify the documents and the evidence in accordance with these various points that I put to him. As I have said, I will make available to the Court and to the Defence my effort so as to give them an indication of what I am doing. I did not mean then that everyone of these phrases used word by word by Accused or in documents. I don't know whether I fail to make myself understood.

BY THE COURT :

You are going to apply the dicta in the evidence which has been given to the various documents and speeches?

BY THE P.P. :

That is so, Sir.

BY MR. ROSENBERG :

Before there is any ambiguity or misunderstanding am I correct now I ask the Crown to correct me if I am wrong, in assuming that what the Crown is now doing is to extract through the testimony of Professor Murray what are common phrases or statements of Communist teachings or propaganda, and at a later stage the Crown will endeavour to satisfy the Court that phrases in documents and statements in documents read of course in the context of the document, fall within the general statement that these are Communist phrases and therefore that these documents are Communistic. Is that the position.

BY THE P.P. :

That is so, Your Worship, My offer to make available my first efforts still stands. I will make it available to both the Court and the Defence.

THE P.P. CONTINUES :

The next dictum, Professor, is "Advocating the centralisation and ownership of all instruments of production in the hands of the state", what is your opinion on that? --- The question asked, refers to a proposal that Communist policy makes, about what it will do when the revolution has taken place. It proposes to centralise the ownership of the instruments of production which is now in private hands into the hands of the state. Again it is an argument which recurs frequently in Communist literature. I will read from page 45 from the Communist Manifesto, Emil Burns Edition, page 45: "The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations. No wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas. But let us have done with bourgeois objectives of Communism, we have seen the first test in the revolution by the working class to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class to win the battle of

democracy. The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, that is of the proletariat organised as a ruling class and so to impede the total or productive forces as rapidly as possible".

The next dictum is "Teaching that industry should be controlled by the workers or by a people's government"? --- That argument also runs through Communist literature, it comes both in the Communist Manifesto intervening literature and the passage I should like to read is from the Communist International Programme, the Comintern Programme, my Edition page 994 to 995. The heading is "Industry, Transports and Communication Services under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Expropriation of the Expropriators". (a). "The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation, of all large private capitalist undertakings, factories, works, mines and electric power stations and the transference of all State and Municipal enterprises to the Soviet. (b). The confiscation and proletarian nationalisation of private capital, railway, waterway, automobile and air transport services, commercial and passenger air fleets and the transference of all State and Municipal transport services to the Soviet. The confiscation of proletarian nationalisation of private capitalist communication services, telegraphs, telephones and radios and a transfer of State and Municipal communication services to the Soviet. Organisation of workers, management of industry, the establishment of state organs for the management of industry with provision for close participation of the trade unions in this work of management. Appropriate functions to be guaranteed for the factory and workers council." That I think, covers that.

Now, the next one is "Teaching that imperialism has reached the stage where also financial power of located in the hands of a small section of the people such as banks and

holding companies"? --- Imperialism is best analysed in Communist literature by Lenin in his book on "Imperialism". I'll give you the exact title of the book in a minute. The title is "Imperialism is the Highest stage of Capitalism". I read from Chapter 7, my text page 688-689. The heading of the chapter is "Imperialism as a Special Stage of Capitalism".

"We must now try to draw certain conclusions to sum up what has been said about imperialism. Imperialism emerged as a development and direct continuation of the fundamental properties of capitalism in general, but capitalism became capitalistic imperialism only at a definite very high stage of its development when certain of its fundamental properties have begun to change into their opposites when the features of a period of transition from capitalism to a higher social economic system had begun to take shape and reveal themselves all along the line. Economically, fundamental in this process is the replacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is a fundamental property of capitalism and of commodity production generally. Monopoly is a direct opposite of the competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our very eyes, creating large scale production and squeezing out small-scale production, leading to such a concentration of production of capital that monopoly has been and is the result, cartells, syndicates and trusts and, merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, manipulating thousands of millions and at the same time the monopolies which have sprung from free competition do not eliminate it but exists alongside of it and over it, thereby giving rise to a number of very acute and bitter antagonisms, pointless friction and conflicts. Monopoly is a transition from capitalism to a higher order. If it were necessary to give a positive definition of imperialism, we should have to say that imperialism is the



monopoly stage of capitalism, such a definition would include the essential points for, on the one hand finance capital is bank capital of the few biggest monopolist heads, merged with the capital of the monopolist combined with industrialists. On the other hand the division of the world is in transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unoccupied by any capitalist powers to a colonial policy of one of monopolistic possession of the territories of the world which has been completely divided up".

The next dictum, "Teaching that banks shall be transferred to the people", what is your opinion on that? --- That is a Communist statement contained in argument - a Communist position contained both in "Imperialism" by Lenin and in other documents. I will read from the Communist International Programme, page 996, my Edition. The section has to do with the policy of Communism under trades and credits. "(a). The proletarian nationalisation of private banks, the entire gold reserves, all securities, deposits, etc. to be transferred to the proletarian state. The proletarian state should take over State, Municipal etc. banks. (b). The centralisation of all banking, all the nationalised big banks to be subordinated to the central state bank".

The next dictum, "Teaching that capitalism is exploitation of man by man and that an employer is an exploiter", what is your opinion on that? --- That doctrine is scientifically proved in "Das Kapital", the later work, but it is briefly stated in the Communist Manifesto and is indeed the basis of the argument of the Manifesto. I read from page 25, my Edition, of the Communist Manifesto. "The bourgeoisie historically has played a most revolutionary part. The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his natural

superiors and has left no other methods between man and man than naked self-interest and callous cash payment. It has ground the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value and in place of a numberless indefeatable, chanceless freedoms, has set up their single unconscionable freedom, free trade. In one word for exploitation by religious and political illusions, the bourgeoisie has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation".

That next is the dictum, "Teaching that the workers are oppressed by the bourgeois or capitalist class", what is your opinion on that? --- That is also an intimate part of Communist doctrine and of the Communist analysis of the capitalist economics. There are many references. That statement contains a Communist teaching, which is central to the Communist analysis of capitalist economics. There are numerous references. I would refer the Court to Communist Manifesto, my Edition pages 25 to 30. It is rather long to read, it takes some time to follow their argument. It is to be found in the Communist Manifesto.

Now, the next one is "Teaching that under capitalist system every worker is converted into a paid wage labourer", what is your opinion? --- This doctrine also follows on the argument of Das Kapital of Communist analysis of capitalist economics. It is also stated in the Communist Manifesto, a very brief sentence. It occurs on page 26 of my Edition. It reads, "The bourgeoisie has clipped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage labourer".

The next one is "Teaching that the worker has nothing to lose but his chains"? --- The phrase is a well-known phrase which comes from the Communist Manifesto. The concluding two

sentences of the Manifesto read : "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions, that the ruling classes tremble at the Communist Revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, they have a world to win".

The next dictum is "Teaching that under capitalism personal work is resolved into exchange value expressed in terms of cash payment"? --- It is the argument, expressed in books - in Volume I of "Das Kapital", Chapters 6 and 7, I believe, to show that in the capitalist system the worker is not paid according to the value of the commodity he produces but the worker has been separated from the ownership of the instruments of production, so that he sells only his labour energy. The result of that is that the worker is not an end unto himself, but he is simply, as regards the capitalist system, exchange value.

Now, the next dictum is "Teaching that the proletariat or workers should be raised to the position of the ruling class"? --- That statement occurs in very much of Communist literature. It is part of the tactics that the worker should be raised to the ruling class to establish the intermediate period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist Manifesto expresses that - Page 37, Burns Edition of the Communist Manifesto. The whole argument there is concerned with that. The sentence which illustrates it is this : "The immediate aim of the Communists is the same of all other proletarian parties, formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political powers by the proletariat".

The next one is "Teaching that there should be a close relationship between the workers' organisations, trade unions and the liberatory movement"? --- This statement expresses the tactics which are prescribed for Communist Organisations in the Communist International Programme. I am reading from page

1038 of the Burns Edition. There are other examples too, but this one will do. "The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfilment of the general task of winning over the masses presupposes in their turn systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass proletarian organisations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organisation. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defence of the interest of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organised workers over to the side of the Party".

The next one is "Advocating the creation of a revolutionary international and the international solidarity of the working class"? --- What again is a tactic prescribed in the Comintern Programme for Communist organisation. There are several pages devoted to it. I will read pages 984-5 in the Burns Text. The heading under which this paragraph comes is, "The ultimate aim of the Communist International - World Communism". "The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by world system of Communism. Communist society, the basis of which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradiction of the capitalist system which threatens to degrade and destroy the human race". I perhaps should say that that is the beginning of the argument which goes on for several pages towards establishing international solidarity and unity of the working class.

The next dictum is "Teaching that under capitalist economics the world has been divided into two sections, the exploiting nations and the exploited colonial people"? --- That is a doctrine which is preached, especially in our day. I think the best reference I can give to it is Stalin's "Economic

Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.P." published in 1952 which is available to Court and this doctrine is the basis of Stalin's argument in that text.

Now, the next tactic is "Russia must be defended at all times and remain the homeland of the revolution, what is your view on that? --- There are several statements which support this statement in Communist literature. Stalin, when he faced the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made a speech in which he said that Russia would support the proletarian movement in outside countries, as being the homeland of the socialist revolution. The doctrine occurs also in the Comintern Programme. I will read page 1022, Burns Edition of 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 achievements and a most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and defend it against the attack of the capitalist powers by all means in its power". It follows a quotation from Lenin "The world political situation has made a dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself, the Soviet movement of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other". The text goes on: "In the colonies and 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 governments with the slogan of 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and alliance

to the U.S.S.R. In the colonies and particularly the colonies of the imperialist countries attacking the U.S.S.R. every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of 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".

BY MR. SLOVO :

Before the Witness proceeds, Sir, could he indicate what page he was quoting from when he referred to Stalin's 19th Congress speech.

BY THE WITNESS :

Stalin's 19th Congress speech - the reports are available.

BY MR. SLOVO :

I understood the witness said that he quoted. Would he indicate what he was quoting from?

BY THE WITNESS :

I was not quoting, I was referring....

BY THE P.P. :

I beg your Worship's pardon. He was quoting from Comintern Programme, Burns, Page 1022.

BY MR. SLOVO :

I think the previous quotation to support this proposition. He referred firstly to a speech by Stalin at the 19th Congress, and then he went on to the Comintern Programme.

BY THE WITNESS :

I did not quote Stalin's speech. I referred to it and said that he had said so and so at that speech and then I said I would read this particular passage from the Communist International Programme.

BY MR. SLOVO :

I was under the impression, Sir ....

BY THE COURT :

He referred to Stalin's statement and then he went on to

quote from Burns' Edition, page 1022.

BY MR. SLOVO :

I was under the impression, Sir, that he referred to a certain paragraph in the speech by Stalin to support his proposition. I may be ...

BY THE COURT :

He made a general statement reflecting on the dictum made by the Prosecutor.

BY MR. SLOVO :

I see, he was not quoting. I wonder whether the witness would be of assistance to the Court by indicating where one could find that reference, if he could, at this stage.

BY THE P.P. :

I am sorry, I think one of the exhibits contain the speech by Stalin's at the, I think, 1952 Congress.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. CONTINUED :

The next dictum is "Teaching that a revolutionary change-over is desirable, inevitable and imminent"? --- This argument occurs several times in Communist literature, it is perhaps best expressed in Part I of the Comintern Programme which describes the process which is inevitable, eminently desirable change-over by the revolution. I think the reference is to the whole of Part I of the Comintern Programme.

The next one is "Advocating the forcible overthrow of existing social conditions"? --- That is a doctrine which runs through Communist literature from the beginning to the end. It was maintained by Stalin also, but I will read from the Communist Manifesto, Burns Edition, page 59. I have read this passage before. I will read it again. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims, they openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions, that the ruling classes tremble at the Communist Revolution. The Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains, and the world to win."

The next dictum is: "Teaching that contact must be made with youth associations, women's societies and trade unions"? --- That forms especially part of the prescription of tactics to be used in Communist Organisations which is contained in the Comintern Programme. I will read first from page 1033, Burns Edition of the Comintern Programme. "In order that it may fulfil its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself to accomplish the following fundamental strategic aims. Extended influence over the majority of the members of its own class, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this, the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in a broad mass proletarian organisation. Soviet, trade unions, factory councils, co-operative societies, sports organisations and cultural organisations. It is particularly important for this purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to capture the trade unions, the genuine mass working class organisations, closely bound up with the every day struggle of the working class, Etc." and I read from page 1038, Burns Edition of the Comintern Programme. It is a repetition of the same paragraph I have read. I can give the Court the exact reference a bit later.

The next one is : "Teaching that action should be militant"? --- The description for tactics and method of work emphasises the importance that the organisation should be closely united and militant. I am reading from the Comintern Programme, Burns Edition, page 1037. "The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to rules of war. It presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential condition precedent for this form of action, is the organisation of the broad masses into militant units which, by their very form embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers, councils of workers,



deputies, .... and intensified revolutionary work in the Army and the Navy."

The next one is "Teaching subversion"? --- Communist writers have at various times said straight out that the method by which the Party has to achieve its aim and its revolution, cannot be constitutional but may be - it must be unconstitutional and illegal at times. Engels laid the foundation for that argument in the "Anti-Fury" (?). It is a long argument. It occurs in "Anti-Fury", my Edition, pages 247 to 248. Unless the Court wishes me to read that section, I will not read it.

Is there something in Lenin about it? --- Lenin has spoken as follows about it, in writing about the tactical work of Communism, in "Left-Wing Communism". My Edition, page 863. Lenin writes as follows : "Undoubtedly, the leaders of opportunism will resort to every trick of bourgeois diplomacy to the aid of bourgeois Governments, the Police and the Court in order to prevent Communists from getting into trade unions, to force them out by every means, to make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, to insult, to hound and persecute them. It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice and even if need be to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvre and illegal methods, evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs". The point is repeated, the point about illegal methods and unconstitutional methods, immoral methods, is repeated in Comintern Programme. The Comintern Programme has the following statement on the method of activity to achieve the change-over. Burns Edition page 1040-1041. "The Communist International must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the danger of imperialist wars, the ruthless exposure of social Chauvinism, of social

imperialism, of fascist phrase-mongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plan of the bourgeoisie. Propaganda in favour of the principal slogan of the Communist International. Everyday organisational work in connection with this, in the course of which constitutional methods must unfailingly be combined with unconstitutional methods. Organised work in the Army and Navy. Such must be the activity of the Communist Party in this connection. The fundamental slogan of the Communist International in this connection must be the following : to convert imperialist war into civil war".

What are those slogans you have just mentioned? --- Slogans change from time to time... oh, these.

They must make use of the following slogans? --- "Convert imperialist wars into civil wars; defeat the home imperialist government; defend the U.S.S.R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounded duty of all sections of the Communist International and every one of its members to carry on propaganda for these slogans to expose the socialist hypocrisy and the socialistic camouflage of the League of Nations and constantly to keep to the front the imperialism of the war 1914-1918".

The next one is "Teaching that to lay hold of a State machine is not enough"? --- The argument there recurs several times in Communist literature. It is best expressed, I think, in Lenin's "State and Revolution", Chapter I, - it is a longish piece to read. The argument is that it is not enough for the revolution to seize hold of the institutions of the state, but that they must be broken, changed and the dictatorship of the proletariat must be established.

I wish you would return to the question, the one teaching that "contact must be made with youth associations and women's associations". The quotation that you mentioned was in Comintern Programme, Burns Edition, page 1039. Will you just see if you can get it? --- I have a note here in my private

notes.

Nevermind, we will return to that later. I want to ask you a question, yesterday I asked you a question about certain Directives issued by the World Federation of Trade Unions, if I remember correctly, and you said that you would make it available to Court? --- I have the reference to the Directive here, shall I read the Directive?

Please? --- "World Federation of Trade Unions Directive of the 9th December, 1950 - To acquaint all working people with the decisions of the Second World ... (?) Congress. To organize evermore resolute action by the working people against the transport and production of armaments, to draw up and put into effect a plan for a powerful unity movement to hinder the re-armament programme; to link closely the struggle for peace with the struggle for satisfying the urgent and vital demands of the working people; to extend and strengthen the peace committees and enterprises to make them more active and to establish them where they do not exist". That is the one Directive. There was a Directive from Vienna, a Directive from the World Federation of Trade Unions, Vienna, 3rd to the 6th July, 1951. "Resolution on the Struggle for Peace". "All trade union directives are directed to (a) activate the struggle for peace and draw into it all men and women, industrial and factory workers, intellectuals and other sections of the population. (b) Consider as a primary task the struggle against production, loading, unloading and transport of arms on a basis of as wide as possible working class unity and (c) take an active part in collecting signatures for the Five Power Peace Tract Appeal". Those are the Directives I could not remember yesterday.

The page reference is 1038. It doesn't start off with the subject under discussion, but will you please read from the top of page 1038, it leads to the question? --- This is Com-

Communist International, Burns, page 1038. When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist Parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday need of the toilers and combine them with the fundamental task of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time advance transitional slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations, for example workers' control of industry, etc. To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favour merging with the capitalist system of organisation. Partial demands and slogans form generally an essential part of correct tactics, but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands on transitional slogans, on principle, however, is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for in effect such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. United front tactics also occupy an important place in the tactics of the Communist Party throughout the whole pre-revolutionary period as a means towards achieving success in the struggle against capitalism, towards the class mobilisation of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders. The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfilment of the general task of winning over the masses presupposes in their turn systematic and persistent work in the trade unions and other mass proletarian organisations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organisation. Only by constant and persistent work in the trade unions and the factories for the steadfast energetic defence of the interests of the workers, together with the ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, would it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and

and to win the industrially organised workers over to the side of the Party".

BY MR. COAKER :

Before the evidence is concluded, Sir, for completeness, I wonder if I may ask the witness to indicate the source from which he quoted these Directives of the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1950.

BY THE WITNESS :

The source is Stephen Kinghorn, "The Communist Conspiracy", pages 132 and 127.

BY THE P.P. : NO FURTHER QUESTIONS.

THE DEFENCE APPLIES FOR THEIR CROSS-EXAMINATION TO STAND OVER.

THE COURT ADJOURNS TO 22.5.57.

COURT RESUMES 22/5/57.

APPEARANCES AS BEFORE:

MR. COAKER ADDRESSES COURT :

Accused Absent : Same as on 21/5/57.  
Medical Certificates in respect  
to 131, G. Hurbans and 149,  
Debi Singh handed in.  
In addition : No. 50, Nathie and No. 93 G.  
Peake; Medical Certificates to  
be handed in later.  
No. 103 Rev. Gawe and 32 Mandela,  
granted leave of absence to  
visit dentist.

NATHANIEL SOGONI, duly sworn.

EXAMINATION BY P.P. (MR. LIEBENBERG) :

You have previously given evidence in this case? --- Yes.

On the 11th September, 1955, did you attend a meeting of  
the African National Congress, that is of the New Brighton  
Branch, which was held in the Rendezvous Hall, Highfield Road,  
Korsten, Port Elizabeth? --- Yes.

Did you make notes of speeches delivered at that meeting?  
--- Yes.

Have you those notes in front of you? --- Yes.

Did you record what time the meeting started? --- Yes.

What time? --- 2.10 p.m.

And did you record the attendance? --- Yes.

As what? --- Approximately 120.

Who acted as Chairman? --- C. Mayekiso.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes. (113).

What did he say at this meeting? --- All the people  
entering the hall to produce their membership cards and sit  
down quietly. Today as we have previously announced we  
have the general meeting which is now a long time since we  
last had. We are suffering a lot in New Brighton because we  
can't get a hall to hold our general meetings and discuss  
about our organisation and that has been caused by laws formu-  
lated during 1910 by Europeans. According to the constitution  
the general meetings must be held once a month and give a

report to the members. The Congress is not yet a recognised organisation by the Government and it looks upon it as illegal. As a result of these laws the African National Congress was formed during 1912. During 1912 the Congress was known by few African people but most of them did not realise how bad laws were. It was only in 1952 when the Congress showed its opposition against the laws formulated in the absence of African people in Parliament. There are certain organisations who are also struggling for freedom, but the African National Congress is the only political organisation that will free the people in this country. When the time comes that all the African people will be members of the African National Congress. The African National Congress will be able to be represented in Parliament such as United Party, Labour Party and others. The African National Congress is the only organisation that is taking a lead in the struggle for freedom of people. The people must be determined that the African National Congress is the only party that is going to rule this country and the African National Congress will be a party like the United Party. Our struggle is advancing. Now we are facing the struggle of boycotting schools and some people are saying that people like Mayekiso have no children. In the struggle of boycotting, we are still expecting more children to join those who have boycotted schools because we in the African National Congress are fighting to save all the oppressed people. All the people will be admitted in the New Africa, even those who are spies. In New Brighton many people have answered to the call of boycotting schools and we are nearer to victory.

Who was the next speaker? --- The Secretary Executive African National Congress Report given by T. Tshume.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes (123).

What did he say? --- Since this Executive Committee African National Congress was elected, it has held nineteen

meetings. F. Qiko one of the Executive members died. F. Ntsangani has been suspended for using the African National Congress Youth League money. Mr. Mqotha who is the Secretary of M. Plan and M. Nazo chairman, have been put in the Executive Committee. F. Qiko died after he had been suspended in the African National Congress. The City Council has refused to allow the New Brighton Branch African National Congress to hold the meetings in the halls. On the 1/5/55 the Executive Committee decided to hold a meeting at Emloteni Square, New Brighton, and that decision was only divulged in the morning of the 1/5/55. The speakers who addressed that meeting was charged. The Executive was making a test case, and on the 8/5/55 the meeting was dispersed by the police and they were disappointed because they didn't get a chance of shooting the Africans. The Executive Committee thanks all the members who take the trouble of attending meetings at Veeplaats. The members who have renewed their membership cards this year are 1,678 and the rest have not done so. As regards the M. Plan the Executive Committee decided to elect a sub-committee to be responsible for the Mr. Plan. M. Nazo is the Chairman, T. Mqotha the Secretary. The Committee has also elected Action Working Educational Council. A.A. Tsekeletsa Chairman, Kyesi Secretary. The children who have boycotted the schools meet everyday under the Cultural Club. The money that has been collected is over £70 which is aimed at supplying the children with refreshments. The African National Congress Youth League has taken part in taking down the names of children who have boycotted schools. The parents are requested to send their children to join the African National Congress Youth League. The African National Congress Womens League is taking great interest in the struggle. The Executive Committee thanks the volunteers for their work in the boycott struggle. He then informed



the audience that the Cape Provincial Conference was held in this hall this year. The boycott of Verwoerd schools is progressing and there are now over seven hundred children in the roll but others have not brought their names. The Native Advisory Board, New Brighton adopted a resolution at its meeting to deport the leaders of the African National Congress and this motion was moved by Matthews. Some volunteers were arrested and convicted for preaching about the boycott and the Executive Committee took up the case to the High Court. The working Action Council for the Congress of the People is thanked by the Executive Committee for its work in making Congress of the People a success in drawing the Freedom Charter. The Executive Committee appeals to workers to join the Trade Union and also appeals to people to buy the New Age. The Executive Committee is also watching the City Council on its dismissal of the headmen and introducing the Bantu Authorities Act. It is obvious that the Nationalist Party is all out to destroy the African National Congress. Greetings from banned leaders. Lettaka, R. Matji, Dr. Njongwe, A. P. Mati and G. Tshume and these heroes are still with us in the struggle.

You mentioned the names of T. Mqotha. Do you know such a person? Who was connected with the African National Congress? --- Yes.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes. (118).

Do you know a person by the name of F. Ntsangani associated with the African National Congress Youth League? --- Yes.

Is he one of the accused? --- Yes. (121).

Will you continue with the reading of your notes?----

Chairman : I won't allow any discussion about things concerning the late F. Qiko which he may have done wrongly while he was in the Executive Committee. A rising from the report made by T. Tshume, an unknown native male said :

What did Qiko do in the African National Congress that he was suspended from the organisation. The Chairman ruled that this question must not be answered. The same person reported that the children who have been taken for sports are being assaulted by those people who have been appointed to take care of the children who boycotted schools. M. Nazo said the Chairman must put it clear that the M. Plan must be obeyed by the members of the African National Congress. C. Mayekiso said all the members of the African National Congress have to carry out the decisions taken by the African National Congress. B. Pendl proposed that an application must be made to the Bay Company for buses to convey passengers to Veeplaats and of which a failure the buses must be boycotted. F. Matomela..

Is that a male or a female? --- I am not in a position to say, whether it is F. Matomela's husband, or Florence Matomela. Because there is no indication in my notes to that effect.

Do you know a person by the name of Florence Matomela? --- I know Florence Matomela.

Is she one of the accused? --- Yes (111).

Is there also another Matomela connected with the African National Congress? --- Yes.

What is the name? -- F. stands for Fofi Matomela, the husband of the accused.

Will you continue? --- F. Matomela : It appears to me as if there is a misunderstanding in between the Women's League and the African National Congress. T. Mqotha said..

Before you go further. Do you know what Florence Matomela's position is in the African National Congress? --- Florence Matomela was a member of the African National Congress and also a member of the African National Congress Women's League.

Was she just a member of the Women's League? --- She was to my knowledge a Committee Member of the Women's League.

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

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Location:- Johannesburg*

©2011

***LEGAL NOTICES:***

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

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

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