

often referred to their doctrine as socialist. Page 8, the analysis of colonialism is in line with the modern Communist teaching. It implies firstly Lenin's analysis of imperialism and the liberatory movement and secondly it implies world communism. Page 9 contains the usual analysis of the present international situation on Communist principles, ending on the Communist theory that imperialism means war, Communism means peace. Page 12 to 13 is an interpretation of South African history in terms of Marxism. Page 15 identifies racial feelings with the class struggle doctrine of Marx. It contains an analysis of race relations in South Africa in terms of Marxism. Page 18, on national liberation and socialism, the writer argues that in South Africa the working class is dominant and must therefore assume the leadership for national liberation and that therefore a class struggle must develop. That is all in line with Communist propaganda and doctrines.

A. 9 is a document entitled the "Significance of World Youth Day"? --- I think this document is sheer Communism. I should note firstly the point that the Great Chinese People throws off the shackles of feudalistic and imperialistic bondage. Also that the youth of Africa cannot but salute the great victories of the people of Indo-China who like the people of Korea have routed the imperialist bandits. Also a statement "Let us think of our young brothers who daily surrounded by the imperialists in Kenya, in Malaya and Guatamala".

BY THE P.P. :

Will you just refer to that quotation in the document itself? --- The middle of the document, I am reading from the document : "Let us think of our young brothers who are daily murdered by the imperialists in Kenya, in Malaya and Guatamala". Finally, another example of the statement "The days of the imperialists are numbered in this world", and so forth. All that is in direct line with current Communist propaganda over the world.

The next document is A. 309. "No Easy Walk to Freedom, Africa our beloved motherland" by M. R. Mandela. --- This document is I believe straight from the shoulder Communism in its theoretical background as well as in its urge to action. On page 1(s), the introduction, the document is associated with the liberatory movement. The writer is referred to as a "gallant and courageous fighter for lasting peace and freedom". The phrase "lasting peace and freedom" was a slogan of the Cominform policy. That is the introduction, introducing the writer. Page 1(b) the writer writes - I am not quoting - in the main piece the piece the non-European movements are associated with the liberatory colonial movement. Phrases are used which come from Communism, such as militant and uncompromising band of comrades in arms - "Militant and uncompromising band of comrades in arms". The interpretation of the political situation in South Africa in terms of Marxist theory that liberatory forces stand opposed to the forces of reaction and the basis of the whole argument is a Marxist analysis of the class struggle and the defeat of capitalism. On page 4 the writer rejects without reservation and compromise the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Bill and the Bantu Education Act, and interprets them in terms of Marxist theory of capitalism and fascism. Page 5, the writer then associates the current form of policy in South Africa with the defeat of the Whites in China Indonesia, Korea, etc. etc. and give a non-deviation interpretation of the international world situation. The world situation is explained in terms of the struggle between the forces of liberation and the forces of reaction. I quote from page 5 "If the ruling circle seek to maintain their position by such inhuman methods then a clash between the forces of freedom and those of reaction is certain. The grave plight of the people compels us to resist to the death the stinking policies of the gangsters that rule the country". And again, "The day of reckoning between the forces of freedom and those

of reaction is not very far off". Page 6, the methods to consolidate the position of Congress are discussed and actually urged. A typically Communist phrase is "Here in South Africa as in many parts of the world a revolution is maturing". Also on page 7, "We must give our organisation the striking power of a real militant mass organisation". On page 8 the call to action appears in the concluding words, "The way of preparation for action lies in our routing out all impurity and indiscipline from our organisation and making it the bright and shining instrument that will lead the way to Africa's freedom". The document is intimately associated with Communist forms of propaganda.

B. 79 is the next document, "South Africa's Way Forward" by Moses Kotane.--- It is quite clear that the writer of this document is thoroughly acquainted with Communist literature and accepts Communist doctrine. On page 4 the analysis of the South African situation is on Communist lines. There are three points which I will read. "A brief analysis of this structure shows that it is characterised by - this structure is the South African structure - (1) the predominance of the financial and gold mining group in alliance with the big farming interests and closely linked with British and American imperialism. (2) The amassing by these interests of vast super profits derived from the exploitation of the non-White members who are regarded purely as sources of cheap labour. They are deprived of land and democratic rights, held in a state of colonial subjection and terror and deliberately denied access to legislation and the benefits of civilisation. (3) The granting of numerous concessions and monopolies for example, of political representation, commercial opportunity, skilled trades and professions to the European middle and working classes with a view to buying their support and maintaining some stability for this top heavy structure". That is in line with Communist criticism of the structure, the capitalist society. Page 4 to 5 - the reference

there, the liberatory movement and the argument that capitalism turns to oppression and fascism is directly on Communist lines.

On page 6, those remarks occurred about the Freedom Charter. Firstly that it is against "Fascism" and secondly the term "democracy" from the text in this context must be interpreted in the Communist sense of democracy. On page 8 there are proposals and methods to build up independent trade unions. On page 8 and 9 it is proposed to organize the rural areas and to make use of youth and women movements. All this is in line with Communist tactics. On page 14 the argument clearly aims at a new form of state. Page 15 there is a reference to "A Peoples' Democratic State" which is on Communist pattern and should probably be interpreted in the light of a Peoples' Democracy of the satellite states. I should point out that Georgi Dimitrov some-time Prime Minister of Bulgaria and some-time general secretary to the Comintern said this about the Government of the popular Peoples' Democracies. I quote from Seeth and Watson, page 260, "The Soviet regime and the popular democratic regime are two forms of one and the same system of government. Both are based on the dictatorship of the proletariat". I believe this document has to be interpreted on Communist lines.

The next document is S.D.M. 60. "Symposium on the National Question, What are National Groups of South Africa", contributors L. Forman, K. A. Jordaan, Ngwenya and Dr. H. J. Symons. issued by the Liaison Committee of the South African Club and the Forum Club, June 1954. --- In the foreword of this document the word "democratic" is used in a Communist sense. On page 1 and 2 the writer discusses the problem of nationalism in terms of Marx's theories of National Liberation, the struggle against capitalism, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. On page 3 by the same writer the South African situation is summed up in terms of a class struggle; reference is made to a national liberatory movement which will establish "A Peoples' Republic" as in China. The underlying argument which is advanced here

that cultural groups must each have its own territory is the same as Stalin's argument, in Marxism and the National and Colonial question. In other articles by Jordaan the argument and problems are much the same as those discussed by Stalin in Marxism and National and Colonial question. He urges the unity of the people of Southern Africa in a democratic liberatory movement. Later "Cultural autonomy and secession" may be granted to any group. Page 4 to 5, envisages in the light of India and China a complete revolution in South Africa made by the African proletariat. Page 5 "The democratic struggle will therefore be uninterrupted and permanent in character by transforming the political revolution into a social revolution and reconstructing society of socialist principles. This task will greatly be facilitated not only by the presence of the weak and insignificant local bourgeoisie but by toppling capitalist systems on a world scale that is the main conclusion we draw from this analysis". That sentence is in direct line with Communist analysis. In the next article Thomas Ngwenya pleads for "A unified national liberatory movement", that is Communist terminology. Beyond this there is nothing specifically Communistic. In the last article, the writer accepts the Marxist analysis of imperialism and colonialism as bases of discussion as well as the policy of national liberation. All that is in line with Communist propaganda.

The next is document T. T. 88, it is a translation of the document - translated from a Native language. --- In this document the Marxist background is shown in the way the writer envisages the African struggle for liberty in terms of the Marxist interpretation of modern history. I may read a paragraph from page 3, which will illustrate the point. I quote "Karl Marx is now dead but he completes his work of showing the people the road of freedom. This road is leading towards freedom although it is thorny, narrow, and it has already been used by other nations such as Russia, China, etc. Those

nations answered to the call of Karl Marx and are prepared to come together and demand their freedom. Today these nations are free from slavery chains of other men who are determined to live on enslaving other people in the world. What is important and being anxious for by those free nations is to have this freedom gospel spread all over the world in our lifetime so that there should be no more fear of war break and oppressions and there should be only peace on the world according to the creation of God". The reference is clearly to Marx.

The next is document A. 94. "National Action Council of the Congress of the People - circular - no date. I may say it starts off "As a result of the historical call"? --- Page 1 of this document contains nothing that is not liberal, or ordinarily democratic. On page 2, line 10, the phrase National Liberation Organisation is used and that phrase, of course, comes from Lenin. This document will be shown to be part of traditional Communist strategy which is linked up with, firstly, other aspects of the activities of the National Action Council and secondly it is to be linked up in the tactics prescribed in the Comintern programme of 1928 which has since become a tradition in Communist activities. The Comintern Programme was adopted in 1928 at the 6th Congress of the Third International and the fifth part of it prescribed the tactics in detail which Communist parties must use under varying conditions, for example in the capitalist or colonial countries, where the revolutionary tide is in ebb or in flow. The passages in the Comintern programme which are relevant for the understanding of the Communist background of the National Action Council are the following. I quote per Communist International Programme 1928, : "The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat, presupposes the existence in every country of a compact

Communist Party hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralised and closely linked with the masses". The Programme then goes on to say that the Communist Party must persuade all classes of people, each according to its needs. Then going on to the tactics in detail, the Programme says : "When a revolutionary situation is developing the Party advances certain additional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation. The task of the Party is to utilise these minor everyday needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power".

"When the revolutionary tide is not rising, the Communist parties must advance partial slogans and demands that correspond to the everyday needs of the toilers and combine them with the fundamental task of a Communist International. The Communist Party must not, however, at such a time advance transitional slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations, for example slogans such as Workers Control of Industry. To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans 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 the revolutionary situation. A deviation of partial demands and transitional slogans on principle, however, is incompatible with the tactical principles of Communism, for in effect such repudiation condemns the Party in action and isolates it from the masses. United front tactics also occupy an important place in the tactics of the Communist Party throughout the revolutionary period as a means of achieving success in the struggle against capitalism, towards 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 winning over the masses, presupposes in their

turn systematic and persistent work in the Trade Unions and other mass proletariat organisations". I quote : "In championing universally the current everyday needs of the workers and the toilers generally, he utilises the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda and subordinating all partial tasks to be struggle of the Communist International advance partial demands and slogans should be made in the following spheres. In the sphere of labour, in the sphere of politics, in the sphere of world politics, the attitude of the U.S.S.R. and colonial revolution, the struggle against imperialism and systematic preparation for the fight against imperialistic wars, etc."

These are quotations from the Comintern Programme? --- From the Comintern Programme. I believe that this document - this is my comment - of the National Action Council can be shown to link up with the form of which Communist activity is taking under the new conditions that have arisen when it is prohibited by law, only by showing its connection with other similar organised activities and by showing its similarity to the tactics prescribed in the manifesto. I compare in this connection the concluding sentence of the National Action document in such a campaign as this, I read the concluding sentence : "In such a campaign as this, thousands of new active workers will rally to the support of those who have initiated and carried through the main burden of the campaign. New strength and new enthusiasm will grow in our ranks, making it possible for us to lead our people forward to the winning of freedom as set out in the Charter which our people will write and adopt".

The next document is A. 37, that is the Annual Report of the National Executive Committee to the 42nd Annual Conference of the African National Congress, held at Durban on the 16th to 19th December, 1954. --- The first address on page 1 follows the usual references to the forces of imperialism and colonialism and peace and liberation and joins up with the world wide move-

ment for peace. On page 2 there are references to national liberation and to fascism in South Africa. On page 3 it refers to freedom and democracy in connection with the Freedom Charter.

What is your comment on that? --- My comment on that is that terminology very closely suggest Communist influence and Communist propaganda. In Luthuli's Presidential address, page 3, it is said that Congress should establish relations between itself and Trade Union leaders and organisations and there is again a reference to world peace which is again in accordance with current Communist method of propaganda. In the report to the Conference there is a reference, page 1, to South African politics as fascism and the march to fascism which is Communist terminology. Page 3, the interpretation of the local situation in terms of Stalin's references to fascism occurs again. Page 4, there is reference to the creation of an anti-fascist front. Page 6, reference to the traditional interpretation of the contemporary situation as to imperialism and colonialism. The whole argument turns round this standpoint which is at present called the Moscow Lie. Page 14, contains suggestions that every member of Congress must have training in method and doctrine and this suggests direct Communist influence. Also paragraph 4, on drastic steps - on people who undermine the organisation and Paragraph 5, which deals with powerful youth situation. Instructions on Communist tactics would delay emphasis on these points. Page 15 associates the A.N.C. with the liberatory movement and page 15 also associates the Government with fascism and Hitler. Those are Communist factors in the first part of this document. The second part of the document is a memorandum on the Congress of the People submitted by the A.N.C. to the Conference of a sponsoring organisation, 1954. This document can be regarded, I believe, as indirectly Communist. Its argument on the face of it is liberal democratic, being based on an appeal to people's representation. If the person or body

associated with this document are in any way connected with Communism, this document can be regarded as in line with Communist tactics adapted to South Africa on the following points: (a) It is against the present form of Government institutions in South Africa, (b) the analysis of the South African political situation in paragraphs 2 and 3 is in line with the Communist anti-fascist jargon used in satellite countries. The word fascism is clearly implied although it is not used. (c) The frequent mention of "the people" is in line with current Communist jargon in satellite countries and in China. (d) The frequent use of the word "democracy" is also in line with Communistic language in new Communist countries. I have here again a repetition of a statement I made earlier. One is reminded of the statement made by the former Secretary General Dimitroff 1948 that "The Soviet regime and the popular democratic regime are two forms of one and the same system of government. Both are based on the dictatorship of the proletariat". And finally, (e), the liberal and democratic tone of the document may thus be regarded as in line with Communist tactics to use slogans suited to the conditions prevailing in the particular country.

The next document is C.P. 50. - it should be C. 41 - S.A. Congress of Democrats, Notes on the Political Situation by the National Executive Committee for Discussion at Conference. --- I believe that this document may be styled as out and out Communist. It is clearly written by a person or persons who was well-versed in Communist literature and who may have had some training in tactics. It should be remembered that Lenin and Stalin constantly maintained that knowledge of tactics must go hand in hand with the knowledge of doctrine. The argument of the document is based on the position that the South African situation is fascist, so I will first show the close identity of the remarks on fascism in the document with certain

passages in Marx and Lenin literature. Then I will make a selection of phrases on other points which will show a similar affinity to Communist literature. Firstly, the use of fascism. The analysis of the South African situation as being fascistic very clearly comes from a reading of the Marx ideology, from reading Marx' ideology into the South African situation. For example, firstly, in 1934 Stalin said that ... At the Congress of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, "This as a matter of fact explains the fact that the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors and the fact that they are driving the Communist Parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods in order to maintain their dictatorship. It is not surprising that fascism has now become the most fashionable commodity amongst bellicose bourgeois politicians. In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by social democracy which paved the way for fascism, it must be regarded as a symptom of the two weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old method of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy and as a consequence is compelled in its whole policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration. It must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the tense situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war". When the Comintern Programme discusses the crisis of capitalism in Part II we read, "The epoch of imperialism the sharpening of the class struggle and the close of the elements of civil war, particularly after the imperialist war,

led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism. Hence the adoption of new methods of administration. Under certain historical conditions the progress of the bourgeois imperialist, reactionary offensive assumed the form of fascism. In order to stabilize and perpetuate its rule, the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favour of the fascist system which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations. The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically marked by the national idea and by representation of the perfectionist, in reality the representation of the ruling class. The principle aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard, that is the Communist Section and the leading unit of the proletariat. The fascist method and the method of coalition with social democracy are not the methods usually employed in normal capitalist conditions. They are systems of the general capitalist crisis and are employed by the bourgeoisie in order to stem the advance of the evolution". The Programme then goes on to describe the inevitable downfall of fascism and capitalism. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the S.A. Congress of Democrats notes refer to these Communist statements. I'll go on to the second part of the analysis, namely the use of ideological phrases and words. Paragraph 1, "The ruthless oppressed and (?) common to all colonies of imperialism". This process of uprooting and oppression is described, firstly in the first part of the Communist Manifesto, on the last page of the first part and secondly in "Das Kapital", Volume I, Chapter 26, where occurs the passage which the writer of these Democratic Congress notes must have had in mind. It reads, "In the history of primitive accumulation all revolutions are epoch making and act as leaders for the capitalist class in the course of formation, but above all those moments when great masses of men are suddenly and forcibly torn from their

means of subsistence and hurled as free and unattached proletariats on the labour market, the expropriation of the agricultural producer of the peasant from the soil is the basis of the whole process. The history of this expropriation in different countries assumes different aspects and run through its various phases in different orders of succession and a different period". This statement from Das Kapital and the Communist Manifesto corresponds to the argument contained in the document contained in Paragraph 1. Paragraph 3 the statement occurs, I quote + "Parliamentary opposition has withered away." This is also a Communist theory. The process which is an important part of Marx' doctrine is referred to by Marx in the argument which Marx stated and Lenin developed, which is that an increasing concentration of capital takes place under capitalism, which means that political power flows to the hands of increasingly smaller groups until finally there is only the capitalist and the working class or proletariat group. The capital group then entrenches itself into parliament and at that stage of social evolution, only a violent revolution will take power from the ruling capitalist class. Lenin said that the downfall of fascism "the substitution of the proletarian state for the bourgeoisie state is impossible without a violent revolution," bit occurs in Lenin's "State of Revolution," Chapter 1, Page 19 and the argument also occurs in "Das Kapital", Volume 1. References are on hand to show that the Marxists believed this evolution against the capitalist parliament must be a violent revolution. A third indication connected with the statement "The parliamentary opposition has withered away" is found in Lenin's "State and Revolution", Chapter 1. Paragraph 4, the words occur there, I quote "The anti-fascist movement has now its heart outside of parliament". This is full-blooded Marx-Lenin-Stalin ideology and the reference can be found to show that the propaganda must be taken outside

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