

I take the document as a whole, and nothing that is said here about Mr. Hofmeyer really effects the interpretation of the two paragraphs I quoted, of the phrases I quoted.

CASE REMANDED TO THE 9TH NOVEMBER, 1959.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES ON THE 9TH NOVEMBER, 1959.APPEARANCES AS BEFORE.

ANDREW HOWSON MURRAY, under former oath;

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. MAISELS CONTINUED :

Professor Murray, I was about to ask you some questions this morning commencing with an article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica on fascism. You will remember that is one of the matters left over from last week. I understand that you have not yet had an opportunity fully of considering your notes and article in that connection?
--- No, I have not.

So you would like me to leave it over? --- I would be glad.

Certainly. But in the meanwhile, I would like to ask you some further questions on the extended use of the word fascism, having regard to your own evidence on that point? --- May I ask a question there. Your Lordships asked for a reference in connection with religion and the party and so on on Friday. I have the references here. Must I give them now or at a later stage?

Would you mind doing it a little bit later? We won't forget about it, because we have got to come back to it in connection with a number of documents. Now as I say, I want to ask you a number of questions relating to the extended use of the word fascism, and you will remember your evidence last week on this point. Do you know Professor Eric Walker? --- Yes.

He was at one time Professor of History at the University of Cape Town? --- Yes.

He is a Honourary Doctor of Literature of the Witwatersrand University? --- Yes.

An extremely eminent historian? --- Yes.

Do you know his book, A History of Southern Africa? --- Yes.

It is a standard work, published - first published in 1928 and this edition is 1957? --- Yes. 5

I am quoting it again not for the correctness of the facts, but for the use of the word. My Lord, I am referring to page 691, where Professor Walker is dealing with the position in South Africa shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, and he says this : "After the Munich agreement on the fate of Czechoslovakia.." that was in 1938 was it not? --- Yes. 10

"..Germans in South West Africa had become truculent and in Johannesburg fifty persons were injured in clashes between anti-fascists and fascist groups egged on, the authorities believed, by foreign propagandists." What groups do you think, Professor Walker had in mind at that stage? Described as the fascist groups? --- Were those the anti-German riots of 1938? 15

No, not anti-German riots in 1938, there were no such things. There were anti-German riots in Johannesburg 1914, not in 1938. What are the fascist groups to which Professor Walker is referring? --- Presumably pro-German. 20

Is that all? The point I am really concerned with is it is quite clearly an extended usage of the word fascist, is it not? --- In 1957, yes. 25

Clearly an extended usage, whatever they were? --- Yes.

Have you heard of Mr. Adlai Stevenson? --- Yes. 30

Incidentally, just for the record, I take

It that you will agree that Professor Walker is not a Communist? --- No, Professor Walker I should say is not a Communist.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate also I take it, not a Communist? --- No. 5

Here is another interesting use of the word. My Lord, I am quoting from a book called What I Think, by Adlai Stevenson. Do you know the book? --- Yes.

At page 195 in - it is called War Weakness and Ourselves, a reprint of an article which had been written by Mr. Stevenson, at page 195 of the book he says this: "Even conformity, thought control, has reappeared in our land just at a time when we are exhorting the world to stand fast against the tyrannies of Soviet fascism". That is clearly an extended use? --- Yes. 10 15

This is written in the 1950's - 1956. Very probably during the indictment period. Clearly an extended use.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Have you heard the use of this term before? Soviet fascism? --- I read that book. I should imagine it is the only time I have read it, and I should say it is a very metaphorical use of the term, but I think it is the only time I have come across it was in that text - I may be wrong, but I think it is the only time I have come across it. I have suggested myself that the Soviet system - if you extend the word fascism, the Soviet system might be regarded as fascist. It is not a common use of the word, certainly. 20 25

BY MR. MAISELS :

Do you know a book called A History of Political Theory by Professor Sabine? --- Yes. 30

Professor Sabine is a Professor of Philosophy at Cornell University? --- Yes.

He is the Dean of the Graduate School, Cornell? --- Yes.

Former president, Eastern Division, American Philosophical Association? --- Yes. 5

This book of his, A History of Political Theory, is wellknown to you, is it not? --- Yes.

It is prescribed^{by}/you for your own students, is it not? --- Yes. 10

At page 747, Fascism. After dealing with the political philosophy of Communism, the author says, "By comparison, the fascist parties whether in Italy or Germany, have had no coherent social or political philosophy". Shall we put it this way, he equates Italy and Germany? --- Yes. 15

And at page 751, he takes it a bit further, dealing with economic factors, and he says "What can be said with the most confidence is that the policy of a fascist government will be controlled by an overwhelming desire to increase its military power". That is an extended use, is it not? --- Italy of course tried to extend its military power, it was a military ... 20

I know what Italy did, but please, Professor, I am talking about the general, of a fascist government, the general use is it not? --- He uses it in a general connection. 25

Extended use? --- In that respect, yes.

I'll give it to you in another respect, at page 761. "The Racial Myth. The prevalent myth of the German fascists is the myth of the Nordic or Aryan race". That is one of the myths which is sometimes 30

referred to in South Africa as White superiority, is it not? --- Certainly not in everybody's mind...

No, no...? --- The racial myth is something different, I should say, my own opinion, of what is called White superiority here. The racial myth means a permanent 5 superiority and all that kind of thing.

We will have a lot to say about that presently, On page 768, Fascist Leadership, still the same book. "The central political principle of fascism is that of leadership, of the duce or führer and of the party at whose head he 10 stands". Extended use? --- Yes, but that of course agrees with what I said was the Communist use of the term.

And may we take it for the record that Professor Sabine is not a Communist? --- Not as far as I know. 15

At pages 770 and 771, another passage, because it has relevancy to another aspect of the case. "Fascist Education. From the start, both in Italy and Germany, fascism addressed itself especially to the task of indoctrinating children practically from the cradle." Extended use? 20 Germany and Italy? --- Yes.

Let us go further in the world, Professor. I am going to try and show eventually that you are very much on your own in your view on this topic. Do you know a book called Comparative Economic Systems by William 25 N. Loucks and J. Weldon Hoot. Professor Loucks is a Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania, Vice-Chairman of the Regional War Labour Board of the United States of America in 1942 to 1945, and Professor Hoot is the Assistant Professor of Economics, at the Wharton 30 School, University of Pennsylvania. Do you know that book? --- I recognised it. I have not used it, I don't think.

I am told, and you will correct me if I am wrong, that it is a standard textbook on comparative economic systems? --- Yes.

You accept that? --- Yes.

At page 557 the authors are dealing with the 5
place of fascism in modern economic movements. The book
was written in - this is the revised edition, 1943. In
the note at page 557, the following appears : "The terms
fascism and fascist will be used to describe the economic
systems of both Italy and Germany. In Germany the phrase 10
National Socialism might be used, but there is a growing
usage of the term fascism to indicate the movement in
general, rather than merely its Italian manifestations."
That is written in the first edition in 1938 already,
and certain in 1943. "Already then a growing use". And 15
to show that the Nazi system in Germany as you called it
and the fascist system in Italy were used in exactly the
same way, at page 559 you find this : "Although fascism in
Italy and Germany came to power before any substantial
set of doctrines was worked out, it had a background of 20
theoretical purposes and justifications. In fact these
were criticisms of the economic and political systems
which fascism displaced". Extended use? --- Yes.

Page 574 of the same book, "Fascism and
the Economic Classes. In both Italy and Germany the 25
fascist movement had the sympathy and active support of
the upper and middle classes." Extended use? --- Yes.

At page 577, "In summary it can be said
that the economic incentives in use in the two fascist
countries.." that is talking about Italy and Germany at 30
that time - "... are primarily those in use in capitalist
countries". Extended use? --- Yes.

And then there is a special heading at page 587, "Philosophic Background of German Fascism." So called, "German Fascism, like its Italian cousin, exhibits no well-knit philosophy." "The Weltanschung (?). . . ." - what does that word mean? It is a German word? --- Yes. World view. 5

"... is not a creation of the German fascist doctrine, but fits neatly into the nationalist socialist scheme for a great Germany". And then at page 593 we get "The Spread to Other Countries. It has been pointed out that fascist doctrines and philosophies arose in opposition 10 to prevailing democratic and socialist philosophies and doctrines. Attention needs to be attracted to the rapid spread of fascist doctrines since 1922. Not only have Governments and economic systems been established on the basis of these doctrines, in Italy and Germany, but other 15 countries also have been brought under the same type of influence. In two countries, Spain and Japan, the fascist type of government is in power, and fascist economic and political doctrines are in force". Clearly an extended use? --- I am not sure about Spain. You see, Spain learnt 20 much about Italy, and it is an extended application of the system. There are sources for that.

And Japan? --- Japan - Italian influences worked on Japan too. I am not prepared to say that that was an extended use, excepting that it goes beyond Italy, 25 but the forms were still very close to Italian fascism.

May we summarise it this way, Professor, in this book you get extended usages and some that may be extended usages. Would that be fair? --- And some that are not extended usages, I think. 30

That is good enough. In this standard textbook - and may we take it as a non-Communist textbook?

--- Yes. May I just have the authors, please?

Certainly. Comparative Economic Systems, Loucks and Hoot. Now here is another interesting use. Do you know a book called Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, a standard textbook in use in universi- 5 ties and schools in England, certainly? --- Yes.

And generally in the English speaking world, I imagine? --- Yes.

It is Grant and Temperley. Grant was formerly Professor of History at the University of Leeds, 10 and Temperley, Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge. According to the front page, it has been through - the first edition 1927, a numerous editions and impressions, and this copy I am reading from appears to be March, 1944. On the same page you find two usages 15 of the word, page 604 of that book. "It is strange and not accidental that Mussolini began his public career as a socialist of the Marxist kind, and that the fascist movement in Germany has attached to itself the label of socialist." That is the extended meaning? Correct? --- 20 Yes.

The narrow meaning is lower down on the same page "The fascist movement in Italy and the nazi movement in Germany declare themselves the mortal enemies of Karl Marx". That of course was your view? --- Yes. 25

Professor, doesn't this page show you with the two usages on the selfsame page, that the terms are completely interchangeable? Fascist and Nazi? On the same page? --- No, I don't think the terms are interchangeable. They may of course occasionally be used 30 loosely.

I am showing you that these two authors

plainly on the same page use the terms interchangeably?

--- In that particular case..

It may be wrong, but they use them. Professor, would you find a textbook on any subject where this use is not the way it is put here? A modern textbook? --- I think 5 I could find several. Sir Ernest Barker for instance makes a very clear distinction between...

We are coming on to Barker...? ---.the use of the terms.

What I am really interested in is, could you 10 envisage a textbook of history more extensively used than Grant and Temperley, the book that I have just quoted, all over the English speaking world? You agree with that? --- Yes. I presume so. It is a wellknown book.

And one of the most if not the most extensively 15 used book of its kind in the English speaking world? --- I have no information about that, but it is a wellknown book in the English speaking world.

Do you know - I think Professor Cole has been mentioned by you in some of the articles that you have 20 written? --- Yes.

Professor Cole was formerly the Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at Oxford? --- Yes.

And a very distinguished political philosopher was he not? --- Yes.

You know him? --- I knew him.

Wasn't he perhaps one of your teachers at Oxford? --- No, an acquaintance.

A highly respected man in the field of 30 political philosophy? --- Yes.

Do you know - I don't need to give you the

rest of his curriculum vita. You will accept that he is one of the outstanding professors of social and political theory of his age? --- Yes.

Did you know a book called Socialism in Evolution? --- Yes. 5

You have read it? --- Yes.

There are certain passages which I wish to refer you to in the chapter headed Can Capitalism Survive in that book, at page 220. Perhaps I had better read the first part so that the thing becomes sense. He says "Yes, 10 the capitalist is 'a tough guy'. Socialists challenge him at their peril. When democracy threatens to bring ^{him} to book for his incompetent stewardship of economic affairs, he doesn't wait to be hit, he hits first, well below the belt. Italians, Germans, Austrians and Spaniards have all good 15 cause to know his methods, and in every fascist country the eclipse of democracy has left capitalism intact. The world crisis has failed to finish capitalism by economic means, and when it has led to revolution, not socialists, but fascists with capitalist money bags at their service 20 have made the revolutionary running." That is clearly an extended use of the word fascist, isn't it? --- Surely that accepts the Soviet interpretation.

That is the point I am trying to make.

That has now become an accepted usage by a man like 25 Professor Cole, who is not Marxist-Leninist? --- But he is very definitely socialist.

Thank you, Professor. But I take it we have agreed long ago that a person can be a very definite socialist and not a Marxist-Leninist, can't he? --- It 30 depends how far he extends that way, of course. A Marxist-Leninist can be a socialist.

Let me put it this way, to be a Marxist-Leninist you have got to be a socialist, but to be a socialist you haven't got to be a Marxist-Leninist? --- Not necessarily.

Was Cole a Marxist-Leninist? --- He had tendencies that way, he certainly did not go the whole way. 5

He is dead, is he not? --- Yes.

Like Professor Laski. Don't you know that Professor Cole was associated most closely and intimately with the British Labour Party for thirty years before he died? --- Yes. 10

And that he was President of the Fabian Society? --- Yes.

Don't you think possibly that you might be prepared to say quite unequivocally that he was not a Marxist-Leninist? --- Cole has absorbed a lot of Marxist elements in his writings, he wrote a book on what Marx really meant and so forth. He is a left wing writer. 15

Yes, he is a socialist writer. He is what is called guild (?) socialist? --- Among other things, yes.

I am reminded he also wrote detective stories, but that doesn't make him Sherlock Holmes. At page 221 of the same book, - 223 I am sorry, and he is writing about conditions before the war, and he says "In France where the orthodoxies were respected longer, capitalism has been more gravely shaken up. Under stress of the depression, the country came for a moment nearer fascism, only to swing over to the left when the fascist thrust failed actually to overturn the regime." A completely extended use, correct? --- He is using the Marxist-Leninist analysis there, of course. 25 30

But that is what you call the extended use? --- In that sense, yes.

Page 226, "for it looks very much as if in the older capitalist country and capitalist system is still strong enough to stand up against economic forces that are threatening to destroy it. Whereas in the countries in which it is not strong enough to defend itself with economic weapons, it retains the means of giving itself a new lease of life by bringing fascism to its aid". The same kind of use that one finds in this case, in the documents in this case? --- An extended use. 5

But the same kind? --- Yes, there are examples.

Not very different in fact from your own writings to which we have referred? --- At one time, yes.

Professor, page 228, the same book. "British capitalism doesn't need to go fascist yet awhile. It can manage very much better without Sir Oswald Moseley. But now let us turn to the situation in the weaker capitalist countries which have resorted to fascism. Here the most obvious question that has to be faced is this. Are we to regard fascism itself as embodying a new economic as well as a new political system, or as merely a mercenary force in the pay of the national capitalists. I cannot rest content with either of these accounts of it. To accept the first is to take the ideological pretensions of the fascists at their face value, which I am by no means ready to do. But to accept the second view is dangerously to oversimplify. It is of course manifest that wherever 15 20 25

fascism has established itself as a political system, the economic power of capitalism has been maintained and strengthened". Again the extended use? --- Yes.

And finally, on this book, at page 234, "At any rate, for some time to come, German capitalism and Italian capitalism would come to terms with British 30

and French capitalism sooner than declare war upon them. But in fact fascism, though it could never have come to power in either Italy or Germany without the aid of the great capitalists who finances its operations, has become politically an independent force capable of moulding the short run course of events. Fascism can make war, even against the judgment of the capitalists, and the capitalists must allow it in the last resort to make war rather than loose prestige. Because they cannot dispense with it as an instrument for preserving their economic power. In short, world capitalism in calling fascism to its defence, has raised up devils whose day to day bedevilments it is now unable to control. Economically capitalism controls fascist policy, in the sense of keeping it firmly to the protection of capitalist property. But, politically it does not. Doubtless if the fascist states waged a great European war and won it, capitalism would dictate the settlement, just as it dictated the settlement of 1919. But fascist capitalism cannot stop the fascist countries from menacing the world with war." Clearly again the extended use. You know Professor Joad, don't you? --- Yes.

Professor Joad, head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology, College, University of London? --- Yes.

He was a celebrated public figure at one time, you remember? --- Yes.

He used to appear on the B.B.C. He writes a book which is a popular exposition called A Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics. I suppose you have read that? --- Yes.

Now I know Professor Joad was a left wing writer, wasn't he? --- Yes.

He wasn't a Communist, was he? --- No.

And he says at page 614, "Fascism is an intensely nationalist creed. The expression, as its exponents insist, of the soul of a nation. The German soul differs from the Italian, and fascism therefore necessarily assumes a very different complexion in Germany from that which it wears in Italy. As a result statements which are made about fascism, affirming it to be true or to maintain this or that, will often to be found to be true only of the particular variety of fascist doctrine and behaviour and will be misleading if universally applied." Now that clearly is an extended use, is it not? --- Yes.

In a most striking way? --- Yes.

Now perhaps we will come to a writer whom I don't think you might well consider left wing, Professor Murray. Have you heard of Winston S. Churchill? --- Yes.

Have you read The Second World War? --- Yes.

Volume I, the Gathering Storm? --- Yes.

He writes of the conditions in 1940, at page 441, early 1940. "Developments on the French front were less satisfactory. In a great nationalist conscript force the mood of the people is closely reflected in its army, the more so when that army is courted (?) in the homeland and contacts are close. It cannot be said that France in 1939-40 viewed the war with uprising spirit, or even with much confidence. The restless internal politics of the past decade had bred disunity and discontent. Important elements in reaction to growing communism have swung towards fascism, lending a ready ear to Goebbels skillful propaganda and passing it on in gossip and rumour." Now there is clearly an extended use of the word fascism? --- Yes.

And Winston Churchill I take it you will agree is an acknowledged master of the English language?

--- Yes.

And would you say that he was here of course influenced by Communist propaganda in 1939-1940? ---

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Probably not.

And we know who Goebbels is? --- Yes.

He wasn't an Italian. And so, the learned author goes on "So also in the army the disintegrating influences of both communism and fascism were at work.

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The long winter months of waiting gave time and opportunity for the poisons to be established". Clearly extended? ---

Yes.

And then passing from France to Norway, at page 478 of the same book, Mr. Churchill says this :

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"It had been the policy of Germany for many years to profess cordial sympathy and friendship for Norway. After the previous war some thousands of German children had found food and shelter with the Norwegians. These had not grown up - these had now grown up in Germany, and many of them were ardent nazis. There was also a major Quisling, who, with a handful of young men, had aped and reproduced in Norway on an insignificant scale, the fascist movement."

Again the extended use, Professor? --- What was the nature of that movement that Quisling started?

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I'll read the next sentence, and you'll see how extended it was in the light of the evidence you have given : "For some years past Nordic meetings had been

arranged in Germany to which large numbers of Norwegians had been invited. German lecturers, actors and singers

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and men of science had visited Norway in the promotion of a common culture. All this had been woven into the texture

of the Hitlerite military plan and so on." Clearly an extended use? --- Yes.

Now let us come to England. Do you know Winston Churchill's book, Their Finest Hour? --- Yes.

This is Volume II of the same book from which I have been quoting. I am quoting now from the American edition of the same book. It originally appeared, you remember, in America. Page 55. It is a memo, "Prime Minister .." - that is Churchill himself, - ".. to General Ismay for C.O.S." General Ismay was the Military Secretary. 10
 "18th May, 1940. I cannot feel that we have enough trustworthy troops in England.." for certain reasons which he sets out. And then he goes on : "Everything must be done to carry out the recommendations for the control of aliens put forward by the committee and minuted by me on another 15
 paper. Action should also be taken against communists and fascists, and very considerable numbers should be put in protective or preventitive internment, including the leaders." The fascists he was referring to clearly weren't the Italians who happened to be in England, were they? --- 20
 It might of course have been Italian influence.

You are trying very hard now, but it is clearly an extended use of the word? --- It probably is an extended use of the term.

Now let us come to a Professor of Law. Have 25
 you heard of Professor W. Friedmann, one of the leading writers today on jurisprudence? --- Yes.

He is the Professor of Law at the University of London? --- Yes.

He writes a book on The Crisis of the 30
 National State. Do you know the book? --- No, I know about it, I haven't read it.

He is a man whose views are entitled to respect, and I am not so much concerned even with the correctness of his views, but with the use of the word, that is all I am dealing with, do you follow. Is he a Communist? --- I don't know him at all.

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Not as far as you know, anyhow. Nor even, as far as you know, is he left wing? --- Not as far as I know.

And he talks about Current International Ideologies. This book is written in 1943. He talks about the Fascist International. That is something new to you? --- It shows communist influence.

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Yes, of course, what doesn't. "The ideology of fascism, is to a large extent an afterthought, developed and modified according to changing needs and circumstances in the fight for power. In its earlier stages both Italian and German fascists were eager to stress the purely nationalist and defensive aspects of their movements." Now that is clearly an extended use, is it not? --- Yes.

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And he talks, in the same article, at page 114 and 115, - he says this after debating certain difficulties : "There is however, an inherent conflict between the idea of an association of likeminded fascist states and the imperial hegemony aimed at by everyone of the major fascist powers." Now who are the major fascist powers? --- According to my interpretation, in the war, Italy of course.

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What is he talking about there? --- I would like to read that book. Of course he is accepting the extended use that I explained.

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That is the only point that I am trying to make, Professor, that this extended use has become accepted and enshrined, even by Professors of Law? --- That may be,

they may accept that interpretation, I quite agree.

It is not a question of accepting any interpretation. It is a question of the use of a word. Page 155 of the same book - "The destruction of patriotism by fascist imperialism. Outwardly the conquest of fascist 5 imperial powers seem to be sustained by an intense patriotism of their people and indeed to inflame it further by military victories." There is another example of the extended use, correct? --- Yes.

Now let us go to a sociologist. Have you 10 ever heard of Karl Mannheim? --- Yes.

Would it be correct to describe him as one of the most distinguished sociologists of recent times? --- He is a wellknown sociologist.

You wouldn't be prepared to go with me? --- 15 I don't like his views particularly, but that is alright.

But the mere fact that you don't like his views surely doesn't prevent you from describing a person as one of the most distinguished sociologists? --- I am not prepared to do that. He is a wellknown sociologist. 20

You see, I take these - a review of another book of his in the Political Quarterly, and he is described as one of the most significant - "One of the most significant piece of work on social theory since Graham Wallace's Human Nature in Politics". That is the kind of writer he 25 is? --- Yes.

Can we put it as a man of very high standing? --- Yes.

Just to give the Court his background, he was formerly Professor of Sociology in the University 30 of Frankfurt, Germany, and he is Professor in the London School of Economics and Political Science. He is talking

on Crisis, Dictatorship and War, and the heading is
 Co-relation between the Disorganisation of Society and the
 Disorganisation of Personality. At page 120 he says :
 "It is possible to describe the great phases in the funda-
 mental social and psychological transformation through 5
 which the fascist states are passing". This is written
 before the war, the first edition. What would be the
 fascist states - just about at the outbreak of war. What
 would be the fascist states? --- For him presumably the
 imperialist states, or otherwise Germany and Italy, I 10
 don't know which.

At least Germany and Italy? --- Yes.

Extended use? --- Yes.

And page 181 of the same book. The sub-
 heading is at page 177, The Unique and the General in 15
 History, and the Problems they present to Logic. One of
 the problems in this case, isn't it? At page 181 : "In
 this way..." - I won't go into the argumentation - "under
 apparently democratic rule, at the stage of monopoly
 capitalism, a situation is developing which in fascism is 20
 openly proclaimed. That is, inequality before the law".
 Now that use of fascism is an extended use, is it not?
 --- Yes.

A very extended use? --- It still corres-
 ponds to the analysis. It is an extended use, not very 25
 extended. Stalin said that they made people unequal
 before the law.

Inequality before the law has got a ring
 in this case, has it not? You have seen that phrase very
 often in the papers? --- Yes. It is all over the world 30
 nowadays.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

Incidentally, does that also refer to any of these states as fascist?

BY MR. MAISELS :

No, he is talking generally, My Lord. It is 5
a philosophical discussion of fascist states.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

But does he refer in terms to any particular state as being fascist?

BY MR. MAISELS :

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He quoted "the fascist states" and I just want to make sure, I'll have to turn back. But here is, My Lord, one...

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFF :

I might ask the witness. Having regard to 15
these authors that you have been referred to, some of whom may be left wing and some who may not be left wing at all, have you come across any of the - in the works of these authors any reference of the word fascism to any existing state? --- I should think so yes, certainly by inference to 20
both Germany and Italy, and also to the imperialist states. They may not say it straight out, but by inference the suggestion is there.

Have you come across in any of Winston Churchill's writing a reference to Great Britain as being 25
a fascist state? --- No. Speaking from memory, no, definitely not.

Do you know any left wing writers who call
- when using the word fascist, call Britain a fascist state?
--- I think one could find descriptions of fascism/^{which}would 30
suit Britain. The imperialist countries, on this new interpretation of fascism by communists, are regarded as more or

less all being fascist. They have reached that stage where the form of government entrenches itself and does all those things. That is the common argument of the communists.

BY MR. MAISELS :

You have often seen reference in Churchill and 5
others to fascist elements in Britain, have you not? ---
Yes.

And you have seen reference in writers, some
of which were quoted to you last week, for example of South
Africa as fascist, and those being non left wing writers? 10
--- Yes.

And we will give you some more. Harry S.
Truman. I suppose you know he was not a Communist? --- Yes.

Resident of the United States. Volume II
of the book Years of Trial and Hope. Do you know the book? 15
--- Yes.

The memoirs of Mr. Truman. Page 274 : "In
this same period.." - he is dealing with the period before
the war - ".. in this same period fascism had begun to
develop in Europe. Hitler and Mussolini, using the 20
communist threat as a means to seize power, began to
threaten peace. As a result of this international tension,
communist and fascist activity and intrigue were intensi-
fied... " An extension. But the greater extension is on
the next page, 275 : "In 1939 Europe moved from crisis to 25
crisis and in September Europe went to war. Although the
fascists and the communists were supposedly implacable
foes..." - whom do you think he was referring to there?
--- He could refer to Italy and German, and he could refer
to the imperialist set up. 30

Isn't it obvious to anybody that he is
referring to Hitler? He carries on. "Although the fascists

and the communists were supposedly implacable foes, Hitler and Stalin cynically concluded as a prelude to the war, a non-aggression pact and agreed to divide Poland between themselves." Do you know the Vocabulary of Politics?

--- Werter?

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No, Weldon? --- No.

He is a Fellow of College, Oxford.

Perhaps you would recall him as the wellknown author of the book States and Morals, a wellknown political philosopher?

--- Yes.

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Substantial - a man who makes substantial contributions to political philosophy? ---Yes.

A non-Communist? --- Non-Communist.

He says this at page 87 in this book, The Vocabulary of Politics : "Some would further claim that welfare states and the British moral constitute or will soon constitute a new intermediate type, and that our classification should be capitalist democracy, and socialist democracies, opposed to communist states. This is purely a matter of convenience, as will become clear in what follows. In the same way, states whose alleged intellectual foundations are hegelian idealism are often called fascist. This is a confusing usage, since it is largely accidental that this nebulous ideology has been so closely connected in recent experience with the Third Reich of Hitler and the Italy of Mussolini. Capitalist..." - so far I take it, you are in agreement with what I have read? --- Generally, yes .

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"Capitalist, socialist and communist all have descriptive uses. Fascist is only a vague word of abuse". Now that is very interesting, isn't it? It is almost the same as Orwell - you remember I quoted you George Orwell last week? --- Yes.

30

That never occurred to you, Professor?
 And this is a serious contribution, the Vocabulary of
 Politics by Mr. Weldon, a Fellow of College, Oxford?
 --- Does he give examples of where it was used as a vague
 word of abuse? 5

No, he just states that? --- That is alright.

What do you want to say about it? --- I would
 like to look at that. I am not definite, I should think
 Weldon is inclined to belong to the philosophical school
 which thinks in terms of words and not the things behind 10
 the words. That is why I can't quite agree with that
 passage. I would like...

May I suggest, Professor, that if anybody
 thinks in terms of words...? --- No, I don't think you do,
 you think in terms of meanings, and you label the word onto 15
 the meaning, but that is another issue.

Do you know that Weldon is dead? --- Yes, he
 was a friend of mine.

What are his politics? --- Liberal I should
 say, as far as I know. Perhaps a little - I would say 20
 liberal, as far as I discussed it with him. I did logic
 with him more than politics. He wrote books on logic,
 and my contact with him was more on the logic side. I
 couldn't make a definite statement about his political
 classification. 25

What books did he write on logic? --- I
 could find out the names.

So could we. I was hoping you could help
 us? --- He has written at least two on logic, but I don't
 know what the titles are. 30

Do you know a journalist called Douglas Reed?
 --- Yes.

A violent anti-Communist? --- Yes.

Assistant Berlin correspondent of the London Times at one stage, and an author of several book. In a book he wrote called Disgrace Abounding, at page 431 he talks about non-intervention. "After a victory, and you can believe this, Franco's Spain will become the docile ally of Germany and Italy in peace and war. Franco's Spain will be an entirely fascist state, in spite of former assurances." Extended use? --- Not necessarily. I made comments on Franco's Spain earlier. 5 10

But may be extended? --- It depends on the interpretation, yes. The Sallingists (?) were closely associated with Italy.

Have you come across a book called Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion by Professor Casey and Professor Laswell, or Smith, Laswell and Casey? --- I know about it, I haven't read it. 15

Professor Smith is of the Department of Economics, New York University. Professor Casey is Professor and Director of the School of Journalism, University of Minnesota and Professor Laswell is Professor at the University of Chicago. They are apparently distinguished people in their field. Do you accept that? --- Yes. 20

Now this book of theirs is a bibliography of a number of books written on propaganda and politics. A very valuable book from that point of view. I am going to - what the authors do is they quote the name of the author, the title of the book, and a short comment on what it is. It is very useful to see about fascism. The first one is No. 166, at page 148, a book called The Coming American Fascism, published in New York, Harpers, 1936, by Lawrence Dennis. The author is described as an 25 30

investment counsel, who is a leading United States political theorist. On the face of it it doesn't look as though he is likely to be a communist. I am interested in the title, The Coming American Fascism. That is clearly an extended use, is it not? --- It depends on what he says, of course. 5

He asserts that a disciplined party of the elite will seize power in the United States in order to guarantee private ownership for small enterprises and establish planned economy, equalised income, group representation, regionalism adapted to administrative efficiency and strict 10 government control of education, and he calls that the Coming American Fascism? --- Yes.

Clearly an extended use? --- Yes.

Very similar to what is sometimes said in some of the papers which you have come across in this case? 15 Strict government control of education, is one of the things.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFFF :

Did you refer to the element of group representation? 20

BY MR. MAISELS :

Yes, group representation as well, My Lord.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMFFF :

Isn't that one of the fundamental principles of Italian fascism? --- Yes, that is so. 25

BY MR. MAISELS :

Quite so. And has there been a suggestion of group representation in South Africa? --- Suggestions have been made.

And that is one of the suggestions of the 30 Nationalist Government is it not? --- Not officially that I am aware of.

What about the Coloured Voters' Bill? Isn't that group representation? --- Of a kind, yes.

BY MR. JUSTICE RUMEFF :

Actually Mr. Maisels, if that is so, wouldn't the use of fascism be a less extended use? 5

BY MR. MAISELS :

Your Lordship means because they - may I put it this way, My Lord. It is another different use. In some respects less extended and in others more extended. I am just concerned My Lord with different uses. The 10 next paragraph paragraph 422, page 178 of the same book. The book is called I Find Treason, the story of an American anti-nazi agent by one Richard Rawlins. I don't expect you to know him? --- No.

But the authors say, "This is by a Columbia 15 graduate student in sociology, who spent a number of years investigating fascist activities in the United States". Now that is clearly an extended use, without any question? --- Yes.

Here is another one which will interest you, 20 Professor. Page 471 - I beg your pardon, paragraph 471, page 183, there is reference to a French book, Leon de Grelle, e l'avenir de Rex. (). You know what that means? Leon de Grelle and the Advent of Rex. What was Rexism and who was de Grelle? --- Rexism is a little political move- 25 ment in France towards - in the extreme right wing...

Fascist? --- Not on my definition definitely, but..

But according to this book it is about de Grelle, the leader of Rexism, a Belgian Fascist move- 30 ment. Correct? I should imagine, Professor, that de Grelle was known to be a Belgian? --- Yes.

And the Rexist movement was what is called a Belgian fascist movement. Just like the British Union of Fascists? --- Yes.

An extended use? A Communist use? --- I am not sure if there weren't Italian connections there. 5
I'll have to go back into the matter. It was a highly specialised little movement, I couldn't say here to what extent it wasn't a movement like the Falangists. I am afraid I can't remember that.

While we are on that, tell me about the 10
Croix de Feu in France? --- I'll have to look up about the Croix de Feu.

Wasn't that what was known as - who headed it? --- I couldn't tell you for the moment.

Wasn't that a wellknown fascist movement in 15
France? --- The Croix de Feu had Italian associations, it was under the influence of Italy, but what the extent of that influence was I am not prepared to say.

There is another book at page 185, paragraph 490. No, it is an article in Life Magazine. Tell me, you 20
know about Life Magazine, don't you? --- Yes.

Strongly anti-Communist? --- Yes.

The article was Fascism holds its first
Open Meeting in Canada, and it was a reference to a meeting of Adriene Arcand's National Unity Party. That was one 25
of the fascist parties which was - which were all over the world at one stage, or many parts of the world prior to the war, isn't that so? --- There were National Unity Parties, and some were more closely associated with Italy than others. I don't know the details of that party at all.30

While we are on Canada - I would just like to continue with this book, Professor. There is an article

by a man called Georges Gurvitch referred to at page 242 of the one I am referring to, on the Social Structure of Pre-War France, published in the American Journal of Sociology, March, 1943, described as "a careful socio-political analysis, formerly a professor of sociology, Dr. Gurvitch is now the 5 director of the Institute of Sociology at

, New York. The article includes material on the numerous French fascist organisations and their leaders." Did they all have associations with Itzly, or can't we at least now agree that this was a term applied 10 to many such organisations which had some features in common, and nothing to do with Italy at all. Can't we agree on that? --- Some of these French associations were associated with Italy, and others I don't know about.

And others were not? --- I presume not, 15 possibly not, I don't know them.

Let us carry on with the next one in the same book. A book by Harry Frederick Ward, page 252 of this book, paragraph 1178, Democracy and the Social Change in New York. The author of this book is the Professor in 20 Union Theological Seminary - hardly likely to be a Communist, do you agree? --- Yes.

He analyses the United States social conditions and concludes - and this is a quotation from the book : "Because of the strength of American capitalism, 25 our habit of direct action and the social ignorance of the upper income section of our population, the fiercest struggle between democratic forces and the fascist state will take place on our own soil". That is really a communist use? --- Yes, it could be. 30

The extended use? --- Yes.

Used by a non-Communist, a Professor in the

Union Theological Seminary? --- Yes.

COURT ADJOURNS.

COURT RESUMES.

ANDREW HOWSON MURRAY, under former oath;

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. MAISELS CONTINUED :

5

There are just two more references I want to give you in this bibliography which we have been discussing. One is at page 242 of the book we have been discussing, Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion, paragraph 1077, there is a book by Thomas J. Hamilton, called 10
Appeasement's Child, the Franco Regime in Spain, published in New York, Alfred Knox, 1943, and it is described by the authors of this book as "being a book on the study of the rise of Falangism (fascism) in Spain by a United States journalist". In other words, he equates Falangism in Spain 15
with fascism? --- In Italy.

In Spain? --- Yes.

Extended use? --- I don't think so.

I am prepared to give you one without worrying very much. Have you heard of Raymond Gramme Swing? --- 20
No.

Perhaps I'll remind you. He was one of the - probably the most wellknown of radio commentators during the last great war. You remember his name now? --- Yes.

An American? --- Yes.

25

He wrote a book which was published in New York called Forerunners of American Fascism, and it consists of essays on the following people, and I want you please to listen to the names. Father Cochran - who was he? --- A Roman Catholic Priest who caused some political 30
agitation.

Of what nature? --- I couldn't say for the

moment.

Strongly racialist? --- Yes.

Hugh E. Long? --- Yes.

A Southern State Governor in America,
strongly racialist? --- Yes. 5

Theodore G. Bilbow, probably one of the worst
that has ever been in the Southern States? --- Yes.

Strongly racialist? --- Yes.

Right wing? --- Yes.

Fascist? --- I couldn't say. 10

But in the extended use of the word. Francis
Townsend - I am afraid I don't know who he is, so I can't
ask you. William Randolph Hurst? --- Yes.

A right wing publisher? --- Yes.

Strongly right wing? --- Yes. 15

The book is called Forerunners of American
Fascism? --- Yes.

Extended use? --- Yes.

Was Raymond Gramme Swing a Communist? ---
Not that I can remember. 20

I think that if one remembers his broadcasts,
one would say he was not. Would you agree? --- Yes.

Now let us proceed, Professor. Have you
read a book which is called The First Political Biography
of Franklin Roosevelt? --- No. 25

Called Roosevelt, the Lion and the Fox, by
James McGregor Burns? --- I know the book.

At page 365 he is talking of a speech made
on election even in 1939 or 1940 by President Roosevelt,
and the author is quoting what President Roosevelt said. 30
"The President thrust a barbed lance at the opposition",
and then he quotes : "'As of today fascism and communism

and old line Tory republicanism are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, then fascism and communism, aided unconsciously perhaps by old line Tory republicanism, 5 will grow in strength in our land.'" President Roosevelt was hardly talking about the Italian residents of America, was he? --- No.

This was during the 1939 electioneering for his division. That is clearly an extended use? --- Yes. 10

Do you know a book called Politics in Post-War France by Philip Williams? --- Yes.

He is a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford? --- Yes.

This is one of the standard works? --- Yes. 15
Non-communist? --- Yes.

And he describes the Resemblance du Peuple Francais, known as the R.F.P. at page 138 and he says this : - that is a French Political movement? --- Yes.

He says : "The R.F.P. clearly shares some 20 of the features of a fascist movement. Its policy exhibits the characteristic combination. The simultaneous appeal to national revival and to social revolution, and the demand for strong government superceding futile party bickering, and maintaining the dignity and power of the 25 state against the rampant demands of the pressure groups and sectional interests. Its psychology is marked by the cult of authority and the belief that the leader is always right, particularly amongst its younger and less prosperous adherents." Do you find any of that in South 30 Africa, as an objective political observer? --- I don't think in the sense of an organised way, but no doubt people

think like that in all countries.

"It recruits its leaders from the managerial elements of society but seeks with success to appeal to a section of the poor, especially to those who are proletarians in economic status, but resent and repudiate such a social classification. Yet France is neither Spain or Italy, still less Germany. General de Gaulle's record is not that of a fascist, whether one considers 1940 or 1944-1946. His own declarations have lapsed only occasionally from a determination to seek power alone by legal means. The glorification of violence has played no part in R.F.F. propaganda and the shock troops of the de Gaullist movement have been kept firmly in a position of subordination. The nationalism of the R.F.F. has certainly been no more violent than that of the German Social Democratic party. Its social programme has been much more tentative, and much less demagogic than that of fascist movements, while at the same time it has attracted far less capitalist support than they enjoyed. The balancing, the reconcillation of pressure groups by a strong executive is a potentially dangerous study for a weakness which if not tackled, itself manaces the health and perhaps the survival of French democracy." Now the last bit that I have given to you Professor, "the balancing, the reconcillation.." is a quotation from H. Steward Hughes on Gaullism where the question 'Is this Fascism', dealing with Gaullism in France is answered today, is answered with a hesitant affirmative. That is clearly a most extended use, is it not? --- Yes.

And then to show the objectivity of this author, he says : "Aron.." - quoting somebody else, another French writer - ".. argues powerfully the opposite view".

Do you follow? --- Yes.

And this shows, does it not, that in the passage I have quoted to you, how typical or how topical rather, how topical the extended usage is today amongst non-communist academics? --- Yes.

5

Do you know a book called Poland, the Key to Europe? --- No.

By Raymond Leslie Buell? --- By Buell, yes.

Is he left wing? --- No.

Written in 1939 - first published in 1939.

10

Page 111. He is dealing with the position in Poland in 1934. He says : "The Universities became a centre of Endec.." - that was a particular party, you know about that? --- Yes.

"... influence and anti-semitic student riots served as the party's major weapon against the Filchitski (?) regime. But as Dmowski grew older, and the party failed to develop vigorous leaders, dissention arose. In 1934 the younger element, partly inspired by nazi Germany broke away and formed a frankly fascist group, which called itself the National Radicals or Nalas (?)." An extended use? --- Yes.

20

Page 341 of the same book, Poland, the Key to Europe, "As the Fifth power in Europe, Poland is making a determined effort to keep from being drawn into either the communist or the fascist camp, lying between two great totalitarian imperialisms, its position is extremely difficult, but if it succeeds in keeping Russia and Germany apart, in part it may prevent either fascism or communism from dominating Europe". Clearly the extended use? --- Yes.

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In a striking way? --- Yes.

Do you know a book The Revolution in China by C.P. FitzGerald? --- No.

He is the Professor of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University at Canberra. He has written many books, Son of Heaven; China: A Cultural History; Flood Tide in China; and regarded as one of the most eminent living Western Sinologists? --- Yes. 5

You accept that? --- Yes.

Not Communist? --- I don't know anything about him. 10

Well, you can look at the book and you can see whether you can find anything to suspect - other of course than the fact that he uses fascism in what you call the communist sense. That is the only stigma I think you will be able to attach. Page 73, "Instead the obvious trend in China towards fascism..." he is dealing with a certain period before the war - "... the preference for German advisers in the military sphere, the weak yielding to Japan which gave no promise of national survival, and the continued covert hostility to the Westerner which the Comintang (?) constantly displayed, these cool the interest of the West, and induced the widespread belief that China was doomed to succumb to Japan". Now that is clearly an extended use, "the obvious trend in China towards fascism, the preference for German advisers in the military sphere"? --- Yes. 15 20 25

At page 103 he is talking about a condition in China under a man called Chiang-Kai-Chek whose name you have heard. Apparently according to you it is only the communists who don't think much of Chiang-Kai-Chek? --- No, no. 30

We will deal with that presently. "Insofar as

the choice between totalitarian and a democratic government was concerned, it didn't exist. The Chinese people groaned under a regime, fascist in every quality except efficiency." Now that is a very extended use, is it not? --- Applying it to Chiang-Kai-Chek? yes. 5

John Gunther again, and we have already identified him as non-Communist. In the book, Inside Latin America - you know that book? --- Yes.

He talks at page 24 of this book, about the Fifth Column. "Second, the Fifth Column.." - which was 10 applied to German influence in South Africa at that time - "... works by close contact with local native political parties of fascist complexion. Almost every Latin American country has a rudimentary nazi or fascist opposition party which is financed or controlled by the Germans. In several 15 countries, notably Chili, these domestic fascists have made serious trouble. In some cases until the German invasion in Russia turned everything upside down, the nazis played closely with the communists. Anything that kept the local political pot boiling was useful to their purpose". Now 20 that again is an example of the extended use, is it not? --- Yes.

Now I am afraid I have got to read you a rather long extract, because it is an important contribution. Do you know a book called The Great Transformation, 25 the Political and Economic Origins of Our Time by Karl Polanyi? --- No.

Have you never heard of it? --- No.

Perhaps I should help you about Karl Polanyi. He is one - he has lectured at Oxford, and at Longon, was in 30 the Faculty of Bennington College in New York - in America, - you have not heard of him? --- No.

I would just like to read it to you as an example of the use of fascism in a serious political discussion? --- May I ask who published that book?

Certain. It is published by the Beacon Press with a foreword by Robert M. MacIver. Apparently according to the note it was begun in America during the Second World War - it was written in America during the Second World War, but was begun and finished in England. You can look at the book afterwards if you like, Professor - indeed, you can look at all these. The title of the chapter is History in the Gear of Social Change: "If ever there was a political movement that responded to the needs of an objective situation and was not a result of fortuitous causes it was fascism. At the same time, the degenerative character of the fascist solution was evident. It offered an escape from an institutional deadlock which was essentially alike in a large number of countries, and yet, if the remedy were tried, it would everywhere produce sickness unto death. That is the manner in which civilizations perish. The fascist solution of the impasse reached by liberal capitalism can be described as a reform of market economy achieved at the price of the extirpation of all democratic institutions, both in the industrial and in the political realm." Would you call that the extended use? --- Yes.

"The economic system which was in peril of disruption would thus be revitalized, while the people themselves were subjected to a re-education designed to denaturalize the individual and make him unable to function as the responsible unit of the body politic." Is that the extended or the ordinary use, the Italian use? --- It could be extended - it could be Italian.

"This re-education, comprising the tenets of a political religion that denied the idea of the brotherhood of man in all its forms, ..." and it did, didn't it?
 --- Yes.

".. was achieved through an act of mass conversion enforced against recalcitrants by scientific methods of torture. The appearance of such a movement in the industrial countries of the globe, and even in a number of only slightly industrialized ones, should never have been ascribed to local causes, national mentalities, or historical backgrounds as was so consistently done by contemporaries. Fascism had as little to do with the Great War as with the Versailles Treaty, with Junker militarism as with the Italian temperament. The movement appeared in defeated countries like Bulgaria and in victorious ones like Jugoslavia, in countries of Northern temperament like Finland and Norway and of Southern temperament like Italy and Spain, in countries of Aryan race like England, Ireland, or Belgium and non-Aryan race like Japan, Hungary or Palestine, in countries of..." Was there a fascist movement in Palestine? --- I don't know.

Have you ever heard of fascist movements in England, Ireland and Belgium, Japan, Hungary, Italy, Spain, Finland, Norway, Jugoslavia? --- Yes, there were fascist movements there. I don't know about Palestine.

".. in countries of Catholic tradition like Portugal and in Protestant ones like Holland, in soldierly communities like Prussia and civilian ones like Austria, in old cultures like France and new ones like the United States and the Latin-American countries. In fact, there was no type of background - of religious, cultural, or national tradition - that made a country immune to fascism, once the conditions for its emergence

were given."? --- Does he describe anywhere what he means by fascism? Does he give a description of it?

We are coming to that, Professor. He describes it very graphically. "Moreover, there was a striking lack of relationship between its material and numerical strength and its political effectiveness. The very term 'movement' was misleading, since it implied some kind of enrollment or personal participation of large numbers. If anything was characteristic of fascism it was its independence of such popular manifestations. Though usually aiming at a mass following, its potential strength was reckoned not by the numbers of its adherents but by the influence of the persons in high position whose good will the fascist leaders possessed, and whose influence in the community could be counted upon to shelter them from the consequences of an abortive revolt, thus taking the risks out of revolution." Does that describe Italian fascism? --- I should say hardly, but still it describes elements in certain forms of authoritarianism.

Is that a term similar to totalitarianism? --- Not necessarily.

But is it similar to, broadly? --- Broadly.

"A country approaching the fascist phase showed symptoms among which the existence of a fascist movement proper was not necessarily one. At least as important signs were the spread of irrationalistic philosophies, racialist esthetics, anticapitalistic demogogy,.." and think back - "heterodox currency views, criticism of the party system, widespread disparagement of the 'regime', or whatever was the name given to the existing democratic set-up." That is a fair summation of the rise of fascist movements? --- Yes.

"Irrationalistic philosophies, racialist esthetics, anticapitalist demagoguery, heterodox currency views, criticism of the party system" and so on. "In Austria the so-called universalist philosophy of Othmar Spann, in Germany the poetry of Stephan George and the cosmogonic romanticism of Ludwig Klages, in England D.H. Lawrence's erotic vitalism, in France Georges Sorel's cult of the political myth were among its extremely diverse forerunners. Hitler was eventually put in power by the feudalist clique around President Hindenburg,.." 10

Is that right? --- That is one way of looking at it, yes.

"... just as Mussolini and Primo de Rivera were ushered into office by their respective sovereigns." The point I am making is that Hitler, Mussolini and Primo de Rivera are by this writer put together in one category as examples of three fascist - Primo de Rivera was in Spain, was he not? --- Yes. 15

"Yet Hitler had a vast movement to support him; Mussolini had a small one; Primo de Rivera had none. In no case was an actual revolution against constituted authority launched; fascist tactics were invariably those of a sham rebellion arranged with the tacit approval of the authorities who pretended to have been overwhelmed by force. These are the bare outlines of a complex picture in which room would have to be made for figures as diverse as the Catholic free-lance demagogue in industrial Detroit, the 'Kingfish' in backward Louisiana, Japanese army conspirators, and Ukrainian anti-Soviet saboteurs." In other words, the author points out - he uses the word in a very wide field. "Fascism was an ever given political possibility, an almost instantaneous emotional reaction in every industrial community since the 1930's. One may call it a 20 25 30

a 'move' in preference to a 'movement' to indicate the impersonal nature of the crisis the symptoms of which were frequently vague and ambiguous. People often did not feel sure whether a political speech or a play, a sermon or a public parade, a metaphysics or an artistic fashion, 5 a poem or a party program was fascist or not. There were no accepted criteria of fascism, nor did it possess conventional tenets. Yet one significant feature of all its organized forms was the abruptness with which they appeared and faded out again, only to burst forth with 10 violence after an indefinite period of latency. All this fits into the picture of a social force that waxed and waned according to the objective situation. What we termed, for short, 'fascist situation' was no other than the typical occasion of easy and complete fascist victories. All at 15 once, the tremendous industrial and political organisations of labour and of other devoted upholders of constitutional freedom would melt away, and minute fascist forces would brush aside what seemed until then the overwhelming strength of democratic governments, parties, trade unions. If a 20 'revolutionary situation' is characterized by the psychological and moral disintegration of all forces of resistance to the point where a handful of scantily armed rebels were enabled to storm the supposedly impregnable strongholds of reaction (in italics), then the 'fascist situation' was 25 its complete parallel except for the fact that here the bulwarks of democracy and constitutional liberties were stormed and their defenses found wanting in the same spectacular fashion. In Prussia, in July, 1932, the legal government of the Social Democrats, entrenched in the 30 seat of legitimate power, capitulated to the mere threat of unconstitutional violence on the part of Herr von Papen.

Some six months later Hitler possessed himself peacefully of the highest positions of power, whence he at once launched a revolutionary attack of wholesale destruction against the institutions of the Weimar Republic and the constitutional parties. To imagine that it was the strength 5 of the movement which created situations such as these, and not to see that it was the situation that gave birth in this case to the movement, is to miss the outstanding lesson of the last decades. Fascism, like socialism, was rooted in a market society that refused to function. Hence, 10 it was world-wide, catholic in scope, universal in application; the issues transcended the economic sphere and begot a general transformation of a distinctively social kind. It radiated..." Is there any communist doctrine in that? --- Yes, there could be elements similar 15 with communism. Where he got it from I don't know.

Does it sound very much like communism? --- The criticism of the market system that won't go on and all that kind of thing. There are common elements. But it is an extended use, if you want to make that point. 20

It is certainly not a communist use. It is an extended use by a political philosopher? --- Yes.

"It radiated into almost every field of human activity whether political or economic, cultural, philosophic, artistic, or religious. And up to a point it 25 coalesced with local and topical tendencies. No understanding of the history of the period is possible unless we distinguish between the underlying fascist move and the ephemeral tendencies with which that move fused in different countries." Now there is a great deal more, Professor, 30 which I don't propose reading to you, but the book is available to you if you wish to see it. There are just a

few more sentences which I would like to refer you to.
At page 240 - My Lord, I started reading at page 237 and I
have read up till the top of page 240, and from now on I am
just going to refer to a few short passages in this essay.
The writer says, at the foot of page 240, dealing with 5
certain - the English Commonwealth and so on, and he says :
"The conservatives, naturally, tried to monopolize the
honors of the counterrevolution and, actually, as in
Germany, accomplished it alone. They deprived the working-
class parties of influence and power, without giving in to 10
the Nazi. Similarly, in Austria, the Christian Socialists
- a conservative party - largely disarmed the workers
(1927) without making any concession to the 'revolution
from the right'. Even where fascist participation in the
counterrevolution was unavoidable, 'strong' governments were 15
established which relegated fascism to the limbo. This
happened in Esthonia in 1929, in Finland in 1932, in Latvia
in 1934. Pseudo-liberal regimes broke the power of
fascism for the time, in Hungary in 1922, and in Bulgaria
in 1926. In Italy alone were the conservatives unable to 20
restore work-discipline in industry without providing
the fascists with a chance of gaining power." Another
extended use? --- Yes.

At the foot at page 241 : "Unless we dis-
tinguish closely between this pseudo intolerance on the 25
road to power and the genuine intolerance in power, we can
hardly hope to understand the subtle but decisive dif-
ference between the sham-nationalism of some fascist
movements during the revolution, and the specifically
imperialistic nonnationalism which they developed after 30
the revolution." Page 242 : "Both in Germahy and in
Italy fascism could seize power only because it was able to

use as its level unsolved national issues, while in France as in Great Britain fascism was decisively weakened by its antipatriotism. Only in small and naturally dependent countries could the spirit of subservience to a foreign power prove an asset to fascism". Clearly extended? --- 5
Yes.

Page 243 : - He is dealing with the period 1917-23 and talking about the industrial difficulties in various countries, Italy, Germany and Austria and he says : "In the majority of countries the peasantry turned against 10 the urban workers; in some countries fascist movements were started by officers and gentry, who gave a lead to the peasantry; in others, as in Italy, the unemployed and the petite bourgeoisie formed into fascist troops. Nowhere was any other issue than that of law and order mooted, no 15 question of radical reform was raised; in other words, no sign of a fascist revolution was apparent. These movements were fascist only in form, that is to say only in so far as civilian bands, so-called irresponsible elements, made use of force and violence with the connivance of persons in 20 authority. The antidemocratic philosophy of fascism was already born, but was not as yet a political factor." Would that be a communist use? --- No.

Because the author goes on to point this out : "Trotsky gave a voluminous report..." - by the way, 25 I don't know if his name has been mentioned in this case yet. Trotsky was one of the leading communists of his time? --- Yes.

"Marxist-Leninist? --- Fourth International.

He was a person who was a great Marxist- 30 Leninist who fell out with Stalin? --- Yes.

"Trotsky gave a voluminous report on the

situation in Italy on the eve of the Second Congress of the Comintern, in 1920, but did not even mentioned fascism, although fasci had been in existence for some time. It took another ten years or more before Italian fascism, long since established in the government of the country, developed 5 anything in the nature of a distinctive social system."

Now Professor, that is a long article and it is a very serious article, and it is obvious that this writer is using the word fascism in the completely extended use which you say is really only a communist use. It is obvious, 10 isn't it? --- Yes, he is extending the use of the term fascism.

In much the same way as it was extended in some of the papers in this case? --- Yes.

Now I want to ask you some questions about 15 a man called Professor MacIver. Have you heard of him? --- Yes.

He is the formerly Professor of Political Philosophy and Sociology at Columbia? --- Yes.

He is a Professor of Political Science, 20 Toronto University, Doctor of Literature of Columbia, Harvard and Princeton, Doctor of Laws of Edinburgh and has an honorary degree of Yale. He wrote The Modern State, did he not? --- Yes.

A classic work universally used? --- Yes. 25

He is a very distinguished man, going back very many years? --- Yes.

He was the Chairman of the War Labour Board of Canada at one stage? --- Yes.

He wrote a book called Society, first 30 published in 1931, and still used at all univerties? --- Yes.

Probably one of the most eminent living political sociologists? --- Yes.

He is the man who wrote the introduction to this book by Karl Polanyi to which I have been referring? --- Yes. 5

And he said of it, in this book : "Here is a book that makes most books in its field seem obsolete or outworn. Mr. Polanyi is shedding a new illumination on the processes and revolutions of a whole age of unexampled change." So it looks as though Professor Mac- 10
Iver wrote something like this about Karl Polanyi's book, that it must be something? --- Yes.

Now do you know the Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, Mr. R.B. McCullum? --- Yes.

He is author of The Life of Asquith and 15
The British General Election of 1945. He was - he is called an Asquithian Liberal, that is a right wing liberal? --- I don't know.

His Club is the National Liberal Club, and that indicates it, doesn't it. He writes a book called 20
The Public Opinion and the Last Peace. In the introduction to that book he says this at page 14 : "The commonsense school therefore had good reason to suppose in the early 1920's we have a long road to travel before we could come within reach of war. Many things, none of them 25
inevitably and some of them as it seemed extremely improbable had to happen before the danger was near. But the members of the commonsense school were on the whole the most normal, sane and average members of the public, bouyant and practical, little given to debate and specula- 30
tion, the least ideological of men. They were therefore slow to see the signs of approaching storm, the practical

achievements of fascist governments impressed them, and they were soothed by the absence of cant doctrine and uplift talk of which they heard so much in this country". That is in England. "They trusted that in the last resort matters could be settled as by one sensible man with another.5 Mussolini, for instance,..". and note the word 'for instance' - now that clearly indicates that he didn't regard Mussolini as having the monopoly of the fascist government, did he?
 --- Yes.

Have you read a book called Liberal Democracy, an essay on liberty by Massimo Salvadori? --- 10
 Yes.

He is a distinguished liberal, is he not? ---
 Yes.

And this is what he says at page 3, and I am 15 again only on the use of the word. Search and Confusion is the head of that chapter. He says : "The roads people take have different names. Democracy in which too often narrowminded conservatism or wellmeaning socialism weaken the basic element of liberty, traditionalism which Algerian 20 OLeMa and Portuguese Corporitists, Kenya Mau-Mau and the follow; nationalism which in its fanatical expression becomes the dictatorship of Nasser in Egypt and of Gimine in Venezuela; the fascism of Franco and the racism of Afrikaners in South Africa". Now there 25 you get the concept, don't you of fascism as an extreme right wing form of nationalism? --- Yes.

That is a very common and indeed generally accepted use of the word today? --- The date of that publication? 30

1958. What would you say about that use?
 Is it - it is not in accordance with your idea, is it? ---

I'll have a look at that chapter.

Nevermind looking at the chapter. Just tell me whether the use in the way I have put it is in accordance with your usage. You don't have to have a look at the chapter for that? --- I suggested that there were two uses, the Italian and the communist extended use. 5

Is this the communist extended use? --- I want to go into that...

The point is, is it only the communist extended use? --- I don't know, I'll have to examine the text, as I want to examine several of those texts. 10

You remember we have already described the author and we have got his position? --- Salvadiri, yes.

We know he is not communist? --- Yes.

And we know he is not even socialist? --- No. 15

And he is describing - I am not saying he is right, I am not saying he is wrong, it is merely the use of words, do you follow? --- Yes.

It is a description quite opposed to your idea, completely opposed? --- I am not sure you see, I don't want to talk about the text before I see it. I suspect there are certain elements in that analysis of the use of fascism, which could be traced to Stalin, but I am not sure, I want to have a look at the thing first. 20

Speaking subject to correction, this is the only page in the whole book where the word fascism is used. It is not a analysis of fascism, it is the ordinary use of the word, and I am going to suggest to you Professor, that you are really the only man in the regiment in step? --- I'll have a look at the page and see the description... 25 30

Just read the page now, Professor, it is only a page, and let me see where you find the Stalinist, Leninist

or any other interpretation? --- (WITNESS READS THROUGH
PAGE). He says here, talking of confusion, nationalism,
which in its fanatical expression becomes the dictatorship
of Nasser in Egypt and of Gemine in Venezuela, the fascism
of Franco. Now the Falangists in Spain were associated 5
with Italy quite clearly, and he applies fascism only to
Franco - he goes on, "and the racism of Afrikaners in South
Africa." That has nothing to do with fascism.

So you say it is not an extended use? ---
Not necessarily. This is a very thin passage, one little 10
passage. Franco was - Spain was notoriously influenced by
Italy, one has one's sources for that...

Of course one has one's sources, I haveno
doubt that Italy....? --- The reference to fascism here is
only to Franco, not to the fanatical dictatorship of Nasser 15
or the racism of Afrikaners. The extension means very
little, I think.

Yes, not even a slight extension? --- Not to
the extent - that depends on one's view to what extent
Falangism was influenced by Italian fascism, and there are 20
reasons to believe it was.

And tell me about the next page. "The day
for liberty is here, echoed millions and tens of millions
of German fascists"? --- You should have read that with
the first paragraph. 25

Then it would have helped you? --- Well, it
shows how the man uses the term.

It is only the use of the phrase that I am
concerned with, it shows the extended use which you have
so consistently stamped as communist, notwithstanding 30
the mass of writing which I put to you? --- I want to
examine some of the writing.

Do you know Britain between the Wars,
1918-1940, by Charles Locke Mowat? --- I haven't read it.

It is a completely standard work, isn't it?
--- I know the work, yes.

And he talks at page 294 of the position in 5
England in the 1920's, the general strike and so on, some-
thing which you have commented on in your time. "The
Home Secretary explained in Parliament that the organisa-
tion though independent could be of help to the government
in its own plans, joining it would be a patriotic act. 10
More sinister were the arrogant officers of the newly born
British Fascist organisations to enroll their members as
special constables ready to act as a body under their own
officers. In general such offers were refused, though in
Liverpool they were accepted". That is the extended use 15
without question? --- Yes.

Page 473 of the same book, Fascism for
Britain? "The British fascist movement had its beginning
in the same oeriod of distress in 1931-1932 and reached
its height of menace in 1934. Sir Oswald Moseley and his 20
new party were left in the wilderness in the general
election of 1931. Next January Moseley's leftist spirit
led him to Mussolini at Rome. The birth of the British
Union of Fascists under Moseley leadership followed, some
earlier British fascists rallying to the new standard." 25
It shows that he derived his original inspiration from
Italy? --- Yes.

And then finally in this book at page 474,
"The public was becoming to preoccupied with fascism
abroad to give it much support at home", writing of 1937. 30
Now what would be the fascism abroad which public in
England were becoming concerned with in 1937? Germany or

Italy? --- I presume both.

And then this passage which I have given, the public was becoming too preoccupied with fascism abroad to give it much support at home, appears from two articles quoted James Brennan, the British Union of Fascists, 5 Oswald Moseley and British Fascism, is a laudatory sketch, Frederick Mullaly, Fascism Inside England, a hostile account. It seems to have been in general use in those days, doesn't it? Now have you heard of a distinguished French academic writer and journalist called Raymond Aron? .10 I referred to him earlier? --- Yes, I know the name.

He wrote a book called The Century of Total War, which was translated into English in 1954, and he is now the Professeur à l'Ecole d'Etudes Politiques et L'Institution de l'Administration, affiliated to the 15 Sorbonne University. Now one would describe him obviously as a man of some standing, who holds that position. Correct? --- Yes.

And he writes this way at page 251. It is obvious from what I am going to read that he is not a 20 communist. Dialectic of the Extremes is the heading of the article. He talks about the position in Germany which he describes - he describes the situation which he says may be called the typical and ideal breeding ground of fascism in the twentieth century. He says : 25

"We really find elsewhere the combination of all these elements. None of the authoritarian governments between the two wars achieved the essence of modern fascism so fully as national socialism. France's fascism, for instance, is more characteristic of Spain than of the 30 industrial communities of the twentieth century." That is a very extended use, completely different to yours? ---

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