

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA  
(SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT)

1. Messrs. A. Livingstone & Co.,  
Attorneys for the Defence,  
Dunvegan Chambers,  
c/r Commissioner & Joubert Streets,  
JOHANNESBURG.
2. The Registrar,  
Special Criminal Court,  
PRETORIA.

REGINA vs. ADAMS AND OTHERS: TREASON TRIAL.

The Crown desires to give further notice that Professor Bochenski will testify in regard to his qualifications and method of studying communism as set out in Annexure 1 hereto.

He will also testify in regard to the following topics on the lines indicated in annexures hereto marked 2 to 5:-

2. Alliances and Transmissions - The two Revolutions.
3. On People's Democracy and People's Republic.
4. On the Freedom Charter.
5. On the Comintern and Cominform.

With reference to the notice dated 28/7/1958 which was served on you on 30/7/1958 and which contained a list of documents which are to form the subject of part of Professor Bochenski's evidence, the Crown desires to give notice that he will testify on the lines indicated in the attached memoranda which bear in each case the relative exhibit number. Referring to the Crown's notice of 8/8/1958, to which were attached lists of books and publications the Crown desires to give notice

that/....



2.

that Professor Bochenski will testify on the lines indicated in the enclosed reports relating to the respective lists and showing the names of the organisations and accused persons concerned.

(sgd) M.O. Barker  
for ATTORNEY-GENERAL

PRETORIA,

25. 9. 1958.



STATEMENT BY JOSEPH BOCHENSKI.

I hold the degrees D.D. Ph.D.

I have served successively in the following capacities:-

Assistant Prof. in University of Cracow (Poland).

Assoc. then Full Prof. in the International Pontifical Institute "Angelicum", Rome (Italy), 1934/1940.

Full Professor in the (State) University of Fribourg (Switzerland) since 1945.

Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the same, 1950/51, re-elected for 1951/2.

Visiting Professor in the University of Notre Dame, Ind. 1955/56.

Visiting Professor in the University of California, Los Angeles 1958/9 (Flint Professorship).

Director of the Institute of East-European Studies (Sovietological studies) in the University of Fribourg.

Member of the Board of Directors of the Ost-Kolleg (Sovietological studies).

Member of the Board of Directors of the Ost-Kolleg (Sovietological studies) Koln, Germany.

Director of Research under a program sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (on Communist Ideology). Sometimes invited lecturer by the leading Universities of the U.S.A., Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, California, (Berkeley: Howison Lecture).

I am the Author of:

About 40 volumes and numerous papers on Philosophy and its History. One of the works "Contemporary Philosophy in Europe" is a classic: it has been trans-



translated into English, French, Dutch, Japanese, Spanish and sold 80,000 copies.

"Soviet Dialectical Materialism" (in German): one of the very few (in fact: two) books on the subject written with first-hand knowledge of the Russian sources.

"The Communist Ideology and the Dignity, Freedom and Equality of men" (Soabish and Japanese translations).

"Handbook on World Communism" edited with Professor C. Niemeyer and with the collaboration of 16 leading Sovietologists of America and Europe.

I have had the following special experience:-

Former scientific director of the field-research made during the war with 63,000 witnesses of Polish origin who were deported to Russia.

Member of the board of the Committee of European sovietological Institutes (comprehending: St. Antony's College, Oxford: Ost-Europa Institut, Berlin:

International Social Archives, Amsterdam. The 6th Section of the Paris Ecole Pratique des Etudes Supérieures; Collegium Russicum, Rome and other).

Expert at the Process of the Communist Party in the Constitutional Court of the German Federal Republic.

Continuous contacts with practically all leading Western Sovietologists and with several ex-communists.

In connection with THE METHOD OF STUDY OF COMMUNISM it must be borne in mind that Communism is not a single phenomenon, like a car accident, which can be seen or otherwise directly observed, it is absurd to suppose that any person can know it fully in that way. On the contrary, Communism is -

- (1) a very widespread phenomenon, covering many millions of actions and relations;



3.

- (2) a highly complex phenomenon which comprehends many elements and different strata;
- (3) moreover, a phenomenon which conceals systematically its own nature its aims, organisations and actions.

It follows, therefore, that Communism can be known only through a systematic study. Data concerning it - and they are very many - must be collected, classified, compared and evaluated. In other words only a specialized scientist can know what Communism, as a whole, really is. The science concerned with that study is commonly called now "Sovietology", in spite of the fact that its object is not only the Soviet Union, but all Communism.

I, as Sovietologist proceed as follows:

1. As far as doctrines are concerned, I rely only on printed documents, mostly in Russian, published by authoritative Communist agencies.  
  
I receive regularly the Catalogue "Sovietakie Knigi", and the analogous publications of some other Communist countries; I subscribe and regularly read the main theoretical reviews of the Communist Party, such as "Kommunist" "Partijnaja Zizm" etc. - also at least the "Pravda". I read the current communist books, published in Russian in Moscow. I always have at my disposal, of course the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, etc.
2. Far more difficult is the study of the Organisation. Here also I rely primarily on official documents, e.g. on the statutes and programmes of the various Communist Parties, Constitutions of Communist countries, Programmes and declarations of



notoriously communist "front" - organisations etc. but real understanding of those documents requires also the knowledge of many facts which are not described in them and must be learned from the current - often provincial - press and from reports of thousands of witnesses. E.G. if one were to base one's judgment on the organisation of the communist forced labour camps exclusively on what one learns from the legal books published in the Soviet Union, China, etc. one would most certainly mis understand the nature of that organisation. Here vast field research must be used. Another instance is the mechanism of Communist elections which can be understood only if the real conditions in which they were conducted are known - and this can only be learned from field research. In such studies, I have to use also memoirs of persons who witnessed such or such other details of the organisation, but these cannot be taken as they stand, they must be analysed, compared with other data, etc. before they are used.

3. The most difficult task is, however, to know what Communists really do. For, as far as the doctrine is concerned, everything may be found in official documents, and in the case of the organisation, at least a part of the data is supplied by them; but as to the deeds, a great number of them are never described in documents, and what is described is very often falsified. To quote just one instance, nobody was able up to now, to determine with any degree of accuracy, the real value of Soviet production, so misleading and



wilfully confused are all data supplied by the official statistics . In trying to know this sort of facts, I use all available data, building vast files and then, by a long and tedious work of comparison and evaluation, derive some conclusions.

From all that emerges the conclusion, that I rely perhaps more than many other scientists, on team-work. Such team-work exists already, as a matter of fact. There are in the United States of America, in Europe, South America specialised centres of studies. Their results are published in a number - still small but steadily increasing - of standard books in which one domain - e.g. the development of the Ideology, the newest social changes, some or other aspect of the legal and economic problems, the religious and cultural policy - is being studied, and an ample apparatus of references to original documents is supplied.

Those works taken together -and they alone among the many thousands of communist and anti-communist propaganda books, memoirs, pamphlets and other irrelevant writings - represent what may be termed the stand of science. Their authority is so great that even party-politicians seldom dare deny their value. Thus, the classical work on dialectical materialism by Fr. G.A. Wetter, an Austrian jesuit, has been even published by a Communist publisher (Einaudi). Thus, the statements contained in N. Jasny's classical book on Soviet agriculture, have never been doubted by anybody. Thus again a Gerschenkrons work on the Machinery output is an unquestioned authority. Similarly, if there were many verbal denials of the conclusions brought out by the great



field-researches of Mora-Zwierniak and Dallin-Nikolievski on concentration camps, nobody could ever supply any serious reason for doubting the value of the tremendous mass of evidence, scientifically elaborated in them.

What the Sovietologist knows, is, consequently, the following:-

- (1). He has a first-hand knowledge of communist texts concerning the doctrine and the organisation.
- (2) He possesses a thorough knowledge of the fundamental principles on which the Communist movement and organisation is based, through his study of the history and the development of the Party.
- (3) He knows the methods which must be used in the study of the problem, the sources, knows where they can be found and how they should be understood.
- (4) He, finally, knows the main centres of serious sovietological studies and is able to recognise authoritative literature from propaganda and nonsense.

These are the main requirements for a successful study of communism. Above all, however, the task requires from the Sovietologist a complete scientific objectivity.



Annexure 3.

ON "PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY" and "PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC".

In spite of the vagueness of the meaning of "People's Democracy" in Communist language, there are some characteristics common to all cases in which such "Democracy" has been established:

1. In all known cases the "PD" has been established by the Communist Party and/or a Communist foreign state. There is no known case, in which "PD" would have been introduced without its decisive co-operation, which meant, in all cases, leadership.
2. In all known cases the "PD" has been installed by violent methods, either by an armed revolution, or by the military occupation by a foreign Communist country, or by both together.
3. In all known cases "PD" was a form of government in which the so-called "Dictatorship" of the People or "of the peasants and workers" or "of the toiler" was established, i.e. the dictatorship of the Communist Party. Not a single case of a "PD" without such dictatorship is known.
4. In all known cases the "PD" has been regarded as an intermediate step toward a "socialist", i.e. fully soviet system of government and of the economy.

As far as the question is concerned if, a "PD" could be established without the use of violence, three levels may be distinguished in Communism; the level of the fundamental theory, the level of the current propaganda statements and the level of concrete practice. It is a general rule of sound sovietological analysis, to consider only the first and third level, as Communists use the make in their propaganda statements widely different from their real beliefs and aims.



Now, both Communist theory, and Communist practice show, that according to the Communists a "PD" cannot be installed without violence. The theory, because "PD" is the result of a revolution, namely of the "national-democratic" revolution which is thought to be similar to the French revolution and is most certainly conceived as violent. The practice, on the other hand, has been described above, it is always violent.

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

The term People's Republic, is part of the formal name of certain communist states as for instance the People's Republic of China. In all cases known to witness this term has been used to describe a Communist State, and never as a description of a non-Communist State.



ALLIANCES AND TRANSMISSIONS.

THE TWO REVOLUTIONS.

a. The Party always a small minority.

The Communist party should be, according to the Communist teaching, a small minority, as a matter of fact it is and has always been such a minority. Once it has seized power and can use terror, this is not a handicap for its rule; but the conquest of power cannot be operated by a minority without the help of non-Communists.

This entails a rule, which was stated with great force by Lenin, and is constantly followed by all Communists; namely that, as long as the power has not been completely in the hands of the Party, Communists should use for their scopes the greatest possible number of non-Communists.

b. The various methods of using non-Communists:

While applying the above general principle, Communists use, both in theory and in practice, a variety of methods. Organisations built up by them for the sake of subordinating non-Communists to the Party may either be groups strictly controlled by Communists, or such in which they are only one of the allies, or belong to any intermediary type. It is an explicit teaching of Lenin, constantly applied in practice, that many very different organisations should be built up.

The result is, that Communism as an organisation is always a very complex structure, consisting of a strongly organised, militant and conscious centre - the Party proper - and of a far larger fringe of other organisations with ramifications characterised by different degrees of militancy and Communist orthodoxy. The peripheral among such organisations may be, and generally are, composed of men who do not even realise that they serve the Communist



Party and who are themselves opposed to it.

In other words the Communist organisation may be compared to a small but intense coloured fleck on a white surface, surrounded by a fringe of lesser and lesser intensity, up to a point, where it is difficult to see if the given spot is coloured or not.

I know of philatelist organisations led by Communists, of societies for prevention of Cruelty to animals, established by the Party, or academic bodies, composed in their majority of anti-Communists, and which have avowedly neutral aims (such as cultural exchange) but are still Communist-controlled etc.

Along these different organisations, three types may be distinguished, namely: the "transmissions" or "front organisations", the "united fronts" with non-proletarian classes, and the "united fronts" with non-Communist parties.

c. TRANSMISSION AND FRONT-ORGANISATIONS:

Both expressions mean, the same in Communist language: and both were already used by Lenin - since then they became standard expressions in Communist slang.

The most important test concerning the corresponding concept is to be found in Lenin's "What is to be done?".

(Works in 2 vols. 1,232). In that text Lenin, after having insisted on the necessity of a central revolutionary organisation - namely of the CP - goes on asserting that such a centralisation will not harm, but, on the contrary, help developing a "great mass" of other organisations, which are calculated to act on broad masses and should, therefore, be as loose and as little illegal as possible. He quotes as instances of such organisations; Workers Unions, Societies for self-education of workers, Reader's



circles, democratic circles, etc. Such circles, organisations and societies should be built everywhere, in as large number as possible (in italics in Lenin's text) and with most different functions. But, he says, it would be a harmful nonsense to confuse them with the Organisations of the Revolutionaries, (i.e. with the Party).

The same ideas were developed by Lenin in a letter (Letters of Lenin, trans. Hill & Mudie, London 1937. p.91).

Summing up the above teaching we find, that the said "transmissions" or "front-organisations" are:-

(i). AS TO THEIR NATURE:

- (a) Composed mostly of non-Communists.
- (b) Loose - not strictly disciplined, as the Party:
- (c) As little illegal as possible;
- (d) Different from the Communist Party;
- (e) Adapted to the needs of the broad masses.

(ii) AS TO THEIR AIMS:

- (a) Established each for a different concrete aim;
- (b) Established by the Party, to serve the Party's general goal;
- (c) Established in order to build a bridge between the Party and the masses - to be "transmissions" of the will of the Party.

(iii) AS TO THEIR NUMBERS: AS MANY AS POSSIBLE.

d. The first type of "United fronts".

The first type of "united fronts" are political bodies (which is not always the case of the transmissions), composed of a majority of non-Communists, but organised and led by Communists. Sometimes, they are not even formal organisations, but simply political movements, in



which the non-Communists form a majority under the leadership of the party.

There are three main cases, in which united fronts of that type are strongly recommended by Lenin.

- (a) the democratic revolution (s.below) during which, according to Lenin, a united front should be built with the bourgeoisie against feudalism. (The two tactics of Social Democracy Moscow, Fr. Lang. Publ. House, s.a., ch. 4, p.50)
- (b) the national democratic revolution (s.below) during which such a front should be built up with all national factors against the foreigners (imperialism)
- (c) the first stage of the socialist revolution, during which a united front with peasants is always recommended. Similarly, during the collectivisation drive, a united front with poorer peasants against the wealthy peasants ("koulaks") is recommended.

There are, however, also other cases in which a similar united front should be built up, according to the Communists. E.G. Lenin recommends such a front with the believers, and even with the clergy, during the strike actions etc. (On the relation of Social Democracy to religion; Germ. AW 11, p.403, Rp.528). The same Leninist teaching has been emphatically applied by the Comintern (7th Congress, Moscow 1935) to the situation in which the so-called "fascism" is in power (Report of the seventh world Congress of the Communist International, London 1936).

(e) The Second Type of the "united front":

The second type of the "united fronts" is a complement to the first one, in cases, when outside, the Communist Party there are strong political Parties, able



to co-operate with it for some intermediate goals. In such cases, the Communists foster alliances with those parties.

There are two differences between that type and the preceding one:

- (i) In the former not organisations, but individual non-Communists, are enrolled; here organisations as such (parties) enter the "front";
- (ii) while in the former it is the Party alone which rules, the "fronts" of the second sort may be simple alliances, without a complete rule of the Communist Party.

The doctrine is implicit in Lenin's writings, and has been always applied by Communists when they felt to be unable to rule alone. Classical instances are : The "popular front" in France, under Blum (1936); the United front in Spain (1936). the alliance with the Kuo Ming-tang in China (1936-46); the coalition governments in the East-European satellite countries during the first years after 1945.

f. On the two revolutions:

The theory of the united fronts is mostly applied by Communists during the so-called "democratic" and "national democratic" revolutions.

It is namely clear from the principles of the historical Materialism, that a country, which did not yet reach the stage of Capitalism, i.e. a country in which the feudal system is prevalent, must pass through two revolutions, before it becomes a "socialist" country; the first is the "democratic" revolution of the type of the Great French Revolution (1789). That revolution is



carried on principally by the bourgeoisie, against the aristocracy. It is consequently a "bourgeoisie revolution". It results in the establishment of the bourgeois-democratic state.

Lenin teaches that:

- (i) the socialist revolution is impossible before the democratic (bourgeois) revolution has been operated;
- (ii) the instalment of a democratic system (with freedom of press, speech, assembly, etc) is necessary to the Communist Party for its organisational and propaganda scopes;
- (iii) consequently, the Communist Party should support as vigourously as it can that revolution; this entails that the Communist Party should enter in a "united front" with the bourgeoisie which operates that revolution and that Communists should fight for its aims, namely for a bourgeois-democratic system, as the first step towards the "socialist" revolution.

In colonial and semi-colonial countries the democratic revolution becomes a "National-democratic revolution", namely in as far as the bourgeois-democratic forces lead a struggle not only for bourgeois democracy, but also for the liberation of the country from foreign imperialism (s. Imperialism). It follows, that in such countries the Communist should support the national movements and fight for the liberation of oppressed nations. This has a double utility for the ultimate scopes of the Party:

- (i) it leads toward a democratic system, which is the first step towards a "socialist" revolution.



(ii) it helps weakening the Imperialism, which is the enemy of Communism on the international level.

LENIN, Two tactics in V.I. Lenin, Selected Works in Two Volumes, 1,352:

".....by making it the task of the provisional revolutionary government to put into effect the minimum programme, the resolution (of the 3rd Congr. of the R.S.D.L.P., my addition) eliminates the absurd, semi-anarchist ideas about putting the maximum programme into effect immediately, about the conquest of power for a Socialist revolution. The degree of economic development of Russia (in 1905, My addition) (an objective condition) and the degree of class-consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition) inseparably connected with the objective condition) make the immediate complete emancipation of the working class impossible. Only the most ignorant people can ignore the bourgeois nature of the democratic revolution which is now taking place; only the most naive optimist can forget how little as yet the masses of the workers are informed of the aims of Socialism and of the methods of achieving it. And we are all convinced that the emancipation of the workers can be effected only by the workers themselves; a Socialist revolution is out of question unless the masses become class conscious, organised, trained, and educated in open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie. In answer to the anarchist objection that we are putting off the Socialist revolution, we say: we are not putting it off, but are taking the first step towards it, in the only possible way, along the only correct road, namely, the road of a democratic republic. Whoever wants to arrive at Socialism by a different road, other than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at absurd and



reactionary conclusions, both in the economic and political sense".

LENIN, *ibid.* 1, 361.

"From the premises that democratic revolution is far from being a Socialist one, that the propertyless are far from being the only ones to whom it is "of interest", that it is deeply rooted in the inexorable needs and requirements of the whole (italics in the text) bourgeois society - from these premises we draw the conclusion that the most progressive class must formulate its democratic aims all the more boldly, express them all the more sharply and fully, advance the direct slogan calling for a republic, popularise the idea of the necessity of a provisional revolutionary government and of the necessity of ruthlessly crushing counter-revolution".

LENIN, *ibid.* 1, 414.

"The democratic revolution is a bourgeois revolution. The slogan of a Black Redistribution, or "land and liberty" - this most widespread slogan of the peasant masses, down-trodden and ignorant, yet passionately yearning for light and happiness - is a bourgeois slogan. But we Marxists should know that there is not, nor can there be any other path to real freedom for the proletariat and the peasantry, than the path of bourgeois freedom and bourgeois progress. We must not forget that there is not, nor can there be, at the present time, any other means of bringing Socialism nearer, than a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. As the representatives of the advanced and only revolutionary class, revolutionary without reservations, doubts and retrospection, we must present to the whole of the people the aims of a democratic



revolution as widely and as boldly as possible, displaying the utmost initiative.

LENIN, Draft of the theses on the national and colonial questions for the second Congress of the Communist International, SW 2, 657.

"11. With regard to the more backward states and nations, in which feudal or patriarchal-peasant relations predominate, it is particularly important to bear in mind:

First, that all Communist Parties must assist the bourgeois-democratic liberation movement in these countries, and that the duty of rendering the most active assistance rests primarily upon the workers of the country, upon which the backward nation is dependent colonially or financially.

REPORT OF THE SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, London, Modern Books Ltd., 1936, Resolution on the report of G. Dimitrov, p.16.

"In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most important task facing the Communist countries in working to establish an anti-imperialist people's front (both italics in text). For this purpose it is necessary to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national reformist organisations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform".



LENIN, What is to be done? SW 1,232.

"The centralization of the more secret functions in an organisation of revolutionaries will not diminish, but increase the extent and quality of the activity of a large number of other organisations which are intended for a broad public and are therefore as loose and as non-secret as possible, such as workers' trade unions, workers' circles for self-edification and the reading of illegal literature, Socialist and democratic circles among all other sections of the population, etc. etc. We must have such circles, trade unions and organisations everywhere in as large a number as possible and with the widest variety of functions; but it would be absurd and dangerous to confuse them with the organisation of revolutionaries..." (all italics in the original text).

Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz Nr. 135,4.XII. 1928  
Thesen und Resolutionen des VI Weltkongresses der  
Kommunistischen Internationale p.2693 (Translation)

"In the Union of South Africa the negro masses, which constitute the majority of the population, are being expropriated from the land by the white colonists and by the State, and deprived of political rights and of the right of freedom of movement; are subjected to most brutal forms of racial and class oppression and suffer simultaneously from pre-capitalist and capitalist methods of exploitation and oppression".

"The Communist Party, which has already achieved definite success among the negro proletariat, has the duty of continuing still more energetically the struggle for complete equality of rights for Negroes and for confiscation of the land of the landlords. In drawing into its organisation non-Negro workers, organising them



10.

in Trade Unions, and in carrying on a struggle for the acceptance of Negroes by the trade unions of white workers, the Communist Party has the obligation to struggle by all methods against every racial prejudice in the ranks of the white workers and to eradicate entirely such prejudices from its own ranks. The Party must determinedly and consistently put forward the slogan for the creation of an independent Native Republic, with simultaneous guarantees for the rights of the white minority, and struggle in deeds for its realisation".



BOCHENSKI

ON "THE FREEDOM CHARTER"

1. The document contains a moderately socialist programme with stress laid on liberal theses. Communist phraseology is not used - not even the word "capitalism" does occur in the text. Moreover, some of the points of the Charter are in contradiction with the ultimate programme of the Communist Party, e.g. there is at least a suggestion that private enterprise should be favoured (excepted for mines, banks, etc) and it seems that the doctrine according to which land should be given to the peasants toiling on it, is explicit.

Such a document could have been drawn by non-Communists, e.g. by British Labourists, by German Socialists. There is nothing in its text which would compel the reader to conclude that this is a Communist statement.

2. However, the programme contained in the Charter fits perfectly the intermediate programme of the Communist Party - it states namely the goals to be achieved by the so-called "national-democratic" revolution which is the first step toward the so-called "socialist" revolution. Consequently, the situation is such, that Communists should according to their doctrine, draw and propagate a document of that sort, in a colonial or semi-colonial country.

3. As a matter of fact, similar documents have been often drawn and propagated in the early stages of the Communist action in a country. To quote just one characteristic instance, the Siamese Communists edited at the end of 19<sup>4</sup>6 a "Charter" very much like the present in many essential points - which is only still more "bourgeois-democratic" than the South African, as it



postulates that "industry should be protected" (text in V. Thompson- R.Adloff "The Left Wing in South East Asia", New York, 1950, p.61F). So far as the slogan "the land should be shared amongst those who work on it" is concerned, it has been practically always formulated and propagated by Communists in the early period of their activity. E.G. it has been proclaimed by Lenin in 1917 (Ausz. Werke 6,4150 By Mao Tse-Tung (Turning Point in China, New York 1948, p.11): by the East-German Communists ("Junkerland in Bauernhand" quoted by W. Leonhard, "Die Revolution entlast ihre Kinder, Koln. Berlin 1955, p.413: by the Communist Party of India (Programme of the Communist Party of India, s.l. 1951, p.1.: "it is necessary to take away the land from the landlords and to give it to peasants"), by the Communist Party of Brazil (For Lasting Peace, for Peoples Democracy, 26.11.1954); by the French Communist Party. ("Confiscation of landed estates owned by capitalists; immediate allocation of the land thus confiscated to the agricultural labourers and the owners of small and middle-class holding". Quoted by: A. Rossi: "A Communist Party in Action, New Howey 1955, p. 38)

4. The logical structure of the above is the following: if X is a Communist, X will draw in conditions such as these of contemporary South Africa, a statement like the Charter. It does not follow logically, that if X drew in the said circumstances the Charter - X is a Communist. But two certain facts quoted above under 2 and 3 make it probable, that the Charter has been formulated by Communists, because they usually do so and should so so, according to their doctrine.

5. Would it be known by other sources that persons responsible for the drawing of the Charter were engaged



3.

in other activities commonly engaged in by Communists,  
the content of the Charter would serve as a confirmation  
of the hypothesis that they are Communists.



A. 84. 85. 86.

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

THE COUNTRY WE LIVE IN.

CHANGE IS NEEDED.

Typed, 6, 6 and 3 pages.

This is a series of 3 lectures which obviously forma whole. They are all very well written; the language is elementary and clear, yet the author is able to explain rather complicated and abstract matters, like the theory of the surplus value.

LECTURE 1. "The World We Live In" is a clearly communist work. It contains mainly three parts:

1. On the historical development of social relations (2-5);
2. On surplus value and exploitation (9-7);
3. On the colonial question. (9-11);

All three contain an analysis from a strictly Leninist point of view.

(1) The first section explains in a very elementary, but faithful way the Leninist doctrine of the 5 stages of History, based on five types of the productive forces. This is scientifically untenable, by a Communist dogma.

(2) The second section contains an admirable clear explanation of the Marxist doctrine of the surplus-value, another scientifically untenable but dogmatic Communist doctrine.

(3) The third section presents in elementary form the fundamental theses of Lenin's doctrine of Imperialism and of the colonial problem, as amplified by Stalin. There is nothing in that lecture which does not explain some or other fundamental Communist doctrine. Such a perfect presentation of these doctrines



is seldom seen.

Lecture 2. is concerned with the history and the present state of South Africa, mostly in as far as its Economy and socio-political relations among races are concerned. It should be noted that the terms "imperialism" and "fascist" are used in the same way as in the Communist language.

Lecture 3. contains an argumentation and an appeal in favour of a revolution which would instal a "People's Democracy".

If the three lectures form a whole, then it is a communist-inspired document. Its theoretical basis (Lecture 1) is obviously communist, while the two other lectures, if they do not contain - excepted in terminology - anything typically Communist, nevertheless fit perfectly with the classical programme of the Communist Parties in the period preceding the so-called "democratic-national" revolution.

It should be added that taken as a whole, these lectures are an exceedingly well done piece of propaganda. The appeal to real conditions and aspirations of the people is masterly used to impose a Communist interpretation of the facts and to lead toward an action contemplated by the Communists as the first step in their struggle for the domination of the country.



NOTES FOR LECTURERS, ELEMENTARY COURSE  
OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

Mimeographed (or typed): 14 pp. incomplete.

A typical elementary course of leninist political economy and historical materialism. There are 8 lectures (only the beginning of the last is contained on p. 14).

1. Capitalism.
2. Wages under Capitalism (surplus-value).
3. Unemployment and Crisis.
4. Imperialism (after Lenin).
5. Fascist Dictatorship.
6. The Rise of the Working Class (Feudalism)
7. Revolutionary Capitalism.
8. Capitalist Democracy.



NATIONALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Typed or mimeographes: 16 pp.

The document contains a lecture of L. Forman, his answer to Dr. Simons, a paper by K.A. Jordaan, an address by Th. Ngwenya and a paper by Dr. H.J. Symons.

The first and last papers contain analysis of the national problem in S.A. conducted from a typically Communist point of view. The authors take the doctrines of Capitalism, struggle of classes, Colonialism, of the role of the Proletariat, etc. for granted and from that point of view examine some peculiar African problems.

The document may be safely classified as Communist.



MOSES KOTANE: SOUTH AFRICA'S WAY FORWARD.

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1956. s.l.. 16 pp.

Most of this pamphlet is devoted to peculiar South African affairs in which the witness is not competent. There is, however, at least one chapter, "On World Peace" (pp. 10-12) which contains classical statements of contemporary Communism; namely statements about the "Peace Movement" understood as a struggle against the "aggressive forces of the U.S.A.". The whole of p. 10 of this chapter is typically Communist.

This being so, it seems legitimate to conclude, that the remainder should also be interpreted as having Communist meaning. Whether this is so, the witness cannot say, because of lack of knowledge of local conditions.



RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL LINE OF THE F.O.S.U.

Typed: 3 pages.

A typical piece of Communist propaganda. It is even of a low and massive type. The theory of two blocks, of their reconciliability; much nonsense about the economical evolution of the non-Communist countries (progressive impoverishment of the masses, crises, etc) qualification of the reports on concentration camps as "slander"; similar declaration as to the "religious persecution"; constant use of classical Communist slang are some of the features which show that nobody but Communists could draw such a paper.



DOCUMENT 2: PROBLEMS OF ORGANIZATION.  
PEACE CIRCLES MUST STRENGTHEN THE PEACE  
MOVEMENT.

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Mimeographed (or typed): 6 pp.

This is a set of practical rules for the activities of the Peace Movement. As it stands, it contains nothing Communist except the very fact that it serves a Communist inspired movement.



THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

Mimeographed (or typed): with hand amendments: 8 pp.

A document as would be expected from a militant partisan of the W.P. Council, i.e., a plea for the Soviet aims in world politics. "Peace" means here disarmament of the Western Powers alone. There is (p.2.) a characteristic stress laid on the unity of the liberation and peace movements; this is a constant Communist thesis.

Without any doubt a Communist document.



FIRST NATIONAL SOUTH AFRICAN PEACE CONGRESS.

Mimeographed (or typed): 23 pp.

A sort of document as might have been expected from a "Peace Congress". Attacks on the defensive measures of Western Powers with special applications to Africa, defense of the Soviet Union; Communist interpretation of wars such as in Korea, etc.

A clearly Communist inspired document.



G. 1114

28.7.1958.

LIBERATION: A JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

No. 3 (June 1953) 16 pp. No.10 (1954), 28 pp.  
No. 12 (September 1955) 20 pp. No.13 (October 1955)  
24 pp. No.15 (No.14 on the 1st page), (December  
1955) 24 pp.

This seems to be a revolutionary nationalistic paper proposing extremely radical criticism of the actual policy of the S.A. Government; most of its contents are devoted to such criticism. This is outside witness's competence.

Yet, there are articles and texts which suggest that the paper may be Communist or Communist inspired. e.g. two enthusiastic statements on the solution of the problem of Nationalities in the Soviet Union (No.15, p.13) and in China (No.12 pp.7-11).

Also Communist slang ("Fascism" "imperialism" etc) is used. This, combined with the fact that the general policy of the review fits perfectly the aims of the Communist Party in the present moment in S.A. makes the above conclusion probable.



MA. 76.

FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

18 pages; duplicated or typed.

This is a piece of semi-official propaganda for the Soviet Union. It contains, alongside with translations of some speeches made at the 20th Party Congress, a reprint of an article "Triumph of Leninist Policy" from the "Moscow News".



N.A.82: NOTES FOR LECTURERS ELEMENTARY  
COURSE ON POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

Typewritten 16 pp.

There are 8 lectures. No.1.2 & 3 (pp.2-7) contains pure Marxist teaching, derived mostly from "Das Kapital" and in complete agreement with the classical communist theses, e.g. in the Politiceskaja Ekonomija or Glezerman. Identical doctrines are sometimes held by non-Communists (Socialists).

LECTURE NO.4 is typically Communist. It is a recount of V.I. Lenin's "Imperialism", last stage of Capitalism".

LECTURE NO.5 is also typically Communist, especially in two points:

- (a) the use of the word "Fascism" as referring to all nationalistic totalitarian movements;
- (b) the (completely false) assertion that fascism as understood was a "form of capitalist dictatorship" (p.9, N.3.)

LECTURE NO.6. 7. 8 are again Marxist, i.e. in agreement with Communism but not proper to it. Some parts referring to local conditions of S.A. and outside the witness's competence.

CONCLUSION. Two lectures are certainly expounding strictly Communist teachings; Six explain Marxist teaching acknowledged by Communists and included in the body of "Marxian-Leninism" without being exclusively Communist.



HB. 69

THE SOVIET UNION AND HUNGARY. INFORMATION  
BULLETIN.

Mimeographed: 17 pp.

A set of official ~~and~~ Soviet and Communist declarations concerning the smashing of the Hungarian Revolution by Soviet Forces, with comments from Jinminjipao, Pravda, Humanite, Rude Pravo etc. and a speech of D. Nokwe in which the speaker upholds the Soviet thesis.

A typical Communist propaganda document.



L.B. 2

(NO TITLE: THE TEXT BEGINS WITH:  
SOUTH AFRICA STANDS AT THE CROSS ROADS..."

Typed or mimeographed: 21 pp.

This is in its essence a statement of the aims and policy of the nationalist native groups in S.A. and not as such, Communist propaganda. However, some Communist ideas form the background of a part of the statements contained here - so, above all, the theory of Capitalism and Imperialism. Also the theses about the foreign policy are identical with those of the Communists, and there is some communist slang in the paper.



P.J. 68

P.J.68: "SECTION IV CHAPTER II,  
DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM. TYPED 8 pp.

An intelligent elementary explanation of the  
Diamat (Dialectical Materialism) based entirely on  
Stalin.

Most certainly Communist.



NEW YOUTH.....VOL.1, NO.4 (NOV. 1954)  
& No. 9 (SEPTEMBER 1955).

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Two issues of a paper apparently edited in order to promote World Youth Festivals and similar meetings. It is undoubtedly a Communist review. It glorifies Soviet Russia and China (6, p.1B), protests against the suppression of "Advance", and asks for the admission of "People's China" into the UN (6, p.4.), contains an enthusiastic article about Mayokowski (6, p.8.) glorifies the Rosenbergs, wellknown Soviet spies in the U.S.A. (p.p.5ff), accuses the U.S.A. of having "tried to prove that war is inevitable" (9, p.12) and contains much typical Communist shang and propaganda for "Peace" after Communist fashion.



A.M.K. 40

A.M.K. 40 (NO TITLE) TYPED 4 pp.

Panegyric comments on Stalin's "Economical  
problem of Socialism". (1952).

Typically Communist.



ON THE COMINTERN

The Comintern was established by Lenin, who drafted its programme and assisted at its first meetings. Later on, the Comintern, under the guidance of Stalin, was just re-stating and applying Leninist doctrines to the changing political situations, e.g. it formulated some principles concerning the revolution in colonial countries (sixth congress) - and the so-called united fronts (seventh congress) - but both were based on Leninist principles.

ON THE COMINFORM

The Cominform was a sort of federation of several Communist parties, organised by Stalin, in order to secure their collaboration. It was mostly occupied with practical questions - such as fostering the Peace Movement, condemnation of Titoism and so on. The Cominform just applied Leninist principles in practice.



THE SIGNIFICATION OF WORLD YOUTH DAY

Typical document of Communist propaganda which praises - alongside with national struggles - Communist wars like those of Korea, or revolution, like that of Guatemala.



A.M. 49 - D.94

A.M. 49 - D.94 - "SYLLABUS. LOCAL COMMITTEE  
TRAINING SCHOOLS. COURSE 1 - TRADE UNIONISM".

Typed.

A.M. 49 4 pp. Contents the index (p.1-2) and documents concerned with the May Day 1956 (pp. 3 - 6) these belonging, as it seems, to another context.

D.94. 52 pp. Being a short, but rather complete handbook of the organiser of Trade Unions.

This is quite clearly a Communist document, in spite of the relatively matter of fact and moderate style in which it is written.

REASONS.

- (1) Communist terminology "Fascist" "imperialist" etc.
- (2) Earliest form of human society, scientifically known as "primitive communism" (p.3.). This is not scientifically known, but a Leninist dogma.
- (3) Sharp criticism of the "right-wing union in the U.S.A., Australia, Great Britain and elsewhere, which faithfully carried out the instructions of the ruling class, and expelled some of the most loyal and devoted fighters for the working class on the grounds that they were communists". (p.18) This is a most unjust and typically communist accusation of non-communist T.U.'s.
- (4) Sharp attacks on the 2nd International "Most socialist parties supported their Governments in the Imperialist war". (p.22). This is Leninist.
- (5) Clear support of the Communist sponsored W.F.T.U. against the non-Communist I.C.F.T.U. (p.55).



- (6) "The manoeuvring of the A.F.L., carrying out approved Governmental policy of the U.S.A." (p.24). This is an unjust accusation of the great American Fed. of Unions. Typically Communist.
- (7) Trade Unions as in Britain and the U.S.A. cease to act as weapons of the workers and become tools of the enemy class". (p.32). Same unjust accusation.



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