

Collective Leadership in the Soviet Union

By MICHAEL HARMEL

WHAT are the Soviet leaders saying about Stalin? Have they "turned against him?" What is the significance of the widespread discussions about collective leadership? Many people are asking these questions, following on reports of the recent Communist Party Congress held a month ago in Moscow. In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to consider them against the background of the Congress itself.

The twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was an historic event of a significance extending far beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R., as is shown by the continuing discussion of it in every country, and by the Press, both friendly and hostile, all over the world. No serious student of international affairs can afford to be ignorant of what the leaders of so great a world power as the U.S.S.R. are thinking and saying. And in our times, as never before, it is the duty of every citizen to become a serious student of world affairs.

It is a thousand pities therefore that the "corrupted iron curtain" which the Nationalist Government's censorship has erected about South Africa, as well as the stifling and hateful suppressive legislation preventing free advocacy and debate of opinions, have thus far prevented widespread knowledge of and debate about the Congress and its decisions. The reports that have appeared in the daily newspapers, in which facts and "quotations" from speeches were inextricably mingled with the obviously biased comments of the battery of anti-Soviet "experts," have done more to create confusion than to spread information.

WIDE RANGE

The reports placed before the Congress, and its decisions, cover a wide, comprehensive area of international and Soviet affairs. The main report of the Central Committee, presented by Mr. N. S. Krushchov, is a remarkable document, containing some 50,000 words, and covering an extraordinarily wide range of subjects.

The report declares that socialism has spread beyond the borders of the U.S.S.R. to a vast area embracing 900 million people, a world system of socialism existing side by side with the world system of capitalism; that the two systems can and should continue to exist side by side in peace; and that war is neither inevitable nor desirable. It discusses the "infamous" system of imperialist colonialism, which it says is doomed—nearly half the human race has won freedom from colonial rule in the past decade; the final abolition of colonialism is now an urgent question on the agenda of history. The varied forms of transition to socialism in different countries; the need for rapprochement and collaboration between the wings of the labour movement which have parted company politically for so long; the long-term foreign policy of the U.S.S.R.—all these matters were passed in review by the Congress.

Another momentous section of its deliberations dealt with sweeping advances in the development of the U.S.S.R., where overall industrial output has been multiplied by more than 20 times since 1929. And much time was spent in discussion of the next Five-Year Plan, terminating in 1960, in which further extraordinary increases of production are scheduled, and provision is made for a general increase of wages by an average of 30 per cent and a seven-hour day for all workers (six hours for miners).

SELF-CRITICISM

The reports and discussions were informed throughout by a spirit of searching self-criticism of weaknesses and omissions, errors and failure, in a wide variety of field of activity. The work of the Party at every level, and not least of the Central Committee itself, was subjected to penetrating analysis: industry, agriculture, cultural activity, research, education: none were spared from criticism.

I have mentioned all these weighty problems tackled by the Congress, not in order to elucidate them, but merely to convey some conception of the broad scope and perspectives of the Congress. Without such a conception it is impossible to evaluate properly the significance of the discussions on collective leadership and the cult of the individual.

STALIN'S ROLE

It is difficult and painful for the Soviet people and their leaders—and this, perhaps, is one of the reasons why it was done in a closed, private session of the Congress—to re-evaluate objectively and critically the role of the late Joseph Stalin. For Stalin rendered services of incalculable value to the cause to which

he devoted his life. He was foremost in the stern struggle against the Trotskyites, Bukarinites and other traitors and saboteurs, who sought to undermine the country and to divert it from the course charted for it by Lenin. His name is inseparably linked with the heroic struggles of the Soviet people to achieve the rapid development of industry and the collectivisation of agriculture—the indispensable economic base without which the U.S.S.R. would surely have been defenceless against Hitler's mechanised divisions.

No one can detract from these and other great accomplishments and achievements of Stalin, whose place in history remains secure. But at the same time, it became essential to correct the false picture that, in his later years, was built up of Stalin as an infallible miracle-worker, standing above and separate from his Party and his colleagues. This idealisation, in which he acquiesced, led gradually to a position where the democratic procedures laid down in the rules of the Party were neglected, where the principles of collective leadership were violated and replaced often by personal leadership.

Decisions taken by an individual, no matter how brilliant and talented he may be, are invariably more prone to be at fault than decisions hammered out in collective discussion. Stalin, inevitably, made mistakes. He erred, in the opinion of his comrades, in disregarding specific warnings of the impending Nazi attack in 1941, in his handling of post-war relations with Yugoslavia, and in other matters detailed by Krushchov at the special session. Why, it may be asked, was it necessary three years after his death to draw attention to these mistakes? Apart from the requirements of historical accuracy, it seems inconceivable that the myth of an "infallible" leader can be extirpated only by frankly revealing the errors that he made.

One does not, however, have the impression that the sole responsibility for the undesirable cult of the individual is now being laid at the door of one man alone. On the contrary, the present condemnation of the trend seems to be in the nature of frank self-criticism, in line with the general tone of the Congress.

SERIOUS RESULTS

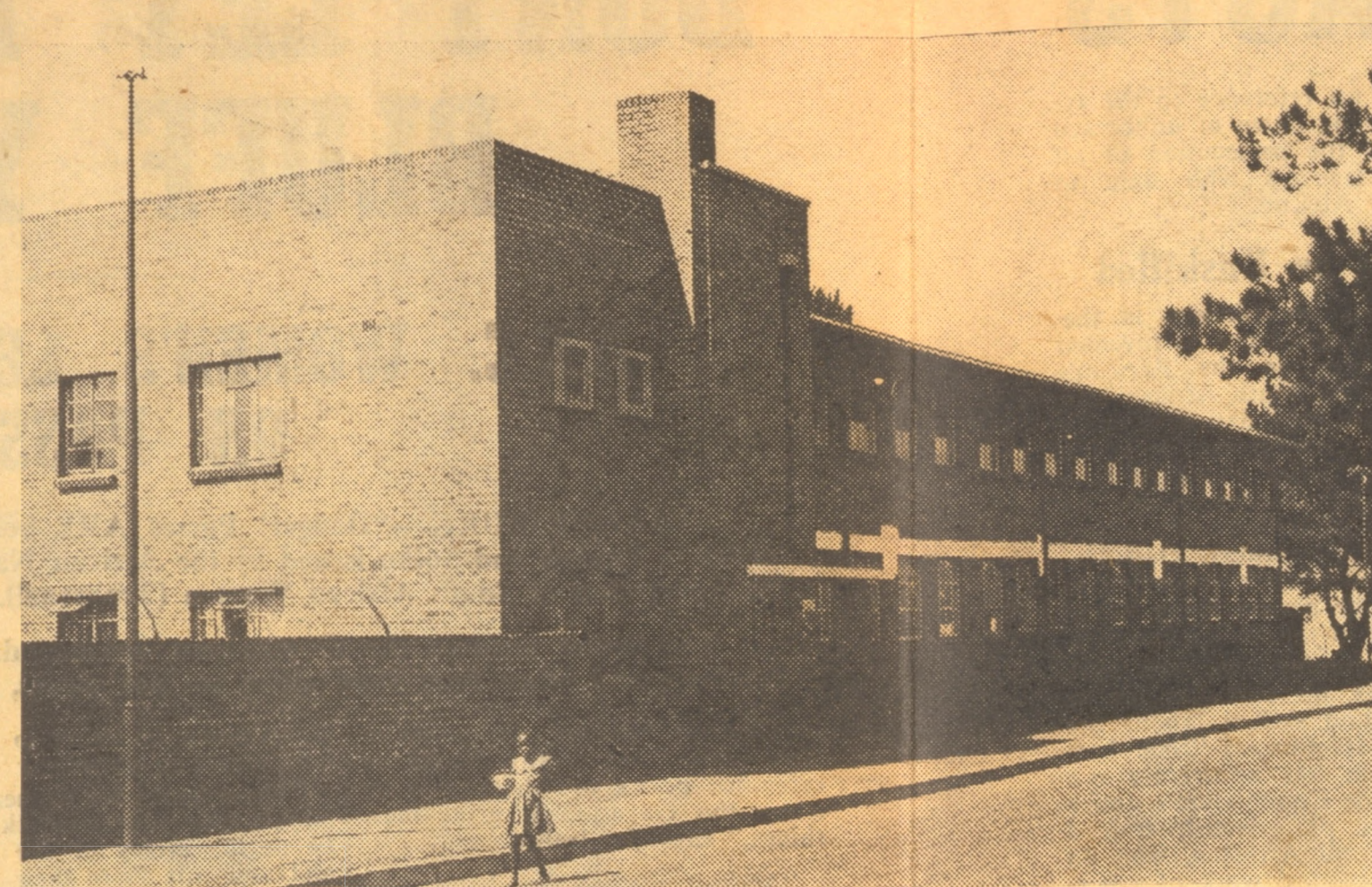
Violations of collective leadership have had other serious consequences. Once arbitrary decisions are tolerated at any level, it is impossible to avert the spreading of the infection throughout the organism. It is said that Stalin developed an exaggerated and incorrect theory of the intensification of the class struggle after the defeat of capitalism and that this led to an overemphasis on the role of the Security services, in which they came to be a law unto themselves, above Party and Government alike. This enabled elements like the Beria gang, having gained control of the Security services, to defy socialist law and procedure and to frame up innocent people on false charges, for motives of their own. Again, attempts were made, as in Beria's Party history of the Caucasus, to manipulate and tamper with historical facts.

Steps have now been taken to set right injustices and to establish safeguards to preclude further violations of the legal rights of citizens. Departures from accuracy and objectivity in the study and teaching of history are being rectified. But, the Congress declared, it is even more important to extirpate the unscientific and harmful cult which gave rise to these aberrations, and thus to ensure that it shall never happen again.

The Soviet leaders boldly faced the difficult and far from pleasant task of uprooting the myth of the miracle-working hero, which is alien to the spirit of scientific socialism. The real heroes and makers of history are the masses of the people, led by their vanguard organisation. The hero myth obscures this truth. In elevating an individual on a pedestal, all others are cast into the shadow. This can only discourage and stultify the development of creative thought and endeavour.

The Soviet leaders must have known that their bold acts of self-criticism would be seized upon by the capitalist newspapers, the Voice of America radio and other ill-wishers, and that what they said would be blown up and distorted out of all recognition. The grotesque and wildly exaggerated versions of Krushchov's speech in special session issued by Reuters is typical of what was to be expected. It is, I think, an extraordinary mark of their own strength and self-confidence, no less than of their firmness of principle that Mr. Krushchov and his colleagues should have ignored such considerations. If they are correct in their diagnosis, we can look forward to a great upsurge of creative activity in every sphere of Soviet life.

THE SCHOOL VERWOERD KILLED



JOHANNESBURG.

£4,000 of the taxpayer's money is being used to erect temporary classrooms in the dying area of Sophiatown because Dr. Verwoerd, in his reprisals against the Anglican Church for their opposition to Bantu Education, ordered the school of Christ the King, with which Father Huddleston was formerly connected, to close down at the end of last term.

Three sets of temporary classrooms are now being erected: some not 50 yards from the brick building of the Christ the King school in Ray Street, and others in Gold Street.

A notice on a rusty piece of tin orders the public to keep away from Verwoerd's corrugated iron classrooms. "Private. No Admittance" says the notice.

All African labour is being used on the temporary classrooms, with the exception of the European foreman who travels in from Pretoria.

Our pictures show: (Above) This is the school Verwoerd is closing down. In Parliament he charged the Anglicans who run the school with the "exploitation of Native sentiment and money."

(Below) These are the classrooms to be offered to the 600-odd African children who have been turned away from their present school on Verwoerd's orders.



NEW AGE LETTER BOX

Coloured People Misled

I am sorry for the Coloured people because they have lost their vote, but on the other hand I am happy, for the Coloured people have been misled for many years into thinking they are Europeans. Yet their females never had the vote, like the white females have.

If the Nats. win the next general election, which race will follow the Coloureds and lose its rights?

I do not support apartheid, but I remember the words of the old man, Dr. Malan, then the Prime Minister, who said the African must stand on his own feet and not rely on the white men.

Afrika!
Langa.
J. T. DYUBENI.

Letter From Kraaifontein

I am living in the open on the Cape Flats. My house has been broken down. I am now living under a sack with my family. My baby is four months old. It has rained on us and we cannot even make food, as everything is wet. I and my family have to eat the food which is wet from the rain.

I am also not working because of the action of Paarl's health officials who came and broke down my house. My wife earns 15s. a week, and with this we must feed and clothe six people and also build a new house.

You can judge yourself whether things go well with us.
P. VISSER
Kraaifontein.

HELP ARRESTED A.N.C. LEADERS

Almost the entire executive committee of the Worcester branch of the African National Congress have been arrested under section 18 of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act. They are Messrs. J. Ndamoyi, J. Busa and K. Baartman.

They were arrested during the strike at the local textile mill, together with 242 other Africans. All except these three were allowed bail of £3 a head, and are waiting for their case to be heard on April 11.

The latest news is that Mr. Joseph Mpoza has been detained for questioning. It is not known whether a charge is to be preferred against him.

We appeal to our members not to hesitate in giving wholehearted support to assist these workers to defend themselves.

KEKE E. TOLLIE
Worcester.

Special May Day Issue

There will be a special May Day issue of New Age again this year. It will be on sale from April 26th and will contain many special features.

TRADE UNIONS, CONGRESS BRANCHES, AND OTHER ORGANISATIONS, AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS ARE INVITED TO GREET THEIR FELLOW WORKERS THROUGH MESSAGES IN OUR COLUMNS. May Day greetings will be published at the special rate of 10s. per inch (about 35 words).

Please make sure that your messages reach us not later than Friday, 20th April.

Send a Donation to NEW AGE

OVERTIME—More Profits For The Boss

A young friend told me the other day that his boss had been angry because he had been unable to stay to work overtime. "I don't know what he had to complain about," said my friend. "He didn't lose anything—it saved him having to pay me time-and-a-half overtime wages."

But my friend was wrong. The boss had good reason to be angry. Because the boss makes more money when you work overtime.

Every machine in the factory, and every square foot of floor-space costs him money. And he is paying for those things at night when no goods are being produced, as well as by day.

The worker who works overtime is not getting something extra out of the boss when he

"I HACKED HIS FOREHEAD WITH THE HEEL OF MY BOOT"

Visser's Statement in Jooma Murder Inquiry

JOHANNESBURG.—"I closed my eyes. It was a terrible sight," said a Chinese witness describing an alleged assault by police constable W. G. Visser on Mr. Solly Jooma, a member of the working committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress who was found battered to death in a Fordsburg street on the night of January 14.

The preparatory examination into an allegation of murder by Visser opened here last week.

Visser was the constable who arrested and assaulted Mr. Jooma and Dr. H. Moosa and Mr. A. Patel, leading officials in the Indian Congress, and against whom the three were awarded substantial damages following the assaults on them.

According to Visser's own statement, made after his arrest to a magistrate and read in court last week, he said he hacked Jooma's face with the heel of his boot as he lay dead in the street to make it appear that he had been assaulted by Africans. Visser's statement said, in part: "On the night of January 14 I drove past an Indian man. The man had a civil case against me. As I passed him I recognised him. He pointed his finger at me in a threatening manner. I turned the car and went back to the Indian. I climbed out and told him I was tired of his nonsense. He said 'What are you going to do about it?' I hit him with the flat of my left hand. He grasped my tie. I hit him with my right fist on the left side of his face. He fell with head on the pavement. He lay still and I thought he was unconscious."

The statement described how another person raised a suspicion that Jooma might be dead. "When I put my hand on his heart there was no pulse. I was panic-stricken and wanted to drive away. I looked for a stone but could not find one. I hacked his forehead with the heel of my boot so that the detectives would think he was assaulted by Natives."

HEARD BLOWS

An African medical student told the court that he fell asleep in the back of his father's car after drinks at a shebeen. When he awoke the car was moving, driven by a constable in a khaki shirt. The car made a number of stops during the evening. At one stage he heard sounds like blows being struck. Later the European constable disappeared.

A European bricklayer said he had been drinking and playing cards with Visser on the night of January 14. They saw a car in

which a Chinese and an African were sitting. Visser pulled them out of the car saying, "You're drunk. Get out," and threw them into the back. Then Visser and he got into the car and drove off.

In a subway in Fordsburg later they saw an Indian. "There's that bloke," Visser had said, and told him about the civil action. They drove past and then Visser turned the car. They stopped in front of the Indian. Visser got out. He walked up to the Indian and slapped his face. The Indian dropped. As he lay on the ground Visser kicked him a few times in the face or chest. Later they drove away, and then returned. Visser got out of the car and bent over the Indian. "He's dead," he said and got back into the car.

A Chinese, Yu Ken, described the assault. They stopped by the Indian three times, he said. First Visser got out and hit the Indian. Then he pulled the Indian into the car. He drove round the corner, took the Indian out of the car, and hit him in the face with his fists. The Indian dropped and Visser started stamping on his face. "I closed my eyes," said Ken. "It was a terrible sight." They left him and returned again later.

BLOOD ON HIS SHOES

A Fordsburg woman said Visser had visited her home about ten days after she had heard of the death of Jooma and asked for a wet cloth to wipe blood off his shoes. She had asked Visser where the blood came from. Visser replied: "Don't you know I killed that Indian?" Later he said he had been joking because "all the police suspected him of killing the Indian."

An African constable said his job was to clean the police barracks. He had seen a pair of brown shoes in the fish pond. He had not taken them out or reported the matter.

Dr. H. M. Moosa said he had been arrested by Constable Visser and charged with resisting arrest. The charges against him had been

withdrawn. Jooma and A. Patel were arrested with him. Civil proceedings were instituted against the Minister of Justice and Constable Visser. In terms of a settlement Jooma's estate was paid £250, Dr. Moosa was offered £600 and Mr. Patel £1,000.

The preparatory examination is continuing.

Death of Mr. A. Maupa

New Age regrets to announce the recent death of Mr. A. Maupa of Galeshewe Village, Kimberley. Mr. Maupa was one of our best agents in the Kimberley district. He increased his sales steadily from an initial three dozen to 12 dozen per week through his unremitting efforts in the cause of liberation.

Our sympathy goes out to his wife and family who have lost a beloved husband, father and comrade.

New "Fighting Talk"

Can the African National Congress remain "neutral" in the cold war? This is one of the controversial topics discussed in the latest "Fighting Talk." A leading member of Congress gives his reasons for believing, "We are in the thick of the fight against colonialism and cannot be expected to fight for neutrality. . . . To do so would be to deny the justice of our own cause." On the other hand, Liberal Party member Patrick Duncan, in "A Plea for Neutrality" says that if the ANC adopted a neutral policy it could have the Liberal Party "fighting shoulder to shoulder with them."

Other articles include "SABRA'S Policy," by Michael Harmel, "The Women's Anti-Pass Campaign," by Helen Joseph, and "Talking Out of Turn," by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall. "Fighting Talk" is obtainable, price 8d., post-free from Ruth First, Box 1355, Johannesburg.

per hour	£1	still	£2
He pays overtime, 4 hours at 3/9 per hours	15/-	Wages, daytime, 8 hours, still	£1
Cost of production	£3.15s.	Overtime, 6 hours at 3/9 per hour	£12.6
You have worked 12 hours, producing one article each hour—a total of twelve articles. The cost of production is now £3.15 divided by twelve—that is 6/3 per article.		Double time, 6 hours at 5/- per hour	£1.10.
So when you work overtime the boss makes an extra 1/3d. profit on each article you produce.		Cost of production	£5.12.6.
But now don't bluff yourself that even if you work till after midnight and so get double wages, your boss will go broke.		But you have worked twenty hours and produced twenty articles. The cost to the boss of each article is now only 5/74d.—and he makes an extra 1/104d. profit on each article.	
Suppose you did a double shift until 6 o'clock the next morning:		So next time when, dead-tired, you're working late, and the boss complains about having to pay overtime pay don't spare any pity for him!	
Machines and floor space	£2		A. Mac

TOMLINSON REPORT FALSIFIES FACTS

The long-delayed report of the Tomlinson Commission is poor stuff. One might say that the enormously expensive mountain of research—costing something like £60,000—has delivered a mouse, if it were not rather absurd to describe as mouse-like a document that runs to 3,755 pages, 51 chapters, 598 tables, and an atlas of 66 large-scale maps!

The maps, which are reproduced, are useful. The rest, fortunately, has been reduced for the purpose of publication to the small size of 211 pages.

It contains the blue-print of the Apartheid's Heaven, and the NAT-SABRA answer to the Fagan Report of 1948. But it is not a picture of South Africa as we know it.

Going on the assumption that anyone who sets himself up as a guide to the future, must show an adequate knowledge and understanding of the present, I propose to discuss in this article the Commission's misinterpretations, distortions, evasions, half-truths and whole untruths about South Africa as she is today.

The Commission makes a big point about "lack of available data (who has the unavailable data?) compelling it to start compiling its facts almost exclusively from rock bottom."

Well, that makes strange reading. For the Commission never reaches rock bottom, but flounders throughout in the muddy swamps of race prejudice and ignorance. One could without difficulty select half-a-dozen writers—Davidson, Marquard, Patterson, Walton, Huddleston, United Nations—who give deeper insight and truer descriptions of South Africa than this whole gigantic Commission with its corps of advisers has succeeded in producing.

THE COMMISSION IS CONCERNED NOT WITH REALITY, BUT WITH FICTION. ITS CONCEPTION OF APARTHEID IS THE ROMANTICISED VERSION THAT IS BEING PEDDLED BY THE PROPAGANDISTS OF THE STATE INFORMATION OFFICE FOR THE BENEFIT OF INNOCENTS ABROAD.

It is not the grim, brutal apartheid known to the Gwentshes and Siwilas who, banned from their homes without trial, are forced to eke out a miserable existence in barren waste lands. It is not the apartheid suffered by the Annie Silingas who are torn from their families by officials and police acting under the Natives Urban Areas Act. It is not the apartheid that cripples Indian, Coloured and African communities through the legalised robbery perpetrated by the Group Areas Act.

"The Present Political Structure"

Would you believe that so learned a Commission, employing five 'technical advisers' at high cost, and producing so large a report, could have the impudence to tell the world that since Africans are 'Union citizens,' 'In terms of con-

stitutional law, therefore, no distinction is made, and this fact naturally implies equality of persons, property and rights.'

Is this for the benefit of the Human Rights Charter? Or has the Commission's "rock bottom" research not brought to its notice the fact that there is not one, but three or four grades of citizenship in the Union, and that the African occupies the lowest grade: has no vote, carries no arms, owns no land, and has no freedom of movement, meeting, or combination?

of despotic ministers and bureaucrats.

Even so, the African has great leeway to make up. It is only he who can be imprisoned for three months without committing a crime and without right of appeal to the courts—under a section of the Natal Native Code that is now being extended also to the Cape Province. It is only he who can be banished from his home without trial under the Native Administration Act and who, in terms of legislation now before Parliament, will not be al-

By A Special Correspondent

Is it ignorance, or deceit, that has produced these lines:

"All individuals of all population groups are equal in the eyes of the law and receive equal protection from the law; this implies that nobody can be illegally deprived of his liberty or held in slavery, or is exposed to arbitrary arrest, detention or banishment; that any person may appeal to our courts for redress when he is threatened in the possession of his goods or when his person, honour or reputation is violated; and that the South African courts are accessible to all persons on an equal basis?"

It is a reproach to the progressive movement that any person, let alone a government commission, could even dare to publish such a tissue of lies. For, if the facts had been known as widely as they ought, the lies would have stuck in their throats.

"Equality before the law" exists to the extent that the Nationalists have put the civil liberties of all of us at the mercy of an arbitrary will

lowed to appeal to the courts until after he has been deported.

AS FOR "EQUAL PROTECTION," LET THE CORPSES AND BROKEN BODIES OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN MURDERED, BATTERED AND CRIPPLED UNLAWFULLY BY POLICEMEN, FARMERS, RACIALIST YAHOOES AND HOOLIGANS BE BROUGHT TO TESTIFY AS TO THE QUALITY OF PROTECTION THEY RECEIVED.

"Full Right to Form Parties"

That is what the Commission has said, and it hasn't even the decency to add: 'except the Communists!'

Does the Commission not know that although the A.N.C. is still allowed to operate, Chief Luthuli, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Moses Kotane, Bopape, Gwentshe, Lengisi and scores of other leaders have been banned, restricted to areas, or banished, and that this process is being extended

to leaders of the Unity Movement like Tabata and Saliwa? Perhaps the Commission thinks that political parties flourish without leaders.

Its description of political rights is about as truthful and useful as its statement that "every person has the right to work." Who guarantees such a right? Not the pass law officials who refuse the peasant-worker a permit to seek work; not the Native Affairs Commission that hounds men, women and children from the towns; not the Native Affairs Department that dismisses African teachers and prevents them from finding a job. Even the thousands of men serving a sentence in farm jails have no right to work: they have only a 'duty.'

Africans, like others, says the Commission in the same section, "have the full right to form either amongst themselves or together with members of other population groups in the economic sphere, companies, etc. (subject to the general legislation concerned, to the provisions of the Group Areas Act and of other relevant legislation dealing with the acquisition of rights to land, etc. by such companies); also (unregistered) trade unions, mutual aid societies, etc."

Some more "rock bottom" research might have shown the Commission that "Group Areas Act, etc." are not just incidental to the business of forming companies, but that by denying Africans the right to invest in land, the ruling class has dealt a crippling blow at their middle class, and made it virtually impossible for them to develop big commercial and industrial concerns, either on their own or together with persons of other racial groups.

As for trade unions (unregistered) was it not Schoeman who promised that the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act (not mentioned by the Commission) would "bleed them to death?"

"In A General Sense . . ."

In this sense, says the Commission, "there is no differentiation between the various population groups" as regards "these wider civil rights," and the Africans are in no worse position than others.

Was there no one to explain the Facts of Life to the Commission?

Pass books for women and men
Bulldozers to raze huts and shacks
Prisoners beaten into false confession
School of Christ the King closed by Verwoerd's decree
African textile workers arrested for unlawful strike
Blanket ban on meetings of 10 or more Africans

These are newspaper headlines in any week, almost on any day. They refer to Africans, and not to "various population groups!"

Let us consider the Commission's version of another 'basic freedom,' the right to practise religion. "There is complete religious freedom in South Africa," says the Commission. But, elsewhere, it tells us that at the end of 1951, no fewer than 1,286 African churches had applied and were still waiting for recognition from the Native Affairs Department, which, the Commission recommended, should be refused "for an indefinite period."

More than that, "all missionaries, priests, African ministers and evangelists as well as missionary workers who wish to work in the African Areas, must apply to the State for permission, and may not work in these areas, without such permission."

That, one presumes, is religious freedom under permit!

The Commission's discussion of religious 'freedom' is about as unreliable as its review of African education, which only mentions the Bantu Education Act in passing,

and makes no reference to the tyrannical closing down of unlicensed schools and the persecution of all unlicensed teachers who dare to educate the African.

Skilled or Unskilled

Hardly less conspicuous is the Commission's ignorance as revealed in the chapter on the African's "position in the South African economy." Where information is really needed, the Commission does not supply it, but relies uncritically on data supplied by census returns. As in the matter of skilled work, where it uses the conventional classification that grades work according to the race of the person doing it and not in terms of the skill it requires.

Thus, in mining, we are told, Africans play no part "as far as supervision and skilled labour are concerned." Its famous "rock bottom" research has apparently not brought to the Commission's notice the existence of selected, trained "boss boys," all Africans, who do the actual, practical work of supervising for unskilled wages, or of the thousands of Africans who operate mechanical coal cutters, pneumatic drills, engines, winches and other machinery—also, needless to say, for unskilled wages.

Nowhere in this chapter, or indeed in the whole Report, will be found a single reference to the most important factor determining the structure of the South African society and its future development. That, of course, is the ruthless exploitation of great numbers of badly paid workers of all races.

THE WHOLE COLOUR BAR PATTERN, WITH ITS INSTRUMENTS OF VIOLENCE AND HUMILIATION AND DENIAL OF LIBERTIES OR OPPORTUNITIES, IS INTENDED TO MAINTAIN NOT JUST THE WHITE 'RACE,' BUT SUPER-PROFITS EXTRACTED FROM MEN AND WOMEN WHOSE WAGES ARE INHUMANLY LOW IN COMPARISON TO THE WEALTH THEY PRODUCE.

As surely as this exploitation shaped the policies of the governing class in the past, so surely will it determine the future pattern. As long, that is to say, as the exploitation of human beings is allowed to continue.

The Commission has evidently no understanding of the nature of this exploitation, or of the society which it has produced. Men so incapable of conducting "rock bottom" research into the present, must not be considered reliable guides to what will happen in the future.

(To be continued next week)

Do You Want To Read Kruschov's Speech?

JOHANNESBURG.

The Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union has published a Special Information Bulletin containing a summary of Kruschov's report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; also the text of the speech delivered by Mikoyan, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

These documents, says the foreword to the Bulletin, will help to give a clearer idea of the perspective of the Congress. "The press has made no serious effort to present a true and fair account of this conference. Instead it has jumbled extracts from speeches with the speculations of commentators so that it is impossible for the ordinary reader to know where one ends and the other begins."

The bulletin is obtainable at 8d. a copy post free from P.O. Box 2920 Johannesburg. Copies in bulk orders of 25 and more are supplied at 5d. each post free.



The Indo-Soviet Exhibition at the Gandhi Hall recently brought men and women of all races flocking to see the photographs of Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union and Bulganin and Krushchov in India.

Collection Number: AG2887

Collection Name: Publications, New Age, 1954-1962

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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