

11

The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill now before Parliament is an anti-trade union act designed to divide the trade union movement and to introduce apartheid into industry. The act is designed to place the control of the trade unions in the hands of the Nationalist government.

FIGHT AGAINST PASSES IS ON!

ORANGE FREE STATE IS UP AND COMING. In the fight against passes for women several big meetings have been held in Bloemfontein. In one of these meetings 75 people joined the A.N.C.

Bethlehem is the most active branch in this province. Not only have meetings been held here but organisers have gone out to other areas to educate the people on the evils of the pass laws. Ficksburg which was the strongest branch of the A.N.C. in the Free State in 1950 is also awake.

The Free State Executive Committee with the assistance of Bethlehem volunteers is reviving the Lady Brand, Thaba Nchu branches. New branches are being started at Brandfort and Arlinton.

A womens' League Branch has been formed with Mrs. Mafuru (wife of J.B. Mafura, the Free State resident) as president.

TRANSVAAL

The mass regional conference for women held on February 26th and March 4th, were successful in some parts of the Transvaal. In Benoni the conference was well attended. Klerksdorp the conference was in the open air but the people defied the rain to listen to both the president and secretary of the Transvaal.

Ermelo had the biggest conference in the history of the Eastern Transvaal. 500 people came from various towns to attend conference, Bethal, Morgenzon, Kroomdraai, Standardton, Middelburg and many others.

Other Provinces

There have been no reports from other provinces but unofficial reports show that a lot of work is being done every where particularly in the Eastern Cape and Durban.

We hope that in future the provinces and regions will send their reports to be published in the Voice - their mouthpiece.



FEDERATION CONFERENCE

The Transvaal Region of the Federation of South African Women held a very successful conference in Johannesburg this month. Women from all walks of life, nurses, teachers

(12)

Up to now Africans victimised by local officials could seek a reversal of orders made against them in the courts. Now this right to challenge autocratic rule in a court of law where the victim can have legal representation is to be removed.

No matter how blatantly illegal an order may be, as long as it is an order "purporting to have been issued by a competent authority" (this is the wording of the Act) the courts are made powerless to intervene, and any order they may make will have no effect.

The effect of the act will be that as soon as a removal order is made, the African or group of people involved will have to obey it

Immediately. Local authorities will thus have the power to play havoc with the rights of all Africans under their control.

It should be clear to every believer in freedom that Dr. Verwoerd is arming himself in advance against the inevitable reaction of the African people, in alliance with other democratic and anti-Nationalist forces, against the vicious anti-democratic acts operating against the people.

These are the measures against which the A.N.C. struggles. As the people organise the government trembles. Again and again it uses Parliament to make new oppressive laws, it enlarges the police force, takes new powers unto itself.

But the peoples' movement continues undaunted. The power of the people will end this earthly hell that the Nationalists are making of the land of our birth.

AGAINST THE PROHIBITION OF INTERDICTIONS BILL I

PARLIAMENT THIS MONTH

As usual, this month in Parliament has seen an increase in laws and a decrease in the rights of the people; an increase in the powers of the Ministers and the authorities, and a fresh series of attacks on the security of the people.

NATS. DEPRIVE THE COLOURED OF THE VOTE

The Nationalists passed the South African Amendment Act at a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament on February 27th. The purpose of the Act is the removal of the Cape Coloured people from the common voters' roll. The immediate victims of the act are the Cape Coloured people by the A.N.C. and indeed all democratic South Africans realise that this Act is yet another step towards entrenching the Nationalists as dictators in this country.

The United Party has threatened to challenge this act in court. The A.N.C. issued a call to all people to protest against this new attack, and to strengthen the only real opposition to the Nationalist rule: the liberatory movement.

Name	Branch	Delegate	Observer
R. Dunton	Hillbrow	Del.	
P. Vogel	E.P. Region	Del.	
Steen Jacobs	Port Elizabeth		
N. Levy	Stubbrow	NEC	
A. Goldberg	— E.O.	N.E.C.	
Goldberg	Guicofate	Del. ✓	
J. Jacobs	Commaricus Guicofate	Del. ✓	
P. Munnell	Bellevee	Del. ✓	
Goldberg	Cape Town	Del.	
Blyonsdell	Cape Town	Del. ✓	
Weymann	"	"	
Weymann	"	" ✓	
Weymann	Bellevee	Observer	
Weymann	Hillbrow	" ✓	
Brown	Bellevee	Del. ✓	
White	"	Del.	
D. Slope	"	Del.	
Wendley	"	Obs.	
A. S. S. S.	"	Obs.	
W. S. S.	Bellevee	Obs.	
W. S. S.	"	"	
C. G. G.	Judith Paarl	Del.	
W. S. S.	Bellevee	Del.	
C. S. Bloomberg		NEC	
W. S. S.		NEC	
W. S. S.	Bellevee	Observer	
S. Shall	Judith Paarl	Del.	
J. Anderson	"	NEC	
L. Friedman	Bellevee	Observer	
M. Harris	"	"	
D. Meyer	"	Del.	

fraternal Delegates

- 6 SAIC
- 2 TIYC
- 2 SACPO
- ESAN
- 2 ~~SAW~~
- 1 ANC
- 1 SACTU

14

	Del	Obs
Bellevee	5	13
Guicofate	2	2
Hillbrow	2	2
Judith Paarl	2	4
NEC	9	
PE	1	
CT	4	
	<hr/>	
	25	19
Total	86	21
	60.	

	Delegats	Observer
J. Barlett H. S. ... W. ...	Hill Bellevue Greenwood	N.E.C. N.E.C. N.E.C. ✓
H. Kramers B. Bloembergen M. H. ...	Hillbeow Bellevue Greenwood	✓ ✓ ✓
H. ... N. P. ... R. R. ...	Greenwood Youth (J.P.) Bellevue	✓ ✓ ✓
H. ... H. ... R. E. ...	Youth (J.P.) Bellevue "	✓ ✓ ✓
H. ... G. ... L. ...	Hillbeow Bellevue Bel	Observer - SAIC " SAIC. "
B. Coomas M. ...	Bel Bel	Obs. Obs.
42 Total		
25 Delegates & N.E.C.		
17 Observers		
L. Key H. ...	Bellevue Hillbeow	Obs. Obs.
H. ...	Hillbeow	N.E.C.
M. ...	Bellevue	DEL
H. ...	Hillbeow	Obs. ✓
H. ...	Bellevue	Obs.
M. ...	Judith Paart	Del
H. ...	Green Park	N.E.C.
H. ...	Hillbeow Brand	Observer

Bewysstuk No. ...
 Gekry by ...
 Dat ...
 T. ... 37, ...
 Datum ... 1/4/56
 Verwysing ...

G. 988

1. Is this a new struggle?

The struggle against passes has gone on, sometimes fiercer, sometimes quieter for many years. The new round of struggle which is opening as a result of the threat to extend the passes to African women, does not mark the beginning of the struggle but only a new phase. It opens up the possibility of widening and making changes in the whole struggle against passes and of rousing great section of the people for the struggle.

2. Can victory be won in a single battle?

In such a long drawn out war as the war against the pass laws it would be foolish to expect that victory can be won by a single action of the people. The pass system is the foundation of the whole cheap labour system in South Africa; the ruling class will not easily be forced to give it up. It follows that victory in the struggle against pass laws must not be looked for in every minor skirmish against the enemy. In a long drawn out battle, there will be many minor victories, minor defeats, many advances, many retreats. But final victory for the people mean the end of the cheap labour system of South Africa, can only be finally achieved by the overthrow of the ruling class, and by the winning of the Freedom Charter as the ruling policy of South Africa.

3. Is the present struggle item of any importance?

The present struggle against passes for women can well prove to be the decisive turning point of the whole long-drawn out war. There is no aspect of the pass system which will cause such bitter opposition as this; and the present situation therefore enables us to bring thousands of new militant fighters into the struggle, to rouse those who have become accustomed to and tolerant of the pass laws for a new effort and to awaken the conscience and the resistance of those sections of the people - white, coloured, Indian who do not themselves directly suffer under these laws.

4. Is this a struggle of the women alone?

Clearly the women are in the front rank of the battles now opening. They are the victims the government has singled out for its latest attack. But the struggle is not one for women alone. It is one in which women and men must join together, each helping, assisting and encouraging the other as the circumstance demand. By themselves, the women can perhaps resist the latest attacks. But their resistance would be stronger and lead more surely to victory if the men-folk fight with them. But even a temporary victorious resistance of the women to the present attack will not end the struggle of the women to the present attack will not end the struggle against the pass laws. Alone, it will only postpone the day of the attack till the government can muster greater force. It will only be a breathing space before a new attack in a new direction. This must be a joint campaign of men and women, whose aim is to end the pass system and the government which upholds it.

5. Is the slogan 'Women shall not carry passes!' correct?

It is argued by some, that the present battles will be decided, won or lost on the question of whether the women-folk take the new passes. Therefore, it is argued, the political line of the campaign must be to encourage women under no circumstances to accept the passes. From this line of policy, it is clear, develops the concept that the pass laws can be fought and beaten only by acts of passive resistance - individual or collective - by acts of steadfast refusal on the part of the women to accept the new passes. No one can deny that such acts would be of tremendous significance, advancing the struggle of the people and giving new moral and enthusiasm to the whole campaign. Nothing should therefore be said

958

or done which would encourage such acts of defiance, passive resistance.

But this is not the only way to fight, nor even the best way. Even widespread acts of passive resistance alone cannot, in the long run, deter the government from its course, if it is determined to use all its force, authority and power to enforce its will. This was one of the lessons taught us by the Western Areas Removal Campaign, which we cannot forget. We must not let our enthusiasm blind us to the prospects of overwhelming government force - mass deportations, sackings from jobs, evictions from homes etc - which can be unleashed against passive resisters, to break their resistance. Passive Resistance is good, effective, valuable at the right time, in the right circumstances. But it is not the only way. And those who hold it out and despair, and to their loss of confidence in our movement.

6. What other slogans can be advanced?

There are other ways of struggle against the pass laws, each of which one have its place. Pass laws can be fought by demonstrations and strikes, by petitions and meetings, by boycott and resistance and disobedience, by active struggle as well as passive. Which of these ways is best? This can only be conceived in the precise circumstances in which we find ourselves in each area at any one time. Sometimes one and sometimes another, we must learn from the errors of the Bantu Education and Western Areas Campaigns not to be rigid, formal tied by pre-conceived ideas about the only possible ideas about the only possible way to forms of action which do not fit the circumstances. We must be ready to use any and every means of struggle which are appropriate and possible at any time and which advance us to our goal.

The campaign against the new passes for women must not therefore be allowed to stand or fall by the success or failure of passive resistance by the women. The campaign must be conducted - as befits a long-drawn out war - with flexibility and skill, now using one weapon, now another, now passive, now active. The slogan to be instilled into the minds of the masses is not therefore 'the women shall not carry passes' but rather "We shall struggle every inch of the way, against the passes", "down with pass laws".

7. How do we decide what precise action to take?

We must rely on the good sense, responsibility and flexibility of our leaders, they must weigh up at every stage of the campaign what the state of organisation preparedness is. What are the people ready to do? What action will meet with the united support of the people and carry forward the struggle. There must be no reckless 'militant sounding' calls to action which are not attuned to the reactions and and state of militancy of the people. We must beware of calls to action which do not lead all the people into action' ut serve only to cut the militant vanguard off from the masses. But we must be active, organising, explaining, agitating the people, preparing them for struggle. And we must be bold, when the time for action comes. Mass work, mass agitation, leading to struggle this is the A.B.C. of Congress policy of the pass laws.

--- oOo ---

Bewysstuk No.....
Gekry by..... *Norman Levy*
Dere..... *Shane Wines*
T..... *Westmore 37 Jolene*
D..... *1/4/36*
Verwysings No..... *114*

G. 959

PEACE
EXHIBITION

ROAD.

PUBLIC ENCLOSURE.

CELEBRATIONS
TABLE

TABLES
FOR
INTERVIEW
SERVICES.

WIRE
FENCE

HOUSES.

DELEGATES

LAYS.

HIGH. COVER
IRON FENCE.

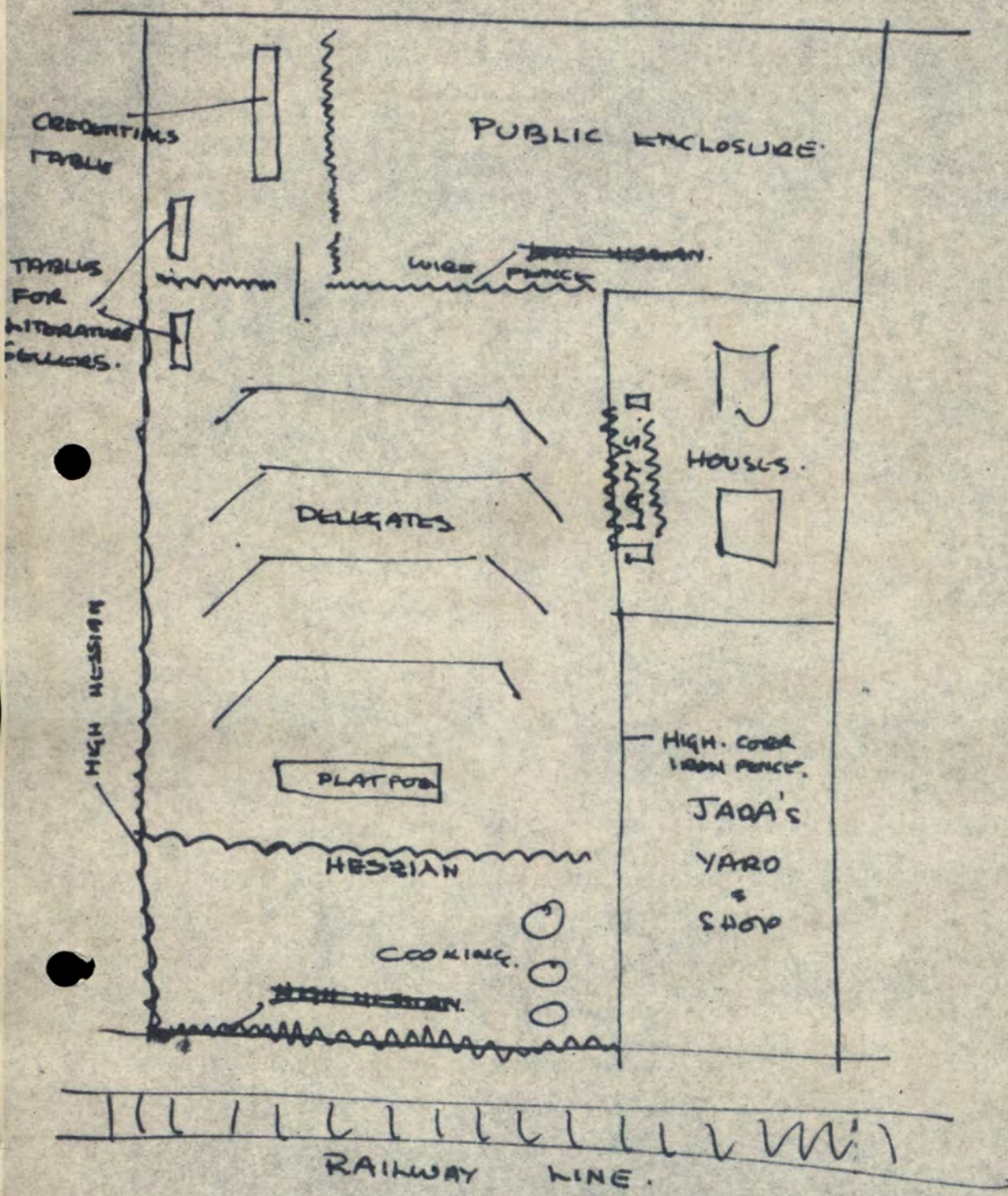
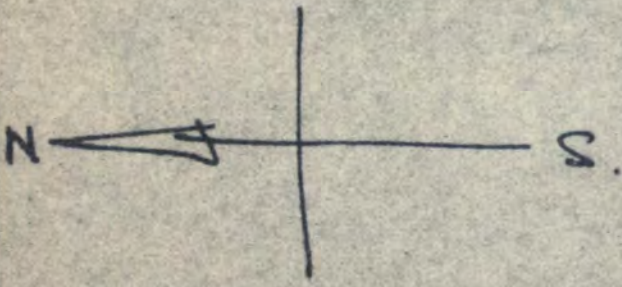
JADA'S
YARD
&
SHOP

HESSIAN

COOKING.

HIGH FENCE.

RAILWAY LINE.



COPY OF NOTES MADE BY D/SERGT. G. HATTING OF A MEETING OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT KLIPTOWN - 25 & 26/6/55.

Arrivals 1.15 TG. 13765. Skoolkindermeid met Swart rok TJ.
85446 blanke dame en man. Levy 1.40pm. NL. 1260 Twee Koellies
1.40. Caroline Mnisi. P.Q Vundla CDP. 23. NPN. 1046 CC. 889. TJ.
64179. TJ. 47261. TJ. 79716. (CA. 9104 Mrs. Goula.) Phillipa Kelly
Isackjee. R.I. Press. R. Resha. D. Hutchinson. E.P. Moretsele.
Peter Joseph. A.E. Patel. Merk W. Shope. Rev. Blascall. Rev. Thompson
Sampie Malupe. Leslie Masina. Ezekel Nplahlela. Joan Anderson.
Arrina Asiat. S. Saleojee. Broer R. Desai. Foma Adors. Eli Bloem-
berg. Caroline Minise. Piet Byleveld. Babecca Bunliig . Julius
.... Dr. Saden. Cajee. Sulliman Rothee. John Lengene. Sydney Sael.
CBN. 1098. TJ. 95237. TJ. 9801. ND. 5488. TG. 17513. TJ.3679.
TJ. 44306. TJ. 17516. TJ. 1673. TJ. 7665. TJ. 89657. TJ. 27925.
TJ. 60926. TJ. 17743. TJ. 99042. NL. 1087. XA. 11282. TJ. 59974.
Johnson Mongale. Numma Sejake. Gilbert Ngwane.

- 1. Chairman. 2. I.P. Moretsele. 3. Onbekende.

Explained by Chairman.... Item A.J. Luthuli.

Tomorrow at 9am. 9 to 4. 4 to 7.

Dr. R.E. Press. World allies all over the world led behalf Ginire
people. June 1955 Peking. Indian National Action Council
A.N.C. C.O.D. great assembly for purpose. Freedom Charter this will
bring you peacefull struggle.

Khartaun - a deep repreciation freedom Charter realisation United
nation Annual African conference and wish success in deliberation
P.cst. Sudan

PAUL ROBERSON. nearest to my heart than ever before. Russia,
India Carron Colliers, Comm... Party of England, Korea , India
Congress S.A. Labour Party. American Labour Party. Mayibuye!

World Federation Trade Unions. Chau. lste Minister.

Boodshappe herhaal.

- 2. China. 3). United Party. 4). Elias Monane a banned bade).
- 5). Makgita boodskap.

CHAIRMAN DR. Coreo.

ISITWALANDWE.

- (1) A.J. Luthuli. 2). Huddlestone. Dr. Dadoo.

Byleveldt present to A.J. Luthul's daughter.

Chairman to Huddlestone. I am alone present Police. Minister of
Justice will represented here. Congress open to all people our ...
to Gov. needs deprive people of right uses methods used
by youths of rights we do not we meet openly to discuss free
dom in attitude justice and peace in our time. Given to mother of
Dr. Dadoo. TJ. 73093. TJ. 44306.

Numrod Sejake. Down With passes. Hands off Newclare. Let our lea-
ders speak of freedom. We want better houses. Down with unjust
Laws. Freedom for all. Votes for all.

SUNDAY - KLIPTOWN.

TO. 5548. 337694.

Saryh Bunling. Rebecca Bunling. TJ. 70564. Magdalena Gage. Leon Levy. Isaikjee. Joan Anderson. R.E. Press. Phillipa Kelly. Doreen Tunbu. Helen Joseph. Martha Ranta. Leslie Masina. Barbara Cooper. Piet Byleveldt. Ezekiel Mpahlela. Sheila Horwits. A.E. Patel. Charls Bloomberg. Ida Mtwana. Lovedale Mfeka. Serai se broer. Weinberg se vrou. ... xala. Sampie Maloope. John Lengene. Joseph Molife. Isaac Msole. Rev. Blascall. P.Q. Vundla. Albert Sacks. Mrs. Gold. Yetta Bamblath. Nimroad Kjake. Mrs. Dr. Moosa Simon Ntiki. Cape Lepelo Samuel Mpiring. Alfred Hutchinson. J. Bloom. S. Salooju.

Gerig deur Ida Mtwana. Spreker George Peake. Robert Resha. Volgende Spreker. Benni Turock. Siwisa Swarts. R.E. Press. Moosa Moolla Fama Adams.

Volgende Spreker - Y. Malindi. Kaap Oos Duine. Albert Sacks.

Volgende Spreker - P. Selepe. Caroline Mnisi.

TK. 2502. TJ. 15159. CA. 15106. TV. 4152. SD. 1618. TJ. 85642.
TJ. 79255. NJ. 1737. TJ. 71772. TJ. 95438. TO. 6117. TJ. 35218.
TG. 15336. TJ. 31639. TJ. 85446. TJ. 115404. TK. 6622. TJ. 98134
TI. 3442. TJ. 26925. TI. 6163. TJ. 90290. TJ. 119987. TJ. 116869.
TJ. 32745. CA. 447. Hudson. TJ. 122460. TJ. 48235. TJ. 85243.
TJ. 47261. TU. 8071. TU. 941. TJ. 87427. 8450, 17032, 86164, NL.
1087. TJ. 51629, TG. 13765, TJ. 649. TJ. 81181, NJ. 1232, CA. 58794,
TH. 1966, TJ. 19983, CA. 3966, TG. 12904. TJ. 18668, TJ. 12489,
59593, TJ. 81644, 5882, 55966. CA. 92511, TJ. 92961, 76454. TJ. 87461
121546, TG. 12554, NJ. 1232, TG. 13765, TJ. 57802, TJ. 94443, 78073
17743, CBN. 1099, TJ. 45282, TG. 1089, TJ. 36486, 51614, 1717,
TK. 6122, TJ. 119987, TAY. 2896, TJ. 65019, TAY. 35717, TJ. 98134.
TJ. 75262, TAY. 1911, TI. 3442, ~~TAY/1911~~, ND. 40212, TAZ. 3424,
TJ. 54539, NL. 1260, TJ. 70564, TJ. 45282. TG. 14038 CBN. 1098,
TJ. 115486, TJ. 17743, 28073, TA. 974, TJ. 55138, TP. 11696, TJ.
94236, CD. 889 was op soek na Joe Slovo. 1.35nm.

Visser. Gelyke regter aan almal - mens Afrika. (1250 Soya Bunling No. 18.) 1.15nm Margaret Carson van Kaapstad.

Onbekende Meid. 1.30 Leslie Masina.

TCX. 986? TV. 7865. 2.55 Sangstuk Lilian Bos.

Equal rights for all, Down with unjust Laws, We want better houses
Free Education. Hands off Newclare. Hands of our Homes. Alexandra
peoples delegates Freedom For All.

COPY OF NOTES MADE BY D/SERGT. T.E.E. MOELLER OF A MEETING OF THE
CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE - CONFERENCE HELD AT KLIPTON ON 25 & 26.6.55.

25.6.55.

P. Beyleveldt.	ND. 40212.	Violet Weenberg.
H. Joseph.	Mistry.	Peter Selepe.
P. Lutz.	Abel Meti.	N.T. Nauken.
Esakajee.	S, Bunting.	A.E. Patel.
Schrembrucker.	W. Kramer.	G. Pahad.
S. Tyiki.	L. Masina.	D.C. Komsson.
Letlalo.	P.Q. Vundla.	L. Morrison.
Benan Ros...	M. Shope.	Swarts.
Isamael Va.. for Hall.	A. Sacks D. Table.	Sheila Horwitz.
S. Lolan D. Table.	C. Danibe Papers.	M. Mkoana.
Bote Sustin.	Joseph. Lebeka.	G. Mphakalele.
R. Resha.	Ida Mtwana.	Sampie Malupe.
L. Levy.	Kay Kruger.	Bennet Seitchiro.
Albert Meleti.	A. Hutchinson.	Essop Desai.
Kumalo Sophiatown.	Joan Anderson D.T.	Dr. H.M.M. Moosa.
Isaac Nzolo.		F. Adam.

NATAL MIDLANDS COP.

Long live struggle.

SYDENHAM NATAL.

Forward to People's Democracy.

S. Saljee. A. Cajee. H.G. Mokgothi. G. Mokile. D. Mana. TJ.57468
Indians I. Muncio. P. Nim. Alexander Peoples School - J.P. Ngoma.
J. Mashamaite. Alexandra People Delegates. Huddleston B. Cooper.
H. Barsie S.African Soviet Union Ela Weinberg. on roog Mople
with Ismael & flag. S. Si... & Panda. TJ. 25401 J.J. Marks. D, Tlome
Union Road. 3.10pm NL. 1087 330. Union Rd.
3.35pm. 11282 Union Rd.

E.P. Moretsele. Welcome delegates.

Chairman Mnisi. Dr. Press ... address - messages Gilbert Ngwane
Leon Ruff. Dr. Come presentating father Huddleston. ... sign by
Huddleston. Huddleston thanks Charter Basis of Action in coming
year.

Platform.

G. Pahad. N.T. Nauken. A.G. Patel. A.R. Ngcoi. Women Lithali.
R. Resha. P. Beyleveldt. E.P. Moretseli. Presentating Dr. Y.M.Dadoo
by Dadoos brother. Dt. Letele. Bhama. J. Fish. Lind... Ngakwa
Mary Rantha. Alin Moeapeli. S. Shall. Ben. Surak.
.... that action Council. 3.5pm. Idia.....at ... came from 1953 by
A.E. Patel. ANC. SAIC. SACPO. SACOD.
5.10pm. Mr. Her... Chairman. Freedom Charter by Hurvan Zuby by
Bherngie. English by Beyleveldt. E Moretsele. P. Mathole. Victor
Hashe. J. JILONGWANE.

SUNDAY. 26th JUNE..

Mrs. E. Barsel.	Joan Anderson.	Lein Levy.
Mofoking Orlando.	Isaac Nzolo.
H. Bunting.	Ezakjee.	Sonia Bunting.

E. Madigua. TJ.96229...man. Leaflets... Newclare
 branch.. I. Hyman. P Beyleveldt. Mrs. Makwakwa. Phillipa Kelly.
 Drum Tucker. Desai. Letlalo. Violet Weinberg. Helen Joseph.
 W. Kramer. Joe Matlou. Sampie. I. Schrembrucker. Mary Rantha.
 Harrold Ostrich. ..Liberation. Sydney Mahlangu. Ida Mtwana.
 P.Q. Vundla. L. Mfeka. Sheila Horwitz. Conrad Danibe. Manilal Ghan-
 di. J. Hlongwane. M. xaba. 10 - Beyleveldt Viela Mashe.
 J. Molefe. John Lengane. Bernard Moliwa. L. Morrison ... G. Pahad.
 E.P. Moretsele. N.T. Naicher S. Bunting. P. Beyleveld. Hurbans.
 B. Turok. G. Peake.
 10.10am. B. Hlpane. Alexandra Peoples Delegate. Abel Meti. P. Nene.
 J.P. Mngoma. Charlie Ndaba. S. Tyiki. Rahima Moosa. Bhana. Daniel
 Maneli. Jerry Kumalo Ester Mounakoe. July Mashaba.
 10.25. First portion of F. Charter. adopted. Dr. Letele 2nd portion
 of Charter. M. Motsele. J. Lekeba. Molete Bloemfontein.
 Isaac Bokaba. 2nd. Salim Saley. Salim Saley. 2 Dadoo Bros. R. Press.
 M. Moola.
 11.12. B. Turok on 3rd part of F. Charter. B. Rosenberg Billy man 3rd
 Peter Selepe 3rd.
 11.45am. In Jadao T..... yard. L. Levy. J. Hodgson. 2 Eur. females
 1 Unknown Eur. SD. 1618. 35426 R. Resha. CC. 389. Bob Suntia.
 12.25pm Dr. Sader Intem .. agenda.
 12.45pm. Sonia Bunting. ... Rahima Moosa. D. Nimroad Msimang.
 1.25pm. L. Masian. on item 17.
 1.55pm. P. Beyleveldt take over chair. 78075
 3.10pm. opened.
 E.M. Phahkele on item 11. G.A. Cachal.... A.M. Kathrada.
 Rejin Topile 27 Edith Str. Sophiatown. Elizabeth.... 641, Albert...
 Mary Loka 641 Albertynville. Anna Sibanda 1060 Albertynville.

FOR
PEACE
AND
FRIENDSHIP

SPECIAL
INFORMATION BULLETIN
- MARCH 1956 -

ON THE
20th CONGRESS
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE SOVIET UNION

9.964

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

REPORT OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE CPSU -
DELIVERED BY
N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

TEXT OF THE SPEECH
DELIVERED BY
ANA STAS MIKOYAN -
VICE CHAIRMAN OF
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
OF THE U.S.S.R.

TRIUMPH OF
LENINIST POLICY

PRICE 6^p

POST FREE 6^p

issued by the society for peace
and friendship with the soviet
union - p.o. box 2920
johannesburg

7

A LANDMARK
IN
SOVIET HISTORY.

The recently concluded 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party was a landmark in the history of the USSR, and no serious student of contemporary affairs can afford to neglect its importance. Significantly, even Sir Anthony Eden told the House of Commons that he was giving careful study to the speeches and resolutions of the Congress. Unfortunately the newspaper press of South Africa has made no serious effort whatsoever to present a true and fair account of this landmark in contemporary history to its readers. Instead it has surpassed itself in distortion, jumbling up extracts from speeches with the speculations of commentators and so-called "exports" so that it is impossible for the ordinary reader to know where one ends and the other begins.

It is the function of the S.A. Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union to present the truth about the USSR. We feel that this bulletin will answer many of the questions that have been put to us by our members and the public.

It is obvious to the serious student that by far the major part of the attention and discussions were devoted to discussion of the central themes of the Central Committee's report presented by Mr. N.S. Khrushchev, devoted to the achievements, the policy and the plans of his Party. This section of the report and discussions was almost entirely ignored by the newspapers. Instead they devoted almost all their attention to those sections of the report which stigmatised "the cult of the individual leader" and which stressed the return of the Party to collective leadership.

In order to allow members to gain a clearer idea of the perspective of the Congress, we reproduce below some documents which have come to hand: a summary of N.S. Khrushchev's Report, a section of the much debated speech by A.I. Mikoyan, and a summary of the Congress proceedings contained in an Editorial from the newspaper "Moscow News".

We trust that readers will find that these documents repay study. As further material becomes available we hope to make it available in the same way.

OPENING OF CONGRESS.

At the opening Mr Khrushchev called on those present to rise in memory of J. V. Stalin, C. Gottwald and J. Okuda, all of whom had died since the previous Congress was held.

-2-

(2) REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE C.P.S.U.

Delivered by N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

14th FEBRUARY, 1956.

The first part of the report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made by N.S. Khrushchev, dealt with the international position of the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev cited facts showing the mighty advance of the national economy of the USSR., and also of the People's Republic of China and other people's democracies of Europe and Asia. In spite of the great devastation inflicted by the war, the Soviet Union's industrial output had increased to more than 20 times the 1929 level. At the same time the United States, in especially favourable conditions, had managed to attain only a little over 100 per cent increase.

The distinguishing feature of the economy of the USSR. and all other socialist countries, said Khrushchev, was its all-round development and general peaceful trend.

The Soviet Union has assisted the people's democracies in building 391 enterprises and over 90 separate factory shops and installations. These countries had been given long-term credits totalling 21,000 million roubles on most favourable terms. The Soviet Union was also helping the friendly states in organising the production and peaceful utilisation of atomic energy.

CAPITALISM IN TROUBLE

The next part of the report contained a thorough analysis of the economic situation in the capitalist countries. One could not say, Khrushchev noted, that the development of production in capitalist countries was taking place on a healthy economic basis. This was to be explained by the operation of such factors as the militarisation of the economy and the arms drive, and the intensification of the international economic expansion of the main capitalist states. An important role had been played by the process of renovating the production facilities that had grown apace between 1951 and 1954, the sharp intensification of the exploitation of the working class and the deterioration of the living standards of the population.

At the present time, Khrushchev said, the capitalist world was approaching the limit where the stimulating action of a number of temporary factors was exhausting itself.

Ending this part of the report, he said that the situation in the capitalist world was characterised by the aggravation of profound contradictions. Capitalism was inevitably heading for new economic and social troubles.

He went on to denounce the imperialist policy of knocking together military blocs and intensifying the cold war pursued by certain quarters among the western powers. This course, which had been termed a "policy of

strength", reflected the striving of the most aggressive circles of present-day imperialism to foist their will on other countries by means of economic and political pressure, threats and military provocations. All this could not fail to worsen the international situation.

But other processes, too, Khrushchev stressed, had been taking place in the international arena, which has shown that far from everything was within the power of the monopolist circles. Of decisive significance was the steady strengthening of the forces of socialism, democracy and peace, and the forces of the national liberation movement. The international camp of socialism had exercised ever-growing influence on the course of world events. The forces of peace had multiplied in connection with the emergence of a group of peace-loving states in Europe and Asia; which has proclaimed non-participation in blocs as a principle of their foreign policy.

ZONE OF PEACE.

As a result, he said, an extensive "zone of peace" had appeared in the world arena, incorporating both socialist and non-socialist peace-loving states of Europe and Asia. This zone included vast territories inhabited by almost 1,500 million people, or the majority of the population of the world.

All recent international developments, Khrushchev went on to say, were evidence of the fact that great masses of people had risen in defence of peace. The ruling imperialist circles could not but reckon with this. The more far-sighted representatives of these circles were beginning to admit that the "policy of strength" had failed to exert pressure on the countries for which it was intended, that it had gone bankrupt.

Khrushchev dealt with the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. This disintegration, he said, was a world-wide historic process of the postwar period. People's China and the independent Indian Republic had moved up into the ranks of the great powers, and a political and economic upsurge was to be seen in the countries of South-East Asia and the Arab East. The process of awakening of the peoples of Africa had begun. There was an advance in the national liberation movement in Latin America. The question of the complete liquidation of the shameful system of colonialism had been put on the order of the day.

The emancipated countries of Asia, Khrushchev went on to say, had embarked on the road of creating their own industry. Although these countries were not included in the world socialist system, they could avail themselves of its achievements, without paying for this with any commitments of a political or military nature. The very fact of the existence of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, their willingness to assist the underdeveloped countries in their industrial development on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, was a serious obstacle in the way of the colonial policy.

Loyal to the Leninist principles of a peace-loving foreign policy, the Soviet Union had been working actively for the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of peace and had registered major successes on this road. The peaceful initiative of the USSR., he said, had

become one of the most important factors greatly affecting the course of international developments.

The efforts of the peace-loving states and peoples had not been wasted, he said. The Geneva Conference of the heads of governments had shown the viability and correctness of the method of negotiations between countries. At present some persons in the West were endeavouring to bury the spirit of Geneva. But the Soviet Union would strive with still greater persistence for the establishment of mutual confidence and co-operation among all countries, and among the great powers, first and foremost. In this, equal efforts and reciprocal concessions, Khrushchev emphasised, were indispensable in relations between the great powers. The method of negotiations should become the only method of settling international disputes.

DISARMAMENT.

Khrushchev then spoke of the tasks of ensuring collective security in Europe and Asia and on the disarmament problem. The settlement of these most important issues, he said, could create a foundation for a firm and lasting peace.

"We shall continue to work to put an end to the arms drive and prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons," he said. "We are prepared to undertake certain partial steps in this direction, such as, for instance, the ending of experimentation with thermonuclear weapons, the withdrawal of atomic weapons from the armaments of troops stationed on German territory, the reduction of military budgets."

Khrushchev stressed that the establishment of firm, friendly relations between the world's biggest powers - the Soviet Union and the United States of America - would be of immense importance for strengthening universal peace. "We believe," he said, "that making the well-known Five Principles of peaceful co-existence the basis of Soviet-American relations would have truly immense significance for all mankind."

Speaking further on the Soviet Union's intention to strive to improve its relations with Britain and France, Khrushchev said that at present, when military groupings existed, the possibilities for improving relations among states were far from being exhausted. The importance of concluding treaties or non-aggression or friendship, which would facilitate the elimination of the existing suspicion and mistrust and contribute to the normalisation of the international situation, should be especially stressed. Also of great importance for improving mutual understanding among states was the extension of business and cultural contacts. He said that to counterbalance the watchword of the North Atlantic bloc: "Let us arm ourselves!", the Soviet Union put forward the watchword: "Let us trade!"

In the next part of his report, N.S. Khrushchev dealt with the key issues in present international developments: the problems of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of averting wars in the present epoch, and the forms of transition of different countries to socialism.

"When we say that in the competition of the two systems - the capitalist and socialist systems - the socialist system will win," he said, "this does not in the least mean that victory will be achieved through armed intervention by socialist countries in the internal affairs of capitalist countries. We have always asserted, and we assert now that the establishment of a new social order in this or that country is the domestic affair of the peoples of that country."

On the possibility of averting a new war, Khrushchev emphasised that there was no fatal inevitability about wars. There were now powerful social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing wars. The Soviet Union would fight actively for the cause of peace and security of nations, for the establishment of confidence among states, for turning into lasting peace the relaxation of world tension that had been achieved.

INTERNAL SITUATION OF U.S.S.R.

In the second part of his report, "The Internal Situation of the USSR," Khrushchev noted that in the period under review the Communist Party, having critically appraised the situation in agriculture and industry, had launched a number of important undertakings so as to be able to use the successes achieved for another great stride forward in the country's socialist development. Along with that, he said, the Party had been boldly disclosing the shortcomings in different fields of economic, government and Party activities, breaking down antiquated conceptions and resolutely brushing aside all that was obsolete, all that impeded progress.

Under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, said Khrushchev, the USSR had achieved much greater progress in all branches of industry; it had substantially advanced the production of grain and technical crops and had made great headway in the development of livestock farming. Industrial output had grown by 85 per cent in 1951-55, production of the means of production having increased by almost 100 per cent and production of consumer goods by 76 per cent. The average annual rate of growth of production in the period under review was over 13 per cent, which was more than three times the corresponding rate in the U.S.A. and 3.8 times the corresponding rate in Britain.

NEW FIVE YEAR PLAN.

Speaking of the problems facing industry under the Sixth Five-Year Plan, he emphasised that fulfilment of the plan would mean an increase in industrial production to more than five times the prewar (1940) volume, and production of consumer goods would increase almost three times over in the same period.

Referring to the development of agriculture under the Sixth Five-Year Plan, Khrushchev defined the principal task before agriculture as an increase in the annual gross grain harvest to 11,000 million poods *

* 62 poods equals 1 ton

at the end of the five-year period, by boosting crop yields and promoting the reclamation of new areas; a considerable increase in the yields of technical crops; a rapid increase in potato and vegetable production, and the doubling of meat production.

Khrushchev gave considerable time in his report to the question of improving the living and cultural standards of the Soviet people. A 68 per cent increase in the national income of the USSR had been recorded under the Fifth Five-Year Plan, he said. Seventy-five per cent of this income was allocated in the USSR for satisfying the personal requirements of the population. As a result of that, real wages had grown in the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan by 39 per cent and the real incomes of the collective farmers by 50 per cent. During the five years the state had spent 689,000 million roubles on social insurance benefits, paid annual holidays, free medical assistance, etc. The amount of goods consumed by the public had been growing steadily. Retail sales in the state and co-operative shops had grown by almost 100 per cent in the last five-year period. The fact that the population of the USSR had grown by 16,300,000 in the period of the Fifth Five-Year Plan was also to be explained by the advancement of the wellbeing of the working people.

HIGHER WAGES - SHORTER HOURS.

Khrushchev outlined in his report an extensive programme for raising the living standards of the population under the Sixth Five-Year Plan. A substantial increase would be effected in the production of food and general consumer goods. Real wages would go up by approximately 30 per cent and collective farmers' incomes by at least 40 per cent. It was planned to raise the earnings of the lower paid categories of workers.

Khrushchev announced that the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. had resolved, during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, to reduce the working day for all industrial workers and other employees to seven hours. Moreover, it was planned to transfer the workers in the loading trades in the coal and ore-mining industries employed in the pits to a six-hour day, and to decree again a six-hour day for young workers between the ages of 16 and 18. It had also been resolved to limit in the immediate future the working day in the factories and institutions to six hours on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays. Reduction of the working day would not result in any reduction in wages.

A draft law on a uniform scale of pensions for the whole of the Soviet Union, to be submitted for the approval of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the immediate future, would radically improve matters with regard to pensions.

Dwelling on questions relating to cultural development in the USSR, Khrushchev noted that no capitalist country could boast of as many schools, specialised secondary schools, higher schools, research institutes, experimental stations and laboratories, theatres, clubs, libraries and other cultural and educational institutions as the Soviet Union had. It was planned to complete in the main the transition to universal ten-year schooling in the towns and villages during the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

One of the most important results achieved by the C.P.S.U. in the period between the 19th and 20th Party Congresses, he said, was the still greater moral and political unity of the Soviet people. Speaking of the greater strength and advancement of the Soviet social and state system, Khrushchov pointed as an example to the stronger fraternal bonds of friendship between all the peoples of the USSR., to the development of socialist democracy, the improvement of the state apparatus, and the greater consolidation of Soviet law and order.

THE PARTY.

In the third section of his report, N.S. Khrushchov dwelt in detail on the activities of the Party since the 19th Congress. The membership of the C.P.S.U. on February 1, this year, was 7,215,505 - almost three times as big as the membership at the time of the 18th Congress and 333,000 more than at the time of the 19th Congress.

He declared that the unity of the Party had taken shape in the course of years and tens of years, that it had become strengthened and hardened in the struggle against numerous enemies, the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, bourgeois nationalists, advocates of the restoration of capitalism and other vicious enemies of the people. And the great successes gained in the period under review were the best indications of the efforts of the Party and its Central Committee to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the Party ranks.

Emphasising as a factor of paramount importance the restoration and thorough consolidation of the Leninist principle of collective leadership, Khrushchov said the Central Committee had taken a most emphatic stand against the cult of the individual, which was alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and which converted this or that leader into a miracle-working hero while belittling the role of the Party and of the masses of the people, and weakened their creative endeavours.

Speaking of the organisational work of the Party, Khrushchov stressed that Lenin had always linked the work of the Party with economic activities. The main factor in the organisational work of the Party was work among the masses, influence among the masses, organisation of the masses for the achievement of the economic and political tasks set by the Party.

The Young Communist League, he said, which united in its ranks more than 18 million young men and women, was energetically co-operating in economic and cultural undertakings; it was assisting the Party in educating the youth in the spirit of communism.

After describing the work and tasks of the Party in the ideological sphere, N.S. Khrushchov said in conclusion:

BROAD HORIZONS.

"The land of Soviets is making a sweeping advance. We have climbed a lofty summit which gives us a view of broad horizons on the road to the ultimate goal - communist society. It was a hard, incredibly difficult trail

Collection Number: AD1812

RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

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

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

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

This document is part of a private collection deposited with Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.