



# MORE ON STALIN

WORLD STAGE by Spectator

not consider satisfactory the position adopted by the Congress, which is now being amply developed by the Soviet press, in regard to the errors of Stalin and the causes and conditions which made them possible."

He said Stalin's development into a dictator was probably gradual and it was difficult, during the past twenty years, for the other leaders to get rid of him.

"But," said Togliatti, "I do not accept the explanation that it was impossible to make a change because of a machine of terror which controlled the situation through military and police means."

### Had Support of Country

"It seems to me far more accurate to acknowledge that, despite the errors that he committed, Stalin had the support of a very great part of the country, and, particularly, of his ruling cadres and of the masses."

"Of the facts that have now been disclosed we had and could have had no idea."

Calling for an examination of how Soviet society "strayed from the democratic path," Togliatti said that one of the questions to be answered was how such tremendous successes had been achieved by the Soviet system while such great errors were present.

"We can only think to ourselves that, seeing how things stood, and leaving aside whether or not it was impossible to make a change at the time, the Soviet leaders could at least have been more restrained in the solemn public exaltation of the qualities of this man to which they accustomed us."

"It is true that today they criticize themselves, and this is their great merit, but in this criticism there is no doubt that some of their prestige has fallen."

### The Problem Remains

"But apart from this, as long as they limit themselves in substance to denouncing the personal defects of Stalin, the problem remains one of the 'cult of the individual.'"

"At one time all that was good was due to the superhuman good qualities of one man; now all that is bad is attributed to the equally exceptional and even staggering defects of the same man."

"Both in the one case and the other we do not come up to the standard of judgment proper to Marxism."

"The real problems escape notice, such as the method by which and the reason why Soviet society could and did stray so far from the democratic path and the legality which it had mapped out for itself."

### They Must Be First

"An examination must be made by following the various phases of the development of this society, and the first to make this examination must be our Soviet comrades."

"They know more than we, who might err because we do not know all the facts, or know them wrongly."

After discussing the "stifling" of Soviet democracy under Stalin, Togliatti said what had happened had led to the need and desire for ever greater independence of judgment, and the Soviet model could no longer be obligatory for other Communist countries.

### Not Satisfactory

"We must recognise openly and without hesitation that, while the 20th Congress has made an enormous contribution to the exposure and solution of many serious and new problems of the democratic and socialist movement, we can-

ties the Soviet Union was facing, but do not justify Stalin's behaviour. He committed numerous violations of Soviet legality. He engaged in an arbitrary repression against Communist militants. He transgressed the principles of the party, he used methods which must be condemned, and caused grave damage to the Soviet Union and to the international Communist movement."

"Today the front of Socialist construction in the countries where the Communists form the ruling party is so vast, comprising a third of humanity, that for them the Soviet model cannot, and must not, any longer be obligatory."

### New Methods

"In the rest of the world there are countries where it is hoped to achieve Socialism without the Communists necessarily being the ruling party."

"In still other countries the march to socialism is an objective which draws various movements together, movements which have not yet reached any mutual agreement or even understanding."

"One cannot talk of a single road, but rather of a method of progress which can be achieved by following different paths," Togliatti concluded.

### FRENCH COMMENT

IN a communique issued last week on the publication by the New York Times and other papers in different countries of what purports to be a full text of the Krushchov secret report, as issued by the U.S. Government, the Central committee of the French Communist Party had this to say:

"The capitalist press has published a report attributed to Comrade Krushchov. This report, which adds to the errors of Stalin already known a list of very grave faults committed by him, arouses legitimate emotion among members of the Communist Party."

"French Communists condemn the arbitrary acts of which Stalin is accused, and the Moscow leaders have been right to set about correcting faults connected with the cult of personality, but the politbureau regrets that, as a result of the way in which Comrade Krushchov's report has been presented and divulged, the bourgeois press has been able to publish facts of which French Communists were ignorant."

### Not Favourable

"Such a state of things is not favourable to normal discussion within the party. It facilitates speculation and manoeuvres by the enemies of Communism."

"The explanation so far given about Stalin's faults, their origin and the conditions in which they occurred, is not satisfactory. A deeper Marxist analysis is indispensable to determine the whole circumstances in which the personal power of Stalin was exercised. It was a mistake in Stalin's lifetime to address him with eulogies... this attitude contributed to the development of the cult of personality and to influence the international labour movement in a bad direction."

"Stalin played a positive part throughout a period of history... and acquired a merited prestige which he permitted to be transformed into a cult of his person."

"This cult was facilitated by the position of the Soviet Union, for long alone in a world of enemies, a position that required extreme tension of the people's energies, an iron discipline, and rigorous centralisation of the power of the proletarian State."

### Enormous Difficulties

"These circumstances help us to understand the enormous difficul-

ties the Soviet Union was facing, but do not justify Stalin's behaviour. He committed numerous violations of Soviet legality. He engaged in an arbitrary repression against Communist militants. He transgressed the principles of the party, he used methods which must be condemned, and caused grave damage to the Soviet Union and to the international Communist movement."

## "FREEDOM CHARTER IS ONLY ALTERNATIVE"

(Continued from page 1)

Afrika." One after another, leading speakers of the different Congresses came forward to the platform.

"We in SACTU have banished for ever the slogan of 'no politics in trade unions'," said Mr. Leon Levy.

Mr. Gert Sibande, at the top of his form, said: "Today we put the first brick on the firm foundation of the Freedom Charter. The time has come for great events and no force can stop them."

Speaking of the bannings, he said: "I see Chief Luthuli, Dr. Naidoo and J. B. Marks are with us in spirit more determined and prepared than ever."

### BANNING ORDER

Just afterwards a group of Special Branch detectives flocked round Sibande to serve him with a five-year banning order. People rushed to the spot where the detectives had cornered Sibande, but Congress volunteers cordoned off the crowd in a hand-to-hand formation and the meeting went on. Among the speakers was Uitenhage Congressman representing the Eastern Province Congress.

A resolution adopted at the close of the meeting pledged a determined joint struggle to win the changes set out in the Freedom Charter.

"We pledge to defeat the inroads of the Nationalists on the rights and liberties of the people. We shall continue the fight against the Group Areas Act, Senate Act, Bantu Education and the extension of passes to women. These freedoms we shall fight for side by side throughout our lives until we have won our liberty."

## 4,000 PRETORIA WOMEN

(Continued from page 1)

carry passes, others are agitating that women should not carry passes, others are agitating that they should.

He then said passes were carried in overseas countries but the women seemed to think only South Africa had such laws.

During the discussion the Native Commissioner again said he was not prepared to argue with the women. To Mrs. Ruth Matsoane, who was on her feet, he said: "And what do you want to say? I said this was not a debate." Asked to speak to the women outside the Native Commissioner said he did not want agitators in his yard or any songs sung there. "You are all my children. Respect this grey hair. God bless you. Goodbye," he said.

# "LET THE FREEDOM CHARTER BE OUR INSPIRATION"

## Stirring Call From N.I.C. Conference

From M. P. Naicker

DURBAN.—"May your deliberations during this conference further commit you, and all those who share in this struggle for national liberation, to unwavering loyalty to your organisation and its leadership. May scores of brilliant leaders come forward daily to replace those gallant men and women who have fallen victim to the forces of oppression," said Dr. Arthur E. Letele, Treasurer-General of the African National Congress, opening the Ninth Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress last Friday.

"I sincerely wish to congratulate Africa, are nevertheless maintaining a determined effort to achieve the goal which we all hope for—Freedom in our Lifetime."

"During the last eight years of Nationalist rule, every Act of Parliament concerning the Non-European peoples has, on analysis, been found to increase the burden on them."

"I do not propose to discuss any of these Acts in detail as the main principle in all of them is clear. They aim at the permanent subjugation of the Non-Europeans and the provision of a cheap labour force for the convenience of the 'Master Race' of South Africa."

Calling on the people present to rally around the Congress movement, Dr. Letele said: "I exhort you to fight bravely against oppression and racial discrimination, wherever you meet it, in the factories, in the churches, in education and the professions, in sport, in society, everywhere!"

## The People Shall Govern

All adults can vote—provided they are White.

1.3 million Whites can vote.

6.8 million Non-Whites cannot.

There are 159 members of the House of Assembly.

89 members of the Senate.

183 Provincial Councillors.

No Non-European has ever

- Been a judge or magistrate.
- Served on a jury.
- Risen above sergeant's rank in the army or police force.

There is no test of ability. There is a law of colour in the civil service—in industry—in commerce. The best paid jobs are reserved for White men, the worst for Non-White.

Custom? No, Law! The law lays down that only Europeans shall do skilled work in mining and building.

But custom does mean less pay, less opportunity for women than for men—White women less than White men; Black women less than Black men!

INEQUALITY IS THE LAW OF SOUTH AFRICA.

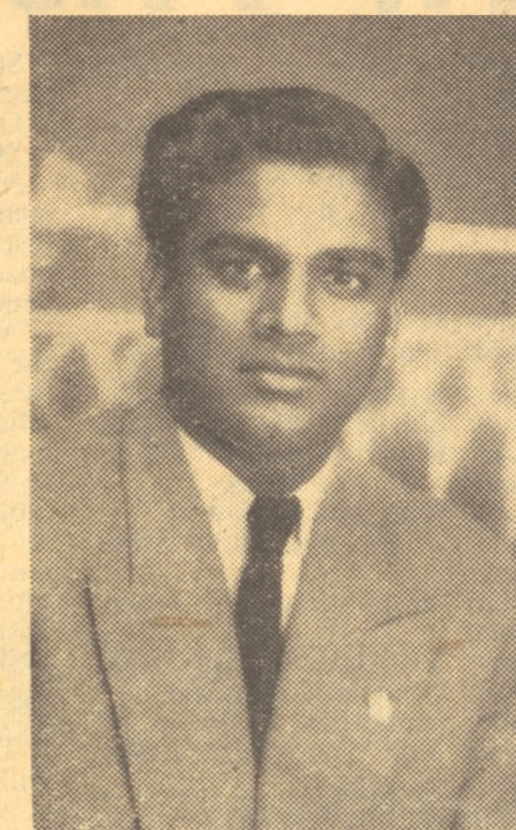


The Freedom Charter is the Congress movement's challenge to that law. The Freedom Charter says:

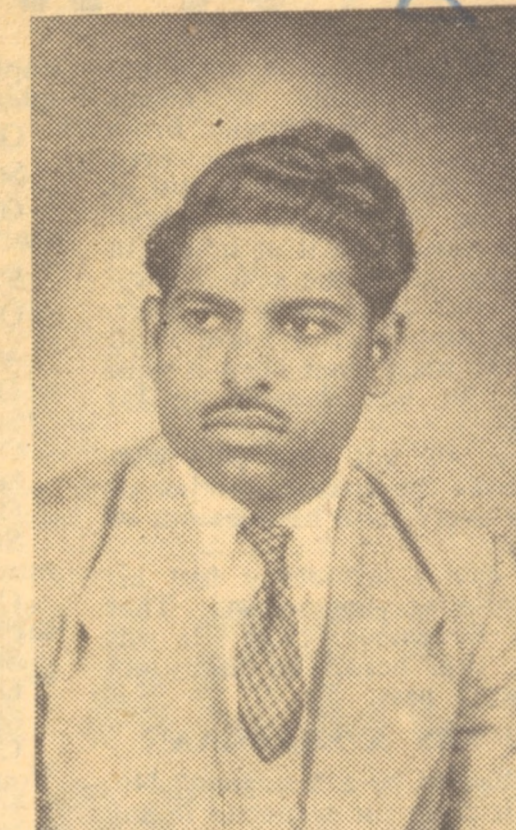
### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

- Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;
- All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;
- The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;
- All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

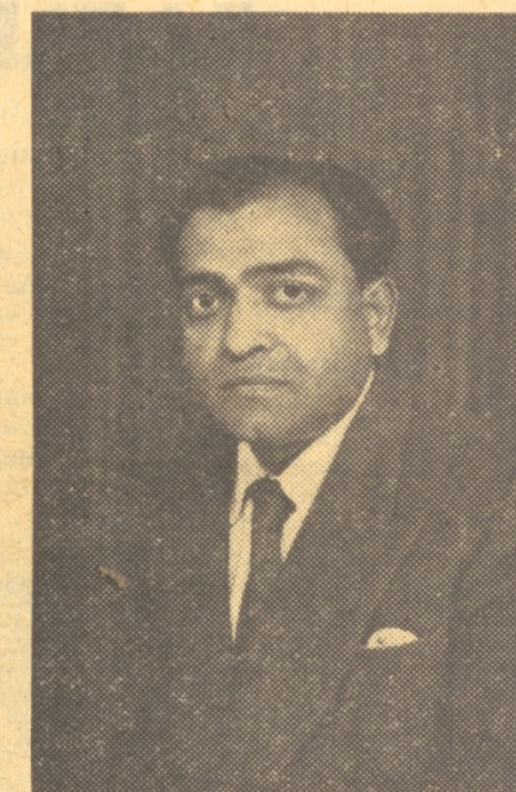
## THESE MEN LEAD THE N.I.C.



MR. N. T. NAICKER, the General Secretary of the N.I.C., took over this important post at the most difficult period in the history of the N.I.C., when seven of the leading Congressmen were banned within a period of one month.



MR. K. MOONSAMY, Chairman of the Organising Committee of the N.I.C., who has been an active Congressman since the coming into power of the present leadership of the N.I.C. in 1945.



DR. M. N. PADYACHEE, a Vice-President of the N.I.C., who has acted as Chairman at most of the Executive and Secretariat meetings of the Natal Indian Congress in the absence of Dr. Naicker, the banned President.



MR. G. HURBANS, Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress, who has taken the chair at most of the important meetings and conferences of the N.I.C. since the banning of Dr. Naicker.

### Acquitted

JOHANNESBURG. Thirteen Brakpan residents, most of them young teenagers, were acquitted in the Magistrate's Court last week when they faced charges of incitement.

The cases arose out of the bus boycott which is still going strong.

## DURBAN RENTS RISE CONDEMNED BY A.N.C.

DURBAN.—A mass meeting called by the Chesterville Branch of the African National Congress last week unanimously condemned a decision of the Durban City Council to increase the rents of all tenants at the municipally-owned Chesterville Location.

Mr. P. S. Manana, Secretary of the Branch, addressing the meeting said that with the added cost of food and clothing the increase in rents was far beyond the reach of the average tenant at the location.

"This meeting," said Mr. Manana, "is the beginning of a campaign by the Branch to rally the people of the area against this unjustified increase."

Mrs. H. Ostrich, Chairman of the African National Congress Women's League, speaking on the extension of the pass laws to African women, called on all those present to assist in the nation-wide campaign being conducted by the African National Congress against this vicious law that has "made criminals of the majority of our men-folk."

"We cannot and must not allow the Government to enforce this law."

come a missionary spreading the gospel of the Charter. Posterity will judge each one of us on the part he or she played in making the Charter a reality."

### PEACE

Dealing with the international situation, Dr. Naicker said:

"The Natal Indian Congress has a clear and unambiguous policy on international affairs. We belong to that great world-wide camp of peace. We stand for the banning of the hydrogen and the atomic bombs and the banning of all nuclear weapons, for we believe that all nuclear energy should be harnessed for peaceful purposes and not for the destruction of mankind."

The theme of most of the speeches at Conference was the Freedom Charter. The report of the General Secretary, Mr. N. T. Naicker, linked every single issue confronting the people with the demands embodied in the Charter.

The Conference could be summed up by the speech made by Mr. K. Moonsamy, Chairman of the Organising Committee of the N.I.C., who said that this was a Freedom Charter Conference. "From now on, every Conference of the N.I.C. must be a Freedom Charter Conference; every meeting must be a Freedom Charter meeting."

### PORT ELIZABETH

For the first time since June 26 was set aside as a Day of Dedication the Eastern Cape had no meetings this year, owing to the blanket ban on meetings.

Freedom Day, however, was observed in thousands of homes on the lines laid down by President Luthuli. At night candles were lit and fires kindled, around which children were taught about the liberatory struggle and Freedom songs were sung.

A leaflet was issued mentioning a number of incidents in the people's history during the last century and instructing the people to discuss them in their homes. Among some of the heroes who lost their lives or underwent hardship in the cause of liberty the leaflet mentions Rili, Cetewayo, Dinizulu, Makana, Mgijima, Masabalala, Nkosi and the mine workers in the 1946 strike. The leaflet also mentions the great historic events of recent times like the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter.

### CAPE TOWN

Mr. Len Lee-Warden M.P. was the main speaker at the Freedom Charter rally at the Fidelity Hall in Primrose Street, Cape Town, last week-end. Dealing with the laws passed by the Nationalist Government during the last session, Mr. Lee-Warden said the only answer to the poison of apartheid was the speedy implementation of the Freedom Charter.

Other speakers included Mrs. Katie White (Federation of Women), Mr. Mgunyeka (ANC), Mr. Toivu (Modern Youth), Mr. H. Naude (SACPO), Mr. D. Goldberg (COD), with Mr. R. September in the chair.

A huge cake made in the shape of the wheel of the COP was consumed with relish by the audience.

Don't forget the Johannesburg New Age Bazaar on July 6 and 7 for the bargains of the year.

# A NEW BABY MEANS A NEW PASS

Each time a baby is born into an African family it means another pass for that family. From the age of 15 years (or even younger), when the boy is still at school, he must have a school pass. He must have it at home; in the classroom; in the school playground and everywhere he goes. He must have it always and at all times. He must even keep it with him as he lies sleeping in his blankets.

"Have you got your pass with you?" asks the anxious mother of the boy every time he goes out of the yard.

One day a schoolboy lost his pass while playing soccer. That was in December, 1954. It was August, 1955 before he finally got a duplicate pass.

## YOU ARE A SHANGAAN

Is it bad to be a Shangaan? No. But is it right for someone to say you are a Shangaan when actually you are a Herero?

At the pass office our young man was told by one of the registering officers: "You are a Shangaan." The young man had gone to report the loss of his pass book. "When did you lose the book?" asked an official. This was one of the reasonable ques-

### The First of 3 Articles on the Pass Laws by M. K. MPHU

tions asked at the pass office. "What is the number of your pass book?" the official then asked. The young man got into troubled waters when he could not remember this. "You must pay 12s. right now or else we cannot do anything," said an official. The student paid 12s. on the spot and was given a typed duplicate pass. But before this, the official phoned the principal of his school to make sure the letter the student carried had not been forged. "All right. Come back after four months," said the official.

Four months passed and the student reported back at the office. To be near the head of the queue he reached the pass office at 7 o'clock in the morning but the queue looked longer than ever and he reached the counter only at 3.30 that afternoon.

There sat an official who looked sick and tired of this business and just ready to use any insulting word he could think of. The student handed in his typed duplicate pass on which it was recorded that he should come back that day. The official looked at it and wrote on it. He threw it back at the student. "Come back in three months," he said roughly.

Our student has lost two days' lessons (not to speak of his pass book; and 12s. and meals; and hours in the queue; and bus fares in and out of town; and his dignity . . .) but his education in the humiliations of the pass queue has begun.

Our young man is still hopeful that he will get this important pass book. But what will happen after three months, he wonders, as he reminds himself that he must not forget a letter from his principal to certify that he still is a student. Three months goes by and again he goes to the pass office at 7 in the morning and by 3 in the afternoon reaches the counter that has disappointed him twice already. This time the official looks ready to quarrel. He reads the letter from the principal of the school, though not the duplicate pass attached to it. "You are telling a lie! You are not a student." He telephones the principal who confirms that he wrote the letter and that he knows the student. The official looks at the

duplicate and asks the following questions:

Official: Where were you born?

Student: In Orlando.

Official: How do you know that?

Student: I grew up there.

Official: Is your father alive?

Student: He is dead

Official: Is your mother alive?

Student: She is dead.

Official: How is that?

Student: I do not know.

Official: Who must know?

Student: I do not know who must know.

Official: Were they old when they died?

Student: Yes, but not very old.

Official: What is your tribe?

Student: Motswana

Official: You are telling a lie! You are a Shangaan!

No reply from the student.

Official: With whom do you stay?

Student: I stay with my relatives.

Official: How long?

Student: For twelve years.

It is now August, 1955. (Remember that the pass book got lost in December, 1954.) After dozens of other questions the student is given a pass book but in it is written that he must report to the location superintendent within three days. At the superintendent's office the young student answers many similar questions. "Report to the pass office the day after tomorrow," says the superintendent. At the pass office the book is issued, in it the following authoritative statement: "Permitted to be in the proclaimed area of Johannesburg until 31.7.56 for the purpose of scholar and to reside at . . ."

Then the last question: "Where will you go after completing your course?"

"I do not know," replies the boy.

## ANCIENT CHINESE FABLES

Taken from Chinese classics that date from the 3rd to the 1st century B.C.

### The Farmer Who Waited

ONCE upon a time there was a farmer who owned almost two acres of land and lived quite well. One day when he was on his way to plough, he saw a rabbit running so fast that it crashed into a tree and fell dead.

"That's fine!" thought the farmer to himself. "I can get rabbits without doing any work. What an easy way to make a living!"

He laid his plough and hoe aside, and let his fields run wild. Every day he just sat beside the tree and waited for rabbits to come and knock themselves to death.

He waited day after day, while the peasants around him gathered in their harvests.

But no rabbit ever hit the tree again.



### The Pigeon and the Cat

ONE DAY a pigeon met a cat.

"You look busy," said the pigeon. "Where are you going?"

"I'm moving," replied the cat. "I can't live in these western parts any longer."

"Why not?" asked the pigeon.

"The people all dislike me," said the cat. "They object to the way I sing."

"It seems to me that moving won't solve your problem," said the pigeon.

"Why not?" asked the cat.

"It's quite clear," said the pigeon. "If you can't change your tone of voice, the people in the east won't like to listen to you either."



### The Spear and the Shield

LONG, long ago, in the land of Chu, there was a man who made shields and spears. "Buy my shields," he would say. "They are very strong. Nothing in the world can penetrate them!"

He also lauded his spears, saying: "My spears are the sharpest in the world. They are so sharp they can pierce anything!"

One day someone asked him: "If we use one of your spears to pierce one of your shields, what then?"

The man from the land of Chu could find no answer.



## LAW AND THE LAYMAN

By JURIST

# The Care of Children

The legal position of children was briefly mentioned in last week's article, but there are a number of additional questions which can arise in this connection.

Every child is entitled to receive maintenance and support from both its parents from the time of its birth until it is old enough to support itself. This applies both to legitimate and illegitimate children, and continues to apply to both parents after a divorce, even though custody of the child may have been awarded to one of them.

The amount which has to be provided for maintenance will depend on the financial circumstances of the parents. They must provide for their children to the best of their ability, and can be compelled to pay whatever amount they can afford. The time at which the child will be regarded as self-supporting will also depend on the circumstances. Rich parents could be compelled to keep their child at school until Matric or even to send him to University. In the case of poorer people, a child would be considered self-supporting at the age of about sixteen.

### HOW TO GO ABOUT IT

The procedure for compelling a father to support his children is very simple. The mother, or any other person who is looking after the children, must simply lay a complaint at the office of the local magistrate (or, in the case of Africans, the Native Commissioner). A summons will then be issued and a case brought against the father. The mother will not have to pay costs for this.

The first essential in such a case is, of course, to prove that the man who has been summonsed is in fact the father of the child. If he is married to the mother, or was married to her at the time of the child's birth, he will be presumed to be the father unless he proves the contrary, and he will need very strong evidence to prove he is not the father.

If there has been no marriage, the mother will have to prove that he is the father. Her word alone will not be regarded as sufficient proof. It must be confirmed by some independent evidence. Evidence that the two of them were living together at the relevant time, or that the man has admitted responsibility, or has paid maintenance for the child in the past, will normally be sufficient.

Once it is established that the man is the father, the court will hear evidence as to his financial position and will order him to pay a certain amount. Failure to obey this order is a criminal offence, for which a sentence of imprisonment can be imposed.

The mother of a child could be summonsed and compelled to pay maintenance in exactly the same way, though this happens much less often in practice.

### GUARDIANSHIP

The father of a legitimate child is its natural guardian. He can be deprived of his guardianship by the court, but this will only be done for very exceptional reasons—e.g. persistent cruelty and neglect. In the case of an illegitimate child, the mother is the sole guardian. The fact that the father is liable to pay maintenance for the child does not give him any rights of guardianship.

The guardian of a child is entitled to determine where the child is to live, what religion it shall be taught and (within the limits allowed by Government restrictions) what school it shall go to. Generally, it is the right and the duty of a guardian to supervise the child's upbringing and education. After the father's death, the mother becomes guardian. If both parents die, they may have appointed a guardian in their wills, failing which a guardian may be appointed by the court.

Until the age of 21, a person remains a minor in the eyes of the law. The most important consequence is that a minor is not capable of entering into certain legal transactions without assistance.

A minor can own property in his own name. If a minor acquires property of his own, e.g. inheritance, his guardian must keep this property separately and hand it over when the minor reaches full age. The guardian may use the minor's money for his education and upbringing, but not for any other purpose. When substantial amounts are left to minors, the property is often kept by the Master of the Supreme Court and paid out by him from time to time, as it is needed.

### PROPERTY

A minor cannot sell or give away his property without his guardian's approval. If he does so, the person to whom the property is sold or given can be compelled to return it. The assistance of the guardian is also required when a minor enters into any contract which imposes obligations on him. If the contract is entirely for the minor's benefit, it will be valid without the guardian's consent. In other words, a minor may acquire benefits by his own action, but may not acquire obligations without assistance. The guardian's consent to a contract may be given in a variety of ways. He may approve of it formally, or he may simply know about it and raise no objection. His approval may be given in advance or retrospectively. It may be given for one particular contract, or for a whole series or class of contracts. For example, if a father permits his minor son to open a shop, he would be presumed to approve of all contracts involved in the running of the business.

A contract entered into by a minor without his guardian's consent may become valid if it is ratified by the minor after he reaches the age of 21. If, for example, a young man of 20 buys a motor cycle on instalments without his father's approval, he can cancel the contract at any time before he turns 21. If after his 21st birthday he continues to ride the cycle, having taken no steps to cancel the contract, he has then ratified the contract and can be held liable for future instalments.

### A MINOR'S MARRIAGE

A minor also requires his guardian's consent to get married. If he marries without consent, his guardian can apply to court to have the marriage declared invalid. The guardian must act immediately he hears about the marriage, since he will be presumed to have consented if he knows of the marriage and takes no action.

Although a person becomes independent at the age of 21, the relationship between parent and child still continues to have legal consequences. A person who is unable to support himself, e.g. a cripple, can claim maintenance and support from his parents even after he is of age. Conversely, when the parents become old and unable to work, they have a legal right to be supported by their children.

### INHERITANCE

Upon the death of the parents, the children will inherit their property in equal shares, unless there is anything to the contrary in the parents' wills. In many countries, the children's right of inheritance is an absolute one, of which they cannot be deprived except for certain definite reasons. By South African law, however, everyone is at liberty to leave his property as he pleases upon his death, and children may be disinherited for any reason which may come into the minds of their parents.

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