

PONDOS

FACE ARMED

NEW AGE

Vol. 7, No. 9 Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

SOUTHERN EDITION Thursday, December 15, 1960

6d.

TELEVISION

Ring of Steel Draws Tighter

EASTERN PONDOLAND IS AN ARMED CAMP. YOUNG WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS, ARMED TO THE TEETH, ARE AWAITING ORDERS TO GO INTO ACTION AGAINST BLACK FELLOW SOUTH AFRICANS AS IF THEY WERE AN ENEMY THREATENING TO OVERTURN THE COUNTRY.

Ships, planes and helicopters keep constant watch along the coast and over the country side. No one may enter or leave the area without specific written permission. A strict censorship has been imposed.

For daring to say they do not

want the Bantu Authorities—the big lie designed to mask the brutal nature of Apartheid and White domination—the Pondos are now in a ring of steel.

Stripped down to its essentials, the present policy of the Government means one thing and one thing only—war against the people of Pondoland.

The Government must bear full responsibility for the violence, bloodshed and misery that must inevitably result. For this policy of

force is not new. It is the logical outcome of a policy enunciated almost two years ago by Mr. Leibbrandt, the Chief Native Commissioner for the Transkei.

Speaking to chiefs at the inauguration of a school for chiefs' sons, Mr. Leibbrandt advised them to raise imps to enforce Government policy and to "deal with agitators."

CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

Encouraged by this statement to form their own guards, the late

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"... and remember, it took us 3,000 years to build our white civilisation."

PAN-AFRICANISM

See Article by
TENNYSON MAKIWANE
on Page 3

A.M.E. CHURCH BACKS CONFERENCE

DURBAN. THE forthcoming conference of African leaders was warmly welcomed by the Orange, Natal and Cape Midlands regions of the A.M.E. Church at a joint conference held last week-end.

A press statement issued by the Conference says that "Conference learns with great satisfaction of the conference of African leaders called to crystallise opinion on the effect which the adopted referendum will have on the body politic."

"We believe that the proposed preliminary conference of these

leaders, which it is hoped will result in nation-wide conference to determine issues affecting all sections of the community as well as the future of the country, should result in great good."

The conference represented half the membership of the A.M.E. Church in South Africa and was presided over by Bishop F. H. Gow.

NATIONAL CONVENTION WANTED

Non-White political leaders of the Congress alliance have also welcomed the conference and have warned the Government that no constitutional changes will be acceptable to Non-Whites unless Non-White consent has been obtained.

They maintain that South Africa's problems can be solved only by suspending the republic and the summoning of a National Convention representative of all races, to discuss the destiny of South Africa.

The theme of the African leaders' conference will be the present political situation and the proposed Republic.

Conference will also deal with Bantu Authorities with special reference to Pondoland, as well as with the Pass Laws and the economic plight of Africans.

LUTULI CALLS ON WHITES TO HELP LIFT CONGRESS BAN

DURBAN. Party," the letter stated.

"The African National Congress established in 1912, represented the great majority of Africans, and it is thus, obviously short-sighted and wrong to destroy these means of political self-expression. The great



Chief A. J. Lutuli.

danger is to allow a political vacuum to continue. When a legitimate national organisation with a non-violent policy is banned, anything may take its place. Uncontrolled and undisciplined movements may be formed and terrorism may arise."

BANTU AUTHORITIES ONLY ADMINISTRATIVE

The Government claimed that the Africans were adequately represented by Bantu Authorities. Chief Lutuli said, "But Bantu Authorities were merely administrative in character, and could never be media for political expression."

"I therefore appeal to all people of goodwill to ensure through all the channels open to them, that this disastrous situation be terminated when the bannings are reviewed by Parliament next year. I trust that you will use your influence and the auspices of your organisation to arouse public opinion against a renewal of these bans," the letter concluded.

CHIEFS EMPOWERED TO DESTROY DWELLINGS

All Transkei Affected by Emergency

CAPE TOWN. MILLIONS OF SOUTH AFRICANS ARE DIRECTLY AND DRASTICALLY AFFECTED BY THE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS PROMULGATED ON NOVEMBER 30. MOST OF THE REGULATIONS APPLY NOT ONLY TO PONDOLAND BUT TO THE WHOLE OF THE TRANSKEI.

What political rights the people in those areas previously enjoyed have now been completely destroyed. The police, Native Commissioners

and chiefs have been given a free hand to crush all opposition by force.

CHIEFS ARE EMPOWERED TO REMOVE WHOLE FAMILIES FROM THEIR HOMES AND TO DESTROY THEIR HUTS AND DWELLINGS.

Individuals may be banned from attending any gathering, including church services, funerals and even gatherings in connection with the regulation of the domestic affairs of their own kraal or household.

Under the regulations, offences

are committed by any person who

(a) makes any statement, verbally or in writing, or does any act which is intended or is likely to have the effect of subverting or interfering with the authority of the State, the Chief Native Commissioner, a Native Commissioner or any other officer in the employ of the State, or of any chief or headman;

(b) makes any statement, verbally or in writing, or does any act which consists of or contains any threat that any person will be subjected to any boycott, or will suffer any violence, loss, disadvantage or inconvenience in his person or property or in the person of

(Continued on page 8)

PRESS CENSORSHIP

New Age Memo to Select Committee

See Page 2



NEW AGE LETTER BOX

BANTU AUTHORITY REJECTED

We Hate Nobody But Evil

It is very pleasing to see our young African men so politically conscious in the year 1960. The African youth is now aware that the question of South Africa is no exclusive concern of the White minority alone, but of ALL South Africans. At the same time it is an international question of common concern to all the nations engaged in the present battle for freedom against apartheid. It is a concern to the emergent free African states and the UNO which have blazed the trail in showing to the world in practice how the path of national liberation and equality leads, not to weakness, but to strength, and is of mutual advantage to the former ruling class and the former oppressed subject.

South Africa's situation here and abroad is very serious, but not yet irreparable. It is up to you, my brothers, to show by word or deed that you hate nobody but evil. It was Caliban (Tempest) who said to his master, "You taught me language and my profit on't is I know how to curse."

Forward to Freedom.
E. TOLLIE
Worcester.

The Bantu Authority officials got a rebuff when they held their second meeting at the Majing reserve, to choose the headman and to introduce Bantu Authority for the third time. At the first meeting the tribesmen pointed out the man they wanted as their headman. Their choice was rejected, presumably on the grounds that this man is opposed to all oppressive laws, cattle culling in particular. But the man favoured by the BAD is the most hated man, because he is a Government stooge. The meeting was not successful and was postponed for a later date.

On November 23 two Government vans arrived with 12 Bantu Authority officials from Taung, amongst them Chief Thapama. This time the people were told that the chief had come to choose the headman, who is going to serve under him (the chief). One of the tribesmen told these stooges that Majing people were not prepared to accept anything from Taung, no matter what the consequences would be, and he there and then declared the meeting closed.

Some of the tribesmen have been threatened with deportation.

M.G.
Kimberley.

Reply to An Admirer of Verwoerd

It was reported in the "Friend" newspaper recently that Mr. Seiso Motlati, of Boshabela Village, Bloemfontein, had written to the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, congratulating him on his referendum victory and appealing to him to "hasten the Bantu Authorities Act to take the place of the Advisory Board which is just a harmless barking dog of which I am a member for the last 20 years."

In reply to Mr. Motlati, I wish to say, as chairman of the sub-committee of Advisory Board members, that the Advisory Board has never discussed apartheid at its committee meetings. It would be advisable for the writer to approach the members of the Advisory Board.

I. PHALE
Bloemfontein.

Solidarity With Mr. Ganyile

I wish to pass through New Age a few lines of praise to Mr. Ganyile, who has been exiled to South Africa.

In the midst of argument in UNO the Government has dared banish a son of the liberatory movement to a remote part of S.A. The racial hatred which has made the Government exile Mr. Ganyile, because of his activities among his Pondo people, will not quench the spirit of solidarity and brotherhood as shown by the Freedom Fighters of Africa as a whole, and will only add to the justified accusations of member nations of UNO.

To Mr. Ganyile I say: "All those whose destination is white as snow and those who maintain truth within their spirit shall suffer before they reach their destination."
DAMN WORKER
New Brighton.

Gov's New Censorship Bill Will Press Freedom

Memorandum on the Bill to provide for the control of publications, cinematograph films, entertainments etc. introduced by the Deputy Minister of the Interior during the 1960 session of Parliament and referred to a Select Committee for consideration.

ARTICLE 19 of the United Nations Charter of Human Rights reads as follows: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

It is true that the Union of South Africa is not a signatory to the Charter of Human Rights. It is equally true that most countries have found it necessary, to a greater or lesser degree, to place curbs on the absolute freedom of opinion and expression in the interest of social harmony.

Nevertheless, we should take cognisance of the fact that the declaration of faith contained in Article 19 represents an ideal towards which humanity as a whole is striving. The degree of advancement of any community up the ladder of civilisation can be gauged by the extent to which it attempts to live in accordance with the highest ideals of mankind.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

The aim of good government should be so to order the affairs of the community as to make possible the extension of the greatest possible freedom to all individuals, free from fear, race, creed or colour. Barriers of caste and class set up within any society can make freedom impossible for both the privileged and the oppressed. Such a state of affairs undoubtedly occurs in South Africa today.

The proposed Bill to provide for the control of publications does not seek to extend, but to restrict freedom of opinion and expression. In so doing, it reveals the extent to which the government's policy of apartheid is creating stresses and strains in our body politic which cannot be eased even by the normal process of social intercourse customary in democratic societies.

APARTHEID

The progress of the vast bulk of our population towards full integration in a common society is deliberately impeded by the various apartheid laws. The Government's justification for this policy is that progress is only possible on separate or parallel lines. However, the fact that the Government's policy runs counter to natural development and to the wish of the majority of the people is proved by the ever-

increasing amount of restrictive legislation which is placed on the statute book, not to mention the frequent outbreaks of disturbances among the various sections of our people.

In a free society, the free expression of thought and opinion can take place without any danger to the community as a whole, because the laws are based on the consent of the majority of the people. In an unfree society, free thought cannot be tolerated, as it directly threatens the established order of things. Hence the Government's need for the present Bill.

We wish to stress that the present Bill will finally kill what

In the 1960 session of Parliament the Government introduced an internal censorship Bill called the Publications and Entertainments Bill. After its first reading it was referred to a select committee which did not complete its work and will be reappointed when the next session of Parliament meets in 1961.

The Bill in its present form will kill the freedom of the press, say New Age in a memorandum on the Bill which will be submitted to the select committee. We reproduce the memorandum in full in this and subsequent issues of the paper because we believe the public must be made aware of the dangers of this Bill and public opinion must be roused to prevent it from becoming law.

Little remains to us in South Africa of freedom of opinion and expression.

This freedom is already gravely limited by existing laws—the Riotous Assemblies, Native Administration, Subversion of Government, Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment (1953) Acts among others, which make it an offence to "incite racial hatred."

VIOLATIONS

The survey "Government Pressures on the Press," published in 1956 by the International Press Institute, contained many details of the violations of press freedom in South Africa, indicating that the restriction of our country has already suffered grievously abroad on this account.

"In the last 20 years," stated this newspaper, "the freedom of the press has become increasingly serious."

Commenting that the restraints on publication in South Africa were so complex that in a few countries in the world was a greater strain imposed on newspaper editors, the survey recalled that the editor of "The Star," a Johannesburg evening paper, wrote to the International Press Institute in 1953 that "defining newspaper editors these conditions is like walking blindfold through a minefield."

If the Publications and Entertainments Bill is passed in its present form, how much greater will be the nerils confronting not only all journalists but all sections of the people who wish to communicate with one another by means of the written or spoken word, the showing of films or the staging of any form of entertainment!

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Clause 4 of the Bill proposes to make it a criminal offence to print or publish any book or periodical without the prior approval of the Publications Board to be set up for the purposes of internal censorship. A "book" is defined as any printed matter which has been declared by the Board to be a book; while a "periodical" is defined as any publication published at intervals of not less than six days and not more than 12 months which consists wholly or for the greater part of

narratives or articles of general interest.

We need only point out that in terms of these definitions neither New Age nor the Sunday Times nor any book in English or Afrikaans or the vernacular could be published without the prior approval of the Publications Board. Every sort of periodical publication would be affected, including training magazines, house bulletins, trade papers etc. It matters not that the Board might see fit to exercise its powers to the most lenient fashion. The fact is that the mere existence of such sweeping powers places the expression of political and artistic opinion completely at the mercy of a board of Government-appointed officials.

There is no appeal to the courts whatsoever. An appeal may only be made to an Appeal Board, consist-

ing of a further collection of officials appointed by the Minister.

Both the Publications Board and the Appeal Board will undoubtedly consist of members whose appointments is due to the fact that they can be relied upon to carry out Government policy.

OPPOSITION SILENCED

The general effect of the Bill, therefore, will be to make it impossible, or at best extremely difficult, for anyone to publish a book or periodical which conflicts with Government policy on any matter, English-speaking writers banned by the Board may hope to get their books or periodicals published abroad, even though they would have to forego all circulation in this country. For Afrikaans-speaking writers and Africans who write in their own or periodicals published abroad, even though they would have to forego all circulation in this country, For Afrikaans-speaking writers and Africans who write in their own or periodicals published abroad, even though they would have to forego all circulation in this country, there is no market for Afrikaans-language or vernacular publications abroad.

This provision of the Bill will sound the death-knell of South African culture. What is published will be understood everywhere to be the result of Government censorship. In such circumstances, the free spirit of the artist will be crushed and stifled, and the market of ideas handed over to the purveyors of mediocrity and conformity.

Most hard hit of all is likely to be the non-conformist periodical press. The New Age, which has consistently opposed the Government's apartheid policies, are likely to be singled out for attack, not because they have offended against any law, but as a code of morals, but because they have dared to voice the aspirations of the majority of the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

The big weekly papers, backed by high finance and respectability, may possibly escape the worst effects of the censorship; but a paper like New Age, representing the interests of the poorest and most exploited sections of our people, is far more vulnerable. The New Age, representing the interests of the poorest and most exploited sections of our people, is far more vulnerable. The New Age, representing the interests of the poorest and most exploited sections of our people, is far more vulnerable. The New Age, representing the interests of the poorest and most exploited sections of our people, is far more vulnerable.

(To be continued)

DONT FORGET THAT XMAS PRESENT!

With Christmas just in the offing our appeal to be remembered during this gay and festive season has not fallen on deaf ears. This week our first Xmas present came from Benny and Mary Turok who sent us £100. All our thanks to them, and we look forward to many more readers to follow suit. Of course, we do not expect that everybody can afford to donate large sums of money, so even if you just have an affinity-bitty few bob to spare, send it along.

And from Arnold and Jeanette Selby, exiled in faraway Ghana, came a letter of greetings to New Age. "I can't find words to describe my feelings at getting the paper," Arnold wrote from Accra, "Tonight our noses will be buried in New Age and it will be so for the next few days. The horrible struzzles of our people for a democratic South Africa, their sufferings and sacrifices will be remembered by future generations."

This Week's Donations:
Johannesburg: Jumble Sale £12.10, Duffie Coat 10s., Friends Monthly £70. G. E. I. S. and B. £5. Wife £5. B. Monthly £5. Arnold and Jeanette £1. R. T. B. Pretoria £2. Bonnie and Mary £100.

Port Elizabeth:
G.M.M. £5, E.R. £2.
Cape Town:
Tickets £2, Premier 10s, CNE £5, Double York 10s, Harry El, Ally Seters £1, Smeed River £10, T. E. Jumble £174, Diamond £12.10, Alice 10s., Cakes £18.3, Ruth and Bernards's Xmas Present £4.
TOTAL: £233 10s. 4d.

Work Hard For Freedom

Sons and Daughters of Africa! The struggle is still going on, an appealing to the Sons and Daughters of Africa, the Fathers and Mothers of the future Africa, to help us.

We must ask ourselves the following questions: What will be the future of Africa? What kind of education are my children going to get. Are they going to be slaves?

We must work hard in order to get freedom.
Afrikal Izwé Elethul Mayibuyi!
L. P. MTIMKULU
Johannesburg.

WHAT IS THIS PAN- AFRICANISM?

ACCRA.
REPORTS that only the policies of the Pan-Africanist Congress (now banned) are acceptable to African national movements in the rest of Africa are either just mixed up, or are plainly malicious, trying in vain to discredit and isolate the policies of the now banned African National Congress.

Let me try to set out the facts: The African National Congress is officially represented on the steering committee of the All African Peoples' Conference, and its delegate was elected to this position at the Tunis conference early in 1960.

UNITED FRONT

The South African United Front abroad, of which I am a member, is composed of former top ranking officials of both bodies. The leader of the Front, for example, now at the United Nations and one of the petitioners on South West Africa, heard by the Trusteeship Council, is the former ANC vice-president Mr. Oliver Tambo.

The Front represents abroad the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South West African National Union.

The Front represents about the African struggle is concerned, the attitude of the East and Central African organisations was expressed in a resolution adopted at the conference of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa held in Uganda five weeks ago. The resolution pledged to give support and aid to South African

organisations through the South African United Front. On the other hand, the ANC has been invited to open offices in Dar es Salaam.

EXILES
The Rand Daily Mail reports further, that northern nationalist

South Africa's press has in recent months featured mischievous reports that African freedom movements to the north of the Union recognise only the Pan Africanist movement as representing the African people of our country. This, said one report in the Rand Daily Mail, is "because its policies of Pan-Africanism and 'Africa for the Africans' are in line with the views of the northern movements."

In an article written exclusively for New Age, **TENNYSON MAKIWA**, one of the representatives of the South African United Front abroad, knocks this lie on the head.

What does Pan-Africanism mean, he asks? How does it apply to South African conditions?

movements are helping Africans from the Union to reach Ghana, but only those Africans who travel under "official auspices" and are Pan-Africanists.

I have recently been to Dar es Salaam where a number of South Africans who left the Union during the Emergency had arrived. There were certainly far fewer than the thirty mentioned in the Rand Daily Mail report. Most of them were African National Congress members. However, as far as my knowledge goes, the ANC has no plans to ship out of South Africa politicians en masse to Ghana or anywhere else.

The story is being spread that only the policies of Pan Africanism and 'Africa for the Africans' are in line with those of the northern movements.

The idea of Pan-Africanism, as I have always understood, presses a continent-wide outlook, a

striving to co-ordinate all kinds of African freedom activities on an Africa-wide basis, and it is an idea that Africa could eventually evolve as one single united entity.

The African National Congress of South Africa was one of the first organisations in Africa to put forward this idea. Our slogan, 'Mayibuye 'Afrika'—Africa must come back to us—reflects this Pan-Africanism. We never say 'Mayibuye i South Africa.' Indeed, in all ANC freedom songs we sang about Africa and not just South Africa.

The African National Congress was one of the sponsors of the first All-African Peoples' Conference. And even earlier than that, before the headquarters of the movement came to Africa, the ANC took part in the fifth Pan-African Conference held in Manchester in 1945.

DIFFERENCES OF VIEW

However, it is no secret that the various leaders in Africa, as well as the heads of independent African states hold different views as to how to go about making Africa-wide unity a reality.

On the question of the cry: 'Africa for the Africans,' my experience in the course of my contact with African freedom movements, is that the slogan reflects the demand for self-rule and self-determination on the part of colonised Africans. The slogan has nothing to do with racial exclusiveness. There are many examples to illustrate this:

In **TANGANYIKA**, for instance, all non-African members of the Legislative Assembly who have been elected, were elected on the ticket of the Tanganyika African National Union.

In **KENYA** the President of the Kenya African National Union, Mr. James Gichuru, has gone out of his way to reassure the European and Asian minorities of their security and safety in a future democratic Kenya.

In **GHANA** there are more Europeans since independence than ever before. Said Dr. Nkrumah in his recent speech at the United Nations: "I believe that a reasonable solution can be found to the African problem which would not prejudice the minorities on the continent."

And Dr. Azikiwe of **NIGERIA** during his installation as Governor-General said when addressing a gathering of visitors from America and abroad: "This great union of nations—Black, White and human freedom, Nigeria, will show how races can live together in peace."

NASSER'S ADVICE
There are many more examples. Of special interest, particularly directed to the struggle in South

Continued in next column

WHICH ONE IS NOT THE FRENCHMAN?



If it was not for their dark skins one would not be able to distinguish the Prime Ministers, Ambassadors and UNO representatives of nearly all the newly independent states of the former French Community in Africa, from Frenchmen. De Gaulle's policy of handing over formal power in Africa to Africans trained in France to be loyal to France is paying dividends, as most of the former French colonies in Africa side with France and against other African states on one international issue after another. See story on page 7 by **TENNYSON MAKIWA** reporting from Accra on the new line-up in Africa: the Left, the Right and the Centre.

● The above picture shows the Ambassador of the French puppet Government in the Cameroons, M. Jacques Moukouri, together with French President de Gaulle and former French Premier M. Couve De Murville.

Continued from previous column
Africa, was President Nasser's advice to us when we had an interview with him in Cairo during May. After comparing the South African problem to Algeria, where there are also large numbers of European settlers, President Nasser said he had heard there were Whites in South Africa who did not support White supremacy. He advised us to win them to our side.

IMPPLICATIONS
This policy is directly in line with the view held all the years of its existence by the African National Congress.

FREEDOM CHARTER
It is said by those trying to discredit the policies of the ANC that it is in disavour because of its adoption of the Freedom Charter and its emphasis on a policy of multi-racialism.

There is a most striking similarity between the policies of the Freedom Charter and the manifesto of the Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa. This manifesto rejects White racism and Black chauvinism, advocates full industrialisation and the nationalisation of industries which have a dominating influence over the economy and the masses of the people.

This term multi-racialism has a

different meaning in East and Central Africa on the one hand and in South Africa on the other. This is because when the British Government introduced what it called 'multi-racialism' in East and Central Africa, it meant a system of communal political representation and parity. The British government argued that since in those territories there were various racial groups there should be equal representation for the racial groups.

This policy ignored the numerical strength of the different racial groups and as it rode roughshod over African political demands for equality and was in fact intended to perpetuate racial differences and inequalities it was rejected out of hand by the African people.

In South Africa the multi-racial policy of the African National Congress, until it was banned, and of its ally organisations in the Congress movement has a different meaning. It is a challenge to the present system where power and democratic rights are vested in one minority group only, the White group. We say this is intolerable, there is more than one race in South Africa and we demand full equality for all, regardless of colour or race.

M.R.A. MEN OPPOSED MINIMUM WAGE

Inside Dope on 'Labour' Conference

PORT ELIZABETH.

THE whole thing was a bluff to give the impression that the Government had the support of the African workers in carrying out its plans." This is what one delegate to the Government-sponsored Conference of Representatives of Regional Committees told New Age in a recent interview.

He went on to give some inside information on the "unusual proceedings."

The Conference was attended by 29 delegates, representing 10 Regional Committees, each of which was entitled to send three delegates. Mr. Wentz, the Chairman of the Central Native Labour Board, presided at the meetings. The delegates consisted of Ministers of religion, MRA men, and conservative elderly men who are in fact not workers.

Mr. Geyser, the Deputy Secretary for Labour, representing the BAD Minister, addressed the delegates in Afrikaans, and as a result his speech was not understood by most of the delegates.

STEAMROLLER METHODS

The Chairman used the unusual procedure whereby he only allowed one speaker on each issue on each Regional area. If a delegate said anything that was critical of the Act and the Government he was immediately told to sit down. During the period under review, when the Chairman was pressed to give figures, he read them out to himself, so that the delegates could not even hear, let alone having the opportunity of taking the figures down.

All they were told was that the

occurrence of strikes was declining.

When some delegates expressed the view that the Government should introduce a statutory minimum wage, almost all the delegates from the Reef opposed the suggestion. They argued that the employers should be left free to pay wages in relation to their margin of profit.

New Age learns that the MRA men, who came mainly from the Reef towns, generally opposed any move to compel employers to pay higher wages.

"RESPECTFUL REQUESTS"

On the question of the formation of free trade unions, the chairman told the delegates that both the Government and the Employers did not want to be intimidated by workers through their unions. According to him, the Act recognised the principle of collective bargaining "on an individual basis." By this he meant that each factory should set up its own Works Committee, which would submit workers' complaints to the bosses in the same way that Advisory Boards are expected to "respectfully request" those in authority.

NO RESOLUTIONS

No resolutions were taken on any of the items on the agenda. At the end of each discussion the chairman summed up the position so that there was compliance with the provisions of the Act. His view then became automatically the Conference decision.

The delegate to the Conference said that the general impression which all the delegates and Government officials gained was that the Natives Settlement of Disputes Act had failed. The African workers had seen through the lie and would just not be taken in.

What the representatives of 81 Communist Parties agreed on in Moscow

PEACE CAMPAIGN IS KEY TASK TODAY

For months now we have been told that the Soviet Union and China are at loggerheads over international policy. The Western press continually assert that China wants war, while the Soviet Union favours peaceful co-existence. The recent meeting in Moscow of representatives of Communist Parties from 81 countries, including all the top Soviet leaders and a strong Chinese group headed by Liu Shao-chi, was widely commented on. Yet when the conference finally agreed UNANIMOUSLY on a statement that sets out the Communist view of present international affairs, our daily press carried no more than one paragraph on it.

For the benefit of those of our readers who are interested in important ideological trends in the world today, we print a digest of the statement.

THE signatories pledge themselves to devote all their strength and energy to delivering mankind from the nightmare of a new world war.

This, they say, is the most pressing task today, because of the unprecedented destructive power of modern weapons.

Dealing with the war danger, the statement says: "Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even worse catastrophe."

"Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins."

But though the nature of imperialism had not changed, "real forces had appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression." The imperialists can no longer decide at will whether there should be a war.

PEACE FORCES STRONGER

"The superiority of the forces of Socialism over those of Imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the international arena."

ON EXCLUDING WAR: In the near future "the superiority of the forces of Socialism and peace will be absolute. In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude war from the life of society even before Socialism achieves complete victory on earth, capitalism still existing in a part of the world."

ON ACTION FOR PEACE: "The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it."

ON DISARMAMENT: "The implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind, industry and culture to ruin."

PEACEFUL TRANSITION: "The programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries."

ON THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM: "Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front and other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win State power without civil war and en-

sure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people."

ON THE NATURE OF OUR EPOCH: "Our time, whose main content is the transition from capitalism to Socialism initiated by the October Revolution, is a time of struggle between two opposing social systems, a time of Socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of a triumph of socialism on a world scale."

UNITY

ON WORKING CLASS UNITY: "The split in the ranks of the working class, which the ruling classes, the Right-wing Social Democratic leadership and reactionary trade union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the achievement of the aims of the working class."

ON THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES: "Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the Socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the Socialist countries cherish the unity of the Socialist camp like the apple of their eye."

HAROLD DURBAN.



THOUSANDS TURNED AWAY FROM BANNED MEETING

"Government is Afraid of the People" — Naicker

From M. P. Naicker DURBAN. **WHAT** most observers in Durban confidently predicted would have been the biggest political meeting ever held in South Africa, was banned in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act by the Acting Chief Magistrate, following on instructions from the Minister of Justice.



Dr. Naicker.

Despite notices of the banning appearing in the press, many thousands turned up at Curries Fountain, Durban, last Friday for the meeting, only to be told by Congress organisers that the Minister, using the despotic powers vested in him by a Parliament elected by a minority of the South African population, had refused to allow South Africa and the world to hear the just grievances of the broad masses of the people. In a forthright statement to the press, the joint Congresses, condemning the banning of a legal meeting states that the Nationalist Government is afraid.

GOVERNMENT AFRAID "The Nationalist Government is afraid that the people might learn of the mighty struggle against Bantu Authorities being waged by the Pondos; they are afraid that the people will learn of the abhorrence with which South Africa's apartheid policy is held all over the world; they are afraid of the broad will of the people, both black and white," adds the statement.

In prepared speeches, released to New Age exclusively, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress and Mr. George Mbele, former Organiser of the banned African National Congress, who were to have been the main speakers, had this to say on the various burning issues confronting the people of South Africa:

CAN'T SHOOT WAY THROUGH Dr. G. M. Naicker: "I want to say to Dr. Verwoerd, 'You cannot force unpalatable laws down the throats of an unwilling people. You cannot halt peace and progress through sten-puns and sarcasms; sjamboks and police raids; banings and banishment. You cannot break the spirit of freedom inherent in all human beings by mental and physical torture. You cannot shoot your way through. History is full of men who tried. History is also full of the fate that befell them...'"

Stating that the Non-Whites were not so childish or naive as to swallow "the bed-time stories published in a Sunday paper of Red submarines landing Moscow-trained Pondos in South Africa," he adds, "if the purpose of this article was to influence its white readers, then all I can say is that the whites are still in their political childhood..."



Mr. G. Mbele.

Footwear Bosses Break Promise to Workers

Hundreds Dismissed

From M. P. Naicker DURBAN.

THE Congress movement has decided to throw in its full weight behind the dispute between the leather workers and their employers.

Following on the decision of Durban and Pinetown workers to call off their strike after they had been let down by their National Union leadership, (see New Age last week) the Natal Indian Congress, comprising the Natal Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats, addressed a letter to the employers and sharply criticised them for:

● Not entering into discussions with the workers as promised whilst the workers were on strike.

● Stopping payment of holiday pay due to them up to the date of the stoppage of work.

● Dismissing hundreds of strikers.

(One factory alone, R. Faulks & Co., manufacturers of Mannequin, Melbort, New York, Oomphies and slanty shoes, has dismissed 118 workers.)

● Reducing the wages of workers by some of the companies.

"VINDICTIVE ACTION" Expressing amazement and shock at these steps the Joint Congress letter warns the employers that they are "embarking on a dangerous and vicious campaign of 'vindictive action' against the workers."

Drawing attention to a telegram sent by the employers to the South African Congress of Trade Unions dated December 1, in which the employers required as a precedent to discussions with the workers a resumption of work, the letter from the Congresses points out that the present refusal to negotiate with the workers appears as "a serious breach of faith, a flagrant breach of an assurance given to SACTU, acted upon by us, and the basis of our persuasion of the workers."

The letter concludes with a request that the employers meet a delegation of the Congresses before last Wednesday.

At the time of going to press no reply has been received by the Congress movement.

UNIONS DID NOTHING

In an exclusive statement to New Age, Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, Chairman of the Durban Local Committee of SACTU, said that in so far as SACTU was concerned it was not directly involved in the dispute as the Leather Workers' Union is not affiliated to his organisation.

In the interests of the workers SACTU had suggested to the employers that they come to some settlement in the dispute, in view of the fact that both the National Union of Leather Workers and the Trades Union Congress to which these workers are affiliated did nothing for the workers on strike.

"Our actions in contacting the management was simply to try and get a negotiated settlement," he added.

British Artists Protest

EIGHTEEN British writers and theatrical artists recently protested to the President of the French Republic at measures taken against their French colleagues.

"These measures appear to us a denial of the principles of free expression and the right to work which are an essential part of the French democratic tradition," says a telegram signed by them.

The declaration of the "121" (French writers, artists and university teachers) upheld the right of Frenchmen to refuse to take part in the Algerian war and Government discrimination against the signatories followed.

could not but take appropriate action in the matter. Asked what actions were contemplated by the Congress, Mr. Dhlamini said that the Congresses could do many things in a campaign against the employers as the bulk of the customers of companies involved were Non-White.

"However, final decisions have not yet been taken and when it is taken we shall throw our full weight against the employers," he said.

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UP MY ALLEY

It seems as if African babies are worth a flat 200 quid dead in this country. At least that is the estimated value of Baby Manjati, killed by a trigger-happy navajrator during the seizure of Nyanga.

And although the Manjati family is entitled to compensation, even though it won't replace one dead child, it is enough to make the blood curdle to hear the Government payment praised as "humane and generous"—just as if a donation was being made to the SPCA.



By ALEX LA GUMA

A Race Relations Institute official, writing as if they were negotiating a cattle deal, also said "a baby boy is of considerable value to an African parent—... we feel it would be diplomatic and reasonable if some such gesture would be made."

● You can just imagine the book-keeping entry: To one baby shot dead—£200.

★
AND I see that the Defence Force is changing from the old-fashioned Sten gun to a "new-look" Nato-type automatic carbine.

★
OUR postal system, always the victim of complaints about its service, will now be streamlined. According to the S.A. Postal Association efficiency will be increased by:

LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR ADVISORY BOARD ELECTIONS

From Robert Resha

JOHANNESBURG.

ALTHOUGH Mr. P. Q. Vundla, member of the Western Native Township Advisory Board, pleaded with Mr. de Wet Nel, Minister of BAD with "tears" for the retention of the advisory board system just a day before the elections, the overwhelming majority of the African people in Johannesburg townships showed complete indifference to the advisory board elections.

Mr. Vundla's statement that "people have faith in those they have elected" does not seem to refer to the advisory board members.

The Western Native Township Advisory Board led by Mr. P. Q. Vundla, who has been in the Advisory Board in this township for more than 20 consecutive years was returned unopposed. Here I met a number of people who did not even know that Saturday was election day.

Asking who the members of the Advisory Board were some could only remember the name of P. Q. Vundla. Others doubted if he was still in the Board because he now stays in Dube.

BTANE GOES DOWN TO BETTER TEAM

Mr. Sidwell Butane's group in Dube was defeated by the opposition whose candidates were Z. Nkomo, M. Moloi, P. Mononyane

● Rather than taking a Non-White postman in the vacant job of a White postman, a post delivery service should be suspended.

● Objection was raised to a "Native" having been used to relieve a European postman at Maraburg. Steps had been taken to avoid a recurrence.

● The employment of "Natives" on mail officers' duties at Florida was also objected to. The protest was stopped.

And what's more, the Department said that steps will be taken immediately such "absurdities" as non-whites doing whites' work were brought to its notice.

● So don't grumble when your mail doesn't arrive in time.

★
WHICH reminds me that a member of the Congress of Democrats received a letter addressed to his home, but somehow delivered to the P.O. box of another COD member.

● They think the SB got their lines crossed.

★
AND now that we Coloured are getting our own "homelands" way up in the northwest, com troupes have altered their repertoire for the New Year.

● They're going to sing Home on the Range and Bury Me Not On The Lone Prairie.

POLICEMAN CONVICTED FOR ASSAULTING NEW AGE SELLER

JOHANNESBURG.

"YOU had arrested a man and, while he was under your protection, you assaulted him. For that reason your sentence will be much stricter than for a case of common assault. What is more, you are a policeman and should know better."

These remarks were made by Mr. L. Breedt in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court when he sentenced railway policeman, Aaron Boya, to two months imprisonment and a fine of £5 for assaulting New Age seller, Andrew Chamille, 60 (popularly known as "General Luna"), on the afternoon of October 15 at the Westbury Station, Johannesburg.

In his evidence Chamille had said that Boya arrested him for having a paper that said that "Non-Whites Reject Referendum Result." This evidence was corroborated by Windy Mize, a barrier attendant and former Transvaal light-heavyweight professional boxing champion.

Giving evidence in his own defence Boya said that he saw the word "Fondoland" on the paper and pulled one out from under Chamille's arm. He was worried about Pondoland because he knew that there was trouble there.

A BUNCH OF LIES

The prosecutor, Mr. W. G. Engelbrecht: "You say that the complainant was on top of you."—Yes.

"He is smaller and lighter than you and I can't see how he can fell you."—He pulled me down from the platform.

Summing up Mr. Breedt said: "Your evidence is a bunch of lies from beginning to end."

He said that he could not accept the evidence of the two white policemen as they were obviously trying to protect Boya. They said nothing of the scuffle between Boya and Chamille. They did not see the blood flowing from Chamille's head. One said that Boya had telephoned the charge office. Boya himself said that Van Ryn, a booking clerk, had phoned, not himself.

Mr. Breedt said that Chamille was right in refusing to cross the line for two reasons: He could have been knocked down by the train. He could have been arrested for contravening the railway regulations by crossing the lines.

CONGRESSES DEMAND NATIONAL CONVENTION

Reject Constitutional Amendments

JOHANNESBURG.

"WE call upon the Government to suspend its plans of amending the Constitution and we urge that a National Convention be held in which all sections of the people should participate," says a statement issued by the Joint Executives of the South African Indian Congress, Congress of Trade Union, Coloured People's Congress, and the South African Congress of Democrats, after meeting last week.

The announcement by the Government of its draft Republican Constitution presents a suitable occasion for the country to take stock of the direction in which it is being led by the Nationalist Party continues its statement. In effect people are being asked to agree to amendments in the Constitution without being properly consulted and in fact in the face of strong opposition to the proposed changes by the vast majority of South Africans, black and white.

TIRED OF PLAY-ACTING

It is our opinion that the Government introduced the republican issue in a desperate attempt to take the people's minds away from the fundamental questions which were highlighted by the State of Emergency.

The events in Pondoland have shown that the Africans are tired of the play-acting and false democracy of Bantu Authorities. Similarly, in the urban areas the people have rejected the so-called tribal ambassadors and they demand nothing short of parliamentary franchise.

Great effort must be made to show our solidarity with the people of Pondoland. All organisations, churches, sporting bodies, trade unions must raise the demand for the abolition of the Bantu Authorities system and the rejection of tribal ambassadors in the cities.

WILL NOT SURVIVE

The Verwoerd Government stands revealed as being completely dependent on naked military and police violence. No Government which is so isolated from the people can survive, and it is our view that the removal of the Nationalist Government from office is no longer an academic question. It lies within the possibilities of the immediate future.

We demand a new Constitution that will enshrine freedom of speech, assembly and organisation. We urge that consideration be given to the appalling living standards of the people of South Africa. The biggest employers of labour, the State, the farmers and the mines have done nothing to improve the wages of their workers, while pass laws, influx control, Group Areas Act and Job Reservation continue to be the source of brutal oppression and lead to the aggravation of race hatred on an ever increasing scale.

SANCTIONS WELCOMED

On the international level, the joint executives welcome the pro-

posals for sanctions against South Africa and the moves to exclude South Africa from the Commonwealth.

"We prefer to suffer the temporary hardships that these steps will bring us, to the continuing arrogant domination and oppression that is our daily lot under white supremacy rule," said the statement.

The increasing might and consciousness which is being displayed by the Afro-Asian countries at the United Nations is also welcomed.

Demonstrations will be held during the visit of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation, and the demand will be made for him to see the acknowledged leaders of the Non-White people.

BURSARIES FOR NON-WHITES

JOHANNESBURG.

The University Indian Students' Bursary Committee is offering four bursaries to Non-European students for the 1961 academic year.

The bursaries are tenable at the Witwatersrand and Cape Town Universities and the University Colleges of Pietermaritzburg and Nyasaland, in the faculties of Arts, Science and Commerce.

Students wishing to apply for the bursaries should write to the Secretary, U.I.S.B.C., P.O. Box 106, Vrededorp, Johannesburg. Applications must be on the prescribed forms and have to be submitted by December 31, 1960.

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AFRICA "Africa has entered the stage of having a clearly defined Right, Left and Centre"

"Osagyefo the President" Nkrumah Welcomed Home From Mali

ACCRA, Ghana's capital, has just seen another big day. The occasion was the return of Dr. Nkrumah from a six-day official visit to the Mali Republic which ended on November 27. On such occasions the ruling Convention People's Party lays on a huge colourful reception as a manifestation of popular support for "Osagyefo the President." Throughout that day radio flash announcements remind Party members and other supporters to converge on the airport. Whereupon bus-loads of people, preceded by Party red and green coloured loudspeaker vans playing "highlife," the popular West African music, go. The airport becomes alive with beating of drums, singing and the women dancing. And this goes on till the awaited moment comes.



Dr. Nkrumah.

Some of us who have watched the homecoming of Dr. Nkrumah from the conference of the Commonwealth and UNO are by now accustomed to the routine.

As the plane touches down, it is greeted by the booming of 21 guns. Dr. Nkrumah steps out, waves to the crowd which responds with a shout of "Akwaaba" (welcome). The Osagyefo then inspects a guard of honour mounted by a section of a regiment, to the crowd which responds with a shout of "Akwaaba" (welcome). The Osagyefo then inspects a guard of honour mounted by a section of a regiment, to the crowd which responds with a shout of "Akwaaba" (welcome). The Osagyefo then inspects a guard of honour mounted by a section of a regiment, to the crowd which responds with a shout of "Akwaaba" (welcome).

This time Dr. Nkrumah went up to the microphone, obviously looking happy and announced that Ghana and Mali had agreed amongst other things to form one parliament.

"GHANA-MALI"

There were shouts of "Ghana-Mali" from the huge crowd.

However there were important implications underlining the trip to Mali.

The 18-month-old Mali Federation of Senegal and Soudan suffered a tragic split recently and at the time newspapers gave the impression that the cause of the split was due to a clash of personalities, rivalry between Modibo Keita, President of Soudan and Leonold Senghor the poet President of Senegal. Subsequent events, however, revealed a deep French intrigue in the whole affair. Modibo Keita wanted the Federation to pursue a progressive and anti-imperialist course including the recognition of the Algerian Provisional Government and on the other hand the Senegals leaders, who are reputed to be black Frenchmen, preferred pro-French policies.

Ghana has now come out on the side of Soudan which has changed its name to Mali Republic.

The joint communique of Ghana and Mali revealed nothing much save the decision to form one parliament. Generally, the communique said that agreement had been reached on all items discussed which included the question of African unity and assistance to liberate the rest of the continent.

● On the practical side Ghana has agreed to grant Mali a long term loan.

Since Mali Republic is landlocked and had seemed doomed to suffocation in the Sahara desert when the split with Senegal, which had provided an outlet to the sea, occurred, Ghana and Guinea are expected to provide the outlet to the coast for Mali.

The Mali tour by the Ghana party, which took them to such ancient cities as Timbuctoo and to the site where ancient Ghana emanated from the ancient Mali empire, provided the background for the Ghanaians to philosophise that Ghana is Mali and Mali is Ghana. Time will show whether this formulation will produce a unity state, a federation or a confederation of the two states.

PROBLEMS OF UNITY

On the other hand the Ghana-

Letter from West

Africa from
**TENNYSON
MAKIWANE**

Mali agreements seemed to mark a new approach to the problem of African unity. It seemed clear in the present circumstances that unity amongst the various African independent states will not come automatically. There has appeared on the African scene various groupings of states, some progressive and anti-imperialist, another lot reactionary and pro-imperialist and still others taking a centre position.

This was clearly shown at the United Nations on the Congo situation when the entire newly independent French Community African states voted with the Western Powers for the seating of Kasavubu at the UNO. On the other hand there are the African states including Ghana, Guinea, Mali and the United Arab Repub-

lic which favoured the return to power of Lumumba the lawful Congolese Premier.

Countries like Liberia and Tunisia abstained. Nigeria absented herself.

FED-UP WITH NIGERIA

Dr. Nkrumah seems too, to have taken this trend when on his way back from Mali he cabled nine African States, calling on them, together with Ghana, to revise the idea of the formation of an African military high command which had been proposed in the early days of the Congo crisis. The states invited are Liberia, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, Lybia, United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Sudan, and Mali. The French Community African States have been left out.

Many people are fed up with the Nigerian Government which decided to send Nigeria police to the Congo to replace Ghanaians who last week were compelled to withdraw when the UNO authorities declined to give further protection to the Ghanaians. The charge against the Nigerian Government is that it has failed to show the most elementary African solidarity.

ALL THIS INDICATED THAT AFRICA HAD ENTERED THE STAGE OF HAVING A CLEARLY DEFINED RIGHT, LEFT, AND CENTRE.

Algerian Demand For

FULL Independence

THE massive revolt of the Moslem people of Algeria which coincided with the visit of French President de Gaulle to this country, has strengthened the hand of the leaders of the Algerian Provisional Government in their recently repeated demands for full independence. More than 60 Moslems lost their lives to the bullets and grenades of the colonialists, but the demonstration proved that the people of the towns are fully behind the struggle of the Algerian Liberation Army in the countryside.

Meanwhile in France itself the French Communist Party has issued a call for an all-out campaign against de Gaulle's proposed referendum on Algeria which is scheduled to be held early next year.

Declaring that the referendum was "a new obstacle placed on the road to peace in Algeria," the Party said that it "evades the only way that can lead to peace: negotiations with the Algerian Provisional Government on conditions for a cease-fire and on guarantees on the application of self-determination."

The call added: "To install in Algeria an 'Algerian executive' made up of men chosen by the French Government and in no way representing the Algerian people cannot serve the cause of peace."

The Figures that Really Count on the International Scene

SOVIET UNION TO SURPASS U.S. OUTPUT BY 1967-8

From Mark Frank, Moscow

WHILE U.S. economists nervously forecast another recession in the United States, the Soviet economy is booming.

Bigger targets but still overfulfilled. Such is the recent progress report on the fulfillment of the Soviet Union's seven-year plan.

Taken together with the fact that the working day has already been cut in most industries, one sees this daring and ambitious programme advancing across the country.

Two years of the seven-year plan will soon be completed. In October the central statistical board reported that all the republics of the USSR fulfilled or overfulfilled targets on overall output and for most key manufactured items in the first nine months of this year.

The volume of industrial production in the first nine months of this year had increased by 10 per cent as compared with the same period last year, a rise of nearly 100 billion roubles worth of goods.

Retail sales to the people of meat, milk and butter increased.

Labour productivity rose in the period by six per cent. This acquires new significance when we note that most branches of industry had their working day reduced. It is a direct result of the technical progress in Soviet industry.

Significant is the following:

● (1) First year of the seven-year plan, 1959, was considerably overfulfilled, industrial output went up 11 per cent against a planned 7.7 per cent. Targets for the 1960 plan were raised in view of this, and despite this fact, the first nine months already show a 10 per cent industrial output increase against a planned approximate eight per cent average rate of increase.

This testifies to the vitality of the Soviet economy, and despite all efforts in the Western press to discredit Soviet economic advances, these facts prove the contrary.

● (2) Observers here stress in the achievements now being recorded not just the general dynamics of industrial production but the new qualitative processes now going on in Soviet industry.

RUSSIA vs. U.S.

ON the race with the United States, Soviet economists meeting recently in a special conference at Moscow University on the subject of the economic competition between the two systems have made the following points:

The Soviet Union will beat the United States in steel production by 1967, in iron by 1968, in oil by 1972, in cement by 1965.

Second important point is that by 1970 the ratio between the gross industrial output of the USSR and the USA will be 100 to 72.

By that time the USA will also be behind the USSR in per capita production.

Premier Khrushchov, in a talk with Cuban newspapermen, gave 1970, that is, in about 10 years' time, as the date for outstripping the United States in the production of the chief products necessary for people's welfare.

Soviet economists also report that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the United States as regards concentration of productive forces. Soviet industrial production equals about three-fifths of the US production in 1959.

These figures by Soviet statisticians coincide with those of the American expert, Prof. Hodgeman of Harvard University, and others.

AGRICULTURE FASTER

The conclusion drawn from this, and from the average dates of growth of industrial production of the two countries, is that THE SOVIET UNION WILL BEAT THE UNITED STATES IN OVER-ALL OUTPUT BY 1967-68.

● Soviet agriculture will surpass US levels sooner than industry. In the past five or six years, grain production here has been increasing twice as fast, meat 3.5 times as fast, milk 10-12 times as fast as in the United States.



Mr. K. on the winning side.



Mr. K. on the waning side.

