

Another Shake-up in the Soviet Countryside. Mr. K. is Determined to Supply THOSE FREE MEALS

AGRICULTURAL questions have again come to the fore in the latest plenary session of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. These problems, which have also been discussed in 1958, 1959, 1960 and 1961, are of great importance.

The twenty-year plan (1961-1980) envisages a four-fold increase of agricultural production and a six-fold increase in productivity (production per head of agricultural worker). This will result not only in a tremendous increase in living standards but also such BENEFITS AS A FREE MEAL FOR ALL WORKERS EVERY DAY. Moreover, it would produce a great surplus of man-power which could be utilised in industry and especially in the tertiary sector (services).

Conflict between private and collectivised agriculture and peasants began to devote too much of their efforts to their private plots.

Now Khrushchov has proposed that there should be greater material incentives for the peasants to devote more efforts to the collective and increase production. Also a system of production managers has been introduced to see that farming methods are modernised.

Western commentators have tried to give the impression that Soviet agriculture is in a parlous plight: nothing could be more false.

Agricultural problems have attracted so much attention in Russia because the Soviet leaders

A review of the progress (and failures) in Soviet agriculture, and comparisons with the West
By TREVARIUS

are always striving for greater and greater production so that the people can reach their goal of a life of abundance. Not for them the complacency of Western landowners who care nothing for the diet of their workers so long as they themselves enjoy exotic foods.

In the Western countries, agriculture has always been the Cinderella of the economy. Large government subsidies are usually the order of the day. Many countries, like Great Britain, import large quantities of food. They are able to do this because industry produces a large surplus for export.

Moreover, the relationship between the advanced, industrialised nations of the West and the underdeveloped, agricultural countries of Africa, Asia and South America is such that the former enjoy a great trading advantage and can obtain much greater quantities of

food in exchange for their industrial products than would otherwise be the case.

The reason for this is, firstly, the high degree of concentration and monopolisation of manufacturing industry compared with agriculture, which distorts prices in favour of the manufacturers. Secondly, the political and economic penetration by the advanced countries of the backward ones forces down the prices obtained by the peasants and small farmers for their produce to a minimum. Oppressed by tax-collectors, rent-collectors and usurers the peasant in a backward country has to sell his produce at ridiculously low prices.

Thus the inhabitants of food-exporting countries often starve while those of the industrial nations enjoy a high standard of living.

But when the ex-colonial countries themselves become industrialised the position will alter. They will no longer need to import manufactured goods to the same extent and the rising consumption of food by their own population will limit the surplus for export.

This phenomenon has been observed in Eastern Europe since the war. Pre-war Poland exported large quantities of food. Now she produces only a small excess over her own requirements. Western critics claimed this showed the failure of Polish agriculture. In fact it showed the rising living standards of the Polish people. Food production has increased greatly since the pre-war period but it is now eaten by the Poles themselves instead of being exported in exchange for manufactured goods. These are now produced in Poland.

One day when England is no longer able to obtain cheap imports of food she will have a real agricultural problem!



On Sharpeville Day, March 21, the anniversary of that fateful day in 1960 when the police mowed down peaceful demonstrators in this little Vereeniging township, this slogan appeared on a school wall in Johannesburg's Market Street.

WHY THE UNITED FRONT FAILED

Disruptive Role Of The P.A.C.

"THE South Africa United Front has been dissolved," said the statement issued by representatives of the ANC, PAC, SWANU and SAIC, Messrs Oliver Tambo, Nana Mahomo, J. Kozonguizi and Dr. Y. Dadoo respectively, after a meeting of the South Africa United Front held in London on 13th March 1962.

Behind this bland statement lies the history of the Front's achievements and also of the causes which led to its tragic downfall.

The South Africa United Front was formed abroad soon after the Sharpeville massacre, when the Verwoerd Government had unleashed a regime of terror, murder and violence. Our leading organisations were suppressed and many of our leaders and other democrats were detained without trial.

Our Aim

We then felt that despite the deep differences that marked the policies of the ANC and with it the SAIC on the one hand and the PAC on the other, this crisis was so overwhelming in character as to demand of those of us abroad the joining of our forces in a united front with a view to seeking the sympathy and support of the peoples and governments of the world for our struggles, to bring international economic and political pressure on the South African Government and in general to secure its expulsion from the world comity of nations.

We believed that by uniting with this purpose we would help and inspire our peoples and bring nearer the victory of their struggles.

Much was achieved in the early stages of the United Front's existence. By concentrating on what was common to all our policies and aims, we succeeded in winning wide international support for our cause. The trade boycott became one of the most important and, politically at least, the most effective instrument of world solidarity against apartheid.

We won effective support from virtually every independent African state. Largely through our efforts South Africa had to withdraw from the Commonwealth.

Divisions

However, these successes by themselves had not proved strong enough to consolidate or develop the unity of the United Front. Instead, the United Front became

increasingly ineffective. It soon reached the point where it was doing little if anything to further the aims and tasks we had originally set ourselves. As a result the Front quickly fell into disrepute.

United fronts in general demand a high level of discipline and integrity from their participants. They call for absolute honesty and frankness, for a regular discussion of outstanding problems and difficulties and above all for unity in action. They forbid public attacks of one partner by another. They prohibit conspiracies and underhand schemes designed to undermine one or other partner in the front.

This discipline has been shown to be of NO less importance in

the African people, commanding overwhelming support—a wholly fraudulent image in terms of the actual balance of strength of our organisations in South Africa.

Through malicious distortion and lies, the PAC was presented as being both conservative and the instrument of Communists, whites and Indian merchants.

Behind the back of the United Front, the PAC representatives worked for privileged contacts with governments and public organisations abroad.

Within the Front itself, the PAC representatives proved to be parti-

by DR. Y. M. DADOO
representative on the
front of the S.A.
Indian Congress

the SAUF. We knew that our existence as a united front depended heavily on the absence of recrimination and attack on each other of our organisations in South Africa itself.

The ANC and the SAIC representatives tried hard to maintain the integrity of the United Front on these bases. They conscientiously held back from expounding their own policies abroad in their desire to maintain faithfully the unity of the Front. They refused, in spite of repeated provocations, to engage in attacks on their principal partner, the PAC. They always confronted their partners with common problems and had even compromised aspects of their policies—all with a view to maintaining the unity and cohesion of the Front.

Slander Campaign

On the other hand, the PAC had acted differently. The PAC and its overseas representatives and members—despite their presence in the Front—had already at an early stage embarked on a campaign of wilful slander and attack on the African National Congress and its leaders.

They directed their energies mainly towards establishing for the PAC the image that it alone was the leading organisation of

P.A.C. LEADERS SLANG ONE ANOTHER

THE ONE SIDE

According to press reports, Messrs Phillip Kgosana and Lawrence Mgwaba were recently expelled from the P.A.C. organisation abroad for disruptive activities.

A P.A.C. spokesman told the press that Kgosana had violated the P.A.C. rule that "leaders must be in front" when he fled from South Africa last year.

"He knew that no leader must leave without special instructions for a special mission. Leaders must remain and suffer with the people."

At about the time of his escape, Kgosana wrote a series of articles about himself and the P.A.C. struggle for Drum magazine.

"He was told to submit the articles to a senior man in the organisation for review before publication. He did not do so, and revealed things which are only to be known by the party."

"He ultimately left the country, and then started holding press conferences and issuing controversial statements. Then he undertook a lecture tour with other members of the P.A.C. He exceeded the number of countries he had to visit and gave no report of his tours as required of leaders abroad."

The other P.A.C. leaders thought Mr. Kgosana was getting too big for his boots and kicked him out. More serious, the Ghana Government withdrew his travel documents, and the last heard of him was that he was stranded in Ethiopia without a passport and without an organisation.

AND THE OTHER

Meanwhile, in support of its case, the Kgosana-Mgwaba faction is circulating a memorandum containing unbridled attacks on the "dual personality of and double dealing by Messrs Nana Mahomo, Peter Molotsi and Peter Raboro ko."

Mahomo and Molotsi are accused of "flirtation with dubious organisations."

"Mahomo and Molotsi have outchartered the charterists in their extreme multi-racialism," says the memorandum. "They have dragged the PAC into a multi-racial United Front which has

Transkei Chiefs Treated Like Lepers

Govt. Tries To Isolate Them From The People

From our Reporter JOHANNESBURG. CHIEFS and members of the Transkei Territorial Authority's Recess Committee received V.I.P. (Very Important Person) treatment during their

Continued from previous column claiming to speak in the name of the organisation, one having expelled the other and both engaging in mutual recrimination of a most embarrassing kind. This has created abroad considerable doubt about the authority and political substance of the PAC representatives.

These then are the factors which have led to the dissolution of the United Front. This regrettable course may cause some disquiet among many of our supporters and friends. We are, however, confident that they will understand the reasons for the dissolution and will continue to support the cause we have stood for: the winning of a free and democratic South Africa, of full and equal opportunities for all our people based on a common non-racial citizenship, of one man one vote and the liberation of our people from the poverty and ignorance so assiduously fostered by the regime of apartheid.

Furthermore, we understand that the PAC organisation abroad is now split into two sections each

Continued in next column

talks with Verwoerd, but they were given only third-class V.I.P. status.

The Chiefs were carried about like precious cargo—after all the Nats pretend that they will be the heads of an independent state in 18 months—but they were still subject to apartheid and all its pinpricks.

- Their reference books were endorsed with travelling permits, all the details of their journey out of the Transkei stamped in, just like the reference book of any African going from one province or town to another.
- They stayed in the Pretoria Vlakhfontein Location, unlike Tshombhe's deputy minister who lived in one of Johannesburg's posh hotels.
- They ate in a 'Bantu restaurant' at the Pretoria railway station.

INSULATED

These Chiefs are supposed to be men with minds and wills of their own—or at least the Nats will claim this when they put their signatures to the new sham constitution. But BAD information officers, Special Branch detectives and armed police were on the beat all the time, trying to wrap them in Government cotton wool and keep them far away from the press, the public and even their own relatives.

Mr. T. Moses, a tribal ambassador in Johannesburg of the Gcalekas, tried to meet the Chiefs, but in vain. Moral Rearmament 'king' Dr.

W. Nkomo invited them to dinner, but the BAD secretary refused the invitation for the Chiefs.

MATANZIMA JIBBED

When I went to Vlakhfontein to meet Chief Matanzima I was stopped at the gate by the BAD Information Officer in charge and five armed police. The BAD man disappeared round the back of the building and then came back to tell me Chief Matanzima did not want to see me.

But at that moment the Chief himself appeared and said he was not in jail and was prepared to see any special who wanted to see him. Special Branch detectives rushed over to us to try to stop us talking but the Chief ignored them and we drove off. (Report in New Age last week.)

When next I went to Vlakhfontein I was not allowed to enter the premises at all; and relatives and friends were all turned back.

NOWHERE TO BE SEEN

The day of the Chief's departure friends and relatives picked the Johannesburg station to see them off on the East London train, on which two first class coaches were reserved for high-ups. But the Chiefs were nowhere to be seen. They had all been driven to Vereeniging in Government cars, chauffeured by White drivers.

The attempt the Government is making to isolate the Chiefs from their own people shows they must be very nervous about the verdict of the people on these top-secret deals about the future of the Transkei.

REMOVING HIS OWN APPENDIX



A SOVIET DOCTOR was the sole medical adviser to a Russian Antarctic expedition. Taken ill, Dr. Rogozov diagnosed his case as an appendicitis demanding prompt surgical intervention. A radio message was sent out for a surgeon, but violent storms held up the plane. The situation was urgent and desperate and Dr. Rogozov was left with no alternative but to conduct the operation himself.

In his improvised theatre in the expedition's Antarctic station of Novolazarevsk, Dr. Rogozov in conventional surgical operation headgear and gauze mask, successfully removes his own appendix.



FRIGHTENED BY HIS OWN SHADOW

T.U.C. Abandons The Colour Bar

But African Workers Will Wait And See

By RAY ALEXANDER

AFTER seven and a half years of colour bar, the S.A. Trade Union Council (S.A.T.U.C.) decided last week, at its 8th Annual Conference held in East London, "to open its doors to all bona fide trade unions."

This reverses a decision taken in October, 1954, when the SATUC was formed and a constitution adopted which excluded all Africans by limiting membership to registered trade unions.

The present decision corrects a grave mistake that was made in order to appease the right-wing, racialistic unions of the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions, the Kordeinerende Raad, and incidentally to curry favour with the Government.

By rejecting apartheid the TUC has shown itself to be sensitive to other and more progressive pressures in this country and abroad.

International Recognition

One very important reason for the change in attitude is the rejection of apartheid by the international trade union movement, the United Nations and the International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.)

Delegates to the I.L.O. and other members of the national executive committee who attended conferences in Europe, have warned the TUC that they could not expect recognition abroad unless they took in the African trade unions.

"The Winds of Change are blowing here," said Mr. T. P. Murray, General Secretary of the Boilermakers' Union, at a meeting of the N.E.C. in August last year, "and I am anxious that this TUC must be sitting on the right side of the fence when the time comes. If we lose our opportunity now there will be no recontact with these people."

Mr. R. M. Haldane, of the Bank Officials' Society, urging at this N.E.C. meeting that the TUC should allow Africans to affiliate, said "it would gain enormously in international status." He went further and predicted "that without doubt a new government will come into office one day, and we in the trade union movement should be in the forefront of that development. We should have the courage to face up to this and say to the Africans come in."

Not all the members of the N.E.C. pleaded expediency in support of this proposal.

Mr. L. Nelson, of the Natal Liquor and Catering Workers' Union, supported the move without regard to international repercussions, because, he said, the position of the African workers was the "crux" of effective trade union work.

War on S.A.C.T.U.

It is regrettable that not all the leaders had this correct approach to the issue. Some of them look upon the position of African unions from a narrow and negative standpoint.

Miss Johanna Cornelius, of the Garment Workers' Union, for in-

stance, urged that the TUC set out to detach and win over African unions affiliated to SACTU. In her opinion the TUC, by adopting a vigorous policy of encouraging African unions to join it, could put SACTU "out of business."

Miss Dulcie Hartwell, the then General Secretary of the TUC, argued that the decision to exclude African unions was correct when taken, but the changed circumstances now made it advisable to abandon segregation. African workers would organise in trade unions. SACTU had "the courage to face up to the consequences of what they do." The TUC could not do less.

"Suppose," she said, "Fofatusa continued and we did not allow Africans into the TUC, that organisation and SACTU would be strengthened as African organisations. We would be strengthening apartheid African organisations, especially SACTU, which would be ready to take over the whole trade union movement when the time came."

I have had many years of close and friendly association with both outstanding women trade union leaders; I knew them when they fought courageously for the underprivileged. I regret that they should have now reached the stage of arguing against apartheid not on grounds of principle, but as a weapon to be used against an organisation which had the courage to reject apartheid when the TUC adopted it. SACTU's only crime is that it stood by a principle in face of bitter persecution from the Government, a principle which the TUC first abandoned and now admits is correct.

Colour Bar

The decision to open the doors to African unions is a step in the right direction. Mr. Murray's speech at the annual conference is sound. When opening the debate he said: "Basically a trade union movement stands for the brotherhood of man," and added: "There is no turning back. Not you or I or the Nationalist Government can stop the growth of the African nation. No person should deny a human being the right to improve himself."

Therefore the decision to open the doors to African unions goes only a little way towards meeting the claims of Africans today. This concession is not enough. I doubt very much whether Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo of the African Garment Workers' Union is correct in saying that the T.U.C.'s decision "will bring relief" in their minds.

It is not only the right to affiliate that Africans want but the right to do skilled work. On this issue the T.U.C. has by no means freed itself from the tradition of White baasskap.

The N.E.C. and the Building Union declare that they are worried by the large number of Africans that are being trained as artisans in the building industry.

To its shame the N.E.C. congratulates the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Workers' Union for

CAPE INDIANS REJECT ADVISORY BOARDS

CAPE TOWN.

THE Indian community of Cape Town has emphatically rejected all overtures to them by the Government to initiate a Branch of the Asiatic Advisory Council here.

New Age learns that a number of prominent Indian businessmen and personalities were invited by the Secretary to the Minister of Indian Affairs to a meeting last Tuesday to discuss the Advisory Council.

But before the meeting could take place, over 200 members of the Indian community in Cape Town held a meeting of

their own last Thursday, March 22, and rejected point-blank any question of meeting the Minister.

Furthermore, they said, any member of the community who attended the meeting would be considered a traitor and should be ostracised by his fellows.

It was decided that an organisation representing the Indian community be formed, to speak on their behalf on any matters affecting them.

The meeting was called by Councillor H. E. Parker. Among those who attended and addressed the meeting were Messrs A. Quaise, G. M. Khan, Cassim Ally, Sundra Pillay and A. K. Brey.

having forced the Johannesburg City Council to abandon its proposal to employ Africans on local African passenger bus services. The fact that the T.U.C. claims to insist on the principle of "the rate for the job" does not relieve it of responsibility for encouraging pressure to keep Africans out of skilled and better paid employment. (Report of the N.E.C. for the year ended February, 1961.)

Watchdog?

The T.U.C. has not abandoned its claim to serve as a watchdog over African unions. The N.E.C. urges that it should encourage "responsible African trade union leaders" who concentrate on economic issues to the exclusion of politics.

It offers to supervise African unions in such a way as to "apply an effective brake on the drift of African workers into political and possible subversive activities." (Report of N.E.C. for year ended January, 1962.)

From these statements, which appear in the NEC's annual reports, I draw the conclusion that one of the main purposes of accepting African unions to membership is to stifle the demand for democratic rights and the right to do skilled work irrespective of race.

It is deplorable that a trade union body of the standing of the T.U.C. should entertain such motives. I doubt whether the scrapping of the segregation clause in the constitution will convince the international trade union movement that the T.U.C. has really undergone a change of heart. I am certain that it will not deceive the African unions.

Deeds not Words

The T.U.C. like every other organisation must be judged by the actions of its members, not only by declarations of policy.

Leading members of the T.U.C. have played a prominent part in introducing and maintaining discrimination against African, Coloured and Indian workers. Some of their affiliated unions have made representation for job reservation and have insisted that their leaders retain White baasskap in their unions.

Guilt By Association Alleged

JOHANNESBURG.

TO show that Mr. Benjamin Ramoutsi is guilty of allegations under the Explosives Act and the Unlawful Organisations Act, the State is relying on the fact that those who visited him in prison here recently "are known to be engaged in subversive activities such as the accused is charged with."

When the prosecutor brought a witness to prove this, defence counsel George Bizos lodged the strongest possible objection. He asked the magistrate, A. G. Martin, whether he was going to have "a miniature treason trial."

"How dare the prosecutor say that people not charged in this court are guilty of subversive activities? This is defamatory to people not here to establish their innocence," he said.

Mr. Bizos emphasised that there could be no guilt by association. A man's friends were his own business.

The magistrate said that at this stage he would allow the evidence to be led, and a list of visitors was submitted. He upheld an objection by Mr. Bizos on further evidence about two of the visitors.

The case is continuing.

P.E. OPPOSITION TO ADVISORY BOARDS

PORT ELIZABETH

The P.E. branch of the CPC has issued a statement exposing behind-the-scenes activities of government agents and their stooges in trying to set up an Asiatic Affairs Board. The statement says that at least one local Indian has been approached to serve on the board, but his name will only be known when Minister Maree has seen the whole board.

The CPC statement points out that "to serve on any separate council—Indian, Coloured or African—is to lend support to and applaud Apartheid. This will enable government propagandists and apologists (South African Foundation) to say to our friends and sympathisers overseas that we the oppressed support Apartheid."

The CPC calls upon the organisations of the people to pass resolutions rejecting dummy councils and to resolve not to use them in any circumstances.

MOLETE AGAIN CHARGED UNDER SUPPRESSION ACT

JOHANNESBURG

MR. Aaron Molete, an employee of "New Age" newspaper and a prominent ex-member of the banned ANC, again appeared in the Regional Court, Johannesburg, charged under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Molete, who had been detained for 12 days after being arrested, is accused of:—

- Promoting the objects of Communism.
- Being a member of the Communist Party.
- Taking part in an activity or activities of the Communist Party.

Evidence was led that Molete was found in possession of 24 copies of a roneoed publication called "Inkululeko" last September. He was also found with a copy of "The Story of Angola" and 4 copies of a SACTU leaflet calling unemployed workers to a meeting.

The State alleges that it can be inferred from possession of the

documents that Molete was promoting the objects of Communism or was a member of the Communist Party.

Sgt. G. J. Visagie, a police handwriting and typewriter expert, said that the copies of "Inkululeko" found in the possession of the accused were typed on the same typewriter as a document headed "The Communist Party looks at the General Election and our Freedom Struggle" issued by the Johannesburg Committee of the South African Communist Party, which was taken from police files.

Adv. R. Hepple, for the defence, argued that the State had not proved that the C.P.S.A. had continued to exist. In fact one of the documents before the Court stated that the C.P.S.A. had been dissolved and a new party, the S.A.C.P., "has grown up in its place and would carry on the struggle to final victory." Furthermore, the S.A.C.P. had not been declared an illegal organisation.

Judgement was reserved until April 14.

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