

# "Stop Issuing Passes" Women Will Tell Mayor of Jo'burg

## MASS PROTEST ON NOV. 27

# NEW AGE

Vol. 5, No. 5 Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

SOUTHERN EDITION Thursday, November 20, 1958 6d.

### JOHANNESBURG.



Mr. Mokhebe.

## To Represent ANC in Ghana

JOHANNESBURG.

MR. Ntu Mokhebe, President-General of the Basutoland African Congress, is going to Ghana to represent not only his Basutoland African Congress at the forthcoming All-African People's Conference in December but also the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. Mokhebe left for London by air last Saturday afternoon bound for Britain for talks between the

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ROUND two in the women's anti-pass protest here is to be opened. A mass protest demonstration, along the lines of the memorable protest to the Union Buildings in 1956 in which thousands of women participated, is being organised to take place on November 27. This time the target is the Mayor of Johannesburg. Women of other races, Coloured, Indian and European, will participate in the protest side by side with the Africans.

Meanwhile the trials of some 2,000 women who were arrested under various by-laws during their protests to the pass office are still going on. Some batches of women have already been convicted and are now serving their sentences.

The appearance in court of nearly 600 women mainly from Alexandra Township halted the machinery of the court for hours. The big problem was to find a court room big enough to accommodate them. Finally at the suggestion of the defence the court was held in the sprawling basement which normally serves as cells for prisoners coming up to the various courts.

### WOMEN'S DEMANDS

A representative of the Women's Federation told *New Age* that on November 27 the women were going to the Mayor to demand an immediate end to the issuing of passes to women in Johannesburg. The women complain that the City Council is acting as a tool of the N.A.D. by insisting that African women must obtain reference books before they can be

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**CAMPAIGN AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION IN SPORT**

4 ERSKINE HILL LONDON N.W.11

Do you know that —

**THERE IS RACE DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

Do you know that —

**NO NON-EUROPEAN CAN REPRESENT SOUTH AFRICA IN ANY SPORT?**

WRITE TO US

**HELP FIGHT DISCRIMINATION**

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Archbishop of York

This is a copy of a leaflet issued by the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport which is circulating throughout the British Isles at the moment.

Instead of Dropping the Trial, They're Going on with It

## How Were The 30 Treason Accused Chosen?

JOHANNESBURG.

THE Crown is having yet another shot at framing an

indictment of High Treason, this time in two instalments. Thirty of the 91 accused will appear before a Special Court on January 19, and the remaining 61 before the same court on April 20.

Until the indictment is served for the first case—and this is expected some time this week—the basis for the choice of the 30 names remains a mystery. The accused and the defence team are as puzzled about the selection of this lot of names as they were when the charges against 64 of the original 156 accused were dropped in December 1957, one full year ago.

Nobody knows what common element links together either the 30 or the 61 accused.

Not a single accused from the Western Cape is included among the 30. Nor a single Indian accused from Natal. The only accused person from Natal is Dr. W. Conco, deputy president of the African National Congress.

### SAME JUDGES

The three judges who heard the first stages of the trial in the Special Court in Pretoria have again been appointed to this new Special Court. They are Mr. Justice Rumpf, presiding judge, Mr. Justice Bekker and Mr. Justice Kennedy.

Lawyers here are very puzzled at the announcement that the second trial in April will also be heard by this same Bench. The mass of evidence in both cases is expected to be very similar and the court sitting in the first case will have to canvass issues and give decisions on matters that will presumably

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## DUMA NOKWE BEATEN UP BY POLICE

JOHANNESBURG.

ADVOCATE DUMA NOKWE was viciously assaulted by the police last Friday and received bruises all over his body and face. On Monday, two days after his assault, he was admitted to hospital after an X-ray had disclosed a fractured rib which had penetrated his lung.

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# SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY

This letter deals, not with the Pasternak controversy, but with the implications of the following passage in Brian Huntington's review of Pasternak's book:

"Basically, he was trying to express the idealist view that man is more important than society, that individual liberty is more important than the liberation of mankind."

Read in its context, and put forward as a criticism of the book, the statement is likely to leave an impression that, in the reviewer's opinion, the 'correct' version—correct by 'materialist' or socialist standards—is the reverse, namely:

"Society is more important than man, and the liberation of mankind is more important than individual liberty."

With respect, I suggest that both formulations are wrong. The second version contains the essence of the accusation that Pasternak denies the value of the individual, seeks to submerge persons in a mass, and places them under the domination of a 'collective' body.

Socialists do, or should, in fact, desire the development of all individuals to their full capacity. For, the aim of the materialist is 'to achieve recognition as persons'; and 'the true realm of freedom' is 'the development of human personality for its own sake'.

To save space, I shall put my version of the socialist's case in the form of brief propositions:

1. The individual and society are interdependent; the one cannot exist without the other. But there is also conflict. Society, or those who represent and direct it, can be tyrannical and curb the development of individuals.
2. In a class society, the ruling group uses its power to protect vested interests at the expense of the individual.
3. An antagonism between the individual and society can and does occur also in a socialist society; but socialists believe that the conflict

will be reduced and eventually eliminated by:

- (a) the removal of material obstacles, such as poverty, ill-health and ignorance, to the development of individuals;
- (b) the eventual elimination of coercive state power, by transforming the State from an organ dominating society into one completely subordinate to it.

4. The achievement of these conditions will prepare the way for resolving the conflict between the individual and society, but the conflict is bound to persist for a long time and to throw up a new set of 'historical contradictions', far more complex and difficult than those of previous societies.

5. Socialists harm their cause and postpone the finding of a solution by denying that the conflict exists under socialism, or by rejecting the claims of individuals to full development. We should freely acknowledge that, in so far as the individual has not achieved his full stature, to that extent does the socialist society fall short of its aim.

If Pasternak's book is to be criticised from this point of view, it is because he looks backward and not forward for a solution of the problems resulting from the relationship between man and society.

H. J. SIMONS  
Cape Town.

## ANC Leaders Arrested in Bloemfontein

Mr. C. Motshabi, Mrs. Jane Motshabi and Mrs. Maria Motshabi, ex-treason trialists, have been arrested for incitement in connection with the April 14 demonstration. The case will be heard on December 1.

For the information of the public in Bloemfontein and our members in the A.N.C., it should be known that we are not allowed to hold public meetings on Sundays and holidays. During the week we are allowed to hold meetings by permit, for not more than 2 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. in the afternoon—a time when all the people are at work, including the A.N.C. leaders.

In other words, this is a blanket ban on all meetings, imposed by the District Commandant and the Special Branch, though whether this ban is legal or not we don't know.

J. B. MAFORA  
President, African National Congress (O.F.S.).

## HORSE TALE

A few months ago two Basotho were sentenced to months of imprisonment and another to one year. We wondered very much to find that these three men were later "released" from prison but not allowed to go home.

The magistrate took these people to work for him. Moreover they were given lodging in his horses' stable. The part in which they live is very unhygienic, having only one small window and an old piece of zinc for a door, and very dark. It is a very small room to accommodate three men with all their belongings.

The part where the horses are kept is well ventilated with two big windows, and painted white inside to increase the light and has a separate place for each horse.

These lucky animals are hygienically kept and have lots of space while the men sleep like dogs in a kennel.

Neither are the men paid, but receive only mealie-flour and sugar. Would his worship be satisfied with a similar diet? Surely this is slavery.

T. M. MOKOROANE  
Basutoland.

# SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST COD MUST BE STOPPED

There is hardly any campaign so politically dishonest and reprehensible as that which is currently being waged by certain sections of the Liberal Party against the C.O.D. Criticism of the actual programme and policy of the C.O.D. could possibly be handled by the C.O.D. without difficulty. But the trouble is that this campaign is a deliberate act of general slander, insinuations and gossip which cannot be met in open public debate.

The issue is one that will have to be faced sooner or later. Why should an African who is closely associated with the A.N.C. have to listen to one European, who is very often new in the fight against the colour bar, denigrate another European who has suffered a great deal in the fight against the colour-bar for years? Is the fact of so-called 'leftism' of the latter European a sufficient reason to tolerate this kind of thing?

And talking about Communism it is now held in certain circles that an African who is Communist is an excellent fellow and a European who is Communist is a terrible fellow? Or is this merely an aspect of the ridiculous idea that Africans cannot appreciate the 'subtleties of the Marxist doctrine' unless there are Europeans helping them along? Perhaps some Europeans think that when they fail to influence Africans it is be-

cause those Africans are under the influence of some other Europeans—hence the C.O.D. bogey.

Why are people so intent on introducing irrelevant issues to the South African situation. South African racism is a big enough problem without introducing a 'communist' problem. We are faced with Verwoerdism here and now. Communism is a remote problem, it is a problem. Commentators reckon that the whole world will only become Communist by the year 2,000 A.D. Verwoerd and Co. must be defeated now if we are all to live and see that day!

Those people who do not like C.O.D. policies must confine themselves to its declared policy and programme and stop this clandestine campaign intended to undermine the Congress alliance. They might force a choice between Communism and the C.O.D. and the choice might not be to their liking.

JOE MATTHEWS.  
Durban.

### As Usual Our New Age Xmas Dance

## EDITORIAL

# THE NEED FOR UNITY

THE African women's demonstration against the pass books has evoked sympathy and support from almost all sections of the anti-Nationalist community, White as well as Non-White. The other sections of the Congress movement—Indian Congress, S.A.C.P.O., Congress of Trade Unions, C.O.D.—have naturally pledged and given all support in their power. But the protest has spread much wider to include Liberals, Black Sash, National Council of Women and influential sections of the national press.

The overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa, White as well as Non-White, are thus clearly opposed to the imposition of passes on women. But the Nationalist Government continues with its hated plans. Why? Not merely because it is confident it can rely on the police force and the army to carry out its wishes, but mainly because the opposition to it is too fragmented and disunited to compel the Government to change its mind.

These divisions in the ranks of anti-Nationalists are a luxury which the country cannot afford. The suspicions and fears which keep all who hate passes for women from joining hands in one mighty campaign of protest can have only one effect—the brave struggle of the African women will be undermined and the Nationalist Government helped to get its way.

The same problem now arises with the issue of job reservation. On Saturday 131 prominent individuals in Cape Town signed a statement of protest against the action of the Minister of Labour in reserving the occupations of municipal traffic police, ambulance drivers and firemen for Europeans only. Their courage in coming forward to defend the rights of the Non-Whites is greatly to be admired, but we ask the organisers of this appeal: Do you think there are only 131 people in Cape Town, or South Africa for that matter, who are prepared to sign such a statement? Is your protest enough? What are you going to do to help mobilise the forces amongst the people which are capable of defeating the attacks of the Nationalist Government if only they are organised, united and properly led?

Last December a multi-racial conference took place in Johannesburg where people of surprisingly wide and diverse viewpoints, from the Congresses to the Churches, were able to agree on a common platform of democratic principles.

The conference decided that regional conferences were to be held to popularise these principles, and that at a later stage a further multi-racial conference should be called to discuss how to implement them. A committee was elected to carry on the work of the conference.

It is time to ask why the committee has made no progress with its task? The country is demanding united, anti-Nationalist action. Continued failure to achieve this goal can only end in disaster for all concerned.

## A TIME FOR GIVING

NOVEMBER and December are usually very bad months for New Age. They are usually the months of the year when people think of other things—buying Christmas presents, going off on holiday, and, for some, paying income tax! And they tend to forget that our paper needs its £1,000 just as it does in every other month of the year.

But if you think about it logically, this should be the time of the year when the people of South Africa think even more about New Age. Look back over the past year and remember the campaigns that have been fought—in all of which New Age has played an invaluable role, bringing the truth to the people. There was the pound-a-day campaign, the rallying of anti-Nationalist forces during the general election, the treason trial and now the magnificent women's anti-pass campaign.

Surely, more than anyone else, New Age deserves a present for its efforts. And we are not thinking only of those

who can send in tens of pounds or single pounds (although these will be very welcome). We are thinking also of those thousands of people who can only afford a small token of their appreciation—2/6 or even 1/-. Just think how all these would add up if everyone would send something.

So show your appreciation of South Africa's only people's weekly—and show it concretely NOW!

### LAST WEEK'S DONATIONS

Cape Town: Joey 56, K. E5, A.T. E5, Mat Lavie 51, Jumble Sale 58 10s., Friend 64, Anniversary Party 510 10s., Shoes 51, Egtoot 51, Flowers 10 10s., McSwenny 51, Y.P. 52 2s., A.B. E2, A.Z., 51, S. 52, 2s., Seller 51, Is. Total 563 4s.

### Johannesburg: Jumble Sale

522, Cake Sale 510 5s., Jeweller 54, N. 51, M. and M. 55, W. Collections 520, Dasu and Peter, in memory of Roy (T. N.) Naidoo, 52. Total 664 5s. Grand Total 1237 9s.

The Africans Were There, But Where Were The Whites?

# HUNDREDS ATTEND COD MEETING ON PASSES

**JOHANNESBURG.**  
**I**F further proof were still needed of the strong opposition of African women to carrying passes, it was clearly given last Wednesday evening at a meeting organised by Johannesburg C.O.D. in Yeoville. The meeting, addressed by Father C. Sidebottom, C.R., and Mrs. Edith Ntisa of the A.N.C. Women's League, was called to explain to Europeans the African women's anti-pass campaign. But the organisers of the meeting were in for a big surprise.

Apart from a large drive of Special Branch police (including Col. Spengler himself and the Chief Native Commissioner) hardly a White face could be seen in the large audience.

**AFRICANS IN FORCE**

Instead, 400 Africans, the majority women, packed the Yeoville Congregational Church Hall to the doors. Those unable to get in crowded round the windows outside. Yeoville is one of the areas where European households have been notified by the N.A.D. to send their "Native female servants" to the local police station for registration. The anger and concern of the women at being told by their "madams" to go and register was revealed again and again by the tremendous waves of applause which the speakers received.

Father Sidebottom vehemently attacked the lies which are put forward in defence of apartheid, and particularly those justifying the issue of passes to women. Loud applause greeted his statement: "Police can't demand passes from European women; identity cards and reference books are not the same thing."

**REFUSE TO TAKE PASSES**

The advice of Mrs. Edith Ntisa to the women was: "Refuse to take out passes!" Judging from the prolonged cheers and cries of "Africa" that advice was just what the women had come to hear.

Speaking from the floor, Mrs. Marcelle Goldberg brought the women to their feet cheering and dancing when she declared "You

are not legally compelled to take out passes and if your 'madams' threaten you with the sack—let them!"

There was no doubt of the determined spirit of the women, and after the meeting closed with the National Anthem, the literature table was crowded by the women eager to find out what more they could do about "this dom-pass."

One of the things they will be doing is working for the mass multi-racial demonstration which is shortly going to the Mayor of Johannesburg to protest against the issuing of passes to African women.

# MASS PROTEST

(Continued from page 1)

given employment permits. This coercion of the women by the City Council is highly irregular, says the Women's Federation.

The protest to the Mayor is being organised jointly by the A.N.C. Women's League and the Federation of South African Women. Other organisations like the Liberal and Labour Parties, the Black Sash, the National Council of Women and church bodies have also been invited to participate.

In a letter to the Mayor asking for an interview at 12 noon on November 27, the women say they dread the extension of the pass system to themselves.

The objection to passes is not limited to African women but is shared by women of other races too. The women had protested against passes for three years already to the Native Commissioners and the arrest of the 2,000 was their spontaneous protest against this system.

**GERMISTON PROTEST**

Eight hundred Germiston women went to the Native Commissioner's office on Monday morning to protest against the issue of reference books to women.



# ROBERT RESHA DEFENDS HIMSELF IN COURT

**JOHANNESBURG.**  
**H**E had been the holder of an exemption certificate, a document given to Africans in view of their good behaviour, their standard of education and because they were permanent residents of Johannesburg. At no time was he ever issued with a reference book. And therefore a charge of failure to produce one could not be brought against him.

Treason trialist and Congress leader Robert Resha argued his own case before the Native Commissioner, here. He was charged with failure to produce a reference book when ordered to do so by an authorised person.

Mr. Resha was watching a group of women who were protesting against passes outside the Government pass office when Colonel Spengler of the Security Branch came up to him and demanded to see his pass-book. He produced a document issued by the prosecution to show that he was a treason trial-

ist. Major Spengler refused to accept it and placed him under arrest.

Resha had two defences in court. He had been a holder of an exemption certificate. This he did not have with him because the police had seized it together with other documents when a raid had been conducted at his house. A letter covering him from police arrest had been given to him when he was on trial for treason. And he had therefore not gone to obtain a reference book, waiting for the time when his exemption would be returned.

Resha was, however, found guilty and sentenced to £4 or 4 weeks imprisonment. The magistrate maintained that he had read the law wrongly. An appeal has been noted.

**FOOTNOTE:** Robert Resha is the sixth treason trialist to be arrested and prosecuted under the pass laws since the trial ended in Pretoria. The Special Branch seems to be on a special campaign to harass and intimidate the African accused.

We Salute Their Courage!

# WOMEN PASS DEFIERS SERVING JAIL SENTENCES

**JOHANNESBURG.**

**N**EARLY 2,000 African women (including several Coloureds) have appeared in various courts during the last fortnight facing charges arising out of the anti-pass protest. They are mainly charged under the municipal by-laws in that, it is alleged, they took part in illegal processions, obstructed traffic or caused a public disturbance. Some groups however are in addition charged with infringing the Criminal Laws Amendment Act in that they broke the by-laws by way of protest against the pass-laws.

About 350 women have been convicted. Some are already serving their sentences whilst others have taken their cases on appeal.

A batch of 249 women from Sophiatown, after conducting their

own defence at the start of the case, decided to plead guilty when they realised that the trial would drag on for many weeks. By an arrangement with the crown the case against 129 of the group was withdrawn and only 120 pleaded guilty.

Many of these are now serving their five weeks sentence. A group of 4 from Alexandra Township were similarly convicted and given the same sentence.

The heaviest sentence so far was against a group of women who were sentenced to 3 months or £15 fine, two months or £10 suspended for two years. An appeal against the sentence has been noted.

Another group of 183 women have also appealed against their conviction. Seventy-three have been acquitted in other cases.

# African Nationalism Aims At Racial Harmony

By "National Freedom" we mean "Freedom from White Domination and the attainment of

rejects the concept of domination and segregation, any proposition direct or indirect that expresses national aspirations by repudiating association with the White population or any race-group on social grounds and encourages the domination of Blacks over Whites for any other race-groups is a false perversion which is in conflict with progressive African Nationalism.

Statement issued by the executive of the ANC Youth League, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth

Such perversions must be exposed and destroyed for they cannot result in racial unity, harmony and peaceful existence among the various national groups that constitute the South African State.

**ANTI-IMPERIALIST**

In view of its struggle against colonial and semi-colonial oppression, the Liberation Movement in South Africa is bound up with the liberation movements of the rest of Africa and is in the same orbit as the liberation movements of Asia in the fight against Western imperialist oppression and exploitation.

**Because African Nationalism**

**A**FRICAN NATIONALISM is a dynamic philosophy that derives its existence from a combination of aboriginal causes such as identity of language and descent, geographical association under colonial oppression and exploitation, and a national history which keeps aflame a community of recollection of common historical incidents in the past, thus cultivating a strong sentiment of common nationality among the different race-groups.

It is the liberatory outlook that propels the movement of the toiling masses of Africa to struggle for national independence and self-determination.

It has to contend in its course with economic, social and political obstacles which have been deliberately erected by the imperialist-colonial and semi-colonial rulers and their adjuncts. Dictated by the conditions against which African Nationalism has to strive in order to succeed, its character includes such features as struggles against economic exploitation, social segregation and national oppression.

**POSITION OF WHITES**

In South Africa this outlook of liberation is interlinked with considerations of objective factors such as the fact that a vast section of the White population is rooted in the country from birth and have no other home and should therefore share a common South African citizenship with all the other national groups who live side by side with it.

The object of African Nationalism in a progressive form is to seek to abolish all groups irrespective of descent and language into a multi-racial unity whose movement in joint resistance can demand the proper machinery that is responsible for the perpetuation of racial disharmony and exclusiveness that dominates the whole fabric of South African society.

African Nationalism does not seek to oppress other racial groups, but rather seeks to express the national aspirations of the indigenous people of this Continent and to cultivate a common outlook of unity and peaceful co-operation among all ethnic groups living together, under equal rights and laws.

The African Nationalist is not a reaction of disgruntlement for self-interest and rejects the idea of racial separateness, or to be on a special campaign to harass and intimidate the African and the Freedom Charter.

# Police Stop Anti-Pass Procession at Langa

CAPE TOWN.

**A**BOUT 16 women and one man, Mr. Z. Malindi, had their names taken by the police when African women held a procession in protest against the pass laws in Langa last Sunday.

When a large crowd who attended an ANC Women's League meeting in the location marched through the streets afterwards, they were stopped by the police and admitting that they had no permission to hold a procession, the crowd was diverted to the Langa police station where the names of the women were taken.

Resolutions passed at the meeting condemned the issuing of passes to African women, called for the dropping of the treason trial, and endorsed the ANC participation in the conference to be held in Ghana soon.

A large number of women who intended going to the meeting at Langa were stopped. It is expected to the location and refused permits to enter.

# COD Meeting On Treason Trial

CAPE TOWN.

On Thursday, November 20, at 8.15 p.m. in the Robing Room, City Hall, Cape Town, the Congress of Democrats is holding a public meeting to demand the dropping of the Treason Trial and the release of the accused.

In solidarity with the African women who are struggling against passes, a speaker has been invited from the ANC Women's League to give the African women's view of passes. Another speaker will be Mr. R. Spengler, former accused, who will speak on the Treason Trial.

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THE TIME HAS COME FOR US ALL TO

# WORLD STAGE LEAVE BERLIN!

By Spectator

SAY KHRUSHOV AND GOMULKA

WHAT is the background to the tension which has developed between the western powers and the Soviet Union over Berlin?

For thirteen years, in terms of the Potsdam agreement of 1945, this ancient capital city of Germany has been split into two and held under foreign military occupation.

The Potsdam agreement was the result of a conference between the heads of the big three powers, Stalin, Churchill and A. Truman, in July 1945 held in order to work out a common plan for the future of the defeated Nazi Germany.

**DEMILITARISATION**  
The main point on which complete agreement was reached was this: "German militarism and Nazism will be extirpated and the Allies will see to it that Germany is now and in the future, the other measures necessary to assure that Germany will never again threaten her neighbours or the peace of the world."

To this end it was specifically agreed that there was to be: "The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production."

**DENAZIFICATION**  
Detailed arrangements followed for the effective carrying out of the destruction of all traces of Nazism and to prevent the re-emergence into public office of active Nazis.

At a symbol of their unity in determination to carry out the Potsdam declaration it was agreed that Berlin should be occupied not only by the Soviet Army, which had actually liberated Berlin and was in control of the whole of Eastern Germany, but also by troops of the three big western powers, the U.S., Britain and France.

**CENTRE OF INTRIGUE**  
Since then Berlin has been a centre of intrigue and espionage. With the beginning of the cold war it became an invaluable advance base for the Americans right in the heart of Eastern Germany. TV radio station RIAS, bearing Voice of America propaganda in a ceaseless stream, is one of the most powerful in the world.

More zealous in its insistence on its right to retain occupation of Berlin it has not been so eager to implement the other and the most important—provisions of the Potsdam agreement, the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany.

**REMILITARISATION**  
The NATO powers, led by the United States, Britain and France, on the contrary, are extremely busy encouraging and fostering

the building of a new German army. Far from attempting to check the growth of this army, NATO is upset because the Germans are not arming quickly enough. Time complained last week: "West Germany, which promised to contribute twelve combat-ready divisions by the end of 1959, has only seven in being, will probably take four years to assemble the rest."

And in addition, there is no longer any attempt to conceal the fact that prominent Nazis are back in positions of importance.

**FOR HOW LONG?**  
Last week, at the end of his two-week's state visit to the Soviet Union, Polish premier Gomulka joined with Mr. Khrushov in asking: For how long, after having flouted the whole of the Potsdam declaration, can the west continue to insist on the enforcement of the one thing harmful to the real interests of the German people—the division of Berlin into two with all the attendant disruptions involved, and the occupation of the city by foreign armies?

At a mass meeting of over 12,000 people held in Moscow's Sports Palace, Mr. Khrushov told the Western Powers that, as they had abandoned all the other points of the Potsdam declaration of 1945 on German demilitarization, they should abandon their anomalous position in West Berlin and let the German Democratic Republic create a normal situation for life in Berlin.

The only thing that was left of Potsdam, said Mr. Khrushov, was the Four-Power status of Berlin, making it a State within a State, giving the West German Government the possibility of hatching subversive activities from western Berlin against the Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies.

"The Soviet Union will transfer all its remaining functions to the East," he said. "The Soviet Union and the other People's Democracies will work for peace in Europe and disastrous for Western Germany itself. He warned Dr. Adenauer and his friends against starting again on that Drang Nach Osten (Drive to the East), so faithful for Hitler and his friends."

"Any such drive to the East," he warned, "will be a drive to death. Western Germany would not survive a single day in such a war."

**WARSAW TREATY**  
"We shall stand by our solemn obligations under the Warsaw Treaty, and if anybody attacks the G.D.R. such an attack will be considered as an attack against the Soviet Union and all the countries members of the Warsaw Treaty."

With the demand for the revision of peace and the Polish people may be sure that it has firm and devoted friends and allies."

**MR. DULLES' REACTION**  
But the response of Mr. Dulles was automatic, true to form, belittling the other and the most important—provisions of the Potsdam agreement, the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany.

**REMILITARISATION**  
The NATO powers, led by the United States, Britain and France, on the contrary, are extremely busy encouraging and fostering

than the joint forces of Britain and France. "The West German army," he said, "is headed by Hitler's generals. The Bundeswehr is educating its soldiers in the spirit of revenge and hatred towards the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies."

**ATOMIC WARHEADS**  
"With the blessing of the Western Powers, the Bundeswehr has received U.S. rocket weapons that can be fitted with atomic war heads."

He warned that the threat was not only military but economic. Western German gold and dollar reserves at the end of last year surpassed those of Britain and France together.

Both Mr. Khrushov and Mr. Gomulka drew particular attention to the belligerent statements made recently by Dr. Adenauer's War Minister Strauss supporting the campaign against Eastern Germany and Poland.

"How can they forget Ostpolitik," the crimes committed in Poland, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union—the six million Poles tortured and killed by Gauleiter Koch?

**DRIVE TO DEATH**  
"How can they forget Ostpolitik, Maidanek and other murder camps, the cities levelled to the ground like Stalingrad and Warsaw?"

"How can they forget all the consequences of the war for the German people themselves?"

Poland cannot pass over in silence or forget these painful facts."

Mr. Khrushov said that the activities of the West German Government were the principal cause of tension in the world today.

These activities were dangerous for peace in Europe and disastrous for Western Germany itself. He warned Dr. Adenauer and his friends against starting again on that Drang Nach Osten (Drive to the East), so faithful for Hitler and his friends.

"Any such drive to the East," he warned, "will be a drive to death. Western Germany would not survive a single day in such a war."

**MR. DULLES' REACTION**  
But the response of Mr. Dulles was automatic, true to form, belittling the other and the most important—provisions of the Potsdam agreement, the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany.

**REMILITARISATION**  
The NATO powers, led by the United States, Britain and France, on the contrary, are extremely busy encouraging and fostering



A section of the crowd of women who demonstrated against the pass laws outside the Native Commissioner's offices in Durban.

## Durban Women Also Protest Against Passes

**DURBAN.**  
IN spite of extensive police intimidation and last-minute leafletting of anonymous leaflets that the anti-pass demonstration organised for that day was "false" and would lead nowhere, over 300 women gathered outside the Native Commissioner's Office in Durban last week in angry protest against what they termed false propaganda being used by the Administration to get women to accept passes.

According to the women the demonstration would have been much bigger had it not been for the anonymous leaflet, which created the impression that it had been issued by the Women's League.

The Chief Native Commissioner made a deputation from the women and after a three-hour conference which ended in a deadlock promised to send a copy of their memorandum to the Minister of Native Affairs.

The memorandum, dealing with the dangers inherent in the pass laws, points out that African women are being given false promises of permanent residence in Durban in spite of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

The Secretary of the Women's League, interviewed by New Age, stated that as the second stage of their campaign they will now organise the women who have taken the passes to return them to the Native Commissioner.

**To Represent ANC**  
(Continued from page 1)

Basutos and the British Government on Basutoland's constitutional reforms. After London Mr. Mokhele will go to Ghana.

The Basutoland African Congress is also one of the sponsoring bodies of the Pan-African Conference to play a prominent part during the proceedings. He has been accredited by the ANC to speak for them as well.

Should Alfred Hutchinson reach Ghana in time for this December conference, it is likely that he too will receive credentials to represent the ANC. This would swell the ANC's representation in Ghana to three, including also Mr. Zeki Mphahlele.

## World Solidarity With S.A. Non-Whites

**MESSAGES TO NIC CONFERENCE**  
**DURBAN.**  
Messages of solidarity with Congress against condemnation of racialism and colonialism have been received from Britain, Ghana, British Guiana and from various other parts of the world by the General Secretary on the occasion of the 11th Annual Provincial Conference of the Natal Indian Congress which is being held this week-end.

"It is now time that this South African Apartheid policy of man's inhumanity to man should be entirely eradicated from our soil, it is time to unite under one banner as a free and independent African nation," states a message from Ghana's Convention Peoples' Party, of which Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is the life-chairman.

Another message from the All-India Trade Union Congress states: "It is with great feeling that we venture to greet your Annual Congress and to salute the brave men and women who are fighting heroically against the world's most hated racist reactionaries in South Africa. . . . We assure you of our wholehearted support and we are sure, in the battle against officialist and racist oppression, our people will triumph."

A message from Canon L. J. Collins, leader of Christian Action, Great Britain, states, ". . . I join with you in hoping that South Africa may become the home of a happy and flourishing multi-racial community in which exploitation and injustice give place to friendly co-operation and social, political and economic justice."

Whilst the main political issue which will be discussed exhaustively by the delegates is the position of the Indian people under the Group Areas Act, other subjects such as unemployment (labour) Department figures indicate that over 20,000 Indian workers are unemployed in Durban), and burning local problems such as roads, lighting, the congestion at the central Durban Bus Rank, etc, will also be dealt with.

**DUMA NOKWE BEATEN UP BY POLICE**  
(Continued from page 1)

Last Friday, after leaving Alexandra Township he was on his way home to Orlando when his car stalled in Corlett Drive. He waved to a passing car and asked to be given a push. The car turned out to be a police car and as soon as the uniformed European policeman got out they started to beat him up.

They accused him of having stolen the car he was driving. When he told them that it was his own, one of the European constables hit him with his open hand, knocking him to the ground.

The other police then kicked him all over the body. Even when he attempted to take refuge in a neighbouring house the police chased him and gave him another beating. When he was helpless they dumped him in his car and left. After he had been lying there for hours another group of police came and asked what the matter was. He told them his story, but they did nothing about it. They were looking for a stolen car and they would come back later on, they said. They never came back. Finally a third police patrol arrived and took him to a clinic in Alexandra Township. After medical treatment Mr. Nokwe was discharged. He told New Age that he would be able to identify his assailants.

# DON'T BE MISLED BY THE PAPERS YOU READ

**SOUTH AFRICA** is a country in which the Press is dominated by Big Business to a greater extent than in most other capitalist countries. A handful of rich men control almost all the big daily newspapers, which faithfully reflect the interests of the bosses. The majority of the people, being poor, have absolutely no control over what the press says and does.

In a democratic state (capitalist style) public opinion is supposed to count, one man's opinion is supposed to be equal in value to that of the next man, and they let you vote once every five years just to let you think you are running the country. In between general elections, nobody bothers about what you think or feel, and your newspapers, morning and evening, pour into your mind the opinions of Big Business on every subject under the sun.

In South Africa, which is not a democratic state, only White public opinion is supposed to count, and the opinions of the Non-White people are dismissed as unimportant and irrelevant. But even amongst the Whites the expression of public opinion is controlled by Big Business. Why is this? Because it requires an enormous amount of capital to launch and run a daily newspaper, and for the most part it is only the big mining, industrial and financial houses which are capable of underwriting or backing such a venture. Secondly, the financial success of a newspaper depends on advertising revenue, and the ruling class is only prepared to advertise in those journals of whose policies it approves.

**Circulation**  
That is why, in South Africa, though the bulk of Whites are Afrikaans-speaking, yet the combined circulation of the English-language Press outnumber by many times the combined circulation of the Afrikaans-language Press. One English daily like the Johannesburg Star has a bigger circulation than the four Nationalist dailies put together (Burger, Transvaler, Vaderland and Volksblad).

Why is this? Because the English Press, representing Big Business (the Afrikaners control only about 15 per cent of the national economy) has far greater financial resources behind it than the Afrikaans Press, produces bigger and brighter papers, is read by Afrikaners as well as English-speaking South Africans. That is why the Nationalists have such a pathological hatred of the English Press, which they regard as a far more dangerous enemy than the United Party. The Government has appointed two commissions whose reports, it hopes, will enable it to introduce some form of Press control. And once the Government has Press control, it hopes to be able to neutralise the English Press and greatly extend that of its own Press. We will then be one step nearer to the fascist Broederbond attempt to introduce a formalist control over the English Press in the interests of the White capitalists. The board of directors of the Bantu Press consists exclusively of Europeans who are closely connected with the big mining and financial houses and with the Argus Printing & Publishing Co., mainly less representatives of the Non-White population, despite the fact that all the dailies include

The so-called Non-European newspapers are like wolves in sheep's clothing. They speak for big business, not the people, says BRIAN BUNTING in this detailed study of the Non-White Press.

among their readers hundreds of thousands of Non-Whites in all the main centres. None of the daily newspapers in South Africa, however, are directed mainly towards the Non-White population. The political, sporting and social views reported in their columns are mainly those in which the Whites are engaged or interested. It takes a great upheaval among the Non-White population before the daily Press will take notice of what is going on. How many times, for instance, does one see a black face in a white newspaper?

This has naturally led to the development of a Press which has tried to cater for the interests of those sections of the Non-White population which have been dissatisfied with the coverage granted to them by the daily Press. Often this Press is called the Non-European Press, but if one examines its make-up, one finds that this description is inaccurate and misleading, and that most newspapers which themselves Non-European are nothing of the sort.

The Press directed towards the Non-White population consists almost entirely of weekly and monthly publications. The majority of these are the product of White capital and initiative, and are in close association with precisely the same mining, industrial and financial interests as dominate the English Press.

For these views print, therefore, are not the views of the Non-European people or their organisations, but in the last resort the views which Big Business would like to put upon the Non-European people and their organisations.

The position can be summarised as follows:

**The African Press**  
Far and away the biggest publishing house is the Bantu Press, which publishes a string of weekly and other newspapers for Africans not only in South Africa but also in the British Protectorates, the Central African Federation and other African territories. The most important newspaper published by this company is the *World*, which appears in Johannesburg twice a week. This newspaper, which is printed in English and the vernacular languages, is chauvinistic in its approach to the racial question, opposes the African National Congress policy of co-operation with other racial groups, continually tries to make out that the A.N.C. is "bossed" by C.O.D. and is bitterly anti-Communist. At the A.N.C. conference in Bloemfontein in 1955, the *World* ran a campaign so high that its representative was excluded from the conference.

**The "World"**  
The *World* is run by an African editor and an African staff, but overall supervision is exercised by Whites and financially the paper is controlled by White capital in the interests of the White capitalists. The board of directors of the Bantu Press consists exclusively of Europeans who are closely connected with the big mining and financial houses and with the Argus Printing & Publishing Co., mainly less representatives of the Non-White population, despite the fact that all the dailies include

Daily News, etc.) in all the main centres of South Africa and the Central African Federation.

Among the directors of Bantu Press are: Col. Eugene O'Connor Maggs, chairman of the Board, who is also on the boards of the S.A. Reserve Bank, the Industrial Development Corporation, Charles Maggs Investments Ltd., Pretoria Portland Cement, E.P. Cement, Flame Pipe and four other companies. He is reputed to be a millionaire.

Mr. R. H. Netherstone, who is also secretary of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co., and a director of Messina (TV) Development and Raleigh Industries.

Mr. F. U. Rissik, who is also a director of Messina (TV) Development and Raleigh Industries.

Among the shareholders in the Bantu Press are the Anglo-American Corporation, which is represented on the board of directors by Major F. Rodseth, formerly Secretary for Native Affairs; and the Argus Group itself, which holds a considerable body of shares and is deferred to in most matters of editorial policy because of its predominant position in the Press world.

The result is that the newspapers of this group are generally conservative in tone, and seldom if ever identify themselves with the main political campaigns undertaken by the African people through their political organisations, though many of them oppose, to some extent, the Government's policy of "Coloured Education".

These are the big business interests which control the policy of the *World* and the other papers published by Bantu Press. In the last resort, nothing will be printed in these papers which conflicts with those interests, and in general the editorial policy of these papers will tend to conform to the requirements of those interests.

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## NAT PAPERS SUPPRESS THE NEWS

**PORT ELIZABETH.**  
Commenting on the results of a survey of reporting by Nationalist newspapers of assault cases across the colour line, the Evening Post said: "It is the habit of these party newspapers to suppress or minimise the cases of White assaults on Blacks, and to play up the cases in which Blacks or Coloureds assaulted Whites."

"This policy is deliberate. It has been going on for years."

The paper gave the following as an example of the technique employed: "The leading Nationalist papers, for example, did not print a word of the long case in Heidelberg, Transvaal, in which two White farm foremen were found guilty of brutal assault on African labourers. Most of them ignored the Johannesburg case of four White youths who went in search of Africans 'to beat up'."

at least formally, the more vicious aspects of the Government's apartheid policy.

It is only when you consider the big business interests which dominate the *World* that you understand why:

● it opposes every A.N.C. campaign and supports the "opposition" in Congress, whether they are called Africanists, Nationalists or what have you;

● it never advocates the formation of an independent miners' union, although their wages, at between 3s.-4s. a day, are amongst the lowest in the country;

● when the Congress launched the *World* campaign for £1 a day, the *World* opposed it and started its own campaign for 10s. a day;

● it never criticises the mining industry or the capitalist system;

● it opposes the unity of the workers as mercilessly and more of Africa in the Congress movement.

**Who Are "We"?**  
Let us take an example. In the issue of the *World* of October 4, there is an account of the meeting on African nationalism in which the Congress alliance is condemned on the grounds that it "splits us and weakens us mercilessly and therefore makes it impossible for us to come into our own". Who is this "we" and this "us" of whom the *World* speaks? Is it the mining industry or the capitalist system?

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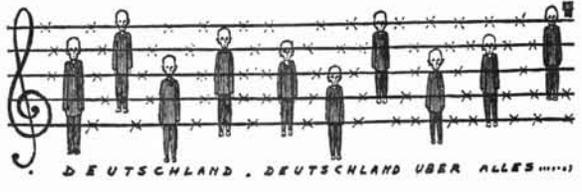
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# THE END OF DIEPKLOOF ROAD TO LABOUR REFORMATORY TO LABOUR CAMP

From A. S. Damane

JOHANNESBURG.

In another big step backwards, the apostles of apartheid have begun to close down Diepkloof Reformatory near Orlando and to transfer its 800 occupants to youth labour camps in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal.

Diepkloof was transferred from the Prisons Department in 1935 and for 23 years it has been directed by the Department of Education. Under the new scheme Diepkloof Reformatory—the only institution of its kind in South Africa—will be closed and juvenile delinquents will fall under the Department of Native Affairs.

## FIRST VIEW

The open, unguarded double gate of Diepkloof Reformatory looks upon the heavy traffic of the Potchefstroom Road. You follow the neat line that leads you between the trees and as you top the slight incline, the full view of Diepkloof Reformatory bursts upon you. To your left are the lovely brick administration buildings with a beautiful well lawn and flower gardens, and facing these, on your right, are the cream-painted buildings widely spaced—the classrooms, the workshops and the dormitories.

This is the temporary home of 800 delinquent youths from many areas of the Union of South Africa. At once you catch the air of activity in Diepkloof. You see groups of clean youths dressed in khaki shorts and shirts engaged in various occupations about the yards. A large section of 12-year-olds are squatting in single file across a lawn, unburdened picking the weeds from the grass. Another group of older boys is tending the flowers and in the far distance your eye catches some brown-skinned youths working in the vegetable gardens. This outdoor activity is a pleasure to the youths who have been in the classrooms during the morning.

Yes, you are mildly surprised. You had expected conditions in Diepkloof to resemble those of a prison. There are no warders here but monitors who have struggled for over a year to win the honour of wearing the red and black pocket badges of good conduct and merit. Each and every one of the youths can attain the much envied red badge, the sign of having conquered certain anti-social traits. Many have progressed towards a healthy attitude to the community.

## TESTS

On arrival, a youth is placed in a group of new boys more or less his own age for a period of one or two months. He undergoes I.Q. tests and is closely observed by a medical psychologist. He is then placed out in accordance with his aptitude and ability. Boys of schoolgoing age are made to resume their learning where they left off. If a boy is over 17 years old and for some reason or other is unable to continue school learning he is tested and allocated to any of the following courses: shoemaking, tailoring, tin-smithing, carpentry and woodwork. A large number of youths, however, combine both the improvement of their education and the acquisition of a useful trade at the same time.

During the first eleven months the youth cannot be trusted with much freedom. He enjoys everything except to go freely about the open spaces of the farm. He is

closely watched. In the 12th month he is given his first opportunity to be away from his quarters and to roam the vast wooded estate without supervision for three hours, returning when the hooter blazes. The youth does this for four successive Sundays and wins his green liberty badge. From then on it is but a step to the green and black of good behaviour, the red of a satisfactory sense of responsibility and the red and black of trust and supervision of others.

## USEFUL ACTIVITY

Diepkloof hums with intelligent and useful activity. At the shoemaking shop you marvel at the lovely shoes that they produce from toe to heel under the expert guidance of the instructor. You go to the tailoring shop and you find these erstwhile potential criminals turning out fine shirts and trousers. You find washing baths, watering cans and other works of fancy such as toys made at the tinmith shop. Suddenly someone says to you: "This brick building was erected by the youths under supervision."

Diepkloof is a self-contained, self-supporting community. Everything they produce is for their own use and not for sale. The diet is milk, bananas, oranges, apples, clinic and hospital although most of the beds are remarkably free of patients. The boys engage in rugby, soccer, cricket and other sports in which they hold their own against the outside world. As moral strength is gradually restored, the thief loses the itch of his fingers and the rowdy learns civility and cleanliness.

## HOSTEL LIFE

Then the youth is placed in a hostel which stands apart from the rest of the buildings. This consists of large rondavels containing bedrooms, a dining room, a kitchen and a bathroom. Here they live under family conditions attached to the teachers' adjoining home. No stigma is attached to them and they do their chores as any children in their home. Good behaviour brings with it remission of the period of detention. Eventually the grown-up youth goes to a replacement hostel, he obtains a job and is encouraged to save money. The younger boys resume life with their families.

The Government is going ahead with its plan to transfer Diepkloof and set up youth labour camps. The staff of 60 which was running the place has been cut down (or transferred to youth labour camps). The ten African school teachers have been told to look for work. There are three youth labour camps being established in the Transvaal, one in the Cape and one in Natal. The State is planning to run these on a basis of ethnic or tribal grouping. It is understood that the camps serve as depots for the supply of labour to the farms.

New Age learns that some of the youths continually plan to escape as soon as they return from a spell of hard labour in the surrounding farms. The urban upbringing and outlook of these youths is not taken into consideration.

## PATON'S WORK

Prominent in the development of Diepkloof as the progressive and enlightened institution that it is today was Mr. Alan Paton of "Cry the Beloved Country" fame. During the years when he was the superin-

endent he introduced many reforms which have made the reformatory produce better results.

Diepkloof has compared favourably with many of the best institu-

tions of its type overseas and its discontinuation will be regarded as an attempt to wind the clock back and to return to medieval methods of dealing with social problems.



No one, not even Dr. Verwoerd, could say the boys at Diepkloof don't work. They do, but at least the reformatory is run according to up-to-date penal reform methods, and the aim of the work is not solely to provide labour for plateland farmers.

## UP MY ALLEY

WHEN it is not handing out cigars the C.A.D. is job-hunting for us dark folks. Boss Du Plessis, having set himself up as an unemployment agent, has been taking the air in wide-open spaces telling the farmers what good farmhands us dark folks are.

As a sales booster I.D. is even offering a course in six easy lessons for any called man who wants to make a career of tree pruning.

I've never heard that we're farmers at heart, and I've never heard of our workers, the majority of whom have been industrial workers for generations, day-dreaming about planting potatoes over their sewing machines.

But then I guess when he got those apartheid jobs with the S.A.R. for a few chaps, Dr. I.D. passed on the C.A.D. cigar to a friend. I hope he hasn't passed out.

★  
ALL the way from Arizona, which I believe is within jumping distance of the Almagordo test site, comes a bible tract that informs the receiver that his and the sins of the world will be wiped out, as prophesied, by Belfire and brimstone—what's more, this prophecy is being borne out by the advent of the atomic bomb.

Well, we could hardly find anything to rejoice about in this hearty leaflet. It sounded almost as if its distributors welcomed us being purified by a nice big atomic blast.

★  
THIS might sound fishy, but a delegate, you can guess what kind, suggested at a municipal congress in Bloemfontein that there should be apartheid in fishing.

I suppose anybody who protests would be immediately named a red herring.

★  
A TOMMY suppersalesman, Tommy Boydell, has just got back from a selling spree overseas. The best excuse he could make for apartheid in South Africa was to reveal to his victims in Scandinavia that there is apartheid between Norway, Den-

★  
By ALEX  
LA GUMA



mark and Sweden. We think Mr. Boydell should go in for soft goods.

★  
A FRIEND of ours, Mr. A. Vahed, just returned from a tour of India and other points between here and there, dropped in to welcome himself back and had lots to tell about his trip.

Among other things he managed to have a personal chat with Pandit Nehru, and carried back a remark made by the P.M. He thought that Asiatics here should consider themselves South African first.

Hear, hear. Let's see the Indian people, wholeheartedly in the struggle to clean up S.A.

★  
STATISTICS say that European women outnumber their menfolk by a surplus of 5,000. This would no doubt give the rejected suitors who are told that she wouldn't have him if he was the last man alive the opportunity to crack back:  
"You'd never get a chance dear. You'd be killed in the rush."

Mrs. Trifina Mkhize, who has never been in any trouble with the police in all her life, was one of 90 women arrested in Durban last week for failing to produce a permit to be in an urban area in terms of the obnoxious Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

Mrs. Mkhize, who lives in Bergville, had arrived only the day before to visit her sick grandchild. After spending a night in jail she was released on bail and will appear with other accused before the Native Commissioner's Court on November 25.

## TREASON TRIAL

(Continued from page 1)

again arise in the second case. It is difficult to see how they can do this.

From the dates announced by the Crown Mr. Pirow seems to expect that the first case will be over in time for the second to commence on April 20. This means sticking to a stricter timetable than the Crown has been capable of since the opening of the treason hearings and the arrests in December 1956.

The preparatory examination was announced originally as a hearing to last about six weeks; it lasted thirteen months in all.

## PERIOD OF EVIDENCE

It is understood the indictment in the first case will cover the period 1954 to 1956. The original indictment, which was eventually withdrawn by Mr. Pirow, was for the period 1952 to 1956. This means the new trial will not include evidence on the Defence Campaign or the 1952 riots.

With the opening of the trial of the 30 in January Parliament will be precluded from debating this Grand Muddle of a Case. Four laws have already been pushed through Parliament by the Minister of Justice to ease the task of the Swart has some new legislation in mind before the April trial opens again. The same trend of defence lawyers is working on the case.

## THE ACCUSED

The 30 due to appear for trial on January 19 are: Mr. Friedrich Adama, Mrs. Helen Joseph, Messrs. A. M. Kathrada, Leon Levy, Stanley Lollan, Nelson R. Mandela, Leslie Massina, Philemon Mthole, Patrick Mphahlele, Joseph Mofosi, Measie Moolia, E. P. Moretele, Phineas Nene, Mrs. Lillian Ngweni, Messrs. John K. Nkadimeng, P. P. Duma, Mrs. Ronart Resha, Peter N. Selepe, Walter M. Sisulu, Gert Sibande, Simon Tykvi, C. Mayekiso, S. Nkapi, W. Mkhay, B. Ndlimo, J. Nkomo, T. Tsheangani, T. Tsheane, T. E. Tshunungwa, W. S. Conco.

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## AMERICA

# VOTE REFLECTS IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL CLIMATE

## But No Big Changes Are Expected

**T**HE sharp swing to the Democratic Party in the recent U.S. elections is not expected to lead to any fundamental changes in American internal or foreign policy.

On all basic issues there is no difference of any importance between the Democratic and Republican Parties.

There are, in fact, greater variations of outlook within each of the parties than there are between the parties themselves, an alliance between the reactionist Southern Democrats and the Republicans having been in effective control of Congress ever since the Roosevelt

Nevertheless, the electoral swing reflects a very important change for the better in the American political climate.

### DISSATISFACTION

In a massive expression of dissatisfaction rising from the economic crisis and unemployment, and particularly the Dulles brink-offer policy highlighted by the Quemo and Matsui crisis, the voters gave the Democrats so great a majority that it will be virtually impossible for the Republicans to regain control when the next batch of seats falls vacant in 1960.

Everywhere except in New York, the working-class and Negro vote went to the Democrats. The Republican "Old Guard" and the most vicious right-wingers round vice-president Nixon—who were the moving figures in the Wilson "closed shop" Majority period, were overwhelmingly rejected.

### LOST THEIR SEATS

In Ohio, where Republican Senator Bricker had campaigned in favour of making the trade union "closed shop" illegal, he and everyone who supported him lost their seats. In Utah, Minnesota, West Virginia, Nevada, California and Indiana the Republican senators who had backed McCarthy lost their seats or did not stand for re-election and in each case a Democrat of the party's more liberal wing was elected.

A frantic election campaign by both Nixon and Eisenhower calling on the people to "give a vote of confidence to the Administration" succeeded only in proving

that the public no longer likes like.

Only in New York were the Republicans successful. But the election of Rockefeller served to highlight the unpopularity of the Old Guard, for he had been careful to dissociate himself from liberalism and had campaigned as a "liberal independent." His party complained: "The only candidate



"They don't like Ike any more."

who mentions that Rockefeller is a Republican is Harriman."

One fact which stands out is that the American working-class alone among workers in the capitalist world has not created a mass party of its own to present any form of real alternative to the two like-minded capitalist parties.

So unchallenged is the present two-party system that the big parties hardly even try to conceal the fact that they are the parties of the rich. New York presented the spectacle of two multi-millionaire candidates canvassing in Harlem and other working-class districts for the votes of the tenement dwellers—and of Nixon accusing Harriman of representing "the party of socialism."

And what is more, in the big

working-class and Negro districts the voters turned out in their thousands to vote for one or other of the millionaires, while the tiny socialist opposition was not even able to obtain sufficient signatures to give them an undispensed place on the ballot.

It seems extremely likely that the sentiment for peace and progress revealed by the election swing will serve as a stimulus to the formation of a new third party alternative to the present Republican-Democratic merry-go-round.

## AFRICA

# ALGERIANS DELIVER DE GAULLE'S FIRST SET-BACK

## Election Boycott Succeeds

GENERAL de Gaulle's attempt to hoodwink the world with a fake election in Algeria (New Age last week) has failed completely.

Following the call by the Algerian government-in-exile for a boycott of the elections, no Moslems who can make any claim to being representative of popular opinion have come forward as candidates.

"With only a few candidates willing to stand it became plain tonight that the forthcoming elections in Algeria will be meaningless," reported the London News Chronicle last week at the close of nomination day. "This dearth of candidates represents General de Gaulle's first political set-back since he returned to power last June."

Many constituencies would not have had a single candidate offering himself for election had it not been that the army applied pressure to hapless individuals, telling them to stand—or else.

### POSTPONEMENT CALL

Mr. F. Esperade, a former Catholic Democrat deputy, had intended to stand, but on nomination day he wired de Gaulle: "Free and sincere elections are at the present moment impossible in Algeria and the Sahara. I beg you respectfully to postpone the elections."

De Gaulle has declared however that he intends to go on with the elections. He "refused to admit defeat," the London Times (Nov 11) commented.

## CAIRO.

"Whatever may be their motives in giving us their cooperation and support, they appreciate that we are an independent people with a strong consciousness of our dignity and sovereignty. They have never made any demands on us or tried any conditions to such co-operation as we have received from them. They know that we are somewhat suspicious of foreigners because of our experience of foreign domination. They have kept that fact in mind."—President Nasser, on his experiences in dealing with the Socialist countries, Sept. 28, 1958.

## TUNIS.

President Habib Bourguiba said yesterday Tunisia was asking Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Sweden for urgently-needed arms as Western conditions for supplying them were "unacceptable."

Tunisian official sources this week said it had refused to carry through with an arms deal with Britain and the United States because "Tunisian sovereignty was not respected."

President Bourguiba said: "We cannot accept arms that are offered to us with unacceptable conditions."—Sapsa Reuter report, Nov. 14, 1958.

## AFRICA

# EUROPE CHINA TRADE HELPS LIMIT BRITAIN'S UNEMPLOYED

FOUR British industries, hit by the current slump, have benefited from the 75 per cent increase in U.K. exports to China in the first nine months of 1958.

They are iron and steel, textiles, wire-drawing and machine tools—all affected by the recent falling off of orders from other markets.

The China Trade and Economic Newsletter, produced by the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade, gives this information:

tion about increased exports to China:

Wool tops reached an all-time high, totalling over £5 million. The textile industry has also benefited from a Chinese order for £1 million worth of box vans worked with Courtland's Castle Works, Flintshire.

### WELCOME FOOTHOLD

Substantial Chinese orders for steel sheet, tubes and copper wire will help to arrest the decline in iron and steel exports which the Board of Trade has described as "fairly severe."

"China is signing large contracts with British firms for advanced types of machine tools recently freed from the embargo," says the Newsletter.

It is expected these will exceed £500,000. The orders are doubly welcome for the foothold it affords in what may be the world's largest market for machine tools during the next few decades."

Nearly £3 million worth of British-drawn copper wire was shipped to China in the first nine months of 1958. The Newsletter recalls the experience with the Russian trade when copper wire was removed from the embargo: "In little more than a year, the Soviet Union became the largest market for British-drawn wire."

## TWO YEARS AGO, FIVE LITERARY MEN WROTE THIS

# LETTER TO BORIS PASTERNAK

**T**HE full text has been published in the Soviet Press of a long letter written to Boris Pasternak in September 1956 by the editorial board of the magazine "Novy Mir" to whom he had submitted a manuscript of his novel "Dr. Zhivago" for publication.

Extracts from the letter published in the Manchester Guardian fill two columns of close type. Written in friendly terms, the letter, signed by five of the Soviet Union's most noted writers and critics, is a detailed and reasoned criticism of the manuscript.

"Boris Leonidovich," the letter starts, "we want to say before you frankly all the thoughts which have occurred to us since reading it. These

thoughts are both alarming and distressing.

### HOSTILE TO REVOLUTION

"The spirit of your novel is one of hostility to the Socialist revolution. The paths of your novel is the pathos of asserting that the October Revolution, the civil war, and the subsequent social changes connected with them brought to the people nothing but suffering, and either spiritual or moral, destroyed the Russian intelligentsia.

"The author's views suggest that the October Revolution was a mistake, that participation in it for that section of the intelligentsia that supported it was an irrevocable calamity, and that everything arising from it was evil."

Analysing the philosophical arguments in the book, the letter continues: "For you Zhivago's personality is the highest value. Doctor Zhivago's spiritual world is the highest rung of the spiritual perfection and, in the name of preserving this highest spiritual attainment and his life, like a vessel containing this value—in the name of this it is permissible to violate everything.

### SELF-PRAISE

"But in what, after all, does the content of Doctor Zhivago's highest spiritual value consist? What is his individualism, defended by him at terrible cost? The content of his individualism is the self-praise of his psychic nature, taken to the point of identifying it with the

mission of a religious prophet".

But, say the editors of *Novy Mir*, "the doctor, in fact, does not by any means realise his pretensions to a messianic role, because he distorts but does not retrace the path of the biblical prophet he worships: there is not even a scent of Christianity on Doctor Zhivago's gloomy road, because he has concerned himself least of all with humanity and most of all with himself.

"In your eyes Doctor Zhivago is the summit of the Russian intelligentsia's spirit. In our eyes he is its morose..."

"If you are still in a state to think about this seriously, think about it. In spite of everything that is what we want. We return to you the manuscript of the novel Doctor Zhivago."

The letter was signed by B. Agapov, B. Lavrenyev, K. Fedin, K. Simonov and A. Krivitskiy.

