

# POLICE TERROR IN RHODESIA

## OLD ACCOUNT OF BRUTAL BEATINGS

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**NEW AGE**

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**LUSAKA, N. RHODESIA.**—This town in Northern Rhodesia has seen ugly examples of police brutality against Africans in the last week or two, and there is no doubt one of the reasons is that large numbers in the force are recruits from South Africa.

Both the army and the police force of Rhodesia have been recruiting steadily in South Africa for the last year.

Reports from Northern Rhodesia tell not only of round-ups of leaders and members of the United National Independence Party, but also of beatings in police stations, victims with perforated eardrums, bruises, and acts of calculated sadism.

The police authorities have denied the allegations of torture and man-handling in Lusaka townships.

Dossiers on the wave of assaults are being prepared for the British Government, and reports from Lusaka tell of legal actions being considered against the police.

Here is an account of a beating-up by a Northern Rhodesian victim:

**HOUSE SURROUNDED**

"The time was between 6.30 and 7 p.m. Soon after our supper a gang of uniformed policemen, led by a youthful white officer, surrounded our house.

"The white officer said that, warrant or no warrant, we and the house would be searched. Two of the African police were armed as was the European officer.

"Our situpa (passes) were surrendered to him and he then ordered us to get out of the house.

"We were driven to the Malero Police Station at a terrific speed—above 65 m.p.h.

**TURNED INTO PUNCH-BALLS**

"The young officer, in the presence of a senior officer, turned us into punch-balls. He used both open hands and fists to our faces.

"When the officer was tired of hitting us he used his military boots on us. He later told his African juniors to "warm themselves" on us. This they did with great gusto, raining blows on our unprotected faces and bodies. I bled profusely, but, alas, first-aid was not forthcoming.

"Smiling and unmoved the officer went ahead with the onslaught.

"But this was not the end. When senior officers arrived some of us mistakenly thought that the juniors would be chided for ill-treating us. This was a fallacy. For the most senior of the group watched me undergo a mighty thrashing at his order when I was as naked as I was at birth.

**INTERROGATION**

"We were later ordered to a room adjacent to the charge office for interrogation. In the passage were three policemen who beat us as we passed by. In the interrogation room I was told to strip myself again and then jump upwards and then turn white in the air. A black constable was handy to beat me up should I show any slowness in this exercise. He performed his duties to the letter for I was always receiving blows on my back. I remained naked throughout the interview, which lasted for more than 25 minutes.

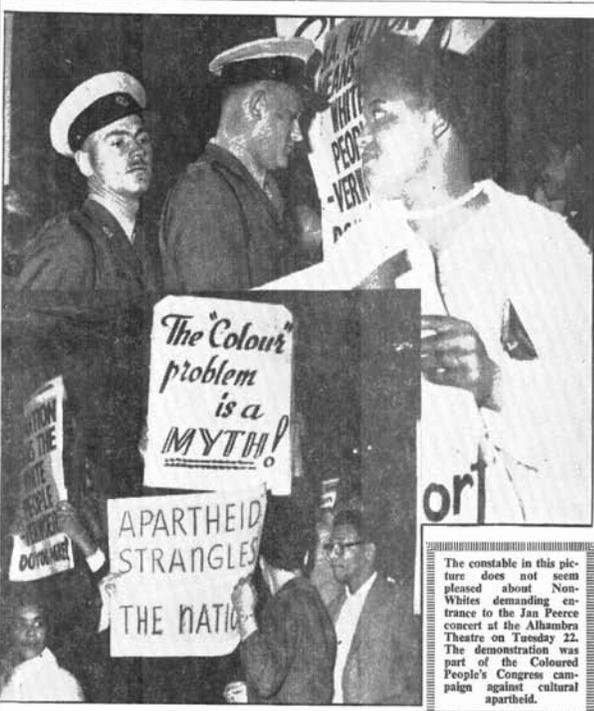
"If this was not torture then let us have the police tell us what it is."

### Women's Conference This Week-end

**PORT ELIZABETH.**

The Regional Committee of the Federation of S.A. Women has been busy all week putting finishing touches to the arrangements for the national women's conference which takes place at the Matlin Institute, Kempston Road, this week-end on the 2nd and 3rd.

**DELEGATES NOTE: OWING TO THE CROWDED PROGRAMME THE CONFERENCE WILL COMMENCE ON SATURDAY MORNING AT 10 a.m. and not in the afternoon as previously announced.**



The constable in this picture does not seem pleased about Non-Whites demanding entrance to the Jan Peerce concert at the Alhambra Theatre on Tuesday 22. The demonstration was part of the Coloured People's Congress campaign against apartheid.

# MANDELA DEFENDS POLITICAL REFUGEES

## "No Desire to Conquer B.C.P."

**JOHANNESBURG.**

**MR. Nelson Mandela, South Africa's underground leader, whipped in fast last week to reply to new accusations levelled against the South African freedom struggle by Basutoland's BCP president Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle.**

Mr. Mokhehle told a leading daily that the banned African National Congress is (1) using Basutoland as a base and (2) trying to take over the B.C.P.

Here is Nelson Mandela's statement, sent in to New Age over the week-end.

"Mr. Mokhehle is taking advantage of the illegality of the ANC to make frivolous accusations against it in the hope that no voice will be raised in its defence.

"Democratic governments all over

the world have for centuries given asylum to political exiles who fled their countries to escape persecution from their own reactionary regimes. Indeed, almost all the independent and semi-independent States in Africa are full of such exiles.

"We would have expected Mr. Mokhehle, leader of a political party that fights against colonial exploitation and white supremacy, to use his influence for the extension of these facilities to South African political refugees who seek asylum in his own country in order to continue the struggle against the apartheid policies of the Verwoerd regime.

**NO JUSTIFICATION**

"Some of the former ANC members now in Basutoland are in fact citizens of that Protectorate who

settled in this country for various reasons. We can see no political justification for the protest of "infiltration" raised by Mr. Mokhehle when citizens of a country wish to participate in its politics.

"As for my own personal position, I would like to point out that not for one single moment have I left the country since the May strike. South Africans have fed and sheltered me and I have been greatly inspired by their sincere concern for my safety and welfare. The need has not arisen for me to look for asylum beyond our borders.

**FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY**

"We have no desire to conquer the B.C.P. Our attitude towards this Party has always been governed by the desire to establish fraternal solidarity with the people of Basutoland. As a matter of fact, the BCP was established in 1954, through the instrumentality of the ANC, to give

concrete expression to this fraternal solidarity. It is inconceivable that we would seek to destroy the same organisation whose establishment we inspired.

"We have repeatedly stressed the question of the unity of the African people throughout the continent and this has been equally emphasised by almost all African political organisations.

**A CRIME**

"Unity is of particular importance to us in Southern Africa where the forces of reaction are still strong and aggressive, and we regard it as a crime for any leader to make himself a tool for the creation of divisions amongst friendly peoples. For our own part, we shall continue to work for closer friendship and better relations between the people of S.A. and those of Basutoland and we are confident that this policy will prevail in the end."



Mr. Nelson Mandela



## ABOLISH WHIPPING

I am one of the "cranks" who believe in the abolition of the savagery of corporal punishment. They've used the whip so often for other crimes yet these days it's being used against democrats for political torture.

According to one of our BAD (really BAD) officials 1,600 "Bantus" voted in favour of public floggings (similar to public hangings except flogging is more of a humiliation). But the village has a 20,000 population! We know what Government-sponsored "voting" means.

I cannot understand how nurses—who serve and protect the people against illness—could have been so savagely beaten. This is downright brutality.

"Perhaps," I have often thought "savagery" too often? Oh, NO!

## S. Africa Has Got Her Tshombes

Grahamstown has got her Tshombes and Mobutus. Recently while I was passing through Grahamstown I was pointed out two police informers who work for the Special Branch. They come to the people as one of them whose in fact they are the enemies of the people.

One of them was a leading political figure in the Grahamstown ANC branch. In fact he was once a member of the Executive. Is he now the bitter enemy of any political movement because he lost his seat on the executive before the ANC was banned?

During the recent bus boycott this man played a leading role in trying to sabotage the people's solidarity and claimed that the organisers of the bus boycott were "small boys" and young frustrated agitators. But the boycott was a 100% success. The people stood by the "small boys".

You had better go back to the Congo, you stooges!

FRANK MAKANA

East London.

The whip is a savage implement but twice as savage when politically used. Nazi's Streicher and Eichmann believed in the whip. Perhaps I had better not mention the names of some South Africans—(sorry, "by South Africa I mean the Nazis")—who believe in whipping and other forms of official, legal violence!

"DEMOCRAT"

Cape Town.

## 6-Year-Old Kids

Alexandra Township children who are told by the principals of various schools to leave because the schools are overcrowded are forced to labour in gardens and on golf courses by the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board. Most of the children are between six and nine. Owing to their expulsion from school they have nothing to do.

The Peri-Urban Health Board has instructed the police to arrest these children and take them to their parents to find out what school they attend. Some parents may say their children are still attending school. Those who say their children are not pupils are told by the police to fill in a form which is then taken back to the Health Board.

The people who sign such forms (and they are told it is compulsory) are told to send their children every morning to the Board. The payment of these kids is only 2s. a day and the Board itself is getting more money by using these kids for cheap labour because they are conveyed to and from work in the Board's pick-up vans.

This dirty scheme of the Peri-Urban Health Board and its African stooges must be abolished immediately. It is the Bantu Education Department, and not the kids, who are to blame because the children are not at school.

MOSES TSOAEDI  
Alexandra.

## Workers Want Decent Houses

The Cape Chamber of Industries recently sent some industrialists to inspect housing schemes built with levies from the employers at Langa and Nyanga. I hope these gentlemen will strongly condemn these new unhealthy schemes.

At the bachelor scheme, you will find that the quarters have cement floors, no ceiling and are ice cold in winter. The sleeping bed is built like a grave with a wooden top to sleep on. The long table in the front hall is also cement. I am sure not a single industrialist would sleep in these quarters.

I hope these industrialists will value their workers in future. A worker should be respected as he is a responsible person who produces the wealth of the country and helps in the upliftment of the country in many different ways. Workers want good houses with low rents and should not be given houses like donkey stables where they cannot relax in comfort after their work hours.

ZWELAKE XAMLASHE

Langa.

## Detention Without Charge Unfair

I wish to point out to the public the carelessness of our South African laws. The police (today can just arrest a person without having any reason, and detain you for 72 hours while they say they are still looking for a charge.

They arrested me on Tuesday 14, while I was attending the case of the schoolboys, who were charged with public violence. This law of arresting and detaining a person without charge is unfair, because the public has no protection or say in the matter.

This law must be repealed, as it sends people to jail for nothing.

C. H. MOTSHABI  
Bloemfontein.

## TAKE OUT A SUBSCRIPTION FOR NEW AGE TODAY

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## FIGHT YOUR OWN BATTLE!

WE want you to help us fight and win an important battle—the battle to increase New Age circulation amongst all sections of our people.

New Age being what it is, you will readily understand that what we are asking you to do is to FIGHT YOUR OWN BATTLE.

Press and radio combine, in ever-increasing measure, to suppress or distort the truth as to what is happening in our country, on our continent and in the world at large. It is New Age, and New Age only, which refuses to be a party to deliberate deception, which does all in its power to inform the people of the true state of affairs.

Every new, regular reader of New Age is a potential recruit to the political struggle or, if already a recruit, a better and more consistent fighter than one who fights in ignorance.

Our full-time sellers have given all of us a wonderful example of courage and loyalty. They have stuck to their jobs and their guns through thick and thin, undeterred by threats and intimidation.

It is, however, impossible for them to cover all the ground that needs to be covered. The present circulation of New Age is far from what it could be, and also far from adequate in relation to the serious political tasks which face us.

Remember that New Age is not just a newspaper—it is an organiser.

We urgently need many more voluntary sellers and agents, in every city, town and village.

Will you help us FIGHT YOUR OWN BATTLE? VOLUNTEER NOW TO SELL NEW AGE!

## Salute To The National Action Council

True and gallant leaders of my native land,  
What matters if your good names are defamed by malicious, unmerited rivals

When the entire democratic world Acknowledges your just and timely deed?  
In this our country and in distant lands

With you stand abundant majorities  
Of mature and ardent freedom fighters.

Who are your rivals? 'Politically Unprincipled pithecanthropes!' Have not they now turned against their vows?  
Where is their 'no bail, no defence, no fine'?

Mendacious demagogues,—craven bullies,—  
Who stick not to their own declarations!

Where is their 'serve, sacrifice and suffer'?

Why have others deserted the country?

True vanguard of the liberation struggle,—  
True yoke-fellows,—firm friends of human kind,—  
Worry not about the 'Unity movement'.

'Tis non-existing organisation;  
The few who profess to be its members

Are the long known arm-chair politicians  
Who sabotage people's freedom

Push them aside and carry on the struggle  
Until people's demands are accomplished.

Sons of the soil, methinks, this is the time  
To expose these dangerous elements  
And their perfidious activities.

For to nurse their spirit and fellowship  
Is to retard the people's genuine cause.

Warn their colleagues abroad that we cannot  
Here endure these mischievous elements.

Beloved and resolute people's leaders,  
Your sagacious leadership we acknowledge;  
Whatever traitors against you say  
Your names shall ever ascend in history.

D. L. P. YALI-MANISI  
Queenstown.

FINED R400 FOR INCITEMENT

JOHANNESBURG.  
Recently Sam Mafalala and Titus Motala were found guilty in the Magistrate's Court here on a charge of incitement. They were sentenced to one year imprisonment or a fine of R400 each.

The case arose out of the distribution of leaflets at the end of May this year calling on the people to support the call for a National Convention and to demonstrate their opposition to the Republic by staying at home.

Both men are out on bail of R400 until the appeal is heard.

## DON'T BE A SILLY

Well, fancy giving money to the Government!  
Might as well have put it down the drain.

Fancy giving money to the Government!  
Nobody will see the stuff again. Well, they've no idea what money's for.

Ten to one they'll start another war.  
I've heard a lot of silly things, but, Lord!

Fancy giving money to the Government.  
(Too Much—by Sir A. P. Herbert)

That's probably exactly what you feel when the time for paying taxes comes around, and then, our sentiments too!

BUT WHY TREAT NEW AGE AS IF IT WERE THE GOVERNMENT?

The money you give us certainly doesn't go down the drain. We give you the goods—the finest fighting newspaper on the African continent, one which can hold its own with any similar newspaper in any part of the world.

When you give us money you see the stuff go down—transformed into something you can hold in your hands, something you can read for both pleasure

and information.

And New Age knows what money's for; we fight for peace not war. We use it to fight for all the things you stand for—real friendship and true equality among all the peoples of our land and amongst all the nations of the world.

There is just one thing we have in common with the Government: WE NEED MONEY. We need it desperately.

JUST LOOK AT THE PITIFUL AMOUNT YOU GAVE US LAST WEEK!

The silliest thing we've ever heard of is the man who knows what New Age means and yet doesn't give a penny to support it.

DON'T BE SILLY! SEND US YOUR DONATION TODAY!

Last Week's Donations:

Min collections R2, Hopeful R6, Donations (3) R2.90.

Cape Town:

Anonymous R3.

Grand Total: R13.90.

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# MOKHEHLE OUTLINES TRADE UNION POLICY

## Advocates Membership On Political Basis

From J. G. Kgaseane, MASERU.

MR. Ntsu Mokhehle, President of the Basutoland Congress Party outlined his policy towards the trade unions in the protectorate when he addressed a meeting of workers in Maseru on August 17.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. P. Sekhonyane, chairman of the General Workers' Union.

Mr. Mokhehle said that no workers' union could succeed unless the country got political independence first. The question of £1 a day would be discussed after independence.

● There were people in Basutoland who were not faithful but had left their own country after making wild promises and demands about £1 a day. These people claimed to know all about trade unions, but were sowing disharmony in Basutoland.

● Those who joined trade unions in which BCP members worked must be forced to join the BCP and made to produce a BCP membership card before being allowed to join the trade union. Workers who did not support the BCP should form their own trade unions.

### TO BE DIVIDED

● In order to prevent "confusion" now present in the General Workers' Union, it should be divided into sections covering particular categories of work under separate leadership and these leaders "must not hinder each other's work."

Thus Mr. Jack Mosiane would be in charge of the local workers; Mr. S. Mokhehle, brother of Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, would control shop workers; Mr. G. Kolisang, stenographers and printing workers, and so on.

Mr. Mosiane has been given the honour of speaking for all workers

in the past. Now he was to be relieved and confined to his own local union.

### LAWYERS FROM S.A.

Mr. Mokhehle said that "people and lawyers from South Africa were trying to separate the BCP from the General Workers' Union. He named Mr. J. Motlhoela as one who was carrying out this policy in Mafeteng and Moshaleshoek.

There was little applause for Mr. Mokhehle, although the hall was filled to capacity with workers and residents of Maseru.



Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle

## HOW WOULD YOU LIKE TO WORK

# A 12-HOUR DAY FOR 2s. 3d.!

## Startling Disclosures About Natal Coal Mines

JOHANNESBURG.

STARTLING disclosures of wages and working conditions on the coal mines of Hlo-bane in the district of Vryheid have been made to New Age by one of the mine workers who visited our offices recently.

General labourers working above-ground get a starting wage of 2/3d. a seven-day week, but an 12 hours. They work a seven-day week. After three months they get an increase of the princely sum of 1d. per shift, up to a maximum of 2/6d. per shift.

Coke drawers receive 3/10d. per shift for this highly dangerous work which often results in burnt hands. These workers have to draw coke from ovens throughout their long eleven-hour day. They receive no increase.

These workers begin the day at 2.30 a.m. and have to complete their task (the amount of work they have to do is laid down by the management) by 4.30 p.m. They have two one-hour breaks—for breakfast at 8 a.m. and lunch at 12 noon. They seldom complete their task before 3.30 p.m.

### UNDERGROUND

Underground workers get 3/- for each nine-hour shift. They also work a seven-day week, but only have to complete their allotted task each day. For instance, tap loaders (those who load mined coal into trucks) have to load 34 trucks per day. Tap pushers (the men who push loaded trucks up to the mine head) have to push all trucks loaded each day.

Clerical workers are mainly Africans. They begin work at 4.30 a.m. and end at 4.30 p.m., with two two-hour breaks for breakfast and lunch. They earn on the average 5s. per day. A small number of chief clerks receive from 6/- to 10/- per day.

### CRIMES

Any worker who fails to complete his quota of work for the day is promptly charged and the usual sentence is £2 or 28 days imprisonment. Any worker who fails to complete his work is fined £2 with the alternative of two weeks imprisonment.

Living quarters are overcrowded and unhygienic. Thirty workers sleep in one room containing 28 cement beds.

Food is poor and inadequate. Breakfast consists of mealy meal porridge which is often full of weevil, with a piece of brown bread. The workers get nothing for lunch. Supper consists of porridge, boiled mealies and a piece of meat.

## Students Arrested At Haldtown

PORT ELIZABETH.

Parents of Haldtown school pupils are angry over the news that about 20 students were arrested last week after the school authorities called in the police to investigate the smashing of window panes at the school.

Without informing their parents, the police locked up the students in the cells at Fort Beaufort for several days, and then released them in the care of the school authorities pending their appearance in court on August 29.

Some parents feel that in view of the frequent arrests at the institution the authorities might as well close the school for the rest of the year. "In any case" said one parent, "how can the pupils study in such an atmosphere of anxiety?"

# AFRICAN MUNICIPAL WORKERS FIGHT FOR RECOGNITION

## Signature Campaign Among White Rate-Payers

**DURBAN.** A ten-man committee to fight for the recognition of the African Municipal Workers' Union was set up at a specially convened meeting of representatives of various organisations held at the City Hall Committee Room, Durban, last week.

The committee will ask European ratepayers to sign a petition calling on the Mayor of Durban to convene a public meeting "at which the question of recognition of trade union rights by the municipality can be discussed."

Mr. M. Vakalisia, secretary of the AMWU, told the meeting that several letters had been written to the City Council on the subject of improved wages and conditions of work, and on each occasion the

Union had been informed that the matter was being investigated.

"Our letters remain unanswered," Mr. Vakalisia said. Our plea for collective negotiations are ignored, our invitations to the Mayor and councillors to attend our meetings are ignored."

The Durban City Council is well-known for its anti-Nationalist attitude and should therefore set the pace by refusing to support the Nationalist design to bleed African trade unions to death, Mr. Vakalisia added. He said that the so-called Municipal Liaison Committee of appointed members had been thrust upon the workers, in the same way as Bantu Authorities, Bantu Councils and Advisory Boards.

### BOLTON ACCUSED

Mr. Vakalisia accused the Chairman of the Liaison Committee, Councillor Bolton, a trade unionist and secretary of the garment and furniture workers' union, of sabotaging the efforts of the municipal workers by helping to set up the Liaison Committee.

The municipal workers have expressed dissatisfaction with the recent increases received from the Council, and the fight for recognition of their Union is therefore being pressed through the new committee.

Members of the Committee include Mr. R. Morris of the Municipal Ratepayers Association, Mr. David Evans of the Liberal Party; Messrs L. Bloem and Lionel Gay; lecturers at the University of Natal; Mr. Arvind Desai of the Natal Indian Youth Congress and Mr. Amos Ngoma, former member of

the banned ANC Youth League. The convenor of the Committee is Mr. Ronnie Kastles, Secretary of the Congress of Democrats.

## "GENERAL CHINA" GETS R120



Mr. Andrew Chamile, popularly known in Congress circles in Johannesburg as "General China," who was recently awarded R120 after he had laid a charge of assault against the Railway Police, General China, who was carrying a parcel of New Age newspapers, was pulled off a train and marched to the offices of the Railway Police, where he was released a short while later with no charge laid against him. He told the Magistrate that the police had handled him very roughly.

## CHARGED WITH BEING MEMBER OF ANC

JOHANNESBURG.

MR. T. J. Mottsepe, who appeared in the Magistrate's Court here last week on a charge of being or continuing to be a member or office-bearer of an unlawful organisation, was told by the State that the documents found in his house were consistent with a pattern that implicated membership of the African National Congress.

The case is dependent on the fact that stickers for the May strike statements of the Continuation Committee, and a number of Freedom Charters were found in his possession. An ANC receipt (dated prior to the banning of the organisation) and the ANC colours were also found, as well as some partially

burnt reference books. A letter summoning a committee meeting, which mentioned no date or organisation, and an unheated subscription list, were also found.

During the course of the trial, which lasted three days, the Prosecution handed in a constitution of the now-banned African National Congress, which had not been found on Mr. Mottsepe, as part of its evidence.

At the end of the case the Magistrate reserved judgment until September 9. Advocates A. Gani and D. Nkomo appeared for the accused.

The charge of being a member or office-bearer of an unlawful organisation against Mr. Patrick Mtembu was withdrawn.

# KWA-MASHU RESIDENTS DEMAND IMPROVEMENTS

DURBAN.

THE Kwa-Mashu Residents' Association, in a 25-point memorandum addressed to the Durban City Council, the Chambers of Commerce and Industries and the Bantu Affairs Department, demands recognition of its Association as the mouthpiece of the residents of Kwa-Mashu.

The memorandum follows months of intense organisation and meetings in this area, which is fast developing into one of the largest single African areas in the Province.

Among the demands itemised in the memorandum are:

- That rents be reduced from R6 to R3.50. The memorandum points out that of 6,000 families housed at Kwa-Mashu, 3,747 are in arrears with their rents or loan repayments.
- That the metering of water be abolished until such time as the whole of Durban is metered Kwa-Mashu is the only area in the City where water is metered.

● That bus fares be reduced to four cents, the same amount which is paid in fares from most Non-White areas to the City.

● That widows should not be ejected from their homes upon the death of their husbands.

● That door to door mail delivery should be immediately carried out as workers find it difficult to go to the local Post Office for their mail as they invariably return late from work.

● That wages be increased commensurate with the increase in the cost of living.

● That free expression of grievances be allowed. Any attempt to force organisations established by the Council and consisting of hand-picked people will not be tolerated.

● That the Council should discontinue confiscation and sale of belongings of so-called deserters from the men's hostel. In some cases, a man may be in hospital and on his return finds his belongings sold.

Other points in the memorandum deal with complaints about the structure of the buildings and demand improvements.

In the meantime yet another application for a meeting of the residents has been turned down by the City Council. New Age was informed that the residents are considering the advisability of taking the Mayor to Court to show cause why the Residents' Association should not be given permission to hold a meeting.

Have you sent your donation this week?



# IS CUBA SOCIALIST?

## AMERICA "Yes" — say Cuban Communists

EVERY reader of this column knows the name of Fidel Castro, yet how many readers know who the presidents are of any other Latin American state? So it is throughout the world. Castro is revered or hated depending on the individual's attitude to things he stands for. What sort of a man is Castro, and what sort of revolution is it that he has guided to triumphant success? The debate on these questions has waxed furiously, and will continue to do so.

Some people have no difficulty in describing Castro. The American Government, for example, just as they had no difficulty in describing Batista as their best friend and then their worst enemy, so they later had no difficulty in describing Castro as a great liberator. Afterwards when he liberated the Cuban people from land hunger and the bondage imposed upon them by U.S. capitalists, they failed to appreciate that Castro, who had shown his people how to break the grip of a foreign country 70 miles from his own, was hardly likely to allow himself to become the tool of a country thousands of miles away. Yet the question remains: to what extent should Castro be regarded as a communist? If anything, the Cubans say, Castro has used international communism as his tool to assist the Cuban people in fashioning a new and glorious life for themselves.

What Kennedy and his associates fail to appreciate is that Castro, who had shown his people how to break the grip of a foreign country 70 miles from his own, was hardly likely to allow himself to become the tool of a country thousands of miles away. Yet the question remains: to what extent should Castro be regarded as a communist? If anything, the Cubans say, Castro has used international communism as his tool to assist the Cuban people in fashioning a new and glorious life for themselves.



Fidel Castro

tion, patriotic and agrarian, was correct. The revolution has moved on to complete its historic tasks in this phase.

● The advances were made by a coalition of the basic class in today's society, the working class in alliance with the greatest part of the peasantry, the poorest and majority sectors, plus the radical city middle class.

● History requires a conscious vanguard to lead the people, and that was provided by men like Fidel Castro and his associates of the July 26th Movement, aided by other revolutionary groups like the Popular Socialist Party.

● Castro had already envisaged the basic course of development in his famous address to the judges after the July 16, 1953 assault on the Moncada barracks (in which most of Castro's men were killed and Castro was captured). These developments are in accord with his views as far back as then.

● Conditions are favourable internally and externally for the rapid and successful completion of this stage of the revolution. Today the socialist world, the forces for peace in all parts of the world, are stronger than the forces of war and aggression. Imperialism can be curbed today in a way that was impossible only a little more than half a decade back.

Two months later this general analysis was to be filled out with more detail.

"Our revolution is a socialist revolution," declared Blas Roca, general secretary of the Cuban People's Socialist Party, in a speech delivered on August 14 at a conference held by various revolutionary organisations in Santiago de Cuba. His speech was carried by the Cuban press.

In his speech, Roca referred to the three economic forms existing in Cuba and the task of establishing a unitary socialist economy

throughout the country. "We have not completed the building of a fully socialist society, because our whole society is not yet organised in the socialist way," he declared. He quoted an earlier statement by Fidel Castro which says that the building of socialism in Cuba was a course of development, not just a matter of giving orders.

Dwelling on the policy towards private-owned industry and commerce and the small peasants, he said that small private-owned industry and commerce should not be nationalised. He added that "at present and in a period to come, the socialist revolution ensures the existing position of these middle strata, so that they will not go into big capitalists but will remain at their existing, rather stable position. The socialist revolution also promises them the prospect of integrating themselves voluntarily with the socialist economy and directly passing into the socialist category together with their property." As to the small peasants, Roca said that "we will really treat the small peasants as friends and allies. They will be convinced in the course of the development of the revolution that their road is one of co-operation."

Roca pointed out that "the victory of socialism in Cuba is guaranteed. It has all the means for building a fully socialist society." He added: "Naturally, socialism is characterised not only by its economy, but by its political ideology and morals as well. Politically, the development of the Cuban revolution is being directed step by step towards the establishment of a state power of the workers and peasants, the creation of a state governed by all the workers and peasants."

Speaking on the unity of the revolutionary forces and a united party of socialist revolution, Blas Roca said: "This unity is formed first of all, in the action around the common aim of supporting the revolution. During these years, these forces gradually come into complete accord on all the revolutionary measures taken in the various revolutionary events and become unified. At present, the form of the integrated revolutionary organisations has come into being. But this is not the final outcome. The final outcome will be that all these organisations form into a Cuban united party of socialist revolution, as said by Castro on July 26."

● The advances were made by a coalition of the basic class in today's society, the working class in alliance with the greatest part of the peasantry, the poorest and majority sectors, plus the radical city middle class.

● History requires a conscious vanguard to lead the people, and that was provided by men like Fidel Castro and his associates of the July 26th Movement, aided by other revolutionary groups like the Popular Socialist Party.

● Castro had already envisaged the basic course of development in his famous address to the judges after the July 16, 1953 assault on the Moncada barracks (in which most of Castro's men were killed and Castro was captured). These developments are in accord with his views as far back as then.

● Conditions are favourable internally and externally for the rapid and successful completion of this stage of the revolution. Today the socialist world, the forces for peace in all parts of the world, are stronger than the forces of war and aggression. Imperialism can be curbed today in a way that was impossible only a little more than half a decade back.

"Our revolution is a socialist revolution," declared Blas Roca, general secretary of the Cuban People's Socialist Party, in a speech delivered on August 14 at a conference held by various revolutionary organisations in Santiago de Cuba. His speech was carried by the Cuban press.

gent army and all the nation's militia is the premise who has correctly guided the revolution of our country. Apart from all this, I think that he will be the leader of that party because he has proved that he is the one who knows better and more as to how to fight for socialist construction in our country."

Referring to the Committee of Co-ordination, Education and Inspection, Roca said that "it is a new form of state power which is absorbing the masses of workers of the country directly into that work," it is by no means a perfect organisation, and probably has not yet taken its final form. But it is a development in the course which we have been following for directly establishing a people's power throughout the country.

"This is an important question," Roca said. "Fidel has said that the working class should not fight for a crumb of bread but for power, because power is exactly the means by which the working class can liberate themselves from exploitation of all forms and lead the whole society to bring an end, once and for all, the society of exploitation of man by man."

Roca also talked about the necessity for raising the consciousness of the people. He said: "Socialism must be built on the basis of consciousness, and socialist consciousness must be elevated and created." Socialist morality had begun to exist among the Cuban people. He also stressed the importance of mapping out plans and carrying out emulations in the socialist construction.



Men arrested for being in Alexandra Township without permission. Hundreds of groups like this can be seen in the streets each month.

# IT'S A LIFE ON THE RUN IN ALEXANDRA

JOHANNESBURG. SINCE February 1959 "the Peri"—the local authority in control of Alexandra Township near Johannesburg—has moved 31,61 men, women and children out of the township.

Reason given by the Board is over-population. Reason given by the people of Alex is the workings of apartheid-ridden South Africa, where no one with the wrong skin colour can ever be left in peace to live freely in the place of his choice—or even his birth. Alexandra is a 'Black spot' in a predominantly white residential area, where Africans have been able to own land. This right too is to disappear—those 30,000 of the original 80,000 who are finally allowed to remain will be bought out and only allowed to retain ownership of the houses.

The people of Alexandra are resisting enforced removal to Meadowlands, Diepkloof near Germiston in the same calm, even phlegmatic way that characterised the wonderful endurance test of the bus boycotts. If they work in Johannesburg or Germiston (and thus no longer have the right to stay) they elude the Peri-Urban police for months on end to prolong departure. And soon they take spontaneous action.

### BARRICADED STREETS

Last Wednesday, when the police, accompanied by a mobile van, barricaded all the streets leading from the bus-terminus in No. 2 Square, so that all the tired, hungry men returning home would have to have their papers scrutinised, the crowd in the square grew greater and greater. No one went home past the police, no-one wanted his dom-pas stamped to show that he should have moved long ago and was now liable for prosecution.

But suddenly a stone was thrown, and then another and another, and the crowd surged forward in all directions. At this the Peri-Urban police, both Black and White, fled, pursued by angry men whose anger turned to laughter when they discovered that the police had run right out of the township into the veld!

### CONSTANTLY HARASSED

The people are harassed morning and evening to find out where they work and if they have missed a removal 'date'. In the buses, the shops, in the street—wherever they go the tragic cat-and-mouse game of pounce and elude goes on, and there is no peace left.

The stand-holders also complain. They are unable to keep up bond-payments on the empty houses and rooms that used to be check-able fall of tenants. If they miss a payment to the Peri-Urban Board

for the cleaning of the lavatories on their site, the lavatories are demolished. Reason given is that they have the right to stay, wherever they work, but many of their number too have already left, because they have been forced to sell out. Mrs. Mashewo, a stand-holder with 15 rooms to let, told New Age that five of them were standing empty today, and Mr. Jacob Molaius will not move into any of his three empty, and sturdily brick-built rooms, although he himself lives in a shanty, because he must let on under.

HUNDREDS ARRESTED Hundreds of Africans are arrested each week for failure to move. They are sentenced to one to three months imprisonment with the option of a stiff fine.

Mrs. Rebecca Kobe, who has lived in Alex since 1946, is forced to go back to her parents farm near Pretoria. Her husband is faced with the choice of a concrete bunk in the Meadowlands hotel or a long term in jail. Katharine Zondo, whose work in Jo'burg's Northern District or in the factories at Kew can remain. Officially the idea is to improve conditions for the people of Alex. But the people state unconvincingly that this constant badgering and misery IS NOT AN



Mrs. Rebecca Kobe making supper for her husband in her room in Alexandra Township where she has lived since 1946. Mrs. Kobe will soon have to leave to go back to the farm with her three children, while her husband has been offered a concrete bunk at Meadowlands.

## Peasant Resistance Spreads at Herschel

PORT ELIZABETH. WAY up in the North Eastern Cape, on the borders of Basutoland and the OFS, the peasants in the small reserve of Herschel are waging a relentless struggle against Apartheid Authorities and the Nationalist Government's rehabilitation measures.

Fences have been destroyed in Bluegum, Meyi's Kraal and kwana-Nujna locations, and several men have been detained for about a fortnight.

The destruction of the fences followed the introduction by the BAD officials of fencing areas without prior popular sanction.

In the amGema location the authorities immediately set about reducing stock after introducing the fencing programme. A few of the well-to-do peasants were assisted to purchase milk cows, and a small dairy building was erected as a depot from which to market small quantities of cream, but for the majority of the peasants the fencing of the area meant that anybody who was anxious to buy a beast of his own could never do so.

After the destruction of the fences, those detained were questioned. The popular answer to these interrogations is: the fences must have been destroyed by rats.

Subsequently communal fines of R1 per head have been imposed. Meanwhile plantations at Ntsindlen location were also mown down and 30 men were charged and fined R30 each.

Another seven men who had been sentenced to three months without fine, and in addition ordered to make pool R260 after a dairy building was destroyed, won their appeal against the sentence.

## TEACHER AND PRINCIPAL THRASHED BY PUPILS Bechuanaland School Closed Down

KGALE, BECHUANALAND. THE St. Joseph's College has been closed indefinitely. Some of the school boys are serving jail sentences. The rest of the students have been sent back home.

All this because their food was poor and the students complained. The boys stayed away from classes and would not have their meals on July 24. They complained to their boarding master, Mr. Molefi, that their food was prepared unhygienically—in the open as there was no kitchen—and that their mealie meal was often stale and not well-cooked.

Mr. Molefi would not forward the boys' grievances to the principal because he did not want to "lose my bread." As the boys grew militant and tension gradually rose on the campus of the school, the Director advised the principal to improve the students' food and warned him not to expel any student.

RAG IN PORRIDGE When the girls were about to have their breakfast on August 1, they found a fifty piece of rag in their porridge. They refused to eat the meal.

A matriculant, Moses Ramokate, was expelled from school on August 9 for having been the "ring-leader of the July 24 strike." The rest of the boys showed strong disapproval of this drastic step. They wrote small placards, some of which read: "BLOOD FOR BLOOD; THOU SHALT NOT ALLOW A SNAKE TO STING TWICE."

PRINCIPAL ASSAULTED The school authorities called the Gaborone police to watch the school. The police left the school at 10.30 p.m. as the boys had gone to bed at the usual time. After the departure of the police, the boys resumed their strike. Mr. Molefi physically. When the principal intervened he, too, was beaten.

## Convention Case: II ACQUITTED

CAPE TOWN. Eleven people charged with convening or addressing a gathering of the National Coloured Convention which had been banned were found not guilty when they appeared in the Wynberg Regional Court last Monday.

A witness, Mr. S. Moerat said that the accused had been talking generally not on any particular subject, and that nobody had got up to address them. They had been about to have tea when the Special Branch entered.

Mr. D. Molteno Q.C. appearing for the defence applied for the discharge of the accused on the grounds that there was no evidence that the meeting had anything to do with the Convention. The magistrate granted the application and the accused were discharged.

On the same day all the other students were told to pack and go back home. They were not told when to report back to school.



Our picture shows the funeral of Mr. Washington Mxolisi Zephe who died recently in East London after being assaulted and stabbed. Mr. Zephe was a staunch member of the now-banned ANC. Over 700 people attended the funeral.

## Interesting Analysis

WHAT DO THE CUBAN COMMUNISTS SAY ABOUT HIM AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION? THE ANALYSIS WHICH THEY GIVE SHOULD BE OF INTEREST TO ALL STUDENTS OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND SO WILL OCCUPY THE REMAINDER OF THIS ARTICLE.

In May this year one of Cuba's foremost political leaders, Dr. An-

# Telma Soups are Tastiest

## Gaika Described as "Wily and a Great Nuisance" 1820 SETTLER EXHIBITION SPREADS RACIALISM

JOHANNESBURG.

TODAY'S White South African race attitudes, as taught in the history books, are well-illustrated by a Government-sponsored travelling exhibition called "1820 Settler Africana."

The exhibition, which is currently showing in the foyer of the Library here, illustrates the days of the early White settler community. All stirred between them and the African communities whom they met during their advance up the East coast is called "The Kaffir War."

Eminent Chiefs like Gaika are described as 'wily and a great nuisance.'

A blonde White woman fearlessly walking through an armed group of tribesmen symbolise the courage and purity of White civilisation in the face of the 'primitive hordes.' (The latter picture, painted life-size, drew horrified gasps from many school children on the day your reporter visited the exhibition.)

### PRIDE AND SUPERIORITY

The atmosphere throughout is one of great pride and superiority, and the Black man, who happened by an accident of history to have arrived on our fertile soil a little earlier than the White, is regarded as being in the wrong, while conquest (then) is morally correct and sponsored by God.

The promotion of hostility between the races—hostility instead of friendship and understanding—is what this exhibition will help do to White thinking in its four to 22 towns and cities.

And yet South Africa 1961 doesn't quite conform. As our Coloured photographer looked around to see where he had left his second camera, a White schoolboy, aged about nine, darted forward to fetch it for him and then watched with admiring eyes among a circle of his spell-bound friends as our man did his stuff. Thanks, sonny!



White womanhood menaced by armed tribesmen: this is one of the largest exhibits on show—intended to draw horrified gasps from the audience.

# 7 Million People Perform a Miracle in Stamping out Vice, Dirt and Disease

## SHANGHAI CLEAN - II

SHANGHAI is one of the monsters among cities. Seven million people live there, and another 3 million in the areas surrounding it—10 million in all. (There are 13 million in greater London and greater Moscow today.) These cities are too big, life becomes too complex, problems of housing and transport almost overwhelming.

Under the old regime, Shanghai was superficially a modern city, with large office buildings and hotels along the curving river-front, and streets of big shops. Yet behind this facade lay a sprawling, endless complex of slums, narrow alleys and backyards, where most of the millions existed at subsistence level; rickshaw pullers, petty traders. The teeming masses of the backward "red" reduced by poverty and ignorance to the very fringes of life.

Shanghai shared with cities like Chicago and Tokyo the doubtful honour of fame built on crime and vice. It was known as the "adventurer's paradise"; its law, the law of the gangster, the gun and the knife. Streets of prostitutes, opium dens, gambling houses, drug-peddlers, violent robbery—all the evil of the growing on this soil of slums, poverty, dirt, disease.

### Cleaning Up

Where do you start to clean up such a city? Millions need to be rehoused; millions need schools, jobs. There must be industrialisation—it is the basis for all improvements and modernisation. In Shanghai there was nothing but the terrible heritage from one hundred years of foreign rule.

As we drove through the streets my hosts told me: "This was the French concession . . . this was the British concession . . ." The city was divided into portions by foreign powers, each retaining their own jurisdiction, their own police, military. The only common factor—poverty and misery.

From the 17th floor of a waterfront hotel, I looked out over Shanghai. I saw the river along the curves of the famous Bund, with its junks and sampans, looking like a film scene of old China; and I saw the distance, crammed streets, the spreading anarchic of old, hazardous buildings.

And there I saw as well the visible signs of change. The dirt and disorder of the dockside has gone; the grass and trees along the river-front are new. On the pavements small trees, a year or two old, it will take a long time. Meanwhile the small trees begin to grow, the city becomes greener and more tolerable. In eleven years many streets have been widened, bridges built, and 51 million square metres of flooring space in new houses built, decent homes for 850,000 Shanghai residents.

My hosts said "What would you like to see in Shanghai?" I said I would like to see the best people—the worst and the best.

So they took me to Pang Chia-wan, one of the most sordid living quarters for workers in this city, an area where 12,500 people live, 90% of the people are workers and their families, but before liberation only 40% of the families in this area were working; the rest were unemployed. Gangs controlled the area; you had to hire a gang-leader to get a job; you had to pay a leader to be allowed to trade, even for the

privilege of repairing your house.

Pang Chia-wan was built on waste land about 30 years ago. The land had been used for sewage and refuse and was criss-crossed with forty open ditches in which coffins were laid. It was surrounded on three sides by water and bounded on the fourth by a railway line. The only way to reach the area was by ferry. It was the fotsam of the big city, the waste people, who built shacks on this waste land.

They had four phrases to describe it: the road is not smooth; the light is not bright; the drinking water is not clear; there is no bridge across the river.

People who lived in the homes here, built in filth and sewage and corpses, obtained drinking water from a creek beside the river, which in turn was polluted by factories. Lighting was from candles and oil lamps, 70% of the houses were roofed with straw. When it rained the water came into the narrow lanes turned into streets of mud. There was no underground sewage; it went into open ditches. Diseases such as smallpox and measles were rife.

We left our car on the outskirts of the area; the lanes are far too narrow for cars. We walked through the alleys and into the houses of Pang Chia-wan.

### The Change-over

Eleven years ago, when the workers all over China stood up and became their own masters, the great clean-up began.

The open ponds and ditches were wiped out in a huge mass campaign that covered all China. Pipes were laid for drinking water, and each person now pays 10 cents a month (the equivalent of about 3 cents in our currency). Underground sewage was installed. The streets were paved. The filth and mud, the smells and flies, the worst signs of degradation disappeared, 90% of the houses now have tiled roofs.

Not only the streets and homes were changed. A social revolution began as well. Most of the women were illiterate, and only 30% of the children went to school. Now every child is in school. Literacy classes were started for adults on a voluntary basis. Today every woman of the area under the age of 45 is sufficiently literate to be able to read simple articles in newspapers and magazines. There are now 5 public dining rooms in the area, 7 kindergartens, and 2 clinics.

Eventually all the people of Pang Chia-wan will be re-housed. For the time being the dark, ramshackle buildings remain, so you might say it is still a slum, but the clean slum I have ever seen; free of dirt and smells; the children neat, well-dressed and healthy-looking.

### New Housing

From Pang Chia-wan we went to see new housing estates on the outskirts of the city. These were blocks of apartments set in pleasant gardens, with plenty of space. Workers pay 3% to 7% of their income in rent, according to the size of the apartment. Nursery schools, kindergartens and primary schools are within easy reach of all. There are a theatre in the area, and a People's Bank, where deposits rise month by month. Wages are still not high in Shanghai; the average wage, I was told, is about 70 yuan a month. But medical care, many welfare facilities are free, rents extremely low, and prices are stable, so that only a small proportion of

wages—about 10 yuan a month for each person—is spent on food.

Shanghai has more than its share of industrial development. Its output today is one-sixth of the whole country's, with heavy industry taking major place.

Colleges and universities have increased in number from 10 to 40 (in ten years). There are 5,600 primary schools in Shanghai today, with more than 2 million children in primary and middle schools.

### Prostitutes Gone

With changed standards of living, and the great extension of education, change came also to Shanghai's social life.

Eleven years ago you could walk down Summa Road in the evening when the lights had just been turned on. There you would see little white lamps outside the houses with names written on them in red paint. These were the names of prostitutes,

### BY MRS. HILDA BERNSTEIN

for the houses were brothels. Two years after liberation the brothels were empty and the prostitutes had all gone.

Where had they gone? They were taken to Women's Production and Education Centre. There they were given medical treatment, and started on the road to re-education and to decent jobs. The task was not so difficult as it may seem, for most of these women had been peasant girls, sold into prostitution through extreme poverty.

And the gambling-centres and vice-dens? These, too, have been reformed. One has become a beautiful theatre, where visiting groups from overseas perform. It has dining rooms and rest rooms decorated with wonderful Chinese paintings, embroideries, furniture

## UP MY ALLEY

FROM the Kommandant-in-Chief, Pampon-oder-de-Bos Silekto, to His Excellency, Minister of Defence.

Edeleggare Meneer—I am in receipt of the good news that we are going to have a wonderlike new army what is going to have lovely new weapons of the kind what shoots three hundred rounds a minute.

Allmeggari, but we will be able to shoot hundreds and hundreds of kaffirs.

Edeleggare meneer, but there is a little trouble. We have got a sample copy of this new gun and it will be delivered to us by what I last Sunday afternoon—with the permission of the Dominie, naturlik—and that is where the trouble starts.

Old Kooos van der Waterval, who is our oldest resident and therefore veld-kornet in the kommando, decides that it would be in charge of the gun. He will be eighty-three the day after next Stryddag, and anyway, he took the first shots.

Meneer, I want to report to you, this big trouble. As you said, it would not be a good thing for a farmer of Rouxville to handle such a gun, and old Kooos said this is not Rouxville, it is Pampon-oder-de-Bos. So he just blazed away. So I must report to you, as follows:

Who killed in action: Three fowls belonging to Oom Akkerboos; Two ostriches; belonging to Meneer Groenkloof; one cow and one

and screws. Another, formerly the gambling centre in the French concession, is now a gymnasium.

### The Peoples' World

Perhaps the most interesting is a seven-story building in the centre of Shanghai, now known as 'The Peoples' World.' There are two large theatres on each floor, fourteen in all, with a big semi-circular amphitheatre on the ground floor. These were the places where opium-smoking, gambling, naked dancing, prostitution and every possible form of perversion was carried on—until 1949. I started on the top floor of the Peoples' World. In the first theatre there was a drama, in the second, Peking opera. As we went down the floors, we looked in on a play in local dialect, a chess game with moves shown on a large board to an attentive audience, a film show, a magician, a puppet show, Shanghai opera, dancing, acrobats . . . and so on, through fourteen theatres.

For an entrance fee of 25 cents (8½ pence) you can come and see the whole afternoon from 12.30 and evening until 10.15, at just a few cents, moving around at will. A restaurant serves cheap meals, 13,000 to 14,000 working people come every night, 20,000 on Sundays. Workers in their cotton suits wander around, couples walking together, families with children.

Another centre of gambling and prostitution, used by rich landlords and capitalists and known as the East Hotel, is now a cultural palace for workers.

## INDIAN PRODUCER TO STAGE TAGORE IN S.A.

JOHANNESBURG.

WELL-KNOWN Indian producer Mr. Shah, who arrived in South Africa last week to produce Tagore's 'The King of the Dark

Although the traffic in Shanghai has not yet become the major problem that it is in cities such as London and Rome, the streets are still there, no more rickshaws; people use the noisy trams, or bicycles or walk. Heavy lorries and buses run on gas carried in huge balloons on their roofs, for petrol is still short. Big ships move up the river to anchor where once the gunboats of the foreign powers kept their threatening watch.

### New Lights for Old

The change is stupendous. Before the civilisation of Shanghai was wrapped in cellophane. Under the gleaming and glittering exterior, the maggots of sorrow and corruption crawled. To clean them up it was necessary to strip away some of the glamour. Perhaps the lights in Shanghai's main streets are not as bright today, but there are lights in all the former Pang Chia-wan, in the hovels that were once black as night.

And where are the gangleaders, the pimps, the brothel-keepers, the men who ran opium and vice dens, who lived by crime and the exploitation of misery. Perhaps they are the 'refugees' who, our papers tell us, still pour from China into Hongkong.

There is no room for them at all in socialist China, where pride in honest endeavour holds first place. Certainly no room in a city bus, lifting itself up from the appalling degradation that once was Shanghai.

Chamber' for Union Artists, heralds a new break-through for theatre here, which has in the past been organised on strict colour-bar lines.

Mr. Shah told New Age that he was very glad of the opportunity to bring the Union of Dramatists of India to South African audiences. 'The King of the Dark Chamber' was such good theatre, in the sense of being both rich spectacle (there is a great deal of colourful classical Indian dancing in it), fast action plus profound philosophy, that it would make a tremendous appeal to everyone, whether they had had the chance to see plays before or not.

### SUCCESSFUL RUN

Mr. Shah, who is visiting South Africa in between a very successful run of the play in New York and an opening in the West End of London early next year, said that since India had achieved her independence in 1947 the theatre there had made tremendous progress. The Government gave subsidies to all professional theatrical organisations, which produced work of classical and modern work by Indian authors.

It is possible that Mr. Shah will have the opportunity to produce other plays for Union Artists, and that one of them will be by Bertoldo Brecht, the German playwright whose spirit was in some ways akin to that of Rabindranath Tagore.

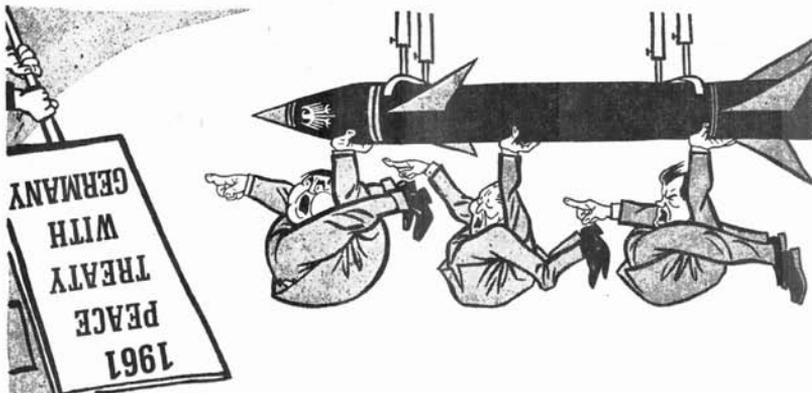
### BENGALI DANCER

Mr. Shah has brought a well-known Bengali dancer, Bhaskar, with him. Mr. Bhaskar takes the leading role of the villainous King in the play, but will be responsible for all choreography, and will do a solo performance of the various types of classical Indian dancing before the play proper begins. Mr. Bhaskar has trained in all the various styles of dancers in these classical forms, and will take them on a tour of India next Spring.

ALEX LA GUMA.

EUROPE

# ★ THE BERLIN CRISIS ★



(Cartoon by Leo Hains) "How does it look to us? Like a declaration of war?"  
Brandt, Adenauer, Strauss

Not all the Western newspapers have fallen for the Adenauer-Kennedy ballyhoo and hysteria on Berlin.

## VOICES OF REASON

An increasing number of responsible newspapers and magazines have spoken up recently for reason in the treatment of the German problem, and in particular the question of West Berlin. Here are extracts from some of these voices of reason: New Age does not identify itself with all the opinions expressed:

### 'The Observer,' London

"First, it may be worth while recalling that the principle of negotiation over Berlin is not in dispute. Secondly, a closer examination of the proposals already made may show that, at this stage at least, what is required from the West is not so much greater courage as clearer political thinking . . .

"Both sides obviously have little expectation of a complete all-German settlement. Any negotiation would be likely to narrow down to the status of Berlin. But there are two aspects of an all-German settlement which could provide an element in negotiations. They might be used to produce, so to speak, an interim peace treaty for Germany within which the present status of West Berlin might be strengthened. These two elements are Germany's frontiers and her military status.

"But in what way could West Berlin's present status be improved? If Mr. Khrushchev's purpose is to weaken the Western position in Berlin, why should he make an agreement, which would strengthen it?

"There is, however, less incompatibility of purpose here if one assumes that Mr. Khrushchev's aim is primarily to stabilise his own position in Eastern Germany. The expulsion of the West from Berlin is not the only way to achieve this, though it would undoubtedly help him. There is not an inevitable clash between some improvement of the Western position in Berlin and some strengthening of Eastern Germany's position—unless it is assumed that the Western aim in West Berlin is not merely to protect the freedom of its citizens but also to weaken the position of the East German regime.

"Let us then assume that the essential western aim in West Berlin is to preserve the freedom and independence of its people . . .

"This analysis suggests that a possible bargain for the West might, for example, combine the following points:—

"(1) An interim peace settlement for the whole of Germany, defining her frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse line, and placing a ceiling on her armaments. This agreement would, if necessary, be made separately with Western and Eastern Germany. German internal relations would be preserved and the Western Powers would not formally recognise Eastern Germany. Each German state would remain in its respective military alliance but a Central European zone of limited arms under control and inspection would be established.

"(2) An interim settlement for Berlin pending the conclusion of a full German peace treaty. Allied occupational rights would be incorporated in a new international agreement, to which Eastern Germany and the Soviet Union would adhere, guaranteeing access rights for both civilian and military traffic to and from West Berlin . . .

### 'Today,' London

"(The West Berliners) cannot blame us for the dilemma in which they find themselves. After all, the Germans started the war which caused all the trouble . . .

"It is possible that our leaders hold a trump card in their hand, although they show no signs of understanding how to play it . . .

"Our trump card is East Germany. Ever since the German Democratic Republic was established in October, 1949, the Western Powers have made an earnest but rather stupid pretence that it does not exist. They have done this because the West German Government, in return for providing NATO with fourteen German divisions . . . have forced the Western Allies to agree in theory to the reunification of Germany . . . It is dishonest for Western polit-

icians to appease Dr. Adenauer by prattling about free elections which can never take place. But if the Western Powers were to offer to recognise the German Democratic Republic, which has now existed, whether we like it or not, for twelve years, they might in return get equally large concessions from Russia . . .

"It is on this basis that the West should show a readiness to negotiate with every likelihood that Khrushchev would be ready to give a *quid pro quo* . . .

(From an article entitled "Would YOU Die for West Berlin?" by Ewan Butler in "Today", Britain's largest illustrated, on July 29th)

### 'New York Times'

The western allies should be ready to negotiate on the Berlin question, C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the influential "New York Times" suggested on June 21. In a study of the German problem he stated:

"Thanks to faulty planning, the West allowed itself to be put in an isolated position at Berlin and also allowed itself to develop this isolated position into a symbol of determination everywhere. There is little point complaining about this now: we are stuck with it.

"And because we are stuck with it we are pushed to defending a status quo which has no sensible status. The fact of the matter is that we don't want a partitioned Berlin any more than we want a partitioned Germany. But Russia blatantly opposes German reunification and both France and England are privately acquiescent.

"Thus we have staked everything on a German unification which some of our partners don't really want and which we can't have anyway until it suits Russia's book. And we have made numerous contingency plans except for the obvious contingency that when Khrushchev moves he will move with painstaking care, insuring that

no valid *cusis belli* is presented.

"We should therefore do two things swiftly. The first is to draw up a negotiating position covering not only Berlin but all aspects of Germany and obtain agreement on this from our partners. The second is then to take the initiative in starting negotiations at a time of our own choosing . . .

"And we must shed the idea that no negotiation is possible, and that the status quo must be kept exactly as it is. There is never such a thing as a permanently desirable status quo and it is impossible to maintain one indefinitely in Europe when none of the rest of the world is static."

### Walter Lippmann

Walter Lippmann, respected American publicist, had this to say about the West Berlin problem in the "New York Herald Tribune" of June 29th:

"It would be a wiser policy, it seems to me, to recognise the fact that for the indefinite future the two Germanys will not reunite, and to insist as a matter of positive Western policy, not as a shamefaced concession to the Soviets, our new guarantees to meet this new situation, guarantees under which West Berlin can live confidently and in freedom until the day, now so remote, when it will again be the capital of Germany. "I am convinced that the failure by the President to take such a line will mean that he has surrendered the initiative in German affairs to Khrushchev. If there is nothing he wants to do in Germany except to do nothing, the President will have lost the power to direct and control the struggle . . ."

### 'The Nation,' New York

"The prestige of the West, it is often said, is at stake, and there is truth in the contention. But the West will not gain prestige by clinging blindly to outworn dogmas, such as non-recognition of the East German Government."

(Geoffrey Barraclough in "The Nation", July 15th)

Only 10 per cent. of refugees are 'political',

Says New Statesman Correspondent

● The population flow from East Germany to West Germany has been going on for a century and even if East Germany had not had a communist government as many people would have left the East for the West as have done since the war.

● Only about 10% of the people who have left East Germany for West Germany should be classified as "political refugees."

These are two of the points made by John Mander in the London New Statesman recently. In this and other articles Mander has made it clear that he is by no means sympathetic to the East German regime. On the contrary, in many respects he is extremely hostile.

"For a century the population of Eastern Germany (except Berlin) has been declining," he writes, "and that of West Germany has been on the increase. It has been calculated that the transfer of population from East to West, if no Communist regime had existed, would have approximated to the refugee average (bearing in mind that although the East has industrialised since the war, the West has industrialised much faster) . . .

"For about 80%, then, of the cheerful, rain-coated crowds at the magnificent reception centre (for the Berlin refugees) was no more than a Labour Exchange. But for some 20% it was always more than that . . . Motives were oddly mixed. There were the psychological cases, the girl-runaway-from-home, the pathological grouser, the boy-from-Leipzig-who-got-his-girl-in-trouble, the square pegs the misfit. Perhaps 10% were 'political' refugees; and here the interviewers had their own categories."

## SOMETHING TO REMEMBER

On March 10, 1952, the USSR formally proposed to the Big Three Western powers the establishment of an all-German government to be chosen in elections supervised by the Four Powers.

The State Department dismissed the note as containing "nothing new." As a matter of fact, it was something new and the reason for dismissing it was not its lack of novelty.

The real reason was suggested by Russell Hill, New York Times correspondent, in a dispatch from Berlin (March 23, 1952):

"The United States does not want free elections in Germany because that would open the avenue cart. The apples are the Schuman plan and the European army, including 12 German divisions . . ."



(Walt Street Journal) "This should make our present ultimate weapon obsolete."

# MORE SOCCER TUSSLES

**T**HE important soccer conference in July went a long way towards solving some of our soccer problems, especially in the relations between amateur and pro. soccerists, but many more remain. The important thing, as we said before, is NOT TO ALLOW ANY FRICITION TO BE SET UP AT THIS STAGE.

The most important decision in July was to end racialism in the soccer set-up, with May 1962 as the deadline for ending ALL bodies with racial tags—even if they already practise full integration.

It is therefore incorrect to say the Soccer Federation is allowing racialism to continue until May 1962.

The Durban INDIAN Football Association has just refused to join the Natal body because of this foregoing argument. But perhaps DIFA should remove its own racial tag?

## SAM CHINA TOURNAMENT

Another squabble is about the Sam China Tournament due in Johannesburg next month. It is alleged that this will be racial and should be scrapped.

Readers are invited to comment; perhaps they would like to answer these questions:

● Since the teams taking part will be drawn from all racial groups (this is an instruction from SAFA), is it true that this must be regarded as an all-Indian Tournament?

● If this tournament is removed, what incentive will there be for amateur players at this stage which the administrators must provide?

SCOREBOARD

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by RECORDER

- If all national bodies affiliated to the Federation—all pledged to non-racialism—were scrapped at once, would not the result be chaos?
- Would it be in the interest of the amateurs or professionals?

## RACING AT KENILWORTH

The following are Damon's selections for Monday, September 4:

- Settler's Day Handicap:**  
 1. HONEST TOWN  
 2. Preacher  
 3. Knighted
- Owners' Handicap: SQUEEGEE.**  
 Danger. Tasty Dish
- Kenilworth Handicap: SEMI-BREVE.** Danger. Torello.
- Wynberg Progress Stakes: URGENT.** Danger. Fall Spate.
- 3-Year-Old Stakes: QUICK RESPONSE.** Danger. Treasure Pan.
- Kenilworth Progress Stakes: FLAMBOYANT.** Danger. Catalogue.
- Maiden Plate (1 mile 1 furlong): CONGRESSMAN.** Danger. Mystic Gold.
- Maiden Plate (5 furlongs): FAN.** Danger. Prohibition.

# BOYCOTT NEW ZEALAND TOUR

## Sasa President

Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, President of the S.A. Sports Association has called on the public not to support the forthcoming New Zealand cricket tour of South Africa. He said:

Our campaign "Support Only Non-Racial Events in Sport"—OPERATION SONREIS—has got off to a good start. Many have already pledged their support: many more are expected to do so. Those who believe in fairness, in all sections of the South African population, must show this by their actions.

All events with touring sides, all so-called international events MUST NOT BE SUPPORTED unless all South Africans are represented in the sporting bodies.

Our chief target must be THE NEW ZEALAND CRICKET TOUR.

The all-white cricket team which travelled to England suffered heavy defeat. This was a notable victory for SASA. We made the British people aware there was no fairness in the selection of the team. So they stayed away from their thousands.

Now we must expose the unfairness of the New Zealand tour. The people of New Zealand have partly learnt their lesson through the all-white All Blacks. Now they must fully learn the lesson that the majority of South Africans believe in fairness for all.

All the matches of this tour must not be supported. Counter-attractions must be organised. Our cricket bodies have an important part to play. We expect them, and all other sportsmen to give full support to OPERATION SONREIS.

## Sports Comment

# IS MULEYA FORGOTTEN?

**T**WO years ago, sportsmen from all over the world hailed and feted Yohann Muleya. He was proclaimed one of the most remarkable talents to emerge from this continent. And the feat that catapulted that dapper 18 year-old bare-foot Rhodesian athlete to fame was to set a record. He beat Gordon Perry, the then holder of the Rhodesian 3 mi record with an astonishing 114 seconds, leaving him 100 yards behind.

Sportsmen mourned when Muleya, with three others died during a tour of the U.S. in a fatal motor accident. Now Muleya, the star that flashed so brightly is buried 80 miles from Mdukava Village. Many of us might have forgotten him. Reginald Thompson of Lusaka reports that his humble grave is strewn with reeds and dust, neglected. Rhodesia launched the Muleya Fund. Those who wish to contribute, contact The Muleya Fund, P.O. Box 1421, Lusaka.

Whist Boxing, soccer, cricket and other sport has been making great

strides in the Transvaal and nationally, there is still an absurd confusion that dominates the activity? of the Transvaal Federation of Softball and Baseball Union... So far only one venue, the Western Oval, has been used in the current tour. Meetings are delayed, matches are postponed, trophies are not presented and generally this messy situation promises to throw the Transvaal team for the S.A. championships in P.E. into a quandary. Unless the officials of the two bodies wake up, their sluggishness will stultify softball and baseball in this country to such an extent that it will be hard to revive it. So wake up, you administrators.

## Basketball Too!

Ironing Steve Sjakje of the Denver Basketball Club has got a beef. He complains that Basketball in Johannesburg is dying. After a spirited reception during the days of Jan Hofmeyer Institute interest has been fading. And why? The same anxious, atrocious organisation, lax officials and no control!

# HOW SWALLOWS TROUCED ATHLETIC

**DURBAN.** Moroka-Swallows, the "kings" of South African soccer returned home to Johannesburg, retaining their crown comfortably after they had felled Durban's Avonlea Athletic to the tune of 7-1 in the second round of the R2,000 professional League Cup competition at Currie's Fountain Stadium last week.

From the first to the last whistle, Athletic were unable to cope with the fast Swallows, who continuously had the losing side's keeper Denzil Easthorpe busy.

Athletic were let down once again by their forwards.

Swallows opened the score in the fifth minute with a well-timed drive from their left-wing, W. Ngobese.

The next twenty minutes saw Athletic put up a fight—and that was the only time they did make some very impressive raids. Their centre-forward 'Remember' Bophela missed many opportunities, and Swallows defence in 'Arrah' Gumede (right-back) and S. Radabe held the fort.

In the thirtieth minute, Swallows centre-forward Penwell Mabaso increased the lead to 2-0.

Hereafter it was Swallows match all the way. Their in-ner-let, Diference Mbanyu, netted the third goal (3-0), and this was further increased through two more goals coming from Penwell and S. Ngwenya. (5-0).

Half-time: M. Swallows 5, A. Athletic 0.

The second half saw Swallows make 'rings' around the Athletic defence. But, Athletic defenders helped by some forwards built an iron wall around 'keeper' Denzil Easthorpe and Swallows failed to break through.

**COULD NOT HOLD** Athletic could not hold for long. For midway through this half Diference could dribbled past three defenders to register the sixth goal (6-0).

Playing the best game for his side, Kenneth Gama (Athletic inner-let), scored his side's solitary reply from a melle (6-1).

Ten minutes before the final whistle, Penwell scored the last goal for the winning side, (7-1).

**OTHER MATCHES** In a local amateur league cup competition, Aces beat their closest rivals, Warwickshire 4-1.

**Blackpool of Johannesburg will meet Durban's Aces United in the second round for the League competition at Currie's Fountain Stadium this Sunday.**

Aces have beaten Blackpool twice—will it be third time lucky for Blackpool?

Unless otherwise stated, F. Carnson of 6 Barrack St., Cape Town, is responsible for all political matter in this issue. Johannesburg news by E. Frost and J. Ophel, 7 Mercantile House, 155 President St. Durban news by M. P. Nalder, 600 London House, 118 Grey St. Port Elizabeth news by Govan Mbeki, 20 Court Chambers, 229 Adderley St. Cape Town news by A. Gama, 6 Barrack St.

# LIQUOR REFERENDUM CHALLENGED

## CAPE TOWN.

Over 400 residents of Langa unanimously rejected the establishment of a beer hall in the location, when they attended a meeting called by the Vigilance Association last Sunday.

The meeting said that the people did not want a beer hall established in the location, neither by the City Council nor any other body. The meeting also challenged the "so-called referendum" which was held recently to ascertain whether residents were either for or against a beer hall or liquor store.

They said they did not accept the referendum as it was piloted by the City Council. The people did not accept the returning officer either.

Further resolutions "strongly rebuked and rejected" the establishment of Bantu Councils in Langa, and demanded direct consultation with the authorities on "any matter which affects or favours the residents of the location."

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## Conservative Trend In SRC Elections

### CAPE TOWN.

**A** CONSERVATIVE swing was noticed at the SRC elections which were held at ECT on Wednesday and Thursday last week. 46 per cent of students who came to the polls gave more support to sports leaders and those who stood for "better administration" than to the recognised politicians.

Progressive candidates Anthony Eastwood and Neil Falbot, and NUSAS Vice-President for International Relations, Roger Jewell, were defeated.

The only non-white candidate Wish Makanda was, however, elected.

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